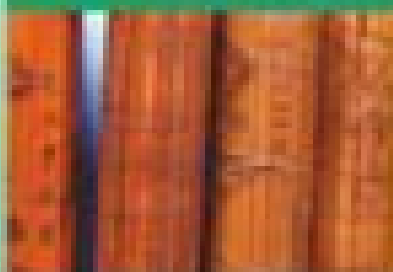
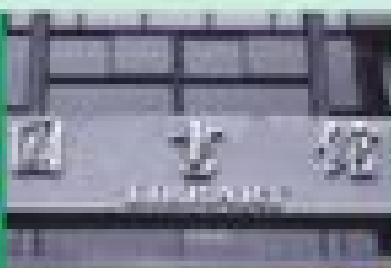


Publications 141

**The History
and Cultural
Heritage of**



**Chinese
Calligraphy,
Printing
and Library Work**

Edited by

Susan M. Allen, Lin Zhen, Cheng Fuxun and David Ho



**DE GRUYTER
SAUR**



International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions

Fédération Internationale des Associations de Bibliothécaires et des Bibliothèques

Internationaler Verband der bibliothekarischen Vereine und Institutionen

Международная Федерация Библиотечных Ассоциаций и Учреждений

Federación Internacional de Asociaciones de Bibliotecarios y Bibliotecas

国际图书馆协会与机构联合会

الاتحاد الدولي لجمعيات ومؤسسات المكتبات

About IFLA

www.ifla.org

IFLA (The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions) is the leading international body representing the interests of library and information services and their users. It is the global voice of the library and information profession.

IFLA provides information specialists throughout the world with a forum for exchanging ideas and promoting international cooperation, research, and development in all fields of library activity and information service. IFLA is one of the means through which libraries, information centres, and information professionals worldwide can formulate their goals, exert their influence as a group, protect their interests, and find solutions to global problems.

IFLA's aims, objectives, and professional programme can only be fulfilled with the co-operation and active involvement of its members and affiliates. Currently, approximately 1,600 associations, institutions and individuals, from widely divergent cultural backgrounds, are working together to further the goals of the Federation and to promote librarianship on a global level. Through its formal membership, IFLA directly or indirectly represents some 500,000 library and information professionals worldwide.

IFLA pursues its aims through a variety of channels, including the publication of a major journal, as well as guidelines, reports and monographs on a wide range of topics. IFLA organizes workshops and seminars around the world to enhance professional practice and increase awareness of the growing importance of libraries in the digital age. All this is done in collaboration with a number of other non-governmental organizations, funding bodies and international agencies such as UNESCO and WIPO. IFLANET, the Federation's website, is a prime source of information about IFLA, its policies and activities: www.ifla.org

Library and information professionals gather annually at the IFLA World Library and Information Congress, held in August each year in cities around the world.

IFLA was founded in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1927 at an international conference of national library directors. IFLA was registered in the Netherlands in 1971. The Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library), the national library of the Netherlands, in The Hague, generously provides the facilities for our headquarters. Regional offices are located in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Pretoria, South Africa; and Singapore.

IFLA Publications 141

The History and Cultural Heritage of Chinese Calligraphy, Printing and Library Work

Edited by

Susan M. Allen, Lin Zuzao, Cheng Xiaolan
and Jan Bos

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We wish to thank the following organizations for hosting this Pre-conference:

IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section

Cultural Department of Zhejaing Provincial Government, China

We also wish to acknowledge the following organizations for sponsoring and supporting this Pre-conference:

Zhejiang Library, China

Zhejiang Provincial Society for Library Science, China

Zhejiang Provincial Society for Social and Information Science, China

Tianyi Ge Museum, Ningbo, Zhejiang, China

Huabao Zhai Fuhun Cultural Co. Ltd., Zhejiang, China

Special thanks to:

Dr. Alex Byrne, President of IFLA

Dr. Marian Koren, Deputy of IFLA

Dr. Zhan Furui, Curator of China National Library, Director of China Society for Library Science

Ms. Liu Xiaoqin, Deputy Director of the Social Cultural Department of the Cultural Ministry of the State Council

PREFACE

Alex Byrne, IFLA President

The 2006 Pre-Conference of the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section was generously hosted by the Cultural Department of the Zhejiang Provincial Government in the beautiful and historically important city of Hangzhou, China. As is evident from these Proceedings, the program dealt with many aspects of the long history of Chinese writing and printing, cultural heritage and library work.

That long history has extended from characters scratched on ancient bones to contemporary applications of information and communication technologies. It is recorded and celebrated in the libraries of China including the vaults of the National Library of China and the historic pavilions of the Ancient and Rare Books Department of Zhejiang Library, overlooking the Emperor's Lake at Hangzhou.

The sense of that history permeated the program and papers of the Pre-Conference which covered many aspects of printing in China and the challenges of conserving and preserving both the printed items and the wood blocks with which they were printed. Papers were presented by colleagues from as far afield as Germany and the United States as well as many by Chinese scholars and librarians. They demonstrated both the intrinsic interest of many beautiful examples and their value as vital elements of the heritage of humanity. But they also showed the skill and care applied by specialists to protect and, where necessary, repair rare books and manuscripts – as one paper put it, “repairing the old one like the original.”

The application of that expertise is a fine example of the central contribution which libraries and librarians make to the preservation and transmission of the memory of the world. Complementing the other services provided by public, educational and specialist libraries and information services, the work of rare book and manuscript specialists ensures that we can all look back as well as looking forward. It ensures that we can all learn from the past but also enjoy the vitality of our predecessors' cultural expression and appreciate the technological developments which enabled humanity to progressively enhance its ability to create and communicate.

Formal sessions of the Pre-Conference were followed by visits to major cultural sites including the 440 year old library of Tianyi Ge in Ningbo City, which I previously had the memorable fortune to visit thanks to the generosity of colleagues at Zhejiang Library. That visit and the others on the study tour reinforced the professional and scholarly exchanges during the program. They demonstrated the international collaboration fostered by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section which is so visible in these Proceedings.

9 September 2007

Alex Byrne
IFLA President

WELCOME ON BEHALF OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE PRE-CONFERENCE

Yang Jianxin, Director of the Cultural Department
of Zhejiang Provincial Government
and Chairman of The Preparatory Committee of the 2006 IFLA RBMS
Pre-Conference in Hangzhou, China

Dear respected former Member of the IFLA Governing Board, Dr. Marian Koren;
Respected Chair of IFLA RBMS, Dr. Susan Allen
Respected Secretary of IFLA RBMS, Dr. Jan Bos;
Ladies and Gentlemen:

Good morning!

The 2006 IFLA RBMS Pre-Conference, “The History and Cultural Heritage of Chinese Calligraphy, Printing, and Library Work,” hosted by IFLA RBMS and the Cultural Department of Zhejiang Provincial Government, now has its grand opening here on the banks of West Lake in the beautiful city of Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, China. Please allow me on behalf of the Conference Preparatory Committee and the Cultural Department of the Zhejiang Provincial Government to extend our warm welcome and sincere thanks to the leaders of the China Society for Library Science, the China National Library, and to the specialists, scholars, and colleagues who traveled thousands of miles from home and abroad to participate in this pre-conference.

In December 2004 in order to support the 72nd IFLA World Congress to be held in Seoul, Korea in 2006, the Zhejiang Library delivered an application to IFLA RBMS proposing a 2006 IFLA RBMS Pre-Conference in Hangzhou. In order to make this Pre-Conference successful, IFLA RBMS and the Cultural Department of the Zhejiang Provincial Government set up a Preparatory Committee, raised funds in different ways, called for papers from colleagues at home and abroad, carefully planned the Pre-Conference program and local arrangements. Seven Preparatory Committee meetings were held to discuss different subjects for this conference. To provide an enchanting cultural evening, we have arranged for a local Yue Opera production, “The Story of the Fan Family Library,” which shows the history of 440 years of the Tianyi Ge Library as performed by the Zhejiang Xiao Baihua Yue Opera Troupe. The Yue Opera, founded in Zhejiang Province one-hundred years ago, is a type of local drama. The Yue Opera performance of “The Story of the Fan Family Library” is totally in keeping with the Pre-Conference theme. I’m sure it will be of interest to all of you. After more than one year of hard work, we finally greet you at the grand opening of this pre-conference. We believe that this Pre-Conference will be of high quality, of far-reaching significance, and

successful due to the great efforts of the IFLA RBMS and the other leaders, specialists, scholars, and colleagues attending from home and abroad.

Zhejiang Province is located on the west bank of the East China Sea, and to the south is the Changjiang (Yangtze) Delta. It has a long history of people of talent coming forth in large numbers, and it has beautiful landscape. Its good products from the earth are nature's treasures. Usually, Zhejiang has been taken as a land of abundance, known as "the home town of rice and fish, the capital of silk and green tea, land of historical cultural relics, and beautiful scenic spots for tourists." Zhejiang Province covers an area of 101,800 square km with a total population of about 46 million people. There are eleven municipalities under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Government. Since the 1980s, the economy of Zhejiang has been developing rapidly and has followed the route of Zhejiang's characteristics. In 2005, the GDP in Zhejiang reached 133.65 billion yuan with 27,550 yuan (over \$3,400) per capita, which placed it first among Chinese provinces. The revenue of the province reached 20 billion yuan (\$25.7 billion) in 2005. According to the Global Competitive Force Reports by the Luosan International Management Institute, Zhejiang Province is evaluated as one of the highest efficiency regions in China.

Zhejiang Province with its rich, colorful, bright and distinctive traditional culture is one of the birth places of Chinese civilization. Its long history and magnificent culture has won this province the fine sounding name of "The Capitol of Silk," "The Home Town of Rice and Fish," "The Beautiful Scenic Spots for Tourists," as well as "The Land of Historical and Cultural Relics," etc. During the last few decades, archaeologists have found the 8,000 year old Kua Huqiao Ruin, the 7,000 year old Hemudu Ruin, the 6,000 thousand year old Majia Bing Ruin and Luojiajiao Ruin, and the 5,000 year old Songze Ruin and the Liangzhu Ruin, etc. in Zhejiang Province. All these historical ruins embody the vast reservoir of rich pre-historical information in China and have become an important source of original evidence of 5,000 years of traditional Chinese civilization. Our ancestors in Zhejiang Province created a striking historical and brilliant civilization by remolding nature and through social evolution.

According to a survey at the beginning of the 1980s, the density of the cultural relics found in the earth in Zhejiang Province took second place in China. There were 132 sites named as "An Important Chinese Relic Preservation Spot," ranking the province fifth in all of China. There were 279 sites named at the provincial level as "Important Relic Preservation Spots." On May 20, 2006, the State Council of the People's Republic of China issued the first group of "The List of Chinese National Non-materials Cultural Heritage." There were forty-four items from Zhejiang Province included which ranked Zhejiang Province first in all the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government. Zhejiang is one of the original places where Chinese wood blocks and letter boards for printing have been found. There is a long history here. During the Qingli Emperor Period (1041–1048 A.D.), Mr. Bi Sheng, an ordinary craftsman in Hangzhou, invented the letter board for printing, and created a great revolution in

printing technology about four hundred years earlier than Johann Gensfleisch zum Gutenberg of Germany. Hangzhou's printing technology had reached a world leading level during the Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD). Techniques of book binding and the design layout of books were perfected in the Song Dynasty. It appeared the inkling for the formats in books binding and layout at that time (sic). The books of the Song Edition, the most precious rare books, are now known to all the world because they are similar to the original edition with exquisite and excellent printing. As the splendid outcome of a glorious example and great wisdom, which were created by the spirit of creativity in the region, Chinese wood blocks and letter boards for printing are a great historical contribution to civilization and progress not only for the Chinese nation, but also for the whole of mankind. Zhejiang is the hometown of book collecting. There is a saying that: "The east of Zhejiang paid attention to collecting books, while the west of Zhejiang upheld scholars of profound knowledge." In Zhejiang Province there are eleven ancient libraries that still survive. Among them, one is the emperor's library, and ten others are private libraries. The Tianyi Ge Ancient Library, which was established in the Jiajing Emperor period of 40–45th (1561–1566 AD) during the Ming Dynasty, became the earliest existing ancient library in China and one of the oldest ancient libraries in the world.

Local chronicles (recording local history, geography, historical personalities, customs, and other sociological data) which document Chinese characteristics and collected almost all the local information, began to flourish in the Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD). During the period 1127–1279 AD of the South Song Dynasty, three successive magistrates of the Lin An Prefecture (now Hangzhou City) conducted research and compiled the famous Hangzhou local chronicles, "Qian Dao Lin An Local Chronicles," "Chun You Lin An Local Chronicles," and the "Xiao Chun Lin An Local Chronicles," which are called collectively "Three Lin An Local Chronicles." The existing genealogical documents in Zhejiang are also quite rich. In 2005, the Zhejiang Library organized a group of scholars and specialists, which included more than 180 colleagues that worked over a three year period to compile and publish "An Annotated General Bibliography of Zhejiang Genealogy." This bibliographic database project described more than 12,000 titles of genealogical works available in Zhejiang Province, and also established an automatic access system in order to retrieve entries in the database. At the same time another project, "A Union Catalogue of Zhejiang Provincial Ancient and Rare Books" has been initiated in order to reflect the state of antiquarian and rare book collection and preservation in the province.

In recent years, librarianship in Zhejiang Province has made considerable progress. There are ninety libraries (above the county level) with collections of more than twenty million volumes, and a public library service system has been established to provide various kinds of information services to the whole province. This public library service system plays an active role in the development of social, cultural and economic growth of the whole province.

Zhejiang possesses an excellent environment and splendid, superior resources for holding this international academic conference.

Today, scholars from home and abroad gather in the Zhejiang Library to conduct textual research into the origins and development of the cultural heritage of Chinese calligraphy, printing, and library work; to allow everyone to express intelligent views; and to learn from each other by exchanging views. We will have an excursion to Hua Baozhai, a living museum which gathers together in one place demonstrations of Chinese traditional paper-making, the design and engraving of wood blocks for printing, book binding, etc. We will also visit the oldest Chinese library of Tianyi Ge Ancient Library; one of China's most famous private libraries, the Jiaye Tnag of Zhejiang Library where we will see a collection of wood blocks for printing; and the Chinese calligraphy brush museum. This will be an excellent gathering of academic significance and practical value. We are extremely happy to have this magnificent preconference in Hangzhou City, Zhejiang.

We hope that through our hardwork we have created a good environment for this preconference, and we hope to make all our guests feel at home. We also hope the scenic beauty of West Lake will compensate for the unusually hot weather that threatens to interfere with our work.

There is a Chinese saying: "A bosom friend afar brings a distant land near." Let's study and learn from each other about every aspect of the cultural heritage of Chinese calligraphy, printing, and library work through this magnificent international conference for the promotion of the international cultural heritage of printing and library work in order to make a contribution to human knowledge. Finally, we would like to express our sincere thanks to the IFLA RBMS for giving its painstaking guidance; thanks for the strong support of the scholars and specialists from home and abroad, who provided high quality presentations and papers; and also thanks to the co-organizers who gave energetic support to this preconference.

Many thanks again!

With best wishes for the complete success of the 2006 IFLA RBMS Preconference in Hangzhou!

WELCOME ON BEHALF OF THE IFLA RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS SECTION

Susan M. Allen, Chair of IFLA RBMS
and Chairman of the Preparatory Committee
of the 2006 IFLA RBMS Pre-Conference in Hangzhou

Good morning! It is a tremendous pleasure to be here in Hangzhou with all of you today for this conference: "The History and Cultural Heritage of Chinese Calligraphy, Printing and Library Work." I want to welcome you all here this morning, and I want to say, "Thank you," from the bottom of my heart to all of our friends here in Hangzhou who have made us so welcome and have done all the planning of this conference. I want to thank the Hangzhou Preconference Organizing Committee, especially its chairman, Yan Jianxin, the Zhejiang Provincial Department of Culture here in China, and also the vice-chairman, my colleague Jan Bos, the Secretary of the IFLA RBMS Standing Committee. I would also like to thank Qi Youwei and Jin Gengchu, both of the Zhejiang Provincial Department of Culture. We could not have had this preconference without all the hard work of our Chinese colleagues here in this beautiful city of Hangzhou. I know we have been told repeatedly about the sweltering heat, but we have also heard a delightful expression a few times and that is: "The heat is just a symbol of the warm heartedness of the people here who are welcoming us." And this is certainly the case. We have been welcomed in a very wonderful way.

Now I want to tell you all a bit about IFLA and the RBMS Standing Committee (the Rare Books & Manuscripts Standing Committee). The mission of the Rare Books & Manuscripts Section (RBMS) is to provide a forum for discussion and exchange of information on matters of particular concern to rare books and manuscript librarians, including the subjects of collection development, preservation, bibliographic control, and the role of special collections materials in all types of libraries.

Recently we have had two goals to support the mission of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section. The first goal has been to promote the understanding of the significance of rare books and manuscripts for scholarly research as a part of the heritage of civilization in an international context. So it is very proper for us to be here in your city in China to look at rare books and manuscripts in the context of Chinese culture. A second goal of RBMS has been developing international standards in the field of rare book and manuscript librarianship, publishing directories and bibliographies, and building up sources of information that will assist rare book and manuscript librarians in their work. We have taken a number of actions in recent years, and we hope to do more in the future. Some of our continuing projects include the discussion of the security of rare materials, the collection of samples of policies and standards for the digitization of special collections material,

and participation in setting the criteria for the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. We also seek members and corresponding members by sponsoring the 2006 satellite meeting here in China. We are hoping more of you from China will join in the work of RBMS. We continue to augment the Sections web pages. We have a working group on ISBD (a). We are also planning to sponsor midterm meetings from time to time. Other actions we take as a section to promote rare books and manuscripts include providing a newsletter for professionals in the field. We also have a Section brochure, which, thanks to our friends here, has been translated into Chinese.

Finally, as a means of professional development RBMS has provided pre-conferences prior to IFLA World Library and Information Congresses. A satellite meeting was convened last year in Copenhagen, Denmark, and this year here in Hangzhou, China. Next year RBMS will participate in a preconference in Durban, South Africa, where we will collaborate with the IFLA Preservation and Conservation Section on a program on conservation of library materials. For those of us going on from China to Seoul, Korea, for the World Library and Information Congress at the end of this preconference, we will have a program there entitled: "West by East, East by West: Culture and Technological Exchange, Old Technology, New Technology, Collecting, & Describing Rare Materials." I hope you will join us for that meeting in Korea. But in the mean time, let me return to the program of this preconference. I am so very grateful to committee members and sponsors here in Hangzhou. I look forward to today, tomorrow, and Wednesday not only to hearing the important papers and presentations that will be given, but also to seeing the wonderful rare books and manuscripts preserved here in this region of China. Thank you all very much for being here this morning.

WELCOME ON BEHALF OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LIBRARY ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

Marian Koren

Welcome, welcome to this IFLA conference.

On behalf of IFLA, the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions, we welcome all professionals and policymakers from all over China and the wider world, meeting here in Hangzhou. It is an honor to address so many specialists and scholars who are concerned with rare books and manuscripts, with the written and printed cultural heritage and with library work and services. Important issues of our heritage worldwide need to be discussed.

That is why IFLA as the global organization for libraries and information services offers a forum for professionals to discuss issues of worldwide concern, exchange expertise and work on international standards. But IFLA is doing much more. For those of you less familiar with these international aspects of librarianship a few more words.

IFLA works at the international level and represents the interests of library and information services and their users. (In figures: more than 500 thousand library service points as well as the 2.5 billion registered library users around the world.) IFLA was founded in 1927 at an international conference and has its headquarters in the Netherlands, on the premises of the Royal and National Library in The Hague.

What does IFLA work for as an independent, non-governmental, not-for-profit organization? IFLA promotes high standards of provision and delivery of library and information services; for access to sources, for the exchange of information, for the best preservation of library materials, for catalogues, and digital representation, it is important to have international standards, developed by professionals; our work, librarianship is truly international.

IFLA also encourages widespread understanding of the value of good library and information services; this means promotion of library services for all; partnerships with education, cultural sectors and others; and convincing decision makers to provide adequate budgets for library work.

Finally, through participation in the international community, for example at UNESCO, United Nations and international organizations on e.g. copyright, trade, communication, IFLA represents the interests of the members throughout the world. It has now 1,700 Members (library associations and institutions) in 150 countries, including China, and many other countries in the Asian region, where now satellite conferences take place around the IFLA World Library and Information Congress, starting in a few days in Seoul, Korea.

What makes IFLA special? Let us explain this with help of some keywords, all starting with P (at least in English).

IFLA is professional. In the sections and divisions dedicated professionals share their knowledge, improve competencies and qualities, also in the less known or popular areas of librarianship. A profession is for a lifetime, and requires the respect for the knowledge from the past. A professional attitude works for the future beyond one human generation. Respect for tradition, good skills for accountable description (standards) and modern representation through new technology, are what makes librarianship, especially in the field of Rare Books and Manuscripts a true profession.

IFLA is political, in the sense that it protects universal basic values which also apply to library and information services: human development, access to information for all, freedom of expression, cultural diversity, unbiased service, and independent acquisition and treatment of sources. As professionals we stand for these values, and library associations worldwide will advocate for the interests of libraries and their users. We all know how vulnerable rare books are in conflict driven and changing times.

IFLA is promising. Our societies are increasingly knowledge societies. More and more people are learning, studying, in need of good sources. As professionals we wish to promise that materials of e.g. cultural heritage are well kept, adding sometime surprising knowledge to the issues of today and tomorrow. We all also work in a promising field of new technologies which can help where human capacity is limited. That is why we need cultural and technical exchanges on technology and strategies for collecting and describing rare materials. Every rare book or manuscript taken care of and put into the public is a promise for human development.

IFLA is partnership. Through the work in the sections, through e-mail and conferences contacts are established for sustainable partnerships. You will experience yourself how many opportunities for networking, for professional development are offered. IFLA works with international partners, such as the Blue Shield to preserve heritage, to protect valuable materials and to apply new methods of treating e.g. rare books and manuscripts. Without international orientation, many professionals, many materials would be at a loss.

Therefore, it is very fortunate that IFLA's Rare Books and Manuscripts Section, has found such good partners here in China, in Hangzhou, so it can hold a special conference totally dedicated to its prime interests.

All the professional papers are also referring to the keywords with P: it is about paper and printing, production and preservation, people and politics that influenced the written and printed cultural heritage in China.

So we are all going to enjoy this conference, the meetings and wonderful visits on the spot. On behalf of IFLA we would like to thank in advance the organizers and co-organizers: the section has done a wonderful job bringing us here, in Hangzhou: the paradise on earth, and also the paradise for the book.

For a good book all is present, but the most important is the spirit in which it is written. In the same way: all elements for a good conference are present. Let us collect all the good spirits that come from these rare books and manuscripts, and write together a rare conference.

**ADDRESS TO THE AUDIENCE OF THE PRE-CONFERENCE
ON BEHALF OF THE CHINA NATIONAL LIBRARY AND
CHINA SOCIETY FOR LIBRARY SCIENCE**

Zhan Furui

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The 2006 IFLA RBMS Preconference, "The History and Cultural Heritage of Chinese Calligraphy, Printing, and Library Work," now commences in the city of Hangzhou, paradise on earth on the banks of beautiful West Lake. Please allow me on behalf of the China National Library and the China Society for Library Science to extend my warm welcome and sincerer wishes on this great occasion.

China is a country of ancient civilization with a long history. It created a world famous splendid culture of long standing in the process of its development. This civilization is solidified in ancient architecture and various kinds of relics, and condensed in the writing of different media. And of course, it is still alive in our non-material cultural heritage. There is no doubt that antiquarian and rare books and the various media of cultural heritage have experienced endless disasters of war-ridden years, natural calamities, and man-made calamities. Only approximately one per cent has survived in good condition. According to incomplete statistics, in China there are about 30 million volumes of old books made before 1911 of which 2.5 million were made before 1795. These books are collected in our China National Library, public libraries, university libraries, museums, and monasteries. There are 2.7 million volumes of old books collected in the China National Library. These valuable, antiquarian books trace the footprint of the Chinese nation's development, record the course of the Chinese nation's civilization and its connotation, embody the Chinese nation's spiritual value and mode of thinking, and reflect the Chinese nation's abundant imagination, great vitality, and creativity. These collections are a great achievement of the wisdom of the Chinese people, and they are an important part of the world's cultural heritage.

The Chinese government, libraries, museums have paid special attention to the preservation and conservation of these antiquarian books. On the basis of the general survey, we compiled and published the "Bibliography of Chinese Ancient and Rare Books" in the 1990s. In recent years, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Finance have been manufacturing reprints of the rare books. We have carefully chosen more than seven hundred titles of rare books to reproduce. Last year, we started to make a preservation plan for Chinese special collections of rare books in order to put into effect the classification and protection of rare books. The preservation conditions for rare books have improved as the Chinese economy has developed. To sort out and reprint the antiquarian and rare books has been a remarkable achievement. We have sorted and punctuated 2.5 billion characters in

Chinese antiquarian and rare books and digitized 1.5 billion characters from these books. There is no need for reticence. The preservation and conservation of these antiquarian and rare books is still a very deep worry. Disasters from insects like silverfish, the calamities of water, i.e. leaks and floods, and fire happen occasionally. We feel extremely anxious due to the fact that there are certain numbers of rare books that are at risk from storage in simple and crude conditions. With each passing day they are damaged seriously from acidification.

The purpose of holding an international conference to study the history of Chinese calligraphy and printing culture is to draw the outline of the development of book history clearly and to try to understand ancient Chinese printing techniques. Anyway, through this seminar we must bring to the attention of the entire society this important human cultural heritage and the great importance of preserving rare books and manuscripts. We hope by putting forward advanced preservation techniques to protect rare books that this abundant and valuable cultural heritage will be preserved and carried forward from generation to generation bringing benefits for future generations. We have great expectations for the great achievements of this conference.

With best wishes for the great success of this preconference.

**A CONGRATULATORY LETTER ON BEHALF OF THE
SOCIAL CULTURAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CULTURAL
MINISTRY OF THE STATE COUNCIL**

Liu Xiaoqin, Deputy Director of the Social Cultural Department
of the Cultural Ministry of the State Council

Dear Respected Dr. Marian Koren, former Standing Committee Member of the IFLA Governing Board,

Dear Respected Dr. Susan M. Allen, Chair of the Standing Committee of IFLA RBMS,

Respected Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today, the 2006 IFLA RBMS Preconference has a grand opening in beautiful Hangzhou. First of all, I would like on behalf of the Social Cultural Department of the Cultural Ministry to show my warm welcome and sincere thanks to all the participants. I would like to give special thanks to IFLA RBMS and the scholars and specialists who show concern for and support of the preservation of Chinese calligraphy and print cultural heritage. This preconference is hosted by IFLA RBMS and the Cultural Department of the Zhejiang Provincial Government, and it is sponsored by the Zhejiang Library. I would like to express my cordial thanks for the hard work and excellent arrangements made by the hosts, sponsor and the co-organizers.

Progress and the advancement of human civilization is the great result of the common effort of creativity and wisdom of the peoples all over the world over thousands of years. And it is also the great achievement of mutual exchange experiences, mutual study, and mutual promotion among different countries and various nationalities. China is one of the great Four Ancient Civilizations in the world. China's splendid civilization has ancient origins and a long development. Chinese characters are the only surviving written characters of the four such written characters in the world, and these are the only ancient characters that have been handed down, developed, and applied to the present day. Chinese written characters have changed frequently resulting in a new look and a sense of progress with each passing day. Writing tools and the art of calligraphy are unique, and by making them better known they excite romantic charm and endless fascination.

The creation and advancement of the techniques of paper making and printing are the Chinese people's great contribution to human civilization. Ancient Chinese calligraphy and printing experienced development that was distinctive and outstanding. On July 13, 2006, at the 30th UNESCO World Heritage Conference held

in Vilnius, Lithuania, the Yin Dynasty Ruin (ca. 15th century B.C.) in China's Anyang (Henan Province) was officially entered into the "List of the World Heritage." The Yin Dynasty Ruin is a place where there is a great quantity of inscriptions on bones and tortoise shells that were found and unearthed there, and it was the glorious starting point of Chinese written characters. Chinese calligraphy and printing culture has been employing the same techniques for more than 3,000 years progressing from inscriptions on bones and tortoise shells, to writing on bamboo and silks in the Yinshang Dynasty (16–11 century BC) until paper was created, improving and popularizing these activities from the West Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–8 A.D.) to the Jin Dynasty (256–420 A.D.); engraving was also practiced in the Yinshang Dynasty and the Zhou Dynasty (1027–221 B.C.); the Chinese calligraphy brush was developed and used in the Chin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.); followed by the creation, improvement, and spread of the use of wood-blocks for printing, letter board printing, and register printing. All of these excellent achievements of Chinese civilization belonged not only to China but also to the world. Other countries and nationalities also made an important contribution to the advancement and development of writing and printing techniques.

In the process of the continuous development of Chinese characters, writing and printing techniques, the important role of Zhejiang Province should never be taken lightly. The civilization found in the Zhejiang Province had accumulated a very profound foundation. The Hemudu Cultural Ruin (before 4600 B.C.), the Liangzhu Cultural Ruin (before 3300 B.C.), and the Majiabang Cultural Ruin (before 4750 B.C.) all show their radiance and beauty to one another in the Zhejiang Province. Early in the Qianlong Emperor Period of the Song Dynasty (1041–1046 A.D.), an ordinary person in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, Mr. Bi Sheng, created the letter board printing technique based on great improvement and development of wood block printing. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties (1368–1911 A.D.) Zhejiang took the lead in developing China's commercial economy and became first in the manufacture of printed materials, the book trade, and book collecting. Tianyi Ge Library in Ningbo City, the earliest surviving library in China, has a history of 440 years. Its collections of the local chronicles and the records of those candidates who passed the civil examination provided its own color and character. The architecture and the collection of wood blocks for printing in the Jiaye Library in Huzhou City have exerted a tremendous influence on library work. Wenlan Ge Library, which was the Emperor's Library in the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911 A.D.) is the only existing one of the three Emperor's libraries in South China, and it is located on beautiful West Lake, Hangzhou. The collection of "Si Ku Quan Shu" ("four vaults" of classics, history, philosophy and the collected works of literature) is well preserved in the Zhejiang Library, where it enjoys a legendary and glorious status. All of these examples of civilization: calligraphy and printing, were handed down by our ancestors, showing that persistently the people of Zhejiang paid special attention to and took good care of their cultural heritage, and made a special and great contribution to carrying on human civilization.

Civilization based on writing and printing has consistently accompanied the footsteps of human progress. The traditional civilization should be continued. The excellent cultural heritage should be preserved; it should be carried on; and it should be spread. At the present time in China, the traditional techniques of papermaking, wood block printing, letter board printing, and Chinese calligraphy brushes are well kept traditions, carried forward, applied, and developed in Zhejiang Province achieving great, beneficial results for society as well as for the economy. We have to work hard continuously to make the most of the favorable opportunity brought about by this international seminar, further strengthening international academic research and exchange. We must study and use the advanced experiences and achievements of other countries for reference. At the same time, we can promote mutual understanding and cordial friendship among countries and nations, as well as among different civilizations, and thereby bring about a great advance in societal harmony and world harmony. Intense, world-wide popular interest in the Chinese language is growing more and more each day, and it is evidence of the tremendous influence of Chinese culture on the world and various, frequent culture exchanges. We are sure that the Chinese people have the duty and ability to preserve, use, and carry forward our excellent national traditions, our civilized heritage in order to make a great contribution to the development of human civilization, and to contribute to the harmony and beauty of the world in the future. With best wishes for great success of the Preconference.

Thank you very much!

THE GREAT INVENTION WITH EVERLASTING IMMORTAL MASTERPIECES

Yang Jianxin, Chairman of the 2006 IFLA Pre-Conference Preparatory Committee
in Hangzhou, and director of the Cultural Department
of the Zhejiang Provincial Government, China

ABSTRACT

This paper describes Zhejiang as one of the cradles of Chinese civilization and identifies its great historical contribution to the invention of printing techniques. The paper is illustrated with examples from Zhejiang, China, such as the flourishing of wood block printing, letter board printing, the manufacturing of paper and calligraphy brushes, the development of libraries, and the prosperousness of local history and genealogy records.

KEYWORDS

Wood block printing
Letter board printing
Library
Records of local history
Genealogy

As a glorious model and a resplendent achievement of the great wisdom and creative spirit of the Chinese people, who are supposed to be descendants of Yandi and Huangdi, the invention of wood blocks for printing and the letter board for printing are a great historical contribution to human civilization and progress not only for the Chinese nation but also for the whole of mankind.

Zhejiang Province, which is located on the west bank of East China Sea, is one of the birth places of China's culture and civilization. In the last few decades, archaeologists have found "The Jua Huqiao Ruin of more than 8,000 years," "The Hemudu Ruin of more than 7,000 years," "The Majia Bing Ruin and Luojiang Ruin of more than 6,000 years," "The Songze Ruin and Liangzhu Ruin of more than 5,000 years," etc. in Zhejiang Province. All these historical ruins embody a vast reservoir of rich pre-historical information and have become important original evidence of 5,000 years of Chinese tradition and civilization. Our ancestors in Zhejiang Province have created a striking and brilliant historical civilization by remolding nature and through social evolution. According to a survey carried out at the beginning of the 1980s, the density of cultural heritage relics found in the

earth in Zhejiang Province took second place in China. There are 132 Chinese sites which were named as an “Important Relic Preservation Spot.” Zhejiang Province ranked fifth in China. There are 279 sites at the provincial level named “Important Relic Preservation Spot.” On May 20, 2006, the State Council of the People’s Republic of China issued the first group of “The List of China National Non-materials Cultural Heritage.” There are forty four items from Zhejiang Province which are included, and Zhejiang Province was ranked first place among all the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government. Mr. Yang Shikong, who was a scholar of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 A.D.), wrote a preface in the book, “Lian Zhe Ming Xian Lu (A Record of Famous Persons in Zhejiang Province),” praised Zhejiang saying: “There is a place on earth, where gather the hills and streams together with roaring rivers and seas. The humane studies are deeply loved from generation to generation and shouldered the heavy responsibilities in all fields.” The accumulation of the riches and wealth of the humanities, the exact details of a long history, and so many important historical events and delightful stories of China’s cultural history which took place in this rich and fertile land have been handed down like fire wood and fire.

1. ZHEJIANG IS THE PLACE OF ORIGIN OF WOOD BLOCKS AND LETTER BOARDS FOR PRINTING

Zhejiang is one of the places of origin of China’s wood blocks and letter boards for printing. Sources from long ago have perpetuated this fact. According to the historical records, wood blocks for printing started in the Tang Dynasty (618–907 A.D.). During that time in the center of Zhejiang Province, a book store sold the collected poems of Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen in an edition printed by wood blocks. During the epoch of the Five Dynasties (907–960 A.D.), the use of wood blocks for printing was in vogue in Hangzhou. The printed Buddhist classics of “Yiqie Rulai Bimi Quanshen Sheli Baoqie Yin Tuoluoni Jing” were found after the Lei Feng Pagoda was in ruins. The size of this Buddhist classic is 7 chi and 6 cun (about 250 cm.) These Buddhist classics were printed on sturdy paper, which was made of the best mulberry paper fibre and engraved and printed by Qian Chu of Wuyue King in the eighth year of the Emperor Kai Bao during the North Song Dynasty (975 A.D.). There were 84,000 copies printed, which were described in this Buddhist classic. Mr. Wang Guowei has said in *Liang Zhe Gu Kanben Kao* (A Textual Research of Ancient Printed Books in Zhejiang), that, “The typeface, which printed in the book from Zhejiang was upright and foursquare. The letters were engraved with mellow and full. Among the quality of the Song Editions, Zhejiang’s edition always took the first rate. The books of wood blocks for printing edition in the Imperial College of Song Dynasty were almost all printed in Hangzhou, like the book of ‘Qi Jing Zheng Yi,’ like the book of ‘History,’ like the book of ‘The Three Histories of Han Dynasty,’ like the book of ‘Seven histories of

South and North Dynasties', like the book of 'Zi Zhi tong Jian (an advisory book for the feudal rulers or emperors)', like the Chinese medical books, etc. Almost half of the books for the Imperial College were printed in Hangzhou in North Song Dynasty (960–1127 A.D.)." Hangzhou was renown throughout the whole country during the North Song Dynasty for its wood block printing, and it became one of the three publishing centers in China. In the South Song Dynasty (1127–1279 A.D.) many intelligent and capable craftsmen/engravers were concentrated in Hangzhou because it was the capitol of the South Song Dynasty, and it became the cultural center of the whole country. Lin An (now Hangzhou city) ranked first of the three publishing centers. Therefore, Mr. Wang Guowei said: "It was only the Zhejiang area, where the printing and publishing were flourished since the ancient time."

During the North Song Dynasty papermaking was well developed, and it made further advances during the South Song Dynasty. According to a record in the book, *Song Shi Dili Zhi* (The History of Song Dynasty Records of Geography), "paper was one of the most important articles of tribute in Zhejiang Province. In Zhejiang Province, there were a lot of raw materials for papermaking, like the rice straw, wheat straw, the mulberry bark, hemp, rattan and bamboo, etc. The paper-making factories were spread everywhere in Zhejiang Province, like in Hangzhou, Pingjiang, Yanxi, Rui An, Haiyan, etc. At that time they produced the Teng Paper, Yuban Paper, Qiao Bing Paper, Luo Jian Paper, Juan Paper, Jinsu Shan Cangjing Paper" etc. Around the Hangzhou area there were many kinds of high quality papers of Teng paper from You quan, village of Yuhang County, Sizong paper from Fuyang County, Chi Ting paper from Chi Ting Shan etc. Teng paper from You Quan village became one of the most important papers for printing and for publishing books in the Song Dynasty.

The "Hu Bi (Chinese writing brush was produced in Huzhou area, Zhejiang Province)" was renown for "The first class in Chinese Writing Brush (sic)." The Chinese calligraphy or writing brush originated in the Shanlian Township of Huzhou City, Zhejiang Province. According to a legend that General Meng Tian created, the Chinese calligraphy brush with "wood stick as the handle, the deer hair as the brush backbone or core, and took (sic) the sheep's wool as the cover of the brush" in Qin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.). There remains a Meng Tian Temple in Shanlian Township to this day. Of course, there was another legend that "Yu Shun created [the] writing brush (around 2255–2205 B.C.)." There was a long historical period before the use of paper became popular, and during this time the main document formats were bamboo strips, wood board, and silk. Mr. Wang Chong (27–97 A.D.), who was from Shanyu County, Zhejiang Province during the East Han Dynasty (25–220 A.D.), came to a concise conclusion in his book, *Lun Heng Liang Zhi Pian* (On the Balance: The Chapter of Know the Quantity). He said, "The bamboo grows in the hill, the wood lives in the forest. To saw the bamboo as the bamboo tube and chop it as the strips, and to use the writing brush to write the letters on it, and it became the biography for the ordinary ones." Therefore, we can

understand that the calligraphy brush is the essential tool for writing Chinese characters. The works of silk books, and manuscript books were all created by using the calligraphy brush. There is a line of verse written by Li Bai (701–762 A.D.): “To create the writing brush is for the beneficial to (sic) all the intellectuals.” To manufacture the Hubi (calligraphy/writing brush) it should be elaborately wrought from carefully selected raw materials. The whole process of making the Hubi should consist of more than one hundred steps, such as soaking, pulling up, combining, washing and dressing, connecting, merging, etc. In describing the exquisite and excellent craftsmanship required to produce the Chinese writing brush, the great poet, Mr. Bai Juyi (772–846 A.D.) said, “A writing brush is come (sic) from millions of hairs,” and “Although the hair is light, its (sic) [a] great service to all mankind.” The first Chinese calligraphy brush museum opened to the public in Huzhou city, Zhejiang Province.

The rapid development of politics and culture during the North Song Dynasty created a great opportunity for the publishing market. The flourishing feudal imperial examination system added fuel to the flames of the publishing business. At that time, the contents of publications included different fields of knowledge, such as Confusion classics, history, geography, Chinese medicine, agriculture, industry, astronomy, mathematics, literary works, religion classics, etc. In Zhejiang Province, many schools of thought had appeared everywhere, such as the Siming School of Thought (in the Ningbo area), the Yongjia School of Thought (in the Wenzhou area), the Jinhua School of Thought (in the Jinhua area), the Yongkang School of Thought (in the Jinhua area), etc. A lot of academic societies created the strong and pronounced academic environment unprecedented in the South Song Dynasty in Zhejiang Province.

In the Song Dynasty printing techniques in Hangzhou were the most sophisticated in the world. The technique of copperplate printing was invented during the the Song Dynasty and was the earliest use of this technique in the world. The techniques of bookbinding and layout for book publication were perfected during the Song Dynasty. It appeared the inkling for the formats in book binding and layout at that time (sic). The books of the Song Edition, which are the most precious rare books, are well known to all the world now because they are similar to the original editions with their exquisite and excellent printing. During the Song Dynasty, the engraving and publishing houses were divided into three categories, which were the official, family, and bookstore engraving and publishing houses. The family and bookstore engraving and publishing houses were private ones. The characteristic of the books from the official engraving and publishing house was excellent collating. Normally, it was necessary to proof read three times followed by a final proof. For shouldering the responsibility of the publication, the name of the collator was printed at the end of the book.

During the Xining Emperor (1068–1077 A.D.) of the North Song Dynasty, the control of engraving and publishing was emancipated, and private publishing houses grew faster. It became the common practice during the South Song Dy-

nasty. The private engraving and publishing houses in Lin An (now called Hangzhou) were first in the entire country. The bookstore engraving and publishing houses that functioned commercially developed earliest and were wide spread in China at that time. Normally, there were more than ten engravers in a bookstore publishing house with different responsibilities including engraving, printing, mounting, etc. Each responsibility had a “head,” the “manager,” etc. According to the historical record, the bookstore engraving and publishing houses stood in great numbers in Hangzhou, Wuxing of Zhejiang Province, Jianyang Country of Fujian Province, Jinling (now Nanjing City), and the Suzhou area of Jiangsu Province. The workshop for engraving wood blocks for printing was prosperous and thriving. The sound of engraving in the workshop without cease was like the striking of the Zheng (a 21 or 25 stringed, plucked musical instrument in some ways similar to the zither) and drum. At the end of a year, the engravers had to work overtime. The workshop was ablaze with light until late into the night.

To engrave the wood blocks for printing took a lot of time and work, and also occupied many rooms. The blocks could not be collated and letters could not be changed. During the Qinli Emperor (1041–1048 A.D.), Mr. Bi Sheng, an ordinary craftsman, created the letter board for printing in Hangzhou. This was a great revolution in printing technique. Mr. Bi Sheng’s innovation is evidence of the high level of development of the printing technique during the Song Dynasty, and it brought into full play this important function for later generations. This innovation occurred about 400 years earlier than Johaun Gensfleissh zun Gutenberg’s invention of movable type in Germany.

2. THE ANCIENT LIBRARIES OF TIANYI GE AND WENLAN GE CAST A BRIGHT AND BEAUTIFUL REFLECTION

Zhejiang is the home of book collecting. There is a saying that: “The country east of Zhejiang paid attention to book collections, while the country west of Zhejiang lifted up scholars of profound knowledge.” According to the statistics in “The Database of Book Collection History in Zhejiang,” compiled by the Zhejiang Library, there were 1,276 book collectors in Zhejiang Province from the Epoch of the Three Kingdoms to the founding of the People’s Republic of China (220–1949 A.D.). Fan Ping, a famous person from Qiantang (now Hangzhou) of Wu Prefecture, collected books of more than one hundred schools of thought during the Epoch of Three Kingdoms (220–265 A.D.). This library was inherited by Fan Ping’s grandson, Fan Wei, who had more than 7,000 volumes of books. Fan Wei accepted readers from near and far. During the Song Dynasty (960–1279 A.D.) many book collectors emerged because wood block printing fourished and prospered. According to the incomplete statistics from historical materials, there were 128 famous book collectors during that period. Thirty one of these collectors were from the Zhejiang Province, the highest number in the whole country. From then

on, book collectors in Zhejiang were continually growing. For instance, during the South Song Dynasty (1127–1279 A. D.), there was a giant book stack room in the area of the Xixi wetland near Hangzhou. In Zhejiang Province, there are eleven older libraries that still survive. Among them, one is the emperor's library, and ten of them are private libraries, including Mr. Fan Qin's Tianyi Ge Library in Ningbo City; Mr. Zhu Yizun's Pu Shuting Library in Wangdian Township, part of Jiaxing City; Mr. Huang Chenliang's Wugui Lou Library in Lianglong Township of Yuyao City; Mr. Jiang Guangyi's Xianfen Caotang Library in Haining County; Mr. Jiang Guangyu's Xijian Caotang Library in Ganpu Township of Haiyan County; Mr. Lu Xingyuan's Bisong Lou Library in Huzhou City; Mr. Sun Yiyan's Yuhai Lou Library in Rui An County; Mr. Xu Shulan's Guyue Library in Shaoxing City; Mr. Liu Chenggan's Jiaye Library in Nanxun Township of Huzhou City; and Mr. Feng Zhenqun's Fufu Shi Library in Ningbo City. Mr. Lu Zhi's Baojing Lou Library in Ningbo City, and Mr. Su Shidong's Shuibei Ge Library in Ning County of Ningbo City have been reconstructed in other locations or there are plans to do so.

The Tianyi Ge Ancient Library was set up during the rule of Jiajing Emperor of 40–45th (1561–1566 A.D.) in the Ming Dynasty. The owner of this library, Mr. Fan Qin, loved reading. After he resigned as a ministry officer in the government of the Jiajing Emperor, he returned to his hometown from which he then travelled extensively collecting many ancient books and records, especially concentrating on the documents of the Ming Dynasty in local historical records, records on the feudal imperial examination system, decrees and regulations, and poetry collections. After returning to his home, Mr. Fan Qin decided to purchase all the books of the Wanjuan Lou Library and the Jingsi Zhai Library. For many years he continued to work hard to accumulate a magnificent collection of more than 70,000 Juan rare books. Fan Qin took the name of "Tianyi" meaning, "Water comes from the heaven and everything will be success because of the six factors on earth," and "To take the water in order to avoid fire," for fighting against the calamity of fire. During the life of Fan Qin he made a strict rule against smoking and drinking wine in the library. Mr. Fan Dachong, Fan Qin's elder son who continued his father's collection, made another rule that: "The collection will never be scattered or separated from generation to generation. The books should never be brought out of the library." After 440 years of severe testing of this rule, the Tianyi Ge Library has become the earliest ancient library in China and one of the oldest libraries in the world to continue to exist.

The Wenlan Ge Library was one of the seven Qianlong Emperor's libraries in China where the "Siku Qianshu (four vaults of classics, history including geography, philosophy, arts and science, and collected works)" was stored. This library was located at the southern foot of Gushan, with the Bai Causeway on the left and the Siling Bridge on the right. It had a bird's-eye view of the whole West Lake scene. After the completion of this library, Qianlong Emperor paid a visit when he came to the south of China from Beijing for the sixth time. He wrote a poem enti-

tled: "On Wenlan Ge Library." In it it said: "Near here, there is a Fan's Tianyi Ge Library, Lucky to have Wenlan Ge Library in Paris. (sic)" There were three libraries in south China dating from the Qianling Emperor period. The Wenhui Ge Library and the Wenzhong Ge Library were both completely ruined in the flames of war. (The Wenhui Ge Library was destroyed in 1854 A.D. during the Taiping Rebellion; the Wenzhong Ge Library was destroyed in 1842 A.D. during the Opium War.) The only existing "Siku Quanshu" stored in the Wenlan Ge Library became a part of the Zhejiang Library's collection and became its most valuable treasure. In the book, "Shiye Xuan Bijì" ("Note book of the Lofty Persimmon leaves"), written by Mr. Hu Qian, Qing Dynasty (1644–1911 A.D.) scholar, Qian stated: "[the] Wenlan Ge [Library] 'Siku Quanshu' is the handwritten copy with 16 vertical lines with 21 characters in each line. The size of this book is 6 cun by 3.7 cun (19.8 cm. X 12.21 cm.). There are two treasure stamps in this book. 'The treasure boots (sic) of the Emperor with Seventy years of Age' is in the front page, while 'The Treasure of Qianlong Emperor Reading Book' is at the last page of this book. At the beginning of every set of this book, there is a capsule summary with general editors, while the general collators are at the last page of this book. The cover of this book used silk with different colour for each set of the book, which is the green colour for the classics, the red colour for history, light green colour for the philosophy and pink for the collection works of literature. The containers for holding the whole set of the book were made of nanmu." The "Siku Quanshu" of the Wenlan Ge Library suffered severe losses during the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864 A.D.). Through the extreme rescue efforts of the brothers, Ding Bing and Ding Shen, who searched for and collected the "Siku Quanshu," much of it was restored to its original condition. Mr. Qian Xun and Mr. Zhang Zhongxiang launched and organized an effort to seek after and to gather lost volumes and made up the missing books. During the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945 A.D.), Mr. Chen Xunci, director of the Zhenjiang Library, decided to move the "Siku Quanshu" of the Wenlan Ge Library and transported it thousands of miles to Chongqin City. It was all returned to Zhejiang after the victory of the Anti-Japanese War in 1945. So many people with lofty ideas had devoted their great spirit to preserve and protect the Wenlan Ge Library's "Siku Quanshu" in order that its greatness and excellent reputation might survive for the ages. Together with the Hangzhou Publishing House, the Zhejiang Library is publishing the Wenlan Ge "Siku Quanshu" by photolithography (all 36,278 volumes) in order to benefit young students and scholars.

By the end of the Qing Dynasty and at the beginning of the Republic of China, Mr. Liu Chenggan spared no effort and money to purchase, to copy, and to collect, as well as to engrave and reproduce rare books in order to save them from the flames of battle raging everywhere during the 1911 revolution. At that time the reproduced rare books were sold in large quantities by Liu Chenggan who loved China's traditional culture. Mr. Miao Quansun said in the preface to the book, "Jiaye Tang Congshu ("A Series Book of Jiaye Tang") that: "Almost all the rare

books from the famous library were belonged (sic) to Mr. Liu Chenggan, and the Jiaye Library became the richest library collection in China.” In 1920, Mr. Liu Chenggan, who had settled down in Shanghai, spent 120,000 yuan to buy about 20 MU (13,333.4 square meters) of land to build this library on the banks of the Zhegu River. The library was located on the west side of Xiao Lian Zhuang (Liu’s Family Shrine) in his hometown, Nanxun Township, Huzhou City. The name of this library was given by Puyi, the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty, who granted a splendid and magnificent horizontal plaque inscribed in gold with the words “Qin Ruo Jia Ye.” It was because of this that Mr. Liu Chenggan spent a large amount of money to plant trees at the tomb of Emperor Guangxu, the father of Puyi. The library was completed in 1924. At its zenith, the collection in this library had reached 180,000 volumes (about 600,000 Juan). The Jiaye Library is well-known in China not only for its tremendously large collection, but also for its use by scholars. It was completely open to the public, and even rare books were allowed to be copied. Moreover, this library also provided accommodations for its readers and scholars who came to read and copy the rare books. Looking far and wide at existing libraries during the time of the Republic of China, Mr. Liu Chenggan’s library collection held first place. It was second to none for engraving and publishing books. The following series were sent to the printers during this period: “Jiaye Tang Series” with fifty seven titles, “WuXing Series” with sixty six titles, “Liuyu Caotang Series” with eleven titles, and “Xigu Lou Series with Epigraphy.” Mr. Liu Chenggan added notes and commentary to many of the books in these series.

On November 19, 1951, Mr. Liu Chenggan delivered a deed-of-gift letter to Zhejiang Library. It said: “Chenggan’s lifelong aspiration will be entrusted [to] Zhejiang Library with all the books and materials which will be returned to the nature (sic). I’m really filled with joy. Therefore, I’m really willing to donate the library building with all the books in [it], the surrounding garden, the wood blocks for printing, as well as the different furniture and equipment to Zhejiang Library and hope to be preserved forever in order to promote the development of new China’s social cultural work (sic).” The deed-of-gift letter showed Mr. Liu Chenggan’s absolute sincerity. It also embodied the lofty ambition of changing the private into public property.

3. THE LOCAL CHRONICLES AND GENEALOGY WERE WELL ESTABLISHED AND VIGOROUSLY DEVELOPING

A country has its history, a local area has the local chronicles, and a family has its genealogy. Our forefather said, “To take the history as example in order to administer the state affairs. To take the local chronicles for the management of civilizing the masses (sic).” The local chronicles, which gather local documents together with special Chinese characters, were started and were flourishing in the Song

Dynasty (960–1279 A.D.). Three successive magistrates of the Lin An Prefecture compiled and cared for the famous Hangzhou Local Chronicles of the “Lin An Three Local Chronicles,” the “Lin An Chronicles of Qian Dao Emperor Period (1165–1173 A.D.),” the “Lan An Chronicles of Chun You Emperor Period (1241–1253 A.D.),” and the “Lin An Chronicles of Xian Chun Emperor Period (1265–1274 A.D.).” Following this period, the successive Hangzhou local governors of the past paid special attention to the compilation of the local chronicles. Drawing on the example of the compilation of the “Lin An Three Local Chronicles,” they had Hangzhou local chronicles compiled systematically and completely on a grand scale. Therefore, Hangzhou’s became one of the best of the local chronicles in China in both quality and quantity. Titles of 138 rare books in the Zhejiang local chronicles were collected in “The Bibliography of Zhejiang Library’s Ancient and Rare Books” which was published in November 2002.

Large numbers of outstanding people arose from generation to generation in Zhejiang’s history, and they wrote abundantly and published a great many books. Therefore, the manufacture in this region of engraving wood blocks and letter boards in order to print the works of prominent, native personages prospered and took first place in China. Mr. Zuo Yuxi, who was from Mingzhou (now Ningbo City) during the Song Dynasty (960–1279 A.D.), engraved and published the book, “Baichuan Xuehai” (“Learning from a Hundred Schools of Thought”), which opened a new era of book publication. During the early period of the establishment of the Zhejiang Library, an engraving and printing institute was attached to the library which carried on engraving and publishing work. In 1914, “Zhejiang Tongzhi” (General Chronicles of Zhejiang Province”) and eleven other titles printed with wood blocks were sent to be exhibited at the International Panamanian Expo (sic). [Most likely this was the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915. The editor.] In 1919, Mr. Gong Baoquan, director of the Zhejiang Library and son-in-law of Mr. Zhang Taiyan, managed to engrave and print fifteen titles of the “Zhang’s Series,” edited by Zhang Taiyan. By this time, the Zhejiang Library had collected about 150,000 individual wood blocks for printing 239 book titles. All these publications were held in high esteem by Chinese colleagues for their distinguished and elegant appearance, quality, variety, and quantity.

Every towering old tree has its roots, and every river has its source. Genealogy, which is a strong force in the centralization of culture, is the historical record of a family’s common ancestry, blood relationship, and the outstanding deeds of individuals. These historical books written in a biographical style, that is, local chronicles and genealogy, formed the three mainstays of Chinese historical institutions and became the most valuable historical cultural heritage. In 2005, Zhejiang Library used every means to organize a group of scholars and specialists (more than 180 colleagues were asked to participate) in a three year project to compile and publish “An Annotated General Bibliography of Zhejiang Genealogy.” This bibliography collected and described more than 12,000 genealogy titles about the Zhejiang Province. An automated database was also established to provide more

convenient access for users. This database can be augmented with new information at anytime, and it provides digital service through a network platform.

China has a long history of inventing printing techniques and a broad and deep traditional culture. Since the end of the Ming Dynasty, however, modern printing technology has lagged behind the west because of long-term feudal rule and economic recession. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, especially after China began to follow the policy of Opening and Reformation (1978 A.D.), we have achieved the well-known great success in construction of materials and spiritual civilization. The fast cultural development forcefully pushed forward great progress in printing, publishing, and its interrelated businesses. By firmly carrying out the policy of Opening and Reformation, the common people will be made rich and the country will be made powerful. The culture of the east and the west will be in perfect harmony. The interaction of the scientific and technology with cultural development will certainly bring a great rejuvenation to the Chinese Nation and will make a new and great contribution to world civilization.

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ON THE INVENTION OF WOOD BLOCKS FOR PRINTING IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT

In the discussion among scholars in China and abroad, there are various points of view regarding the invention of the technique of using Chinese wood blocks for printing. There is no conclusion that is convincing to all scholars. The author of this paper tries to put forward some convincing arguments in order to come to a clear conclusion regarding the historical period of this significant invention.

KEYWORDS

Wood blocks for printing
Invention
Printing cultural heritage

In the discussion among scholars in China and abroad, there are various points of view regarding the invention of the technique of using Chinese wood blocks for printing. I have searched many Chinese historical documents and found some remarkable evidence to prove that the invention of using Chinese wood blocks for printing occurred in the early Tang Dynasty (618–713 A.D.). I hope to provide convincing arguments in order to come to a clear conclusion regarding the historical period of this significant invention.

1. SOME STRONG ARGUMENTS AND VALID REASONS THAT SHOULD NOT BE IGNORED

1.1 A paper entitled “On the Origin of Chinese Printing Technique” was written by a Japanese scholar, Mr. Kiichiro Kanda, and it appeared in the monthly periodical, “Imperial Palace Relics,” issue No. 6, 7, 1988 published in Taiwan. In this paper, the author quoted Fa Zang, an eminent monk in the early Tang Dynasty, who made a point of explaining the Buddhist Scripture in the book of “Huayan Wujiao Zhang (Five Chapters of Huayan Scripture)” and “Huayan Jing Tanxuan Ji (A Record on Exploring the Intelligent View on Huayan Scripture).” It put forward a theory that the printing technique was invented in the early Tang Dynasty in China.

“Huayan Wujiao Zhang (Five Chapters of Huayan Scripture)” was written by the eminent monk Fa Zang, and said that: “Before and after the religious sect started popularizing the Buddhist doctrine as usual, all the Buddhist doctrine was merged in the second and seventh day. Sometimes it said the second is before the seventh day, and vice versa. It was something like the printing method in the society. In reading a paper, it was necessary to read sentence by sentence and it happened earlier and later. If we printed something, it can be developed at the same time. It is naturally and not against the truth. We have to understand this theory and try to think it over.”

In the second volume of “Huayan Jing Tanxuan Ji (A Record on Exploring the Intelligent View on Huayan Scripture),” which was written by the eminent monk Fa Zang, it said that: “If you ask the reason of earlier and later, the answer is that like the printing paper, if we read the paper, it has earlier and later, but to print a paper, it is at the same time.”

Here there is a formulation of “Printing Technique” and “Printing-paper.” The eminent monk Fa Zang was a great successor of “Huayan Jing (Huayan Scripture),” and often used a special educational methodology to instruct Buddhist followers. In order to make the broad and profound doctrine vivid in his teaching, he took the difficult matter of the Buddhist doctrine and explained it in a simple and explicit way. For the purpose of helping the audience understand easily, he often drew on ordinary life for supporting metaphors. “In reading an article, it was necessary to read sentence by sentence and it happened earlier and later.” And, “If we print something, it can be developed at the same time. If you ask the reason of earlier and later, the answer is that like the printing article, if we read a paper, there are earlier and later, but to print the paper, it will happen at the same time.” From these two quotations, we can understand that when an eminent monk instructed [others in] the Buddhist doctrine, the content of his teaching happened earlier and later, like reading the paper. [But] if we print the paper, it will happen at the same time. The eminent monk took this well-chosen example and made a broad and profound theory easily understood.

In the “Dictionary of Explaining or Illustrated the Buddhist Doctrine,” compiled by the Japanese scholar, Mr. Kyo Yuzuru Matsubara, it said that “The eminent monk Fa Zang wrote the book of ‘Huayan Jing Tanxuan Ji’ when he was 45–50 years old.” In this way, Mr. Kiichiro Kanda believed that this thing happened in the 4th year of the Si Shen Emperor (687 A.D.). Actually, it was in the 3rd year of the Chuigong Emperor to the 3rd year of the Tian Shou Emperor (687–692 A.D.) in the Tang Dynasty. On the other hand, Mr. Satoru Sakae, another Japanese scholar, wrote a book entitled “Teaching Materials of Huayan Wujiao Zhang,” and in it he said that: “The eminent monk Fa Zang wrote the book of ‘Huayan Wujiao Zhang’ before he wrote the book of ‘Huayan Jing Tanxuan Ji.’” According to Mr. Kiichiro Kanda’s estimate, the book of “Huayan Wujiao Zhang” was completed in about the second year of the Tang Gaozong Feng Yi Emperor (677 A.D.), “when the eminent monk Fa Zang was around 30 years old.”

During the period of the Tang Gaozong Emperor (650–683 A.D.), the printing method was cited as an example in the instruction of Buddhist doctrine and helped Buddhist followers (disciples) understand Buddhist theory. It is obvious that the activity of producing books with wood blocks for printing was not rare. If it were seldom seen, it would not have qualified as an example for clearing up doubts. If this is true, I believe that Chinese wood blocks for printing were invented early in the Tang Dynasty. In a word, it is believable that the invention of wood blocks for printing occurred in the mid to later [part] of the 7th century in China.

1.2 In the book, “Zi Zhi Tong Jian,” vol. 204, “Tang Ji,” vol. 20, the author, Mr. Si Maguang (1019–1086 A.D.), in the Song Dynasty, recorded a story of the Emperor Wu Zetian [who] sent a printed paper to Mr. Wang Qingzhi on October of the second year of the Tian Shou Emperor (691 A.D.).

“On October of the 2nd year of Tian Shou Emperor (691 A.D.), Qin Changqian, Ge Fuyuan and Wang Tong were all punished to death. Mr. Wang Qingshi paid his respects to the Empress Wu Zetian. The Empress said: ‘The Emperor wanted to inherit my son as his successor, and what’s the reason of this dethrone. (sic)’ Mr. Qingzhi answered that: ‘God doesn’t enjoy other type of work, the ordinary people doesn’t make sacrificial offerings to others. Today, who is the master of the land (China) and why do we have to let Li’s family as successor?’ After the Empress heard his answer, she got angry, and Mr. Wang Qingzhi laid on the ground and cried for his view, hung on and refuse to clear up. The Empress sent him the ‘Printed-paper’ and said: ‘If you want to see me, just show this ‘Printed-paper’ to the palace gate keeper.’ From then on, Mr. Wang Qingzhi paid visits frequently. The Empress got angry and ordered her servant Li Zhao de to give him a punishment.” Here the word of “Printed-paper” appeared again. It seemed this “Printed-paper” [was] like the certificate for entering the forbidden palace. At that time, it was extremely hard to enter the Emperor’s Forbidden Palace. If there was no certificate, it was extremely difficult to pay a visit to the Empress. This certificate was designed in a certain format, and it was not imitated easily. Therefore, it was necessary to print the paper.

1.3 In a book of “Tang Liu Dian” vol. 20 “Tai Fu Si,” it said that: “your servant, who is in charge of judgement work in the government’s temple. Nobody is allowed to enter the stack room to read anything. If anyone wants to write somebody or something and put into the stack room, it is necessary to write on a notebook. There are four pieces of big printed-paper for every month. Other officers and I will sign and keep one copy in the stack room. It will be collected and delivered to the government departments every season.” Here, the “big printed-paper” meant to carve the letters on a large piece of wooden board and to use the big sheet of paper to print.

1.4 In a book of “Jiu Tang Shu” vol. 50 “Shi Huo Zhi Xia,” it said that: “The intermediary in the market should give the Printed-paper to all the merchants. They

have to take notes about the trading business and must be counted and deliver to the office. If anyone made the trade and did not use the 'Printed-paper,' he has to use the private notebook. If there is no private notebook, he will be plaint or indictment. (sic)" This record describes that in the Tang Dynasty, there was an intermediary in the trading market. The intermediary distributed the 'Printed-paper' to all the merchants, who had to record the situation or circumstances in his business and should be reckoned up next day. Probably, this "Printed-paper" was the certificate of the trader for paying the commodity-tax. A large quantity of these certificates was needed, and the certificates also required the same format, a format which would be difficult to imitate. Therefore, it was necessary to print them.

1.5 In a book of "Tang Hui Yao" vol. 84 "Za Shui," the following message from the 4th year of the Jian Zhong Period of the De Zhong Emperor in the Tang Dynasty was recorded: "The tax of the trade both public or private in this country should be paid one Guan. If it is counted in the original way, it will be 20 Yi, If it is plus others, and it will be 50 Yi. It could also be repay goods with goods, but it should be counted on the base of money. The intermediary in the market should give the 'Printed-paper' to all the merchants. They had to take notes on the trading business. It should also be calculated and delivered to the office. If anyone made trade and did not use the 'Printed-paper,' He had to use the private notebook. If there is no private notebook, he had to be plaint or indictment. (sic)" The record of this paragraph is similar to the book of "Jin Tang Shu Shi Huo Zhi." It is only indicated [in] the particular year of 783 A.D.

1.6 In a book of "Ai Ri Zhai Cong Cao" vol. 1, a record about wood blocks for printing various comprehensive books in Chengdu before the 3rd year of the Zhong He Period of the Tang Xi Zhong Emperor (883 A.D.) was quoted. In a book of "The Preface of Liu's Family Education," which was written by Liu Pin (?-894 A.D.) it said that: "in the summer of the 3rd year of Zhong He Period, the Emperor Luan Yu (Xi Zong) had stayed in Sichuan for three years. I was a secretary of the local government. I spent my summer holiday, and went to the Southeast part of Chengdu City to read the books. Most of the books were about the practice divination on the positive and negative principles in nature, the ancient music tone, the legend and the fairy tales, dictionaries, and the Chinese character study etc. All of them were the wood blocks printing paper materials. The paper was contaminated and not easy to read and understand (see "The Si Ku Quan Shu" Zi Section "Ai Ri Zhai Cong Chao" vol. 1.)

The story of "Emperor Luan Yu was in Sichuan" is that: "During the final stage of Tang Dynasty, the peasant Wang Xianzhi and Huang Chao led the peasant uprising and captured the capital city of Dong Jing and Xi Jing. The Emperor Xi Zong had to escape to Chengdu, Sichuan Province. 'The 3rd year of Zhong He Period' said that the Emperor Xi Zong had stayed in Chengdu for three years. Therefore, it said that: "Luan Yu was in Sichuan for three years. In this summer,

Mr. Liu Pin spent his holiday in Southeast Chengdu City to read the books. Although these books were not the major administrative documents of the imperial court, they were the wood blocks for printing materials and the Printed-papers were contaminated.” This fact shows that the book market in Chengdu City was full of wood blocks for printing books before 883 A.D. This was also called “Wood Blocks for Printing paper.”

2. SOME ISSUES IN NEED OF CAREFUL STUDY

2.1 Regarding Fa Zang (643–712 A.D.): He was known by many names, Xian Shou, Guoyi Fashi, Xiang Xiang Dashi, Kang Zang Guoshi, etc. His last name was Kang. His ancestors were from Kang Ju (in the North Xinjiang Autonomous Region and Mid-Asia). His grandfather moved his family to the Central Plains (the place comprises the middle and lower reaches of Huanghe River) and settled down in Chang An (now, Xi An City). In his early years, Fa Zang prostrated himself to Zhiyan as Master, and concentrated on the Huayan doctrine and achieved a high level of understanding. After Zhiyan’s death, Zang, at 28 years of age, shaved his head and became a monk. At first, he took part in translation work with an eminent monk, Yi Jing, because he was proficient in different local languages in the western part of China as well as Sanskrit. He translated more than ten titles of scriptures, like the “New Huayan Scriptures,” “Da Cheng Ru Leng Jia Jing,” etc. He was lucky to have an opportunity to explain “The Ten Origins of Huayan Scriptures” to the Empress Wu Zetian. He took the golden lion in the palace as an example and made the Empress suddenly see the light and clearing up (sic). Later on, he wrote a book called “Golden Lion Chapter.” In his whole life, the eminent monk Fa Zang propagandised “Huayan Scriptures,” and wrote the books of “Huayan Wujiao Zhang,” “Huayan Jing Tanxuan Ji,” “Huayan Liaojian,” “Huayan Gangmu,” “Huayan Xuanyi Zhang,” etc., which were all related to the “Huayan Scriptures.” Fa Zang died at 70 years of age in the 1st year of the Tian Yuan Period of Tang Hong Zong (712 A.D.). Here, we can understand that Fa Zang died in the first stage of the Tang Dynasty. Of course, his works of “Huayan Wujiao Jing” and “Huayan Jing Tanxuan Ji” were published in this period. Therefore, the contents of the books took place before this time. When Fa Zang explained the “Huayan Jing” to the Empress Wu Zetian, he used the golden lion as an example and made the Empress clearing up (sic). From this event, we can see that the eminent monk Fa Zang was an expert with figures of speech and made the theoretical easy to understand. Therefore, it is easy to know that the eminent monk used the “Printed-paper” to explain the theory of “Huayan Wujiao Jing” and “Huayan Jing Tanxuan Ji.” He said, “When we explain the scriptures, we have to make sentence by sentence, chapter by chapter, but the conclusion should be at the end. It is like reading an article; we must read sentence by sentence, and it happens earlier and later. But to print paper, it can be completed at the same time.” As everyone

knows, if we make an example for explaining something, this example must be easily understood by all, and accustomed to seeing such things (sic). Such an example must take place frequently in the society. On the other hand, if we make the example one that is rarely known to the common people, it will not achieve the good result. If it is naturally (sic), the book of “Huayan Wujiao Zhang” was published in 677 A.D. The example of ‘Printed-paper’ would have been a popular concept in the social life of the time, and it was commonly used and understood by the common people of the time. ‘Printed-paper’ existed commonly before 677 A.D. This, then, is good evidence for the invention of wood blocks for printing having appeared during the early or middle period of the seven century in the Tang Dynasty in China.

2.2 After the word, Printed-paper, appeared in the book of “Huayan Wujiao Zhang” another event happened: the Empress Wu Zetian sent her ‘Printed-paper’ to Mr. Wang Qingzhi, and said: “If you want to see me, just show this ‘Printed-paper’ to the palace gate keeper in the 2nd year of Tian Shou (691 A.D.).” The story goes like this. Mr. Wang Qingzhi, who was from Luo Yang, and was incited by Mr. Zhang Jiafu, an officer in the government secretary office, and mustered hundreds of young ruffians to file the suit to dethrone the prince and to propose naming Mr. Wu Cheng, who was the Empress Wu Zetian’s nephew, as the new prince. At first, the Empress Wu Zetian asked the Right Prime Minister, Qin Changqian, the 3rd grade government officer, who was in charge of the cultural and the government’s secretary department. Changqian said: “The prince is in the East Palace, and it is better not to discuss this proposal, and hope to criticize Mr. Wang Qingzhi.” Then, the Empress asked another Prime Minister Ge Fuyaun, who was in charge of the country’s land and the office discussion of the government’s policies. Fuyaun denied Mr. Wang Qingzhi’s proposal. Both Qin Changqian and Ge Fuyaun ran counter to the Empress’s wish. Together with other criminals, Mr. Qin Changqian, Ge Fuyaun and Wang Tong were punished to capital offence (sic). Therefore, Mr. Wang Qingzhi paid his respects to the Empress and lay down on the ground; he persisted in this and refused to get up. The Empress sent him the ‘Printed-paper’ and said: “If you want to see me, just show this ‘Printed-paper’ to the doorkeeper.” Obviously, since the Empress sent this ‘Printed-paper’ it must be the certificate for entering the palace. This printed certificate was called ‘Printed-paper’ by people during the Tang Dynasty. It is clear that this ‘Printed-paper’ must have had a special format with printed characters on it. When the palace guard saw it, it would be understood that this was the certificate for entrance. This certificate must have been specially designed with a uniform format which would be very difficult to imitate. It was special printed material used in the palace for security.

2.3 The sentence, “There were four pieces of big printed-paper for every month as the counted book,” was quoted from the book of “Tang Liu Dian – Tai Fu Si.”

This account book would be filled out by the officers in the central government temple. This account book must have had a table, which was carved on a wood block and printed and was called 'Printed-paper.' According to the record in the book of "Tang Liu Dian" vol. 30, Tang Xuan Zong ordered Lu Xiu to write this book during the 10th year of the Kai Yuan Period (722 A.D.). The Emperor wrote six words about classics, religion, politics, rites, criminal law, and affairs on white hemp paper and told Mr. Lu Jian to write in according to these subjects. Then, it was entrusted to Xu Jian with this matter. After one year's preparation, he still could not make a decision. Later on, Mr. Fu Xiong, Yu Qing and Wei Shu were asked to write this book, and six other departments were also asked to take notes on the course of change and development. Later, the Minister of Culture and Education, Zhang Jiuling, also got involved in this work. This book was completed in the 23rd year of the Kai Yuan Period (735 A.D.) in the period of the Tang Xuan Zong Emperor. Li Linpu (Minister of Rites) was ordered to write notes and delivered them to the Emperor in his own name in the 27th year of the Kai Yuan Period (739 A.D.). From this fact, we can understand that the completion of this book of "Tang Liu Dian" was not later than the 27th year of the Kai Yuan Period. The sentence, "There were four pieces of big 'Printed-paper' as registration book every month," was in the book of "Tang Liu Dian." It is clear that the functional government department used the 'Printed-paper' of Table (sic) to report their work and to put it into the stack (sic) room. This kind of register book was called 'Printed-paper' at that time.

2.4 The sentence, "The intermediary in the market should gave the 'Printed-paper' to all the merchants" was quoted from the books of "Jiu Tang Shu Shi Huo Zhi" and "Tang Hui Yao." This event happened in the 4th year of the Jian Zhong Period of the Tang De Zong Emperor (783 A.D.). Obviously, this 'Printed-paper' was a registry paper used by the intermediary in the market. In the trading market, the trading records should be registered everyday, and the items recorded should be consistent. Therefore, it was necessary to print a table in the same form. This kind of printed record in the form of a table was called 'Printed-paper' by the Tang people. So, we can deduce the invention of wood blocks for printing, which had happened during this period of time, and there is no doubt about it. Perhaps some people will put forward questions regarding printed-paper or press-paper and how we formed a judgment regarding wood blocks for printing. This question can be answered in the following paragraph from the book of "The Preface of Liu's Family Education" by Mr. Liu Pin written during the Tang Dynasty.

2.5 Mr. Liu Pin (?-894 A.D.) came from Hua Yuan (now the Yao County in Shan Xi Province). His father was Liu Zhongying. He was proficient in classics and was given the title of Ji Di (a title of passing the Imperial Examination), and he held the concurrent post of government secretary. At the beginning of the Zhong De Period (881-885 A.D.), he went to Chengdu City and got a post as the local govern-

ment secretary. During the 3rd year of the Zhong De Period, he spent his summer holiday going to the southeast part of Chengdu City to read books. All of the books were on paper printed from wood blocks. The ‘Printed-papers’ were contaminated and not of a high quality. Here, the ‘Printed-paper’ was not a certificate for entrance through the Palace Gate, not business trading records in the market, and also not the registry book for the stack room. It is exactly wood blocks for printing books. From this fact, we can understand that to print one piece of paper, like the certificate or to print the registry book, all of them were called ‘Printed-paper’ by the people of the Tang Dynasty. Therefore, the word, ‘Printed-paper,’ can be an important piece of evidence in discussing the historical period of the invention of wood blocks for printing.

In a word, we hold that the invention of wood blocks for printing happened in the early mid-seventh century or at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty. I hope that it is not a strained interpretation.

2.6 Earlier, we discussed the technique of using wood blocks for printing being accepted by the central government and happening in the 3rd year of the Chang Xing Period of the Later Lang Ming Zong Emperor (932 A.D.). The book of “Jiu Jing” was printed in Guo Zi Jian (The Imperial College) at that time. Actually, the Imperial College used the technique of wood blocks for printing books, which was started in the 2nd year of the Tian Cheng Period of the Later Tang Ming Zong Emperor. There was an article in the book, “Wen Ding Ji” vol. 10, “The Postscript of the Important Planks in Government Platform in Zhen Guan Emperor Period of Tang Dynasty (627–649 A.D.)” by Wang Ying Cheng in the Song Dynasty from the “Si Ku Quan Shu.” It said that: “This book is the edition of wood blocks for printing in Wuzhou local government printing workshop. There were many mistakes in this book because it was produced in the local printing workshop, and there were no other similar book for collation. On August 32nd year of Shao Xing Emperor (1162 A.D.), occasionally I paid a visit to Mr. Liu Ziju’s house in the West Lake, he showed me this book, which had passed five generations. I considered that it is the edition of the Guo Zi Jian (The Imperial College) printed in the 2nd year of Tian Cheng Period of Later Tang Ming Zong Emperor. After I made comparison, the conclusion was that each has its own merits. I made some correction and leave the question open, and hoped the other day to find the rare books, reference books, the substantial evidence, or the historical books for correction. This message was written in Aug. 21/1162.”

The author of the book of “Wen Ding Ji” was Wang Yingcheng (1118–1176 A.D.); his style name was Shen Xi, and he came from Yushan Country, Xinzhou (now Shangrao City, Jiangxi Province). At first, his first name was Yang. After he achieved Number One Jin Shi (title of passing the imperial examination) in the 5th year of the Shaoxing Emperor in the South Song Dynasty, Gao Zong Emperor made a suggestion to change his name to Yingcheng. At the beginning, he was assigned to do recruiting work in the Zhen Dong Army. Then he worked in the sec-

retary department. In the 32nd year of the Shaoxing Emperor (1162 A.D.), he was assigned as the magistrate of Fuzhou Prefecture. At last, he became the Minister of Interior (who was in charge of appointment, promotion, and dismissal of government officials) and sub-chancellor of the highest literary degree in the central government college of literature in the capitol. He died at 59 years of age in the 3rd year of the Chun Xi Emperor (1176 A.D.).

In the postscript of the book of “Zhen Guan Zheng Yao (The Important Planks in Government Platform in Zhen Guan Emperor Period of Tang Dynasty 627–649 A.D.),” it said that: “This books is the edition of wood blocks for printing in Wuzhou (now Jinhua Gity in Zhenjiang Province) Local Government Printing Workshop.” Anyway, there were many mistakes in this book, and there was no other similar book for collation. On August 32nd year of Shaoxing Emperor, I paid a visit to Mr. Liu Ziju’s house in the West Lake. He showed me a book, which had passed on five generations. I considered that it is the edition of Guo Zi Jian (The Imperial College) printed in 2nd year of Tian Cheng Period of Late Tang Ming Zong (927 A.D.). That is what we know that this book is the earliest record of the four titles of wood blocks for printing book published in Guo Zi Jian (The Imperial College of the Central Government (sic)).”

3. CONCLUSION

Above we have discussed the different citations of the use of ‘Printed-paper.’ Whether we look at the Empress Wu Zetian’s palace entrance certificate of ‘Printed-paper’ of August, 691, or the large sheet of ‘Printed-paper’ used as a registry book in “Tang Liu Dian” in 739, or the distribution by middlemen (intermediaries) of ‘Printed-paper’ to all the merchants as trading business records in the text of “Jiu Tang Shu” in 783, all of them are practical and important evidence of the technique of printing with wood blocks adopted by the central government of the Tang Dynasty. On the other hand, the eminent monk Fa Zang completed his work of “Huayan Wujiao Zhang” at about 30 years of age (ca. 677 A.D.), and he used ‘Printed-paper’ as a metaphor to teach the profound “Huayan Jing” in simple terms, etc. The author of this paper is convinced that in the course of the development of wood blocks for printing the technology moved from simple to complex, from small to large quantity, and expanded to every aspect of society. The author also believes that this technology progressed toward completion step by step from the beginning of the Tang Dynasty to the Song Dynasty. Of course, this great invention of human civilization can not be expected to provide results overnight. Until the government adopted the technique of wood blocks for printing books on a large scale, human civilization did not make the leap to a new historical stage.

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THE CALLIGRAPHY AND PRINTING CULTURAL HERITAGE OF GANSU – THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGRAVED PRINTING PROCESS AND PAPERMAKING: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

The Gansu Region is one of the birthplaces of Chinese culture, and it is also one of the locations of Chinese book production. In spite of rare evidence in historical documents, the study of archaeology has revealed bamboo strips, Dunhuang posthumous papers, paper from the West Han Dynasty (206–24 B.C.), ancient Chinese calligraphy brushes, etc. All of these provide important evidence for the study of China's history of calligraphy and printed cultural heritage. However, there is still no complete systematic monographic study on calligraphy and printed culture in the Gansu Region. This paper will emphasize the development and editions of Dunhuang posthumous papers and features of the paper making techniques in the Gansu Region.

KEYWORDS

Wood block printing
Paper making techniques
Formats of book decoration
Writing tools
Gansu province
Dunhuang

Gansu is among the areas with the longest history of book development and production. The unique geographical location and natural conditions, together with the unique history of the region, have determined the diversity and distinctness of the ancient calligraphy and printing heritage in this area. The 65,000 pieces of bamboo slips excavated in Gansu, the earliest book objects, have provided us with substantial evidence for research on the history of printing supplementing evidence available in literature. At the latest, at the end of the 9th century or in the beginning of the 10th century – in the time of the late Tang Dynasty and the beginning of the Five Dynasties – Sutra and Buddhist icons were being printed in Gansu, one of the first areas where the engraved printing process was to be found

in China. The books excavated from the Sutra cave, Mokao Grotto of Tunhuang, have indicated that the method of thread/rope bookbinding was invented in the middle of the Tang Dynasty. The discovery of ancient paper in Gansu proves that paper had been invented in the 2nd century B.C., bringing the time of the invention of paper to 284 years earlier than had been thought. The excavation of calligraphy brushes and ink stones reflects the constant development and evolutionary characteristics of ancient writing tools, which also proves the historical fact of “dabbling bamboo sticks with paints for writing.” The author’s aim is to understand better the academic community of Gansu and its role and value in the history and development of print culture through the substantial materials of calligraphy and printing found in Gansu.

1. BAMBOO SLIPS

Bamboo slips, as the carrier of characters, followed bones or tortoise shells as antecedents to paper, and they were used extensively for writing after the decline of bones and tortoise shells and before the invention of paper. Bamboo slips have a history of nearly 2,000 years from the Shanghai Dynasty (17th century B.C.) to the Jin Dynasty (after 300 A.D.). With the invention of paper and the application of printing, paper gradually became a substitute for the bamboo slip. Bamboo slips, the material for writing, the system for producing books and archives which had been used for 2,000 years, decayed or were buried deeply under ground. The actual circumstances of their decline became unknown to later generations. There is no substantial evidence except for sporadic records, and they have almost become a blank in the history of culture. This was true until the early 19th century when a number of Chinese bamboo slips were discovered along the line of Loulan, Niya and The Tunhuang Great Wall on the northeast border of China, and scholars saw them as substantial examples of literary and information carriers from 2,000 years ago. Now, altogether 65,000 pieces of bamboo slips have been excavated in Gansu, making it the area where the largest number of bamboo slips has been found. In terms of the span of time, those bamboo slips, written in Chinese, Kharosthi, Tibetan, Uigur, and Western Xia characters, cover five dynasties including Qin, Han, Jin, Tang, and the Western Xia dynasties. Bamboo slips from the Qin and Han dynasties account for the majority. The bamboo slips excavated as a part of archaeological studies, as the earliest book objects, have provided us with substantial evidence to support research on the history of the bamboo slip system supplementing the literature on this historical period.

1.1 Proving the Publishing System in the Han Dynasty

The word “book” refers to an object on which characters are written or printed on special material in a certain form which is used by people for reading and commu-

nicating knowledge. Bamboo slips can be considered the earliest official “books” in China. From the Spring and Autumn Period to the Western Jin Dynasty, most “books” in China were made of wooden or bamboo slips. In the Qin and Han Dynasty, there have been systems for using bamboo slips as books. For example, texts of different content were transcribed on slips of different length. During the Han Dynasty, it was prescribed that classics should be transcribed on slips of 2.4 Chi (about 0.565 meters). According to *Mingmingjue Lunheng*, *The Book of Changes*, *The Book of Songs*, *Shang Shu*, *The Book of Rites*, *The Book of Music*, and *The Spring and Autumn Annals* should be transcribed on slips of 2.4 Chi, *The Book of Filial Piety* on 1.2 Chi, and *The Analects of Confucius* on 0.8 Chi. This is the ancient system. *Sheduan Lunheng* says that “the classics should be transcribed on 2.4 Chi slips.” According to the *Biography of Cao Bao: the History of the Later Han Dynasty*, “150 pieces of articles concerning the crowning, wedding and funeral of emperors to common people are written on the slips of 2.4 Chi.” According to the *Biography of Zhou Pan: History of the Later Han Dynasty*, “the classics of Yao are edited on the 2.4 Chi slips.” In 1959, *The Book of Rites*, a book written on bamboo slips during the East Han Dynasty (25 A.D. – 220 A.D.) was excavated in Wuwei. This bamboo slips book was published by people living in the Han Dynasty, and it was made from the longest bamboo slips ever discovered in China from this dynasty. Two versions of this book exist. One is inscribed on bamboo slips with the length of 56.5 cm. and a width of 0.9 cm., a dimension equal to 2 Chi and 4 Cun in the Han Dynasty. The other is inscribed on wooden slips with the length of 55.5 cm. and the width of 0.75 cm., a dimension also equal to 2 Chi and 4 Cun in the Han dynasty.¹

1.2 Displaying Book Forms in the Qin and Han Dynasty

The forms named Jian and Du vary with their usage and their method of fabrication. Jiandu excavated in the Gansu Province boasts the forms of Die, Jian, Du, Xi, Zha, Qian, Jian, Gu, Ce, Fu, Chuan, Guosuo, etc. according to the titles of the books. It was recorded in ancient literature that Jian exclusively refers to bamboo slips while Du exclusively stands for the wooden slips. However, as a matter of fact, Jian may also be made of wooden slips and Du are not always wooden. The difference between Jian and Du actually does not consist in their materials but in their forms with the narrow ones called Jian and the broad ones called Du. Bamboo and wood can be made into not only Jian but also Du. Jian and Du were used for distinct purposes in ancient times with Jian used mainly for contents with more characters like book texts, decrees, and important official documents. Du was used primarily for ordinary documents, agreements, and letters. Jian compiled in certain numbers is called Ce. The books published during the period when Ce prevailed possess different forms owing to their contents, usages, and convenience of fabrication. There are mainly three forms of Ce which were discovered in the Gansu Province: Jian, Du, and Gu.

1.2.1 Jian

1. Jian in the Qin Dynasty

Jian of the Qin Dynasty was discovered in Fangmatan, Tianshui in Gansu Province in 1986. It was excavated from the tomb of a resident in the country of Qin in the late War Period. *The Book of Augury*, excavated in Tianshui, is the second book ever discovered on the culture in the Qin Dynasty. *The Book of Augury* was written on 452 bamboo slips of two types. Type A consists of 73 bamboo slips that are each 27.5 cm. long, 0.7cm.wide, and 0.2 cm. thick. Type B consists of 379 bamboo slips that are 23 cm. long. There always were three binding ropes around the book with a space of 1 cm. respectively left on both ends. The characters on the bamboo slips were written on the yellowish sides in Lishu (an ancient style of calligraphy) with an ordinary number of 25–40 characters on each slip and the largest number of characters, 49, on one slip. All the characters in *The Book of Augury* (Type A) were inscribed on the yellowish sides of the bamboo slips and no characters existed on the cyan sides. The characters were laid out in vertical order and covered the whole bamboo slip. There was generally one message in the first column and the rest of the chapter was finished in order. The key parts of the chapter were indicated with a stress symbol “.” as a reminder, and a symbol “I” was used to indicate the chapters.

2. Jian in the Han Dynasty

Let's examine the Jian discovered in Juyan, Gansu Province. There are seven types of Jian in the Han Dynasty which differ in their dimensions: Jian with a length of 22 cm. and a width of 1–1.3 cm.; Jian with a length of 22.5 cm. and a width of 1.13 cm.; Jian with a length of 23 cm. and a width of 1.1 cm.; Jian with a length of 24 cm. and a width of 1.3 cm.; Jian with a length of 27 cm. and a width of 1.2 cm.; Jian with a length of 30 cm. and a width of 1 cm.; Jian with a length of 38.5 cm. and a width of 1.5 cm. Jian with a length of 23 cm. and a width of 1.1 cm prevailed in number, and this type was called Chi Du. Actually, Jian with the length ranging from 22 cm to 24 cm was also called Chi Du. Chi Du was the ordinary Jian used for dealing with routine matters. However, Jian exceeding the length of 30 cm was not referred to as Chi Du and exclusively used for promulgating decrees, regulations, and other important documents which differed from the other ordinary documents. They were made of pine tree, fir, poplar, and willow tree wood and were seldom made of bamboo. The choice of materials for making Jian significantly varied with the times, character, and grade of the official documents. Pine tree wood was popularly used for Jian prior to the reign of Emperor Aidi in the Han Dynasty. All four woods were used before and after the rule of Wan Mang (a ruler during the Han Dynasty from 8 A.D. to 23 A.D.) with pine used primarily for the comparatively more important documents and the other three woods used for ordinary documents. The characters inscribed on the slips made of pine were more standard in form while the characters on the slips made of

the other materials were scribbled, which might account for the advantage of pine in making the slips.

1.2.2 Du

The major characteristic of Du lies in its greater width than that of Jian, while they had similar lengths. Generally, Jian had a width approximating 1 cm. and those exceeding 2 cm. were called Du rather than Jian. Du was often used for the ending of the official documents, the final part of the account book, shopping list, medical prescription, private letters and sealed letters, etc. Du was used for drawings, especially maps. Therefore, in ancient times the expression “Du map” was often used to refer to the territory of a country. There were four Du in the Jian Du which was excavated in Fangmatan, Tianshui. They were similar in size with a length of approximately 23 cm. and a width of about 14 cm. Six maps, current at that time, were drawn on the Du, one for the reigning territory of that time, and five for the mountains and rivers. There were 14 Du in *Wuwei Medical Jian in the Han Dynasty*, a book excavated in 1972. Their length ranged from 22.7 cm. to 23.9 cm. and their width varied, the widest of which was 3 cm. There were also widths of 1.5 cm. to 2 cm. Each Du held one medical prescription. In 1983, the Underworld Guosuo was excavated, and in the No. 3 Tomb of the Han Dynasty at Wuba Mountain in Wuwei archaeologists found for the first time in China a “pass for the underworld.” This wooden Du was made of cut pine with a length of 5 cm., width of 7 cm., and thickness of 0.5 cm. Characters were inscribed on both sides with 5 columns on the front and 2 columns on the back. There were a total of 124 characters.²

1.2.3 Gu

Gu was a kind of multi-faceted prism-shaped Jian made of a cut wood stick. It was used mainly to make character books, textbooks for beginners, or to deliver urgent documents of importance. It was often made of poplar and red willow. This special carrier of educational and official contents seems to have had no fixed length while the number of their facets seems to have been deliberately chosen. A stick was cut into three, four, or eight facets with no less than two facets and no more than eight. Generally, each Gu contained one book or one chapter. Four seven-faceted Gu made in the Han Dynasty were unearthed in the beacon relics in Yumen Huahai. They had a height of about 37 cm. One recorded the emperor's decree and three transcribed *The Passage of Can Jie* (Can Jie was the creator of characters in Chinese mythology) with each Gu recording one chapter. Similarly, one three-faceted Gu excavated in Juyan recorded the second chapter of *The Can Jie Pian*. There were 20 characters on each facet, and the characters were connected in order. In addition, one three-faceted Gu that recorded *Ji Jiu Pian* was excavated in Tunhuang. It had 20 characters on each side and 63 characters for the whole chapter.

The procedures regarding book construction in the Ce period are scarcely documented in the ancient literature. Liu Xiang remarked in *Bie Lu*, “The books of Sun Wu were recorded on the cyan bamboo slips and bound with ropes.” The Jian Du in complete form was excavated in Gansu Province not only revealing the system of Jian Du at that time, but also bringing to our attention the prototype for books. The process of making Jian Du into a book consisted primarily of three procedures: connecting, transcribing, and proofreading. Bamboo or wood was first cut and processed to make slips or tablets. Then bamboo or wooden slips or tablets were connected to make a whole to receive the transcription. *The Book of Augury* transcribed onto Jian in the country of Qin and excavated at Fangmatan, Tianshui, was bound by three cords, the upper cord, the middle cord and the lower cord. A margin of 1 cm. was left at both ends of the book with the middle cord functioning as the edge to form the upper column and the lower column. Three cords were placed equidistant with a small triangular opening on the right side to facilitate the linking from right to left with thin cords. The margins on both ends were mostly covered with fabric fragments. These fabric fragments might have been added after the slips/tablets were connected. *The Book of Augury* (Type A) was connected first and then inscribed. Judging from the traces left, there were three cords around *Wuwei Medical Jian* which were connected first and then inscribed with 78 slips/tablets connected to form one Ce or volume. There were two binding cords in Du, and they were often inscribed first and then connected. Fourteen Du would form one volume. The pattern of inscribing was often begun with the name of the book on the first slip and the text on the second and the other slips. A margin with a space equivalent to three characters was left in the first line and two points were left from top to bottom of the slips for the cord connection with three parts for transcription.

The Book of Rites discovered in Wuwei preserved the title, ending, pages, and order of the original book and, owing to its entirety, was a typical sample of the standard books published in the West Han Dynasty. There was a code at the bottom or each page which had the function similar to pages. The title of each volume was written in the middle part on the back of the slip with the content inscribed on the inner side. If the book was rolled, the the inner side would be covered and the exterior side (i.e. the back side) would be exposed where the title was written. This was similar to the current title page of a book for the sake of convenience when referring to the book. As for the other aspects like cutting, inscribing, the title, modifying, rolling, marking, and characters, *The Book of Rites* discovered in Wuwei provided us with precious evidence for research on the Jian and Ce system in the Han Dynasty.

“Transcriptions” mainly refer to various books after paper is invented but before printing is invented that substitute for bamboo slips and silk scrolls. The period of transcriptions can be dated to when paper is invented. At the end of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (the 4th century), Heng Xu issued an order that “There is no paper in the past, so people use bamboo slips. Use of bamboo slips is not for respect. I hereby

order that bamboo slips be replaced with yellow paper.” This order actually brought to an end the period of bamboo slips and silk scrolls, and the period of transcriptions began. We Emperor of the Sui Dynasty, who emphasized civil administration, in the 3rd year of Kaihuang ordered a “search for rare books in the country.”³ In *The Record of Classics, History of Sui*: “Officers are dispatched to collect rare books. The one who collect (sic) one volume will be rewarded with silk. The original copy will be returned to the owner after being transcribed. Therefore, various kinds of rare books collected by civilians are found.”⁴ Until the reign of the Yang Emperor of the Sui Dynasty, “50 copies are required for any book in the Mi Library.” Meanwhile, the copying of sutras is performed. “The re-script (sic) is issued that civilians are allowed to become monks. Taxes are collected from every civilian to build sculptures of Buddha. All sutras are transcribed at the capital (sic) and major cities including Bingzhou, Xiangzhou and Luozhou.” While searching for rare books and summoning transcribers to complete over 30,000 volumes, the government established special institutions for sutra translation, and altogether 130,000 volumes of 46 sutras are translated. “Sutras become prevalent in the folk (sic), the number of which is hundreds of times of that of Confucian classics.” The afterword of *The Record of Article, History of Tang* states: “In kaiyuan years...any book in the four sections will be stored at two capitals. (sic) Altogether 125,960 volumes are written with fine jute paper.”⁵ From the above description we can see the large scale of transcription in the Sui and Tang Dynasties, which is reflected in the 50,000 volumes of ancient books excavated in the Classics Cave of Tunhuang in 1900. Due to the characteristics of transcriptions, they did not survive for a long time like the slips. Therefore, there are few transcriptions now. The excavation of the Classics Cave of Tunhuang, and the discovery of transcriptions from the Sui and Tang Dynasties have provided us with precious first-hand evidence for the study of transcriptions.

There are about 1,000 Tunhuang books with inscriptions, the earliest of which is the *Khiksu Disciplines* of the 2nd year of Jiancu, the Western Liang Dynasty (406 A.D.) and the latest of which is *To Baoen Temple* by Wang Caozong in the 5th year of Xiapaning, the Song Dynasty. Seventy to eighty percent of Chinese transcriptions were produced from the middle of the Tang Dynasty to the early Song Dynasty, which spans almost seven centuries.

1.3 Arrangement

The paper edition of Tunhuang stone house (sic) is derived from slips and silk scrolls and invented as their substitutes. It can be said that this paper edition combines the characteristics of slips and silk scrolls in terms of its arrangement. Pieces of paper with equal length and width were pasted into a scroll (sometimes several meters long) and rolled up with a spool, similar to silk scrolls. When used for transcription, lines and columns are divided in advance to facilitate writing. (The grids in black are called “Black Thread Column,” and those in red, “Red Thread Col-

umn.”) In this way every line is equal to a piece of bamboo slip.⁶ A piece of paper is divided into 20 to 31 lines according to the different widths of the paper. The most common division is 28 lines with 17 characters in each line. (For annotation in the text, two lines will be written in smaller calligraphy within the predefined line. Such an arrangement is similar to the contemporary standard French folio, thus one can easily count the words and paper usage of a classic. This indicates that the format of traditional Chinese books that read from top to bottom is very scientific. The first line of each volume begins with the name of the book, which is followed by the name of the volume and the text. The name of the volume was written at the end of the volume, and time, place, and transcriber was written on the second to last line. Sometimes, the names of the reviewer, proofreader and decorator were also included. As for religious classics, such as sutras, the name of the disciple and the purpose of the sacrifice were written at the end of the volume.

1.4 Inscription (Copyright Page)

An inscription is normally included in the standard transcription of classics. Generally, the inscription includes the year, name of transcriber and disciple and votive writings. However, most inscriptions are very simple, sometimes only a name is provided. There is a group of the Vajra Prajna Paramita Sutra and Saddharmapundarika Sutra in the transcribed classics of Tunhuang. This group was transcribed by Chang'an officials from the 2nd year of Xian'heng (671 A.D.) to the 2nd year of Fengyi (677 A.D.). The end inscriptions consist of year, name of the transcriber, paper usage, decorator, names of the first proofreader, second proofreader, third proofreader and four detailed proofreaders. The formats of their inscriptions are very strict, which characterizes the standard transcribed classics of the Tang Dynasty.⁷ As far as the end inscription is concerned, a record of time, written division of responsibilities, paper usage and signature of the transcriber are all included. At that time, the classics made by the Royal Court were considered to be first rate and were welcomed and trusted by monks and disciples. They not only played an important role in the communication of knowledge, but they also served as the authoritative versions of classics. People could use them as the chief source for copying, maintenance, almsgiving, preaching and reading. The book collecting and administrative institutions could also use them for proofreading and for the examination of folk copies. At the time, people also used those transcribed classics to correct some handwritten and printed copies of classics, and to supplement lost ones.

1.5 Transcribing Institution and Transcriber:

In the Sui and Tang Dynasties, the Archives Department of the Xiuwen/Hongwen Royal Library, Jixian Library, and the Historical Library were responsible for the edition and transcription of national books. The transcription operation of the Royal Court consisted of a lithographer, transcriber, painter, decorator and proofreader. However, there are no records regarding the detailed division of labor and

procedures. The inscriptions in the Tunhuang transcriptions provide us with abundant documentation for the first time.

Over thirty volumes of classics including the Vajra Prajna Paramita Sutra, the Saddharmapundarika Sutra, and the Suvarnaprabhasa Sutra, transcribed from the 2nd year of Xian'heng (671 A.D.) to the 2nd year of Fengyi (677 A.D.), found in Tunhuang are parts of the classics transcribed and issued all over the country under the organization of the Archives Department of the Hongwen Royal Library after they were approved as part of a national list of books.

The inscription of Volume 6 of the Saddharmapundarika Sutra collected by the Tunhuang County Museum reads: Transcribed by Transcriber Wang Siqian on Feb. 21st, the 3rd year of the Xianheng; 20 pieces of paper were used; decorated by Xie Shanji; first proofreader: Transcriber Wang Siqian; second proofreader: Guizhen, monk of the Jingxing Temple; third proofreader: Sidao, monk of the Jingxing Temple; reviewed by Shenfu, Noble Man of the Taiyuan Temple, Jiashang, Noble Man of the Taiyuan Temple, Huili, Abbot of the Taiyuan Temple, Daocheng, Honored Monk of the Taiyuan Temple; Xiang Yigan, final Reviewer and Shaofu; supervised by Yu Chang, Duke of Kaiguo, Taizhong Officer, and Assistant Minister of the Construction Ministry.

The transcriber, Wang Siqian, was a student of Yu Shinan, the famous calligrapher; the four reviewers were four students of Xuanzang; and Yu Chang, the supervisor, was the son of Yu Shinan. Xie Shanji, the decorator, was responsible for most of the decorative work of these classics sent to Tunhuang from the Royal Court.

What attracts the most attention in the inscription was the system of proofreading and reviewing the transcribed books three times. As for the reviewers themselves, most of them were outstanding students of Xuanzang, were proficient in Confucian classics and sutras, and they not only served as the proofreaders, but they also played an important role in the inheritance of ancient Chinese books and the correct translation of foreign books. "Panguans" may have played a role in the final revision, which are assumed to be knowledgeable governmental officers. These transcribed classics are of great research value in terms of their calligraphy, decoration, transcription procedures and division of responsibilities.

There are no records regarding transcribing by local governmental institutions in Gansu; however, the organizational circumstances of transcribing by the common people may be traced from the existing objects. In the North Wei Dynasty, there was a professional team of transcribers composed of transcribers, proofreaders and reviewers. They were approved by the government to transcribe and sell books with legal identities. From the 4th year of Yongping to the 3rd year of Yanchang (when the Xuanwu Emperor of North Wei ruled), there were 7 or 8 transcribers mentioned in the Tunhuang books, and 3 or 4 proofreaders and reviewers. Those people who made a living by transcribing classics are called "Jingsheng" or "Yongshu." Their simple and elegant calligraphy is called "Xiejing (transcribing classics)."

The civic team is mainly constituted of transcribers, proofreaders and reviewers. Around 500 A.D., normal inscription and the name of transcribers appeared in the transcribed books. From the 4th year of Yongping, Xuanwu Emperor, North Wei (511 A.D.) to the 2nd year of Renshou, Wen Emperor, Sui Dynasty (602 A.D.), there are more than 10 books indicating that the transcription was completed in Tunhuang, and the name of the transcriber, time and location of transcription, paper used, the names of the proofreader and reviewer are included in the inscription. For example, the end inscription of Vol. 14, *On Honesty* states: "Transcribed by Cao Fashou of Tunhuang Town, proofread by Linghu Zhe, and reviewed by Hong Xie on Aug. 5th, 512, 25 pieces of paper are used." Another end inscription of *On Honesty* states: "Transcribed by Xiu Guangzhou of Tunhuang Town, proofread by Linghu Zhe, and reviewed by Hong Xie on Aug. 5th, 512, 28 pieces of paper are used." The first end inscription of *Vaipulya Dharani Sutra* states: "First proofreading is done. Transcribed by Zhang Asheng of Tunhuang Town, and proofread and reviewed by Linghu Zhe on Apr. 12th, 514, 21 pieces of paper are used." The end inscription of Vol. 16, *Yanhua Sutra* states: "Transcribed by Linghu Litai of Tunhuang Town, and proofread and reviewed by Linghu Congfu Jul. 19th, 514, 24 pieces of paper are used."

From the above inscriptions we can see that professional transcription was not done by an individual; rather, it was the collective activity of a team. The team members not only enjoyed legal identities, but they also bore definite responsibilities and had strict working procedures. Transcription, proofreading and revision were indispensable for the work. Only after careful proofreading and strict revision could the transcribed classics be allowed to enter the market and be bought by disciples.

2. THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF PRINTED BOOKS

There are no related historical records covering book printing in Gansu. However, we can judge from the real objects produced with engraved printing that the emergence of this type of printing in Gansu can be dated back to the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century. During the late Tang Dynasty and the beginning of the Five Dynasties, sutra and Buddha icons were being printed in Gansu, one of the first areas of engraved printing in China. In Tunhuang, an important town in the western region during the Tang Dynasty and one of the areas where Buddhism prevailed, there were a number of merchants and monks. Due to the specific environment and the demand for religious propaganda, printing was developed first at Dunhuang. The Classics Cave of Dunhuang has preserved many precious printed materials of the Tang Dynasty.

2.1 Rubbing

Printing is a method for replication. Before the invention of printing, rubbing was a convenient method for copying text. There are three examples of rubbed texts dating to the early and middle Tang Dynasty from the heritage of Tunhuang, namely: the Paris Cangbozi No. 4508, *Ode to Hot Spring*, (author: Liu Xia) written by Tai Emperor of the Tang Dynasty; No. 4510, *Huadu Temple Master Yong's Safifa Tower Inscription* by the famous calligrapher Ouyang Xun in the early Tang Dynasty, and Paris Cangshihao *Diamond Sutra* by the famous calligrapher Liu Gongquan in 824. The inscription of the rubbed version of the *Ode to Hot Spring* is as follows: "By Guoyier, Weigufu on Aug. of the 4th year of Yonghui (653)." This is the earliest existing rubbed text in the world. This Tunhuang rubbed text has enabled us to see the condition of an original version, which provides us with substantial evidence of the origin and cause of engraved printing.⁸

2.2 Rubbed Printing

Inspired by rubbed inscriptions and stamps, people engraved pictures to be copied on wooden boards to make printing forms, then rubbed them on paper – thus rubbed printing – the transitional form of printing at the initial stage of engraved printing was born.

Most of the surviving xylographs of Tunhuang are single-page works made in the late Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties (ca. 10th century). These xylographs are focused on Buddhist stories. Both single and combined figures can be found. The smallest one is 20x13 cm. and the largest is 45x34 cm. Most are 30x20 cm. The most frequently occurring theme is Thousands of Buddha, which were engraved on a wooden board and then rubbed on paper. There are two kinds of engraved rubbings, namely one form for multiple printings and multiple forms. "One form for multiple printings" refers to the method of printing identical Buddha icons by repeated rubbings on paper with the same form. This is mainly used to produce icons of Buddha and Bodhisattva. "Multiple forms" refers to rubbing with different forms in turn to realize the effect of a changing icon.

There are dozens of early prints in the Paris P. 4514, of which there is a single page of rubbed printing of Buddha. This page seems like a picture in the sutra, with the Buddha and flanking bodhi-sattva in the middle, lotus seat at the bottom and Gandharva flying above. This page is not large – of the size of a stamp. There are also a number of "Thousands of Buddha" and "Bodhi-sattva" images, of which some are pasted together after single rubbed printing, and the other are contained in a rectangle. Obviously, those with a rectangle are engraved as a whole. Compared with those made with repeated rubbed printing of a single form, the latter can be considered as a big leap forward, as the former is still of the stamp category and the latter is engraved printing. In terms of the rubbing method, the Tunhuang xylographs can be classified into several categories: temple documents and stamps, Shouchiqian, title pages, Esoteric Buddhism mandala, and colored decora-

tion (colored scrolls made of engraved rubbing works), etc.⁹ We should pay attention to those Buddha images printed by the rubbing method as they reflect the transition form at the initial stage of engraved printing, and they have exerted direct influence on the development of engraved printing in China.

2.3 Engraved Printing

Among the printing of the Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties excavated in the Classics Cave of Tunhuang, the *Prajnaparamita Hrdaya Sutra* engraved by Wang Jie praying for the blessing of parents in the 9th year of Xiantong (868) is the most precious. It is not only the earliest engraved printed work found in China, but also the most complete ancient print. In addition, it also provides circumstantial evidence for the dating of the invention of engraved printing, determining that the time of the invention of this type of printing was around the middle of the 8th century. The academic community has seen this as substantial evidence to determine the time of the invention of engraved printing. The volume of the *Prajnaparamita Hrdaya Sutra* is a 16-metre scroll attached to seven pages. On the first page there is an engraved print by Jetavana Vihar, showing the scene of Sakyamuni, sitting on the lotus seat in the middle, expounding Buddhist doctrines to his student, Subbhuti. The following six pages are the full text of the “*Prajnaparamita Hrdaya Sutra*” translated by Jumarajiva; at the end of this volume there is an inscription stating: “Contributed by Wangjie Praying for the Blessing of Parents on Apr. 15th, the 9th Year of Xiantong.” The complete format, printed pictures on the top leaf, imposing text and pictures, delicate engraving, vigorous calligraphy, suitable blackness, and clear printing indicate that this is a piece of work with mature technology instead of those produced in the initial stage. It is also the one and only existing printed work with a definite and complete date of its printing in China. Judging from its mature and delicate nature, we can determine that it is by no means a product of the initial stage of technology. Therefore, the invention of engraved printing can be dated much earlier than the 9th year of Xiantong. Taking into consideration the slow development in feudal society, we may say that it may have taken one century or longer for such achievements. What is most valuable is that the time of printing and the contributor is noted at the end of the volume. The inscription: “Contributed by Wangjie Praying for the Blessing of Parents on Apr. 15th, the 9th Year of Xiantong” has made this print different from other prints of the Tang Dynasty. Therefore, the “*Prajnaparamita Hrdaya Sutra*” is the earliest example of a print with a definite date of the print, and “Wangjie” is the earliest contributor known so far.

In addition, there are two inscriptions saying, “Printed by the Guos of Sichuan” and “Transcribed by an 84-year old man on Mar. 12th, Dingmao” on the remaining volume of the “*Prajnaparamita Hrdaya Sutra*” collected by the Beijing Library (Youzi No. 9). Dingmao in this inscription refers to the 4th year of Tianyou (907), Ai Emperor of the Tang Dynasty (Li Zhu). The Guos version is a print of the Tang

Dynasty. In addition to prints of the Tang Dynasty, Tunhuang also has three prints of the Five Dynasties: "Icon of Avalokitesvara" and "Icon of Vaisravana" produced in Kaiyun of the Later Jin Dynasty, and the incomplete version of "Prajnaparamita Hrdaya Sutra" produced in the 2nd Year of Qianyou, the Later Han Dynasty. All three are contributed by the Master Cao Yunazhong of the Guiyi Army Governor.

The cheveted wooden board of the "Sitting Statue of Sakyamuni" is 15.4 cm. high, 10.2 cm. wide and 1.0 cm. thick, and is the one and only one from the Tang Dynasty from the Classics Cave of Mokao Grotto of Tunhuang.¹⁰ It is irreplaceable evidence for study of the production materials, origin, development and changes in engraved printing in China.

2.4 Colored Printing

Generally it is considered that colored xylography and chromatographical colored xylography was invented in the Ming Dynasty; however, the origin of colored xylography was earlier than that of chromatographical colored xylography. The earliest existing color-filled xylographs are four works in three categories found in the Classics Cave of Tunhuang. For instance, EO.11218D. S. P.241 and S. P.231. EO.11218D "Icon of Avalokitesvara" was produced with engraved printing and filled with three colors: red, yellow, and green. It is of a rectangular form, which is divided into two parts: the 3/5 part of the top side is the standing Icon of Avalokitesvara, and the other part consists of the prayer and inscription. On the column on the right side it is written "Produced by Master Cao Yuanzhong of Guiyi Army Governor." S. P.241 "Icon of Avalokitesvara" is filled with three colors. From the prayer and inscription we can see that the contributor of this xylograph was the Governor Cao Yuanzhong of the Guiyi Army at Tunhuang. It was engraved by Lei Yanmei at the 4th year of Kaiyun of the Jin Dynasty, namely 947 A.D. S.P.231 "Holy Icon of Avalokitesvara" is filled with five colors and decorated. It is a work made during Guiyi Army times in the Five Dynasty. P14514.5 "Icon of Ksitigarbha" of the Five Dynasties was produced by engraved printing, and it is decorated and filled with five colors: red, yellow, blue, green and black. The colored xylographs found in the Classics Cave of Tunhuang are mature works of color filling. The several color-filled xylographs found in the Classics Cave of Tunhuang can prove the fact that the colored xylographs of China originated in the Tang Dynasty and Five Dynasties. The Tunhuang xylographs date the history of chromatic xylography in China to several hundred years earlier than was previously thought. As Chinese chromatic xylographs are the direct origin of Japanese Yamato-e which has exerted a great influence on western arts, we may say that ancient Chinese xylography represented by the Tunhuang xylographs is of great importance in the history of world art.¹¹

2.5 Movable-type Printing of the Western Xia and Uigur Characters

A number of Western Xia documents were found in the northern area of the Mokao Grotto, Tunhuang, of which there are transcribed versions and printed versions. The latter can be further classified into engraved versions and movable type versions. The “Vimalakiri Sutras” and “Zhumizhouyaoyu” of Western Xia characters made with movable type excavated in Tunhuang are not only the earliest examples of printing done with movable type in the world, but also the only copies. The closing inscription of “Bses-Pahi Sprin-Yig,” the Western Xia document found in the northern area of the Mokao Grotto, Tunhuang, has proved that an engraved version of the 3,600 volume Buddhist Scriptures was kept in Tunhuang during the Yuan Dynasty. It was a part of over 30 collections of Buddhist Scriptures by Master Guanzuba. This incomplete piece is a part of the Buddhist Scriptures in Western Xia characters, which is the only one in China and which is of great importance.¹² Especially, the examples of printing from movable type found in the northern area of Tunhuang are the earliest examples of printing from movable-type in the world. In 1987, the “Vimalakiri Sutras” was excavated at the Haimudong Legacy, Chanshan Village, Xinhua Town, Wuwei City, Gansu Province. This sutra consists of 54 pages with seven lines on each page and seventeen characters in each line. Each page is 28 cm. high and 12 cm. wide. As documents 1224, 1225, and 1226 were excavated at the same time, it can be concluded that the remaining sutra is no later than the Qianding years. Moreover, according to the inscription of the Ren Emperor of the Western Xia Dynasty, this edition was produced in the time when Ren Emperor ruled. It is characterized by uneven blackness on the recto of the page and different ink penetration on the verso of the page. Some type is higher than the level. Some type are stout, thus with thick ink and ink expansion. And ink penetration on the verso of the page is obvious. Some characters are askew, and some characters, due to improper placement, are half clear and half fuzzy. Almost all the pages are askew in the sutra having neither straight lines and columns nor regular row spacing.¹³ Comparing this sutra with the “Vimalakiri Sutras” found in Heishui City and collected by Russians, we can see that these two sutras have similar arrangement, format and fonts. Due to their similar characteristics, it has been determined that they are examples of the same kind of printing made using movable type. Taking into consideration the characteristics of the “Vimalakiri Sutras” excavated in Wuwei and the one collected by the Russians, we find the statement that they are soil-made movable type prints reasonable.¹⁴

This statement is also supported by circumstantial evidence. In the Uigur area which is to the west of Western Xia, printing with wooden movable type came after the use of this type in Western Xia. From the first discovery of wooden movable type of Uigur characters in the No. 464 Cave in the northern area of the Mokao Grotto by a French man, Paul Pelliot, in 1908 to 1995, altogether 1,152 sorts of wooden movable type of Uigur characters have been found in the cave. We can make the presumption that this might be a location where Buddhist scripts were

printed from the 12th to the 13th century. The Buddhist scripts printed with movable type excavated in the northern area of the Mokao Grotto may have been printed in this area as well.¹⁵ Combining the fact that a number of examples of printing using wooden movable type of Uigur characters were excavated in Tunhuang, we can suppose that Tunhuang was a center of movable type printing in Western Xia and the Yuan Dynasties, which has played an important role in the history of printing using movable type.

The 48 examples of printing in Uigur characters produced using wooden movable type excavated in the northern area of Tunhuang are the only ones found in the course of archaeological excavation. All of the wooden movable type of Uigur characters are 1.3 cm. wide, 2.1–1.1 cm. high and of varying thickness. These movable type sorts consist of nouns, stems of verbs, affixes, characters, punctuation, chase lines and gibs (sic).

3. THE EVOLUTION OF BINDING AND LAYOUT

The discovery of the Classics Cave enriches the history of books in China and provides abundant, substantial documents for research on the history of books in China. Research on these substantial documents not only unveils to us the specific forms of document binding and layout from the 4th to the 10th century in China, but also enables us to further realize the forms of binding and layout in the “transcription period.” The main forms of binding and layout of the Tunhuang heritage books are as follows:

3.1 Scroll Binding

The form of the scroll binding was derived from silk scrolls. After the birth of the transcribed paper book, these books inherited and referred to the binding and layout of silk scrolls – scroll binding.

The Tunhuang heritage books have provided us with many real objects in the form of scrolls. The British scholar Stein has written in his *The Thousand Buddhas: ancient Buddhist paintings from the cave-temples of Tung-huang on the western frontier of China*, that “all Chinese translations or ancient books are scrolled, which are 9.5 inches to 10.5 inches high. The smooth and soft yellow scrolls are covered with silk fabric which is very soft. A wooden shaft is inserted in the scroll, sometimes the shaft is decorated with ties at the shaft end. The length of papers is different, so the forms of scrolls are different too. A scroll is about 15 inches to 20 inches long. Those pieces of papers are connected together as a scroll till the end of text, so a scroll may extend very long.” This is the earliest description of the scroll-type books of Tunhuang.

“Dharma Sutra,” item No. 001 in the collection of the Gansu Provincial Museum, is one of the earliest transcribed versions of Tunhuang books in the world. Among the Tunhuang documents collected by Gansu, relatively complete scrolls

include item No. 328 of the Tunhuang Institute, item No. 004 of the Gansu Provincial Library, No. 003 of the Northwest Normal University, No. 019 of the Gansu Provincial Museum, and Nos. 041, 044, 049, and 050 of the Tunhuang Municipal Museum. These transcribed classics have either complete beginnings or complete endings or both. Sometimes they even retain their rods, ribbons, and wooden shafts. The “Mahaparinirvana-Sutra: the Fifth Volume” in the collection of the Tunhuang Municipal Museum has a complete beginning, and incomplete ending, and an inscription. This scroll is 937 cm. long and 26.8 cm. wide. The “Mahaparinirvana-Sutra: the 33rd and 34th Volumes” collected by the Tunhuang Municipal Museum has an incomplete beginning and a complete end. This scroll is 884.4 cm. long and 26.8 cm. wide. Both of these transcribed classics are on hard yellow papers which seem to be of the 7th century. The “Mahaparinirvana-Sutra: the Fifth Volume,” item No. 041 in the collection of the Tunhuang Municipal Museum, was produced by the Royal Court in the early Tang Dynasty. Judging from the smooth calligraphy and particular decoration, we can say that it is of the highest level among the transcribed classics of Tunhuang. From the beginning and the ending of this piece we may find some characteristics of the volume header, body, and the ending of scrolls in the period when paper transcription prevailed. A number of the heritage books from the 4th to the 10th century found in the Classics Cave of Tunhuang, especially those produced from the 4th to the 8th century when paper transcription prevailed, are of great value for research on scroll binding and binding and layout methods used on the paper transcriptions.

3.2 Indian Binding

Indian binding was originally used for the ancient Indian pattra sutras. The binding method for the pattra sutras, which were written in Sanskrit, was called Indian Binding. This binding method was gradually accepted and used by the Chinese once it was introduced in China. The sutras with Indian Bindings in Tunhuang inherited and kept the basic form, including perforations, clamping, threading and strapping that formed the localized Indian Binding for Chinese paper-made books. Most of the transcribed classics in Tibetan are bound with Indian Bindings.

During the reign of Tubo, the pattra-like transcription with Indian Binding was very popular, the pages of which were strips on which Tebetan was written from top to bottom. Usually there were two holes in the middle of both sides of the strips to facilitate strapping. Among the heritage books of Tunhuang, there are many sutras that were transcribed in Tibetan and bound with Indian Bindings. These amount to about 10,000 pages in Gansu, most of which were collected by the Tunhuang Municipal Museum, the Gansu Provincial Library, the Tunhuang Research Institute, and the Wuwei Municipal Museum. The Tibetan “Watasahasrika Prajbaparamita Sutra” with an Indian Binding, collected by the Gansu Provincial Library, may be the heritage of the middle Tang Dynasty (about the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century). This sutra is made of white jute

papers which are tough and thick. Two pieces of paper are attached, forming a sheet 20.5 cm. wide and 73 cm. long. The sutra is written on both sides of the attached papers. Each page contains 12 lines and the double-sided paper contains 24 lines. The page numbers are written outside of the left border on the recto. To preserve blank space in advance, two 2.5 cm. radius circles are drawn at the 22 cm point from the left slit and 10.2 cm. from the upper slit. A 0.4 radius aperture was made at each center of the circle for threading.

Only a few transcribed Chinese classics are found with Indian Bindings in Tunhuang. Sometimes only one aperture is made, or there is no aperture at all (but the circles are drawn). The “Siyi Sutra: Four Volumes,” Beotuxin No. 1201 in the collection of the Beijing Library, was transcribed at the end of the Tang Dynasty. The papers of this transcription are brown and tough. There are three transcriptions bound with Indian Bindings which were collected by the Oriental Manuscript Department of the British Library. These are namely “Chanmen Sutra,” “Annotation to Sutras,” and “Annotation to Thirty Discussions on Vijnanamatravada,” all of which are the heritage of the late Tang Dynasty and Five Dynasties. “Insights of Mahayana’s Principles,” item P4646 in the collection of the French National Library, is also bound with an Indian Binding.

3.3 Accordion Binding

This binding is made by folding the scroll every four or six lines to form an accordion-like binding which readers may open freely anywhere. This binding was influenced by the pattra-like books of India or Tibet, which appeared in the late Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties. There is a piece of an accordion binding book in Tunhuang, namely the “Taisho Tripitaka” made of white jute paper, item No. 354 in the collection of the Tunhuang Institute. Only one section (7.4 cm. wide and 14 cm. long) of this sutra remains. There are three pieces of accordion bindings of transcribed classics in the Tunhuang Municipal Museum, namely Nos. 056, 057, and 071.

The Xuanfeng Binding appeared in the middle of the Tang Dynasty, while the Accordion Binding appeared in the late Tang Dynasty. Both binding methods are transition forms from the scroll binding to the codex binding, or the initial forms of the codex binding.

3.4 Crease Binding

There are four pieces of Tunhuang transcriptions bound with cord or twine in the Tunhuang Collection of the Gansu Province: “Annotation to Prajnaparamita Hrdaya Sutra” with the inscription of the “By Baihe Temple at the First Year of Tianbao, Tang Dynasty (742 A.D.),” No. 096 of the collection of the Tunhuang Research Institute; “Virtues Sutra” with the inscription of “the 19th year of Zhenyuan (803 A.D.),” No. 016 of the collection of the Gansu Provincial Museum; “Prajnaparamita Hrdaya Sutra” with the inscription, Jan. 26th, the 3rd Year

of Tianyou (906 A.D.),” No. 053 of the collection of the Tunhuang Municipal Museum; and the “Collection of Five Sutras including Tan Sutra” made of thick double-sided jute papers in the Song Dynasty, No. 077 in the collection of the Tunhuang Municipal Museum. All of them were considered having been bound with a butterfly-fold binding in the past.

Binding Method: stack five or six pages, fold them in two, make six holes, thread them with cord or twine into a stack along the spine; superimpose the books together, thread the cord or twine through the holes and across the back. The binding of them is much like that of notebooks: cut the upper and lower corners of the bound pages to round the corners to prevent wrinkling. Tung oil or silver powder is applied on the upper, lower and left edges for protection.

In addition, there are four fragments of Crease Binding transcriptions in the Tunhuang thread-binding heritage book collection of the late Tang Dynasty and early Northern Song Dynasty in the Oriental Manuscript Department, the British Library, namely: Nos. S5534 (905 A.D.), S5536 (Five Dynasties), S5646 (969 A.D.) “Prajnaparamita Hrdaya Sutra” and S5531 (920 A.D.). In the National Library of France, there is also a pamphlet, including “Modaoyigui,” which is a stack of seven pieces of paper which are 10.5 cm. wide and 15 cm. long. Then the longer edges of the paper are folded into fourteen single pages, which are sewn at the crease. Obviously, it was produced when Tunhuang was ruled by Tibetan kings (781–848 A.D.).¹⁶ The binding form of the above transcription is identical with that of item No. 096 in the collection of the Tunhuang Research Institute.

In January 1972, a copy of “Saddharmapundarika Sutra” in Western Xia characters was discovered in Wuwei. Eight pieces of paper are stacked together and folded twice to form 32 pages. Thin woolen cords are threaded into the center of... Han Nationality but also the minorities, including Tibetans.

As the inscription of the year has indicated, such bindings appeared in the middle Tang Dynasty, and they were still in use in the late Tang Dynasty, the Five Dynasties, and the early Northern Song Dynasty.

In the past, such a binding was considered to be a “butterfly-fold binding” or traditional thread binding. In *Tunhuang Heritage and Butterfly-Fold Binding* by Bai Yudai, this binding is cited as an example of butterfly-fold binding. However, the crease binding is totally different from the butterfly-fold binding:

1. Both sides of crease-binding pages are written on; only one side of the butterfly-fold binding is written on. The characters appear facing inward when the paper is folded, and the depth of the page is centralized on the spine;
2. The crease binding is realized with cords threading the apertures; there are no apertures on butterfly-fold bound books, nor is the cord used. Paste is used in the butterfly-fold binding;
3. Every page of the crease binding book is written on, while there is one page blank every two pages in butterfly-fold binding books.

Therefore, it is inappropriate to call it a butterfly-fold binding.

Then, is it a thread binding? Mr. Li Zhizhong lists it as an example of thread binding in his *Identification of the Edition of Ancient Books*.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it is different from the thread binding which was very popular from the middle of the Ming Dynasty, and which can not be considered a standard thread binding.

In the early years of the Southern Song Dynasty, Zhang Bangji said in his *Random Notes at Mo Domesne* that “Sticking might be the best way for binding. In case of decay due to long time, it can still be copied in sequence if not lost. I have frequently found some rare books, and thanks to this method of binding, those books are saved. In case that crease binding is used, a broken book will be beyond repair. Once I found several volumes of ‘Fanglu’ by Mr. Dong, the order of page is totally messed. It is after one year’s hard work that book is repaired. And this is the shortcomings of creasing binding.” Mr. Zhang has, while praising the butterfly-fold binding, confirmed for us the fact that there has been a binding method called crease binding. The book heritage of Tunhuang has produced a substantial model for such binding.

As for such binding, Mr. Shao Guoxiu has written his “The Binding Method Lost in the History – Threaded Creasing,”¹⁸ putting forward that such binding, in line with its own characteristics and in order to be differentiated from the thread binding popular since the middle of the Ming Dynasty, can be called “Threaded Creasing.”¹⁹

4. NEW DISCOVERIES OF EVIDENCE FOR ANCIENT PRINTING

With the elapse of time, a number of discoveries concerning printing have been made in Gansu, adding much compelling evidence to support the research on printing history in China.

4.1 Paper

Archaeological Excavation: in 1942, a piece of “Tsakhortej paper” was excavated at the site of the Tsakhortej Beacon Tower of the Han Dynasty on the eastern side of the Erginar River, Gansu Province, which is now held at the Taipei Institute of History and Language.

In 1973–1974, two pieces of jute paper were discovered at the Jinsuiguan Beacon Tower of the Western Han Dynasty at Juysan, Gansu (now in Inner Mongolia). One of the two has been restored to a 12 by 19 cm. thin and even piece of white and clear colored paper, the texture of which is fine and tough with a trace of ting jute stubs. Micro-examination and chemical analysis have indicated that it contains only marijuana fibers. The most recent bamboo slips excavated at the same location are of the second year of the Xuan Emperor of the Han Dynasty (52 B.C.). All of these clues suggest that there may have been quality paper at the frontier in the middle of the first century B.C. at the latest.

In 1979 five sets and eight pieces of jute paper were excavated at the Maquanwan Beacon Tower of the Han Dynasty in Tunhuang, Gansu, all of which have been tumbled. Item T12: No. 47: 32 by 20 cm. is the largest one. The earliest slips chronologically excavated at the same time were of the Yuankang, Xuan Emperor of the Western Han Dynasty (65–62 B.C.) and the most recent were from the Ganlu years (53–50 B.C.). Items T10:06 and T9:26, altogether four pieces, were excavated chronological slips from the times of the Cheng, Ai and Ping Emperors. Items T9:25 and T12:18, altogether two pieces²⁰ were chronological slips of the Wang Mang period (9–23 A.D.). The chronological slips have provided exact evidence for the dating of paper. In 1986, a paper map was excavated from a mausoleum of the Han Dynasty at Fangmatan, Tianshui, Gansu. Archaeological study has indicated that it is the map of the Qin Kingdom of the Warring States Period. On this map, mountains, water and roads are drawn with ink. The paper is of khaki, the remaining part of which is 5.6 cm. long and 2.6 cm. wide. This map can be dated to periods of the Wen (187–179 B.C.) and Jin (156–141 B.C.) Emperors at the early stage of the Han Dynasty, and it is of better quality and earlier than the paper excavated at Baqiao, Shanxi [no later than the period of the WU Emperor of the Han Dynasty (140–87 B.C.)]. “The remaining part of paper map excavated from the mausoleums of Han Dynasty is the earliest object of paper so far. This discovery not only brings the time of paper invention 200 years earlier from the Eastern Han Dynasty to the beginning of Western Han Dynasty, but also provides us with earliest paper with ink in the world.”²¹ It proves that paper for writing and painting was invented at the beginning of the Western Han Dynasty, which is of great value to the recognition of the origin, manufacturing technology, materials and purpose of paper.²²

In 1990, a number of silk and jute papers were excavated from the site of the Xuanquanzhi Post, Tunhuang, Gansu. Two pieces of paper contained writing from the Western Han Dynasty, and twenty pieces of paper were found blank. The two pieces with writing were written with Li and Cao fonts, which are of the periods from the Yuan Emperor and the Cheng Emperor of the Han Dynasty. This discovery has provided new and substantial evidence for the academic dispute regarding when paper was invented, and whether it was in the Western Han Dynasty or the Eastern Han Dynasty.²³

In archaeological excavations from the 1970s to the 1990s, papers of different periods – almost covering all periods of the emperors in the Western Han Dynasty from the Wen and Jing Emperors to the Wang Mang – were excavated. The discovery of ancient paper in Gansu has provided precious, substantial evidence for the study of the materials and techniques of paper making in its early stage, which effectively proves that paper was invented in the Western Han Dynasty (about the second century B.C.), dating the invention of paper two hundred years earlier than had been thought. Archaeological evidence indicates that China is not only the cradle of papermaking, but also the country with the earliest paper samples.²⁴

Transcription paper in the stone housings of Tunhuang: ever since the fourth century, there has been a collection of Buddhist sutra transcriptions in the Classics Cave of Tunhung. Most of these sutras are transcribed on paper. Viewed from the angle of papermaking history in China, the sutras in the stone houses of the Tunhuang have provided us with abundant samples for study of papermaking technology from the diachronic and synchronous approaches. These transcriptions, transcribed by people from the 4th to the 10th century A.D., originated from the Dong Jin Dynasty and Sixteen Kingdoms, became popular in the Sui and Tang Dynasties, and come to an end in the Northern Song Dynasty. Due to the long time these transcriptions were sealed in stone housings to prevent damage from negative factors including light, air, and water, as well as proper materials and handling, the ancient paper is preserved very well. Moreover, the ancient paper is mounted, so most of it has kept its original appearance. Some transcriptions are transcribed with a definite year, and some, though without an inscription of the year, can be dated from the style of the writing. All these have facilitated our research.

The industry of paper making was one of the most important handicrafts of Tunhuang during the Tang Dynasty, and the workers were called “Zhijiang (paper maker).” Most paper produced in the Tang and Five Dynasties in Tunhuang was jute paper. At that time, mulberry and jute were very popular in Tunhuang. The seeds of jute can be used as materials for oil pressing, and jute can be used for paper or cord making. That the planting of jute is prevalent in Tunhuang can be reflected from the various tents in Tunhuang. The development of papermaking in Tunhuang was promoted by various factors: first, the influence of Buddhism. With the development of Buddhism, transcription was very popular. Paper was in demand for accounting, documents and images produced for Buddhist activities. Second, the government also needed a large amount of paper. From the P.4640 record we can see that the paper of all states, counties, and villages was provided by the Military Depot at the time of the Guiyi Army. The paper was mainly used for accounting, land register and various documents. Third, the schools of Tunhuang in the late Tang and Five Dynasties needed paper. There were scores of state schools, county schools, state medical colleges, charity schools, technical schools, private schools and schools held by temples. A number of documents are the heritage of schools. Fourth, paper was in demand for the common people. A large amount of paper was demanded for sacrificial rites and contracts. The large demand promoted the development of the papermaking industry. From the “Guiyi Army Paper and Cloth Use Statements” in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. (P.4640), we can see that due to a large demand, the use of paper was strictly controlled by the government, let alone the papermaking industry. Therefore, we may conclude that papermaking was a large government controlled industry under the Guiyi Army.²⁵ The materials for papermaking were also provided by the military administration. P.4640: “On 14th (April), a set of jute cloth is delivered to paper makers.” As for the types of paper: there was fine paper, coarse paper, and painting paper, etc. From the inscription of the No. 196 Cave of the Mokao Grotto, we

can see that He Yuanzhu, the material director, and He Yuanding, the papermaker, were brothers, which indicates that the papermaking industry of Tunhuang may be some kind of home or family industry. And judging from the title of material director, we may suppose the papermaking unit may be a relatively large domestic joint workshop. Papermaking was completed manually at that time: at first the jute was broken and soaked then beaten to pulp to be filtered with screens before becoming pieces of paper. P.4525 bv describes the papermakers, praising their handicraft.

4.2 Writing Tools

4.2.1 Bamboo Pens

In 1991, one Gu of the Han Dynasty, two copper arrowheads and an object made of bamboo were excavated in the site of Gaowang Beacon Tower on the south-eastern bank of the Hanachuoer Lake northeast of Tunhunang. The object made from bamboo is the earliest bamboo pen found in China thus far. There are many historical records that say, “In the past, people use bamboo sticks as pens,” and the bamboo pen found in the site of the Gaowang Beacon Tower, Tunhuang, is one of such pens. This pen is flat with one obtuse end and one sharp end. The remaining trace of paint at the sharp end indicates that this pen has been used for writing, proving the historical fact, “People dips paint with bamboo sticks to write” in the ancient time of China.

Writing Brush: Writing brushes have been excavated at the Mozuiji Tomb of the Han Dynasty at Wuwei, Gansu; Hantan Slope of Wuwei; and Juyan. In 1986, four pieces of writing brushes and brush covers dating to the Qin Dynasty were found in the Tomb Groups of the Warring States Period, Qin and Han Dynasty at the Fangma Slope, Tianshui, Gansu. As damage was caused by improper storage, there are only two writing brushes and one brush cover that remain. The brush cover is made of two pieces of bamboo stuck together. The middle of each piece of bamboo is hollowed out, and two brushes can be inserted. The surface of it is painted with black paint. The cover is 29 cm. long and 2 cm. wide. The body of the writing brush is made of bamboo, with one end carved into a dome and one end hollowed out to make a cavity to contain the hair of the brush. The hair of the brush measuring 2.5 cm. is inserted 0.7 cm. into the body of the brush that measures 23 cm.²⁶

There is a brush that was excavated from the Mozuizi Tomb from the Middle Eastern Han Dynasty at Wuwei, that is 23.5 cm. long with a 0.6 cm. diameter body and hair 1.6 cm. long. The body of the brush is hollow and made of bamboo. The head of the brush is made of hard black hair covered with tawny hair. It is similar to the brush from the Qin Dynasty in terms of shape and structure. The head of the body is hollow to contain the hair, which is fastened with threads and paint. The body is a light brown with characters written on it that say “Made by Baima” in the Li Font. This brush is one of the best and most properly preserved brushes from the Han Dynasty, which can be called a masterpiece of brushes of

the Han Dynasty. Another brush excavated from another tomb of the East Han Dynasty is inscribed with the characters, "Made by Shi Hu." This pen is 21.9 cm. which is roughly identical to one Han Chi (or equal to 23 cm.), and that conforms to the record that "a pen is one Chi long," as stated in *On Balance* by Wang Chong. The end of the brush was sharpened. This writing brush was found inserted in the hair of the tomb owner. The officers of the Han Dynasty often inserted brushes into their hair or hats for convenience of use; therefore, the end of the writing brush is often sharpened. This method of carrying a brush is known as "Zanbi." "Bai Ma" and "Shi Hu" were the names of brush makers, and they are the earliest names of ancient writing brush makers discovered so far. This additional evidence verifies the signature system of the handicraft industry administration. This further improves the historical value of the pen.

Dual-lobe Single Head Writing Brush: In 1972, archaeologists discovered the dual-lobe single head writing brush at the site of Zhangyibao of the Western Xi Dynasty, Wuwei City, Gansu. As for shape and structure, this brush is made up of finished bamboo, with a shaped head and horse-ear shaped tongue. There is a slit in the middle of the tongue, making a form of two lobes folded into one. This not only provides a channel for the ink to drip slowly, but it also divides the head into two parts to improve the softness and flexibility of the head which is much like the tongue of a modern pen.

4.2.2 Ancient Ink-stones

Most ink-stones were excavated at Tunhuang, Gansu. In 1979, an ink-stone excavated at the beacon tower of the Han Dynasty at Maquan Bay, Tunhuang, was found to be a 3.4 cm. diameter round stone with a square base. Its four corners are warped upward. The ink-stone is 1.5 cm. high, and it has a wooden ink-pool. The ink-stone was originally placed in a rectangular wooden case. In 1982, a tri-footed ink-stone which was determined to be heritage of the Han Dynasty was excavated at the South Lake of Tunhuang. It is a 2 cm. thick round stone of 10 cm. diameter with three 1 cm. high bat-shaped feet. The body is decorated with delicate and beautiful lines. A stone (1 cm. by 1 cm. by 1 cm.) in the shape of a tiger is attached. Another 12 cm. by 8 cm. ink-stone was discovered at the same time. The stone of this ink-stone is smooth and fine, and it was determined that the attached stone was of the same period as the ink-stone with the three bat-shaped feet. In 1983, three ink-stones were excavated at the Tunhung Airport, two of which were quadrates, 8 cm. long and 1 cm. thick. The other one was 13 cm. long, 3 cm. wide and 1 cm. thick of smooth and fine textured stone. They were determined to be writing tools of the Jin Dynasty. The pottery ink-pool excavated from the tombs of Qijiawan, Tunhuang, is different from the ink-stones mentioned above. This ink-pool consists of two parts: the round pool in the middle and a sink around the pool. The sink is 2 cm. thick and 0.8 cm. wide. This ink-pool is elaborate and beautiful, the owner of which was a person of the Northern [Han] Dynasty.

4.2.3 Ink

Archaeological findings have indicated that natural ink has been used on pottery since the Neolithic age. In the Shang Dynasty over 3,000 years ago, natural carbon ink was used for writing on bones or tortoise shells. In the Qin and Han Dynasties, artificial ink was invented. In the Three Kingdoms, turpentine soot was made into solid ink. In the Han and Jin Dynasties, adhesives were added to ink to form pill-like ink. The ink pill excavated from the Mozuiji tomb of the Han Dynasty at Wuwei, Gansu, is 4.5 cm. high with a 4.5 cm. diameter at the bottom. The ink is pitch black, indicating advanced and mature manufacturing technologies. This is the oldest existing ink block, and it is very rare for ink blocks of the Han Dynasty. Furthermore, it pushes back the time of the invention of the ink pill from the Wei Kingdom and Jin Dynasty to the end of the Western Han Dynasty.²⁷

CONCLUSION

The discussion above regarding Jian, Du, lithography, transcription, engraved printing, movable type printing, binding and layout, as well as, writing tools recorded in archaeological studies regarding the Gansu excavation, have provided important substantial evidence for our research on the history of calligraphy and printing in China. However, comprehensive and complete research on the development of the calligraphy and printing culture of Gansu is still some what of a void waiting to be filled, and a number of problems remain to be solved.

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CATEGORIES, FEATURES AND SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE EXISTING WOOD BLOCKS FOR PRINTING IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with wood blocks for printing, and the important remains of ancient Chinese printing techniques. It gives a brief introduction to various kinds of extant wood blocks for printing in different parts of China according to three categories: wood blocks for printing books, religious sutras and pictures. It also gives a comparative study of official collections and private collections. The characteristics and social backgrounds of various wood blocks for printing are also analyzed in this paper.

KEYWORDS

Wood Blocks for Printing
Printing History
Buddhist Sutras Printing
Wood Blocks for Printing Pictures
Preservation of Wood Blocks for Printing

As the basic sources of book printing, the wood blocks for printing are not only an important media of spreading and preserving the cultural inheritance by the rulers of the past ages, publishers, book collectors, famous scholars, but also the symbol of the materials and spiritual wealth in ancient China. From the central government to folk book collectors, academies, the book manufacturing factory, and Buddhist temples, the people in history made great efforts to preserve these wood blocks for printing and handed them down from generation to generation. They made a great contribution in extending cultural heritage, which is now still the priceless fortune of the Chinese Nation, though the traditional wood block printing skill has already been replaced by modern printing techniques.

Generally speaking, the existing wood blocks for printing in China can be classified into three categories, which are wood blocks for printing books, for printing Buddhist Sutra, and for printing pictures. These wood blocks for printing were mainly collected in public institutions and by private individuals. The public institutions include the different museums, libraries, and publishers. The private individuals include the private publishers, the folk people's collection and printing

workshop. Since I started this program, I have paid visits and made the investigation at the Imperial Palace in Beijing, Wood Blocks Engraving and Printing House in Yangzhou, Wood blocks Buddhist Sutra- Engraving Place in Nanjing, Yunju Temple in Beijing, Rongbaozhai Old bookstore in Beijing, Cathay Bookstore, Yangliuqing in Tianjin, etc., where are collected many wood blocks for printing books, printing Buddhist Sutra, and printing the Chinese Spring Festival pictures.

These collections of wood blocks for printing are exactly correspondent to the public, private, Buddhist Sutra, and book store engraving the wood blocks and printing in Chinese printing history. It is not difficult to analyze the social background in studying these wood blocks for printing. I believed that it is necessary to have a study program on the categories, features of the existing wood blocks for printing, and to have further investigation and study the statistics, and to formulate the measurements for preservation. On the basis of preservation, we have to make these valuable, cultural heritage in order to play more functions in the new era.

1. WOOD BLOCKS FOR PRINTING BOOKS

1.1 To Analyze the existing wood blocks for printing in the Beijing National Palace Museum and the Central Government Publication

There are two different statements concerning the quantity of the existing wood blocks for printing in the Beijing National Palace Museum.

According to Mr. Zhu Saihong, curator of the Palace Library, there are about 200,000 pieces of wood blocks, which are still in the course of rearrangement. However, in the latest article published by Mr. Weng Lianxi, a librarian of the Beijing National Palace Museum, he said that there are about 190,000 wood blocks were remaining, which included the Tripitaka in Tibetan and Manchu characters, etc. The earliest Tibetan language wood blocks printing are the books printed by the royal court in the Ming Dynasty, such as *Xing Li Da Quan* (性理大全 *The Complete Works of Human Nature*), *Wen Xiang Tong Kao* (文献通考 *Comprehensive Textual Research of Historical Documents*), *Wu Jing Si Shu Da Quan* (五经四书大全 *The Five Classics and Four Books*). Most of the collected wood blocks for printing are the books of the *Wu Ying Dian* (武英殿 *Military Prowess Hall*) in the Qing Dynasty. The edition of the *Wu Ying Dian* was a wood blocks printed book in the Qing Dynasty's government internal court in Kang Xi, Yong Zheng and Qian Long Emperors's period (1662–1785AD). Though only a small portion of the wood blocks remain today, we still can trace the situation and the background of the book printing represented by the Military Prowess Hall from these rare documents that were handed down.

During the period of the Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong (1662–1795), the edition of *Wu Ying Dian* (Military Prowess Hall) was developed into its flourishing and prosperous time. It was also fraught with serious contradictions and danger and crisis at that time.

Firstly, as the minority, since the Manchu aristocratic takeover of the central part of China, they paid special attention to the fields of ideology and culture by promoting Cheng Zhu Neo-Confucianism orthodox energetically in order to strengthen the autocratic reign. Books that preached Neo-Confucianism took up a large proportion in the Wu Ying Dian edition, while the compilation and release of other publications, like the scientific and technological books, and literary works were strictly confined.

Secondly, the Literary Inquisitions that started in the early Qing Dynasty were becoming more serious. It became cruel and made peoples' hair stand on end. During the Qian Long Emperor period (1736–1795 A.D.) in the Qing Dynasty it was decreed to compile the *Si Ku Quan Shu* (四库全书 Four Vaults of Classics, History, Philosophy and Collected Works of Literature). From 1774 to 1793, about 3,100 titles, around 151,000 copies and more than 80,000 prices of wood blocks for printing were banned and ruined. The countless books were destroyed and damaged among the common people. It was also harmful to the social ideology and culture at that time. Being afraid of the despotic power in the Literary Inquisition policies, the intellectuals immersed themselves in textual research to escape the social reality.

Thirdly, the corrupt officials acted in a foolhardy manner and tried to seize every opportunity in order to sabotage the advanced techniques in printing work at that time. For example, 200,000 pieces of moveable copper-letters for printing were produced in the Kang Xi Emperor period (1662–1922 A.D.). They were for printing the *Gu Jin Tu Shu Ji Cheng* (古今图书集成 The Collected Books From Ancient Till the Present Time) and only 100 sets were printed (each set had 10,000 Juan). Later on, these copper-letters were stored in the Wu Ying Dian warehouse, asking only one warehouse man to preserve them. Unfortunately, this warehouse man stole what was entrusted to his care. But fearing exposure and punishment, he made a suggestion to melt down these copper-letters in order to cast coins, which were in extremely short supply in the early Qian Long Emperor (1736–1750 A.D.). Therefore, the Qian Long Emperor was overcome with regret and wrote a poem to show his thousand pities for losing these copper-letters. He had to ask the people to engrave the moveable wood letters to print the *Wu Ying Dian Ju Zhen Ben* (武英殿聚珍本 Accumulated Treasure Books in Wu Ying Dian). These moveable wood letters also suffered from the same tragic lot. They were burned to warm the warehouse men instead of being made full use.

By the end of the Qian Long to Jia Qing Emperors' period (1790–1820), the book printing in Wu Ying Dian (武英殿 Military Prowess Hall) was in decline, especially after the Dao Guang Emperor (1821 A.D. -), the quality and quantity of book printing decreased sharply. During the Dao Guang, Xian Feng, Guang Xu to Xuan Tong Emperors (1821–1911 A.D.), there were only 39 titles of imperial editions of books published, which amounted to only 7.5% of the whole imperial editions in the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911 A.D.). In June 1867, the Yong Ding River in Beijing flooded and the Wu Ying Dian (Military Prowess Hall) suffered from a

conflagration. This fire disaster had destroyed almost all the wood blocks and wood letters for printing, which were preserved since the Kang Xi Emperor (1622 A.D.-). Although some other wood blocks for printing were stocked in another warehouse, it could be compared with that of in Wu Ying Dian (Military Prowess Hall), and even it was rebuilt later.

Another factor, which caused the decline of engraving the wood blocks and wood letters for printing in the Wu Ying Dian (Military Prowess Hall) was the introduction of western mechanized letter press printing technology, with which the traditional engraving wood blocks and letters for printing were unable to compete. They were replaced by the advanced letter press or lithography technology.

From the above historical documents, we can understand that it was really not easy to preserve the existing wood blocks and letters for printing in the Wu Ying Dian, which suffered from various misfortunes. In 1924, the last emperor Pu Yi moved out of the Beijing Imperial Palace and the Beijing Imperial Palace Museum was established in 1925 for the proper preservation of these extremely valuable cultural treasures. On Jul 27th, 1950, the Administration of the Cultural Heritage Bureau approved gathering together all the scattered 190,000 pieces of wood blocks and letters for printing in the Imperial Palace Wall watchtower. A detailed list was compiled by the librarian in the library of the Beijing Imperial Palace Museum, which included the engraved wood blocks by President Xu Shichang (1855–1939 A.D., a warlord, and the President of the Republic of China in 1918–1922 A.D.).

In the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911 A.D.), the Literary Inquisitions prevailed everywhere for almost twenty years. It was really difficult to preserve these wood blocks for printing in Wu Ying Dian (Military Prowess Hall), which was unparalleled for its prominence and privilege, both politically and economically and culturally. We should treasure these first hand materials of wood blocks and letters for printing in order to make study further printing culture in the Chinese ancient central government..

1.2 Wood Blocks for Printing Collected in Local Libraries

Large quantities of wood blocks for printing were collected for engraving and printing in well developed area, such as the famous cultural provinces of Zhejaing, Sichuan, Jiangsu and Fujian, which included Jian Yang (in Fujian Province), and Si Bao. Some of them had already been transferred to collections in the local libraries.

For example, the Zhejiang Provincial Library: this library had collected wood blocks for printing since the late Qing Dynasty (1909 A.D. -). In 1951, Mr. Liu Chenggan, the owner of the Jiaye Library in the Huzhou area, donated all his wood blocks for printing (about 50,000 pieces) to the Zhejiang Library, which included the *Shi Yuan Series* (适园丛书), the *Si Ming Series* (四明丛书), etc. These wood blocks were sent to the Guang Ling Printing House in Yangzhou, Jiangsu

Province for reprinting books. After that, they were returned, and still collected in the Zhejiang Provincial Library until the present day.

Other than the Zhejiang Provincial Library, the Nanjing Library (Jiangsu Provincial Library) also collected wood blocks for printing two masterpieces, *Collective Notes to Chu Ci* (楚辞集注) and *Collating Notes on Li Ji Zheng Yi* (礼记正义校勘记). They were reprinted in 1979 by Guang Ling Printing House and won the first prize of Excellent Ancient Books Award in 1992.

1.3 Yangzhou Guang Ling Engraving and Printing House

The Guang Ling Engraving and Printing House in Yangzhou has a history of 45 years. It has collected more than 200,000 pieces of wood blocks for printing (another saying is about 300,000 pieces) from the Ming to the Qing Dynasties.

There is a historical origin of the Guang Ling Engraving and Printing House, which collected so many wood blocks for printing. According to the historical records engraving wood blocks for printing in the Yangzhou area, had been going on since the Tang Dynasty. Mr. Yuan Zhen (779–831A.D., a great poet in the Tang Dynasty) wrote a preface for a book entitled *Bai Si Chang Qing Ji*, and which was written by Bai Juyi (772–846A.D., a great poet in the Tang Dynasty), which described that people in Yang Zhou engraved the wood blocks for printing Mr. Bai's poems to sell or exchange for wine and tea. The earliest edition of *Meng Xi Bi Tan* (梦溪笔谈), the masterpiece forever written by Mr. Shen Kuo (1031–1095A.D.), who was one of the greatest scientists in the North Song Dynasty. *Meng Xi Bi tan* was engraved and printed in Yangzhou by Mr. Tang Xiunian. This edition became the master copy afterward. The following three dynasties of Yuan, Ming, Qing, saw the succession of the printing industry in Yangzhou. It is necessary to mentioned that Mr. Chao Yin, who was a famous Chinese fiction writer and author of *Red Chamber's*, Mr. Chao Xueqin's grandfather, set up the Yangzhou Poetry Bureau to engrave and print the imperial court books in the Tian Ning Temple. In the 44th year of the Kang Xi Emperor (1705A.D.), the Yangzhou Poetry Bureau carried out the emperor's order to engrave and print a set of books, *Quan Tang Shi* (全唐诗 A Complete Poetry in the Tang Dynasty), and were highly appreciated and praised by Kang Xi Emperor. Other than the *Quan Tang Shi* (*The Complete Poetry of the Tang Dynasty*), the Yangzhou Poetry Bureau had engraved and printed great numbers of master books of high quality.

Together with Mr. Dong Hao, Mr. Ruan Yuan (1764–1849A.D.), who was a great scholar of the Qian Jia school, received an order from the Jia Qing Emperor to compile *QuanTang Wen* (全唐文 Complete Essays of the Tang Dynasty). This set of wood blocks for printing was also engraved and printed in the Yangzhou Poetry Bureau.

Other than *The Complete Poetry in the Tang Dynasty* and *the Complete Essays in the Tang Dynasty*, there were also *The Collected Works of Mr. Dong Xin*, which were compiled by Mr. Jin Nong and engraved and printed in the Yong Zheng Em-

peror (1723–1735 A.D.). *Hai Guo Tu Zhi* (海国图志 *Illustrated Records of Overseas Countries*), written by Wei Yuan (1794–1857 A.D., a famous thinker, historian, literati) was printed in Yangzhou. Some of the Yangzhou salt merchants with lofty ideals, devoted themselves to cultural work. Mr. Ma Yue and Mr. Ma Yuelu (brothers), had printed many popular books, such as *Shuo Wen Jie Zi* (说文解字 *Explanation and Study of Principles of Composition of Chinese Characters*), that were called “Ma Edition” for their high quality of printing.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, the people’s government paid a great deal of attention to the ancient cultural heritage of wood block printing. In 1960, according to the former premier Zhou Enlai’s instruction, the ancient tradition of using wood blocks to engrave and print books, which was kept up in the Jiangsu, Anhui, and Zhejiang provinces was gathered together in the Guang Ling Engraving and Printing House in Yangzhou, for its careful preservation. Experts and technicians on engraving and printing gathered in Yangzhou to make investigations, to study, and to preserve the tradition. They made great contributions toward the rescue and preservation of these ancient cultural books and records without violating their original styles and features. In the meantime, they also accumulated many valuable experiences. Generally speaking, the current collection of wood blocks for printing in the Yangzhou Guang Ling Engraving and Printing House are mainly from the private collectors of wood blocks for printing in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and the Anhui provinces.

On Dec, 2002, the National Press and Publishing Bureau, ratified the Guang Ling Engraving and Printing House to the Yangzhou Guang Ling Publishing House, which mainly publishes wood block printed books with traditional techniques, photocopying and copying the precious books and periodicals, imitating Chinese traditional calligraphy and painting, as well as Chinese thread-binding books.

At present, the Guang Ling Publishing House still maintains a whole set of traditional wood blocks for the engraving craft. As the largest production base for thread-binding books, it has adopted all the traditional processes of sorting out, editing, engraving, printing binding and the other twenty steps. There are more than eighty craftsmen having the relationship of masters and apprentices. From selecting ancient documents, to fine manufacturing and workmanship, to the format of simplicity, sophistication, and elegance, the whole set of processes has received a reputation of “The Unparalleled Technique in China”. Meanwhile, they also carried out research on restoring the five types of ancient movable type letters or printing technique from the Song Dynasty (960 A.D. -) in copper, tin, clay, porcelain and wood letters..

Now, the annual production capacities of the Guang Ling Publishing House have attained over 300,000 copies of the thread-bound books. About 5,000 titles have been printed, which have many famous works, such as *Li Tang Dao Ting Lu* written during the Qing Dynasty, *300 poems of the Tang Dynasty*, which was blended with five different kinds of letter press printing materials. Of course, you

can find large quantities of classical works and documents of value in a collection with an aesthetic like *Si Ming Series*, *Collective Notes to Chu Ci*, etc.

1.4 Cathay Bookshop – A State Owned Professional Bookshop for Antiquarian and Used books

Founded in Nov. 4th /1952, the Cathay Bookshop was the first state-owned, professional bookshop for antiquarian and used books in China. This bookshop has collected 230 titles of engraved woodblocks for printing and 46,000 titles with thread-bindings for antiquarian and old books, which included many of academic value such as *Long Xi Jing She Series* and *The Book of Rites with Commentaries*, etc.

In the past fifty years, the Cathay Bookshop accomplished its mission successfully by rescuing cultural relics and antiquarian books by purchasing, sorting out or repairing them. More than 30,000 copies of the first grade antiquarian and rare books were purchased by the China National Library, the Museum and academic research Institutions for permanent preservation. The Cathay Bookshop also did a lot of work repairing and rescuing more than 20,000 copies of antiquarian and rare books, and helped different libraries and private book collectors repair antiquarian and rare books like Mao Zedong, an other old generation of revolutionaries. Up to now, Cathay Bookshop has distributed more than 120 million copies of old and new books, which included reprinting and distributing 2,035 titles with 18.16 million copies of old books.

2. WOOD BLOCKS FOR PRINTING THE BUDDHIST SUTRA

2.1 Wood Blocks for Printing Collected in Buddhist Temples

There are thousands of Buddhist temples in different parts of China. Almost all the temples have library halls, which mainly collect the Buddhist Sutras. Some of them still collected the wood blocks for printing the Buddhist Sutra. It is necessary to mention the Yunju Temple in the Fangshan District, Beijing City. This temple has the collection of so called “Three Uniques”, which includes stone inscriptions, wood blocks for printing the Tripitaka, and the Sutras on paper. The stone tablets date to 605 A.D. (the 12th year of Daye, Sui Dynasty) and were started by Monk Jing Wan, who was afraid of persecution against Buddhism and carved all the Buddhist scripture on the stone tablets. The work went on for 1,039 years through the Sui, Tang, Liao, Jin, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties, and had produced 14,278 stone tablets with 1,122 titles (3,572 Juan) for Buddhist scriptures. The practice of inscribing the Buddhist scriptures on stone tablets, the quality of the editions used, the quantities of the scriptures, and the duration of this work are all but unparalleled in China and any other countries in the world. The sutras on paper, which were printed and hand-copied in the Ming Dynasty, amount to a collection of

22,000 Juans (chapters), and is rarely seen in other domestic temples. In Yunju Temple, more than 77,000 pieces of wood blocks for printing the *Qianlong Tripitaka*, which were engraved from the 11th years of Yong Zheng Emperor (1733AD) to the 3rd year of the Qian Long Emperor (1738 A.D.). These are the most important and famous wood blocks for printing the Buddhist Scriptures in China.

There are many other temples collecting wood blocks for printing, which are still well preserved. The outstanding ones are in Lhasa and Lhapuleng Temple in Ri Ka Ze of Tibet, Taer Temple in Qinghai Province, Labrang Temple, Grand Zhuoni Temple in the Gansu Province, etc. The Dege Sutra Printing House in Sichuan Province is the most famous one for its earliest history, largest scale and largest collection of Buddhist scriptures.

2.2 The Dege Sutra Wood Blocks Engraving and Printing House

The Dege Sutra Wood Blocks Engraving and Printing House, also called Dege Auspicious and Wisdom-Gathering House, was located on the east slope of Dege County of Sicuan Province. It was built in the 7th year of the Yong Zheng Emperor (1730 A.D.) for Chokyi Tenpa Tsering (1687–1738 A.D.), who was the 12th headman and 6th dharma-rajā of Dege. This Printing House was one of the largest of three Sutra-printing houses (Lhasa Sutra-Printing House in Tibet, Lhapuleng House in Gansu Province and Dege Parkhang in Sichuan Province). The monks and scholars from different countries, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan etc., often came here to study Buddhist Sutras. The main building of the Dege Sutra-Printing House covered an area of 1500M² with two floors, which was typical Tibetan architecture. The wood blocks for printing were stored on the first floor with six rooms where the wood blocks were put in order on the shelves. The second floor was used for the management office and the printing workshop.

During the Emperor Guang Xu Emperor period (1875–1908 A.D.), there were more than 300,000 pieces of wood blocks for printing in the Dege Sutra-Printing House. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, these wood blocks for printing suffered heavy losses in the disturbance of the chiefs struggle among the local tribes. According to the statistics in 1978, there were only 217,000 pieces of these wood blocks for printing remaining. Another saying is that there are 259,600 pages of these wood blocks with a few for printing the local maps, and also there are about 140 pieces for printing the local customs, decorative arts etc. The sizes of these wood blocks differ. The bigger ones are about 3Chi x 2Chi (100 cm. x 66 cm.). The small ones are about 1Chi x 0.2Chi (33 cm. x 6 cm.). They can be printed on both sides. Though these wood blocks for printing have been used for about 200 years, their characters are still very sharp and clear when printed. The materials for these wood blocks were selected from the knotless red birch produced in Dege, and they were processed by cutting into sections, drying by fire-cure, soaking in water, boiling, baking and planing, and made ready for use. Moreover, the printers were also very fastidious about the paper in printing the sutras.. The paper was

made from the root tassels of the local medical herbal plant. Therefore, the paper had the characteristics of being anti-vermin and worms and of good fiber quality for long term preservation.

According to the traditional classification, the collections of these wood blocks for printing in the Dege Sutra Engraving and Printing House mainly included the following six categories: Kanjur, Tanjur, selected works, book series, comprehensive and separate books of the Tri-pitaka in Tibetan (The Great Tibetan collection).

From February to October in 1979, the Relics Management Institute of the Dege County, Sichuan Province, used these wood blocks and printed 4,073 titles with 1,180,440 pages from different categories of works. They were warmly welcomed, ordered, and purchased by concerned institutions, schools, hospitals, temples of Beijing, Tibetan, Qinghai, Gansu, Xingjiang etc. and also by purchasers in the USA, Japan, Great Britain, France, Germany, Bhutan, India, Sikkim etc.

2.3 Jinling Wood Blocks of Engraving and Printing Buddhist Scriptures House

Jinling Wood Blocks of Engraving and Printing Buddhist Scriptures House is located in Nanjing City of Jiangsu Province and was founded on Buddhist Enlightenment Day (Dec. 8, 1966). This publishing house is a center for printing Buddhist Sutras with wood blocks and also collects great quantities of precious resources for the study of the Chinese Buddhist culture. It has a collection of total 125,000 pieces of wood blocks for printing Buddhist Sutras, which includes nearly 1,000 titles of ancient and rare books including many influential Buddhist classics, such as *Buddhist Scriptures Translated by Xuanzang*, *Mahaprajnaparamita-sastra*, *Saddharma-pundarika-sutra*, the dissipated books written in the Sui or the Tang Dynasty, *Dazang Buddhist Scriptures* in a reduced form from Japan, etc. Besides, there are lots of fine pictures and printing sculptures, among them the filling color printing *Picture of Buddhist Ceremony*, one of the masterpieces of the Buddhist sculptures.

The Jinling Wood Blocks of Engraving and Printing Buddhist Scriptures House is not only a workshop for engraving Buddhist scriptures, but it is also an academic center for Buddhism study. Wood block engravings and printing the Buddhist Sutras not only met the needs of the popular monks, but they also developed the general mood of the study of Buddhism and promoted the vigour of Buddhist teachings. They made a great contribution to the rejuvenation of Chinese Buddhism in the 20th century.

Mr. Yang Renshan, the founder of the Jinling Wood Blocks of Engraving and Printing Buddhist Scriptures House, decided to leave his house/property as a platform and place for Buddhist preaching, instead of leaving it to his next generation. As a model of patriotism ideology, Mr. Yang Renshan had printed and distributed more than one million Juan (chapters) of canon books and more than 100,000 pieces of Buddhist Figures, in which some of them had been lost for more than

1,000 years since the Sui and Tang Dynasties. The quality of these products enjoyed a very good reputation in the Buddhist community because they had to go through strict selection and proofreading, and the engraving was done with care and precision by the engravers.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, 73,538 pieces of wood blocks for printing were gathered together from Ma Nao Jing Fang in Suzhou, Dong Ting Xi Shang, Jiang Bei Ke Jing Chu, Zhi a Nei Cue Yuan, Pi Ling Ke Jing Chu, San Shi Hui in Beijing, Jin Gan Dao Chang in Shanghai and Tianjin. So there were about 150,000 pieces of wood blocks, which were stored in this Publishing House. Unfortunately, only 125,000 pieces have survived after the Great Cultural Revolution (1966–1976 A.D.), which include the Picture of Buddhist Ceremony (灵山法会图) and 18 kinds (69 pieces) of GuanYin Buddhist Figures, 1,640 titles of canon books (about 10,000 Juan). Therefore, the Jinling Wood Blocks Engraving and Printing Buddhist Scripture House became one of the most important relic centers for wood block engraving and printing of the Buddhist Scriptures and Figures.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the Jinling Wood Blocks Engraving and Printing House recovered and the traditional ancient techniques of engraving and printing also resumed, and continued to provide the wood block printed materials for Buddhists and intellectuals. According to the introduction of Mr. Guan Enkun, the chief of the printing house, this printing house had printed more than 200 titles of 800,000 copies of Sutras, include the “Jing Tu Si Jing”, “Zang Yao”, “Jin Gan Jing,” etc. As the printing center of wood blocks for printing Buddhist Sutras, it attracted and won a great reputation from world Buddhists and intellectuals, who came here and paid visits here. It also has an active significance for Chinese religious policy and promotes the cultural intercommunications between China and foreign countries.

2.4 Yangzhou Library of Wood Blocks Printing Buddhist Sutra

The Yangzhou Library of Wood Blocks Printing Buddhist Sutras is located west of the Wanhong Bridge on Pisi Street, Yangzhou City. It was established for preservation of Buddhist scriptures in the Wan Li Emperor period (1573–1620 A.D.). Since the Tong Zhi Emperor period (1862–1874 A.D.), more than 1,000 Juan (chapters) of the Buddhist Sutras and classic works were printed and distributed far and wide, to places like Beijing, Shanghai, Changchun, Hong Kong and foreign countries. These printed materials were engraved and printed with a vigorous, scientific approach, and careful collation. Therefore, the library enjoyed a good reputation at home and abroad and was appraised as the “Yangzhou Wood Blocks Printing Edition.” The quantity of the existing wood blocks for printing Sutras is about 20,000 pieces that were preserved in the Yangzhou Guan Ling Wood Blocks of Engraving and Printing House.

3. WOOD BLOCKS FOR PICTURES PRINTING

3.1 Local Museum

To take the Yangzhou Museum for example, it collected 60 sets with 189 pieces of wood blocks for printing the pictures for celebrating the Chinese Luna New year. According to the collation by the experts of this museum, these wood blocks are the heritage of several workshops of the Yangzhou Wood Blocks of Engraving and Printing House in modern time. Among them Yunlan Workshop was the most famous with its fine woodblock engraving and printing, and its work was popular and unparalleled. Thus, my introduction to chromo xylographs in Yangzhou focuses on the Yunlan Pavilion, which is typically representative. Generally speaking, current woodblock printing is of different chromatography editions with five colors, sometimes seven to eight or nine colors, which include red, yellow, green, blue, purple, peach, blue, straw yellow, etc. The wood blocks for printing the pictures can also be classified into four types according to their contents, namely figures of Buddha, blessings, historical stories and drama posters. In today's Yangzhou Museum, we can still find over 40 pieces of wood blocks for printing the illustrations, which were the relics of the Yuanlan Pavilion, called "Yunlan Pavilion Qian Po".

3.2 Rongbaozhai Water-color Woodblock Printing Workshop in Beijing

The Rongbaozhai Water-color Woodblocks Printing Workshop was set up in 1894 A.D. in Beijing. According to Mr. Feng Pengsheng, who was the vice-general manager, the Rongbaozhai Workshop had collected ten thousand pieces of multi-color woodblocks for printing color pictures with more than 4,000 titles. After 1949, Rongbaozhai decided to make improvements and innovations in water-color printing techniques. The Workshop got great support from the government leaders, Mr. Guo Moruo, Mr. Qi Yanming, Mr. Dengtuo, and Mr. Xu Beihong. Rongbaozhai carried on its traditional arts and produced more than 200 titles of paintings of ancient and modern masterpieces. Since the 1960s, the traditional water-color wood block printing has achieved more and more delicacy and a larger-size, which included the traditional freehand brushwork of "Bamboo and Cymbidium" painted by the great painter, Mr. Zheng Banqiao, "The Running Horses" by Mr. Xu Beihong, the silk copy fine brushwork paintings "Beautiful Lady with Flowers" by Zhou Fang in the Tang Dynasty, and "Painting of Han Xi-zai's Evening Banquet" by Mr. Gu Hong-zhong in the South Song Dynasty. Through eight years of hard work, this painting used 1,776 pieces of wood blocks for printing, which had to be printed more than 6,000 times, and finally, was successfully completed.

3.3 Pictures Printed by Wood Blocks in different Parts of China.

There has always been four centers of wood block printing of New Year pictures, which include Yangliuqing in Tianjin City, Taohuawu in Suzhou City, and Yang-

jiapu in Weifang City of Shandong Province. However, others have a different opinion, and say there are other centers such as Mianzhu in Sichuan Province, Wuqiang in Hebei Province, Zhuxian Township in Henan Province, Tantou in Hunan Province and Fengxiang in Shanxi Province, etc.

According to historical records, Chengdu and Mianzhu in Sichuan Province are some of the earliest centers of wood blocks for printing pictures. Chengdu saw numbers of unearthed pictures from the Tang dynasty. Mr. Zhao Bian of the Song Dynasty (1008–1084 A.D.) wrote a book of *Chengdu Gu Jin Ji* (成都古今记 The Ancient and Present Records of Chengdu), which said there had been special markets for selling and purchasing the New Year pictures in Chengdu in the Song Dynasty. They were also transferred to the nearby Mianzhu county and developed into “large scale market and “small scale market.” Until the Tong Zhi Emperor (1862–1874 A.D.), more than 300 workshops with more than 1,000 people were engaged in producing more than 12,000,000 New Year pictures per year. On Dec. 1st each year, people would witness an unprecedented increase in New Year picture sales, attracting peddlers from Shanxi Province, Gansu Province, Yunnan Province, and Guizhou Province, etc., to Mianzhu for trading.

The Yangliuqing Wood Blocks for Printing New Year Pictures in Tianjin was started in the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 A.D.). It mainly printed the monochromatic wood block pictures of Door-God, Kitchen God and the Masters in Heaven etc. Since the 13th years of the Yong Le Emperor (1415 A.D.), China's Grand Canal was open from Beijing to Hangzhou (Note: originally the Grand Canal was from Kaifeng to Yangzhou in the Sui Dynasty of 589–618 A.D.). As a place of strategic importance of Tianjin City, Yangliuqing enjoyed a prosperous economic development and the great convenience in shipping Xuan Paper (a high quality paper made in Xuancheng of Anhui Province, especially for traditional Chinese painting and calligraphy) and dyestuff from the South Yangtze River area. During the Wang Li Emperor Period (1573–1619 A.D.), wood block color printing appeared. The New Year picture printed art was printed by chromatography with various colors of red, green yellow, black, etc.

In the period of great prosperity, wood block printed New Year pictures of Tao-huawu in Suzhou City were sold more than one million per year, in which the people could collect more than 70 titles of the pictures with drama figures. There popularity lay in being close to the common people's lives, decorative, inexpensive and good quality. In the engraving skill and color printing techniques, these Tao-huawu New Year pictures used the experience of China's traditional painting style, absorbed the process printing techniques of Hui style (in Anhui Province) and the Jinling style (in Nanjing City). They were also imitating the engraving skill of Western copper letters. The colors used were never confined to only those as one sees through the eyes in real life, and this resulted in a gay, bright and striking style.

During the Qianlong Emperor Period (1736–1795 A.D.), Weifang Yangjiabu in Shandong Province appeared as well as Yong Sheng, Gong Mao and other ten

large scale shopping centers for printing and selling the various kinds of New Years pictures. Although they were destroyed several times because of social disturbance, 519 sets of the original wood blocks for printing the New Year pictures still survived. At present, 186 out of 240 households are continuing to produce the New Year pictures producing a yearly total income of 370,000 yuan.

Originating from the early Ming Dynasty and flourishing in the Qianlong and Jiaqing Periods, New Year pictures of Wuqiang is rooted in folk customs and the local color of the civilization. Until the late Qing Dynasty, there had been 144 picture shops, with 500 working staff and annual sales of 3,000 pictures. The picture inherited the engraving technology, one of the four ancient inventions, all in handwork. The New Year picture of Wuqiang is close to life and diversified in technique, with a plump composition of the picture and a broad line. Compared with the redundant and ravishingly decorative New Year pictures of TianjinYan-gliuqing, Wuqiang New Year pictures are celebrated for their homochromatic features. With the basic tone of three primary-colors and black-white, the colors of the Wuqiang New Year pictures are of strong contrast, creating a joyful atmosphere.

The Zhuxian Township Engraving Wood Blocks Printing Pictures are mostly made in water-color wood block prints supplemented by screen printing technology, a traditional fine art uniquely found in Zhuxian Township.

The Tantou New Year picture in Hunan Province relies on the paper industry and fine handmade paper produced in Tantou. Every year, picture salesmen came to Tantou, distributing Tantou New Year pictures to Guizhou, Sichuan, Guangdong, Guangxi, even Shanxi, Yunnan and the Southeast Asia area, with annual sale of 7,000,000 pictures.

Fengxiang Wood Blocks Printing New Year Picture in Shanxi Province was started in the Zheng De and Jia Jing Emperors Period (1506–1566 A.D.). The most famous one was the wood block printed picture on drama in the South Xiaio Li Village.

In the article “The Characteristics of Chinese Folk Woodblock New Year Pictures”, the author Li Lei came to the conclusion by comparison that Tianjin Yan-gliuqing and Suzhou Taohuawu pictures are characterized by an elegant style, popularized by the civilian class, while wood block New Year pictures of Hebei Wuqiang and Hennan Zhuxianzhen are popular with Chinese farmers for their deep folk traditions, strong color and entertaining atmosphere.

All these historical records indicate that there are great numbers of wood blocks for printing in collections in folk China, and the techniques have been handed down from generation to generation and also are still being printed and published. For example, Fengxiang Woodblocks Printing New Year Picture held an exhibition the printing techniques and its products. It received visitors from home and abroad to enjoy the engraving and printing skill, and demonstrations by the peasant artists.

4. SORTING OUT, PRESERVATION AND UTILIZATION OF WOOD BLOCKS FOR PRINTING

Looking through the ancient documents, we can easily find lots of ancient practices of preservation and utilization of the wood blocks for printing. According to *Records of the Imperial College*, the wood blocks for printing collected in the Imperial College and Military Prowess are compiled into volumes and checked from time to time in case of mixture with the different subjects and different titles. In order to protect the wood blocks for printing from the humidity and mildew, it is necessary to put these wood blocks under the shady sun, especially in the rainy season (usually in May and June in the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River). By the end of each year, these wood blocks should be checked, an inventory made, and repaired partially. On the other hand, we should also notice that these ancient wood blocks for printing were not attractive enough for their preservation which brought serious damage to these unduplicated cultural heritage materials.

Fortunately, in recent years, these existing wood blocks for printing, whether in the imperial palace museum, in local libraries and museums, or scattering in folk China, have been improved in terms of collection environment, preservation condition, sorting out and their utilization and so on. In my opinion, there are the following various reasons for this: (1) The people's sense of recognition on the importance of the cultural relics and the historical heritages; (2) With the rapid development of China's economy, the government is paying more attention to cultural undertakings; (3) More and more people (including the men of insight of officers and intellectuals) began to realize the cultural value and contribution of these ancient wood blocks for printing for the world of engraving and printing history. These are the masterpieces of the common efforts of painters and calligraphers, folk artists, and wood block engravers. Not only it has high valuable cultural heritage, but also a new property for us. Mr. Weng Lianyi made an account on the value of these wood blocks and the printed books, and made a clear conclusion that wood blocks for printing are apparently more valuable than the books because the books can be reprinted but the wood blocks can never be regained if they were destroyed.

4.1 Open up Special Show Room for Long-term Exhibition

Cooperating with the Forbidden City Publishing House, the Imperial Palace Library reprinted *Manchu Kanjur*, which has found an effective way to preserve and to make use of the wood blocks for printing. In my ideal, these wood blocks for printing should be kept on shelves or be placed in special show rooms for exhibition. Hence, visitors can imagine to be in the sea of such a great number of wood blocks for printing of the knowledge ocean.

4.2 To Establish “Chinese Traditional Papermaking and Printing Culture Village”

Huabaozhai in Hangzhou of Zhejiang Province is a typical example, which is the only group of ancient book publishing industry, and it is the only company in the country engaged in papermaking, printing, publishing, even photocopying of the traditional thread binding. At present, Huabaozhai has developed into a group of eight businesses including a papermaking mill, a printing plant, an ancient book subsidiary registered in Hong Kong, a cultural village that showcases the ancient printing and papermaking technology and processes. Until now, Huabaozhai has published 3,300 titles of thread binding ancient books, totaling 16,000,000 copies. Furthermore, the specialized printing paper for ancient books has received a Reward of Science and Technology Achievements award from the Light Industry Ministry, whereas its culture village is ranked as one of the Patriotic Educational Bases by the Hangzhou Municipality. The development of Huabaozhai has been taken into account by the government and society, while its contribution in rescuing our national culture heritage has been highly praised by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government, like Jiang Zemin, Li Ruihuan, Wen Jiabao, etc.

4.3 To Set up the Wood Blocks Engraving and Printing Museum

To take Yangzhou Guangling Gu Ji Publishing House as an example, this publishing house has been suffering a lot of problems for many years, such as the limitation of its facilities and shortage of funds. Due to poor preservation conditions, 200,000 engraved wood blocks of only-existing copies were partially damaged by worms. To protect this valuable cultural heritage, Yangzhou city decided to construct a new Yangzhou Museum and Yangzhou Wood Blocks Engraving and Printing Museum with an investment of 120,000,000 Yuan. In July 2004, when I visited the new museum under construction, Mr. Wang Chunpeng, vice-director of the museum, told me that this new museum will be equipped with constant temperature and humidity control to preserve these wood blocks for printing in the hope they will last longer and longer.

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ONE OF THE GREAT WONDERS IN THE LIBRARY'S COLLECTION – A CASE STUDY ON WOOD BLOCKS FOR PRINTING IN THE ZHEJIANG LIBRARY

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ABSTRACT

Since the Zhejiang Official Publishing House (1867–) was merged with the Zhejiang Library in 1909, the Zhejiang Library started to collect wood blocks for printing. Although it had experienced a nearly 100 year vicissitude, it still preserves 150,000 pieces of wood blocks for printing in this library. The author of this paper exposes the history of these wood blocks for printing. It includes their characteristics, the present situation, the usage as well as their preservation, which is rarely known by common readers. The author hopes that it would be of interest and get a response from our colleagues.

KEYWORDS

Wood Blocks for Printing Library Media Collection Publishing History

Wood block printing is a printing technique which involves people who carve characters or pictures on a whole piece of wood board, metal board or board of varnish cloth. Up to the present, the Zhejiang Library has collected more than 150,000 pieces of engraved wood board for the purpose of printing books. This is one of the great wonders in the library's collection. Nearly 100 years ago (since 1909 A.D.), the Zhejiang Official Publishing House was merged with the Zhejiang Library. The librarians in the Zhejiang Library have overcome various difficulties and social disturbances to carry on this preservation of the printing cultural heritage from generation to generation.

1. THE ORIGIN OF CHINESE WOOD BLOCKS FOR PRINTING

In the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 A.D.), China's famous scholar, Mr. Hu Yinglin said: "Wood blocks for printing was started in the Sui Dynasty (589–618 A.D.), popularized in the Tang Dynasty (618–906 A.D.), expanded in the Five Dynasties Period (907–960 A.D.), and constantly improved in the Song Dynasty (960–1279 A.D.)." According to the records of the historical documents and many existing material objects have shown that Mr. Hu Yinglin's view of "wood blocks for

printing was started in the Sui Dynasty”, which can hold water. In the book of “Li Dai San Bao Ji” (历代三宝记, Records of Three Treasures in the Past Dynasties), it described that there was an order by the Emperor Sui Wendi (隋文帝) 13th year of Kai Huang (593 A.D.), when he advocated the Buddhism: “To give up the old bible, and made an order to engrave the articles and printing”. Therefore, we believe that China’s wood block printing was started in the Sui Dynasty (589–618 A.D.). After making many investigations, the author of this paper found that it is not occasionally, but there are three factors for the appearance of wood block printing in the Sui Dynasty.

1.1 Social demand was one of the important factors for the development of wood block printing in the Sui Dynasty (589–628 A.D.)

There are more than 1,000 years of China’s feudal society since the beginning of the Warring States Period (475–221 B.C.) to the Sui Dynasty. Only the social condition in the Han Dynasty of 426 years was relatively stable. After 360 years of social disturbance in the Epoch of the Three Kingdoms, the Western and Eastern Jin Dynasties, the Division Between North and South (220–589 A.D.), the Chinese people were in extreme need of social stability. Therefore, the Emperor Sui Wendi (581–604 A.D.) pushed forward two policies, which were beneficial to the development of wood block printing after he unified the whole nation. One was to encourage the popularization of Buddhism. The other was to initiate the feudal imperial examination system.

1.1.1 To encourage the popularization of the Buddhism.

According to the records in the historical documents, Buddhism was brought into China at the 10th year of Yong Ping of Emperor Mingdi in the East Han Dynasty (67 A.D.). Since then, Buddhism had a very fast development for more than 500 years (67–589 A.D.). According to the incomplete statistics, only in Zhejiang Province, there were 186 temples before the Sui Dynasty (589–618 A.D.). There are more than ten of them that still exist even now, like the Yan En Temple in Lin Hai City (临海的延恩寺 founded in 284 A.D.), the Tian Tong Temple in Ningbo City (宁波的天童寺 founded in 300 A.D.), the Lin Yin Temple in Hangzhou City (杭州的灵隐寺 founded in 328 A.D.), the Jing Yan Temple in Jiaxing City (嘉兴的精严寺 founded in 340 A.D.), the Wan Nian Temple in Tian Tai County (天台的万年寺 founded in 363–365 A.D.), the Da Fu Temple in Xin Chang County (新昌的大佛寺 founded in 486 A.D.), the Guo Qing Temple in Tian Tai County (天台的国清寺 founded in 538–598 A.D.) etc. The temples developed rapidly and spread everywhere. The monks needed the scriptures to read and to recite. To recite the scriptures they needed a large amount of scriptures, Buddha portraits and pictures, etc. This social condition created a very favorable situation for the development of wood block printing.

1.1.2 To carry out the system of feudal imperial examination for the selection of government officers.

There was a temporary measure to select qualified persons for government officers through examination in the Han Dynasty (206BC-220 A.D.). In the 7th year of the Kai Huang Emperor Period (587 A.D.), the emperor declared and made known publicly to abolish the hereditary system and established the system of feudal imperial examination for the selection the government officers. The contents of this examination were divided into several subjects. It set up a candidate in the highest imperial examination in the period of Emperor Sui Yandi (605–617 A.D.). Since then, this feudal examination system lasted more than 1400 years until the 31st year of the Guangxu Emperor in the Qing Dynasty (1905 A.D.). Therefore, a large quantity of books were demanded by the common people, who sought the imperial examination for the selection government officers. This situation provided a very good opportunity for improving and developing the technique of wood block printing.

1.2 To have the necessary materials and conditions for wood block printing. These basic materials are paper, ink and the writing brush, etc.

1.2.1 The invention and development of Chinese paper making technique

Many people know that Mr. Cai Lun (蔡伦) initiated the paper-making technique at the 1st year of Yuan Xing Emperor (105 A.D.) of the East Han Dynasty (25–220 A.D.). In recent decades, Chinese archaeologists have found many papers of about 300 years older than Mr. Cai Lun's paper in Shanxi, Gansu and other provinces. This shows that the technique of Mr. Cai Lun's paper-making was a summary of our ancestors' experiences and made further improvement. After 400 years of development since Mr. Cai Lun's invention, the paper-making technique became exquisite and made it easy to print in the Sui Dynasty.

1.2.2 The invention and development of ink powder in China.

The invention of ink in China can be traced to the era of bamboo and wooden slips documents (from the Warring States Period to the East Jin Period, 475 B.C.- 420 A.D.). It is because the bamboo or wooden slips documents were written on with ink. It was probably that the early ink was processed by mixing graphite or charcoal powder with adhesives and water. Ink balls were unearthed in the tombs of the Warring States Period (475–221 B.C.) in Changsha City, Hunan Province, and in the tomb of the West Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–8 A.D.) in Guangzhou City, Guangdong Province. In the 3rd century A.D., of China a great master ink-maker, Mr. Wei Dan (韦诞), another name of Zhong Jiang (仲将) appeared. There was a saying: "Zhong Jiang's ink, is exactly like the pitch-black." His ink was made of smoke powder from pine wood. During the Bei Wei Period (北魏 386–534 A.D.), Mr. Jia Sixie (贾思勰) published a book of "Qi Min Yao Shu" (齐民要术, the Es-

sential Knowledge for the Common People), which recorded the ink processing methods in detail. Since the Sui and the Tang Dynasties (589–907 A.D.), the technique of ink manufacturing became excellent workmanship, and also produced various ingot-shaped tablets. Therefore, ink provided a very good and necessary condition for the invention of wood block printing.

1.2.3 The invention of Chinese writing brush

Anyone who has read the documents on bamboo and wooden slips may understand that these documents were written with the Chinese writing brush. The Chinese writing brush, which was unearthed in the tomb of the Warring States Period (475–221 B.C.) in Changsha City, Hunan Province, is similar to the modern Chinese writing brush. The strokes in Chinese characters were written on the bamboo slips and on silk, which were unearthed in the Warring States Period and the Han Dynasty, show the high quality of manufacturing of the writing brush. Mr. Meng Tian (蒙恬), a general and famous person in designing and manufacturing the Chinese writing brush in the Qin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.). Qin Shi Huang (First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty, 221 B.C.–210 B.C.) made an order to Mr. Meng Tian to sum up their ancestors' experiences in writing brush-making, and set the standards for using certain materials for manufacturing the writing brushes, like rabbit hair, weasel's hair, sheep's wool, pig hair, fawn hair, etc. He also used wood or the bamboo sticks as writing brush holders. Until now, Mr. Meng Tian's technique of manufacturing the Chinese writing brush has been handed down from generation to generation. For commemorating this great cultural forefather, Meng Tian's Temple still exists in Huzhou City, Zhejiang Province, China.

In a word, the materials which are absolutely necessary for manufacturing wood block printing, were all in readiness. There were paper, ink powder, and Chinese writing brushes, etc. All these material objects were produced in high quality for more than 1,000 years of development (from the Warring States Period to the Sui Dynasty 475 B.C.-589 A.D.) No wonder the technique of wood block printing seemed ready to appear at the right time and the right opportunity.

1.3 The invention and development of the engraving technique of wood blocks for printing

There has been a long history of engraving Chinese characters and pictures. The engraving technique was developed from crude, roughly made and lousy workmanship to proficient, superfine and exquisite objects. The earliest engraving technique in China can be traced back to the "Painted-Pottery Culture" of the Late Neolithic Period (新石器彩陶文化 c.5000 B.C.) to the Shang Dynasty (c.16–11th Century, B.C.), from the inscriptions on bones or tortoise shells, and bronze ware. Stone carving was another great technique for the preparation of Chinese wood block printing, which was started in the Shang Dynasty (c.16–11th Century, B.C.), and flourished in the Qin and Han Dynasties (221 BC- 220 A.D.). The engraving

technique had been developed for more than 1500 years and created a very good condition for the invention of the wood block printing. Therefore, the culture of wood block printing had sprung up vigorously in the Sui Dynasty, like “the water flows, and the channel is formed.”

In a word, during the period of the Sui Dynasty, the material objects needed for wood block printing were all in readiness, the techniques were improved and regulated, and the society demanded a vast quantity of printed matter. All these favorable conditions had pushed the rapid development of the wood block printing. It is not an illusion, but fact, which has been handed down from generation to generation and makes a great contribution to the world's cultural development.

2. A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF THE WOOD BLOCKS FOR PRINTING COLLECTED IN THE ZHEJIANG LIBRARY.

2.1 The collection of wood blocks for printing after the Zhejiang Official Publishing House merged with the Zhejaing Library

In the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911 A.D.), after the peasant's uprising of Tai Ping Tian Guo (太平天国 1851–1864 A.D.), the Emperor Tong Zhi (1861–1874 A.D.) ordered some provinces to establish Official Publishing Houses for promoting cultural heritage. The Zhejiang Official Publishing House was one of the most important provincial publishing houses. According to the records in the book of «A Textual Research on Zhejiang Document» by Mr. Hong Huanchun: “Zhejiang Official Publishing House had published more than 200 titles of books from the 6th year of Tong Zhi Emperor to the 11th year of Guangxu Emperor (1867–1885 A.D.)”. Mr. Zeng Yun, Governor of Zhejiang Province, delivered a memorial to the Emperor Xuan Tong «A Memorial to the Emperor on Establishing Zhejiang Provincial Library» in 1909. This memorial stated: “Look at the original Official Publishing House in the provincial capital, it had published more than 110 titles of the books on classics, history, philosophy and collected works of literature. But recently the publishing work could not be extended because of the various reasons....” Although different scholars had various statistical data, the fact of 150,000 pieces of wood blocks for printing in the Zhejiang Library shows its historical position for nearly a hundred years. Therefore, we believe it is necessary to have a brief account of the origins of this collection.

In the 1st year of Emperor Xuan Tong (1909 A.D.), Mr. Zeng Yun, Governor of Zhejiang Province, delivered a memorial to the Emperor «A Memorial to the Emperor on Establishing Zhejiang Provincial Library». He suggested that the Zhejaing Official Publishing House should be incorporated into the Zhejiang Library and be made an extension of the scale and strengthen of the library's collection in order to encourage and to develop education and to hope the Emperor would pay attention to it..... After the Zhejiang Official Publishing House was merged with

the Zhejiang Library, it continued the work of engraving wood blocks and publishing books. In 1932, the new library building for the Zhejiang library was completed, and the main library was moved to the new building. Mr. Chen Xunci, director of Zhejiang Library, asked Mr. Mao Chunxiang to gather together all the wood blocks for printing, and to make an inventory of them, which was handed it down from the Zhejiang Official Publishing House, donated by a country gentlemen, and deposited in the Zhejiang Library. Through the hard work of Mr. Mao Chunxiang and his colleagues, they sorted out and counted all the materials. The total number is 163,690 pieces of wood blocks for printing. Among them, 40,151 pieces came from donation, and 1,053 pieces were from the depository at that time.

2.2 The collection of the wood blocks for printing donated by the Zhejiang Ancient Libraries

The news of the sorting and preservation work of the wood blocks for printing in the Zhejiang Library spread and got a very good reception from the community. Therefore, many owners of the Zhejiang Ancient Libraries donated their collections of wood blocks for printing to the Zhejiang Library.

2.2.1 *The wood blocks for printing donated by Mr. Ding Xuzhi and Ding Lifang, descendants of the Hangzhou Ba Qian Juan Library*

On July 1933, Mr. Ding Xuzhi, a descendant of Mr. Ding Bing, the owner of Hangzhou Baqianjuan Library, donated all the 18,400 pieces of wood blocks for printing to the Zhejiang Library. There were a lot of precious materials, like “The Selected Works of Poetry on Hangzhou” (杭郡诗正辑, engraved in 1874 A.D.), “The Selected Works of Poetry on Hangzhou, 2nd vol.” (杭郡诗续辑, engraved in 1876 A.D.), “The Selected Works of Poetry on Hangzhou, 3rd vol.” (杭郡诗三辑, engraved in 1883 A.D.), “A Series Works on Historical Anecdotes About Hangzhou” (武林掌故丛编, engraved in 1883 A.D.), “The Posthumous Papers by the Sages of Old in Hangzhou” (武林往哲遗书), “Records on Hangzhou’s Streets and Lanes” (武林坊巷志), and so on.

2.2.2 *The wood blocks for printing donated by Sun Kanghou, descendant of Hangzhou Sun’s Shousong Tang Library*

In 1933, Mr. Sun Kanghou (孙康侯), a descendant of Sun’s Shousong Tang Library (孙氏寿松堂藏书楼), donated a group of very precious wood blocks for printing to the Zhejiang Library. Among them, there are: “An Exquisite Book on the Local Records of Lin An (Hangzhou City now) in Emperor Qiandao” (1165–1169 A.D.) (影宋精刻本乾道临安志, engraved in 1774 A.D.), “A Supplementary to the Late Han Dynasty” (后汉书补遗, engraved in 1868 A.D.), etc.

2.2.3 *The wood blocks for printing donated by Mr. Wang Yunian, descendant of the Hangzhou Wang's Zhenyi Tang Library*

In 1922, Mr. Wang Yunian (汪玉年), a descendant of Wang's Zhenyi Tang Library in Hangzhou, donated his most valuable 22 titles of wood blocks for printing to Zhjiang Library. Among them, there are: "Monthly Words and Phrases of Cang Lang Hong" (沧浪虹月词, engraved in 1804 A.D.), "A Supplementary to Zuo Tong" (左通补释, engraved in 1929 A.D.), "The Local Records of Lin An (Hangzhou City now) in Xian Chun Emperor Period" (1265–1274 A.D.) (咸淳临安志 engraved in 1830 A.D.), and ten other titles engraved in the Dao Guang Emperor Period (道光年间 1821–1850 A.D.).

2.2.4 *The wood blocks for printing donated by Mr. Liu Chenggan, owner of Jiaye Library at Nanxun Township, Huzhou City*

On Nov.19, 1951, Mr. Liu Chenggan, owner of Jiaye Tang Library at Nanxun Township, Huzhou City (湖州南浔嘉业藏书楼), delivered a document to Zhejiang Library: "Willing to donate the Jiaye Tang Library's building, the land around the building, books in the building as well as the wood blocks for printing and all the library equipments to Zhejaing Library in order to keep preservation and serve the public." During 1912–1933, the owner of Jiaye Tang Library, Mr. Liu Chenggan organized, engraved and printed 184 titles of books. Like: "The Series of Jiaye Tang" (嘉业堂丛书), "The Series Books of Qiushu Zhai" (求恕斋丛书), "Shadow Engraved Song Edition of Four Series of Books on History: Shi Ji, Han Shu, Hou Han Shu, San Guo Zhi" (影宋四史: 史记、汉书、后汉书、三国志), and so on and so forth. The collection had total number of more than 50,000 pieces of wood blocks for printing.

2.2 The wood blocks for printing were deposited by Zhejaing prominent countrymen

Before and after 1933, there were many people who donated and deposited large amounts of wood blocks for printing to the Zhejiang Library. Like Mr. Fan Shuopu (樊淑圃), Mr. Wang Xiu (王修), Mr. Feng Qingrui (冯庆瑞), Mr. Xiang Lan-sheng (项兰生), Mr. Tang Liu (谭榴), Mr. Hu Zhongmao (胡宗栎) and others.

3. THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE ZHEJAING LIBRARY'S WOOD BLOCKS FOR PRINTING

The Zhejiang Library has collected and preserved more than 200,000 pieces of wood blocks for printing during its history. In spite of social disturbance, it still has kept well preserved more than 150,000 pieces. Through a detailed study, I consider that there are several characteristics as follows:

3.1 These wood blocks for printing in the Zhejiang Library have a long history

During 1862–1874 A.D., the Emperor Tong Zhi ordered Zhejiang Province, and Jiangsu, Sichuan, Anhui, Guangdong, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangxi, Shangdong, Shanxi, and Hebei provinces to establish the provincial level of Official Publishing Houses. The Zhejiang Provincial Official Publishing House was one of the most important ones. It was established on Apr. 26, 1867 of the 6th year of Tong Zhi Emperor. This publishing house used pear wood blocks for engraving and printing books. During the same year, this publishing house printed and published of “Qin Ding Qi Jing” (钦定七经, used 6,128 pieces of pear wood blocks, total 10,610 pages), Yu Pi Tong Lan Ji Lan” (御批通览辑览, used 2,807 pieces of pear wood blocks, total 5,209 pages), etc.

Around 1932, socially prominent persons donated a large number of wood blocks for printing with high quality to the Zhejiang Library. For example: “Yi Xian” (易宪, engraved in 1748 A.D., 8th year of Qianlong Emperor), “Ying Song Jing Ke Ben Qian Dao Lin An Zhi” (影宋精刻本乾道临安志, engraved in 1774 AD, 39th year of Qianlong, which was donated by Mr. Sun Kanghou 孙康侯, descendant of Shou Song Tang 寿松堂), “Can Lang Hong Yue Ci” (沧浪虹月词, engraved in 1804 A.D., 9th year of Jiaqing Emperor, which was donated by Mr. Wang Yunian 王玉年, descendant of Zhen Yi Tang 振綺堂), and others. The earliest wood blocks for printing in the Zhejiang Library have a history of more than 260 years. A good portion of them date from before the Tong Zhi Emperor Period (1862–1874 A.D.), and have a great value in the library’s history.

3.2 The contents of the wood blocks for printing in the Zhejiang Library represent a great variety

The contents of the wood blocks for printing, which are collected in the Zhejiang Library, are of different aspects. There are the editions by the emperor’s personal orders, the rare (or the only existing one) volume and precious volumes, and bibliography, like “Table of Bibliography in History” (史目表) “Bibliography of Wenlan Ge Library” (文澜阁书目) etc. Moreover, there were some large pieces of wood blocks for printing maps, like the “Map of Zhejiang Province” (浙江全省图), “The General Map of the Capital City of Zhejiang Province” (浙江省垣城厢总图), “The New Map of the Seawall of Zhejiang Province” (浙江海塘新图), and so on. It is quite a pity that these wood blocks for printing maps were all lost.

3.3 The special high quality of the materials of these wood blocks for printing

The material of the wood blocks in the Zhejiang Library is pear wood, which is extremely hard in quality and it will never become deformed or out of shape and has not broken and been spoilt or eaten by insects. According to the introduction by the botanist in the Tropical Botanical Garden in Hunan Province, the pear

wood tree grows very slowly and the quality of the wood is very hard. Therefore, this kind of tree is categorized as first class in China's National Society for Botany. These pear wood blocks for printing, which were collected in the Zhejiang Library, have their own standard sizes, which are 12 cm. x 22 cm.; 19 cm. x 28 cm.; 20 cm. x 29 cm.; 25 cm. x 35 cm.; 14.3 cm. x 17.8 cm., etc. There were also some oversized pear wood boards for printing maps, like "The New Map of the Seawall of Zhejiang Province" (浙江海塘新图). Of course, there are some wood blocks made from Chinese tallow tree wood, which was not as good as the pear tree wood. An example is the book, "New Method in Breeding the Silkworm" (养蚕新法) engraved in the 28th year of Guangxu Emperor, 1904 A.D.).

3.4 The large quantity of wood blocks for printing

As we know, the quantity of the Zhejiang Library's wood block collection at its height reached more than 200,000 pieces. Some of the wood blocks had a history of more than 260 years since the Qianlong Emperor Period (1736–1795 A.D.). China had experienced so many setbacks in the last 260 years. There are about 100 years since the Zhejiang Provincial Official Publishing House merged with the Zhejiang Library. During this hundred years, China had suffered from the great disturbance of a lot of historical events, which were the anti-Japanese War, the Civil War, a large scale mass movement of "Abolishing Superstitions" in 1950s and "To Destroy the Old and Establish the New" in the Great Cultural Revolution. All these historical incidents have been a great threat to the preservation of this culture heritage. So, it has really not been easy to preserve 150,000 pieces of the wood blocks for printing during circumstances of foreign aggression and internal disturbance, as well as the social vicissitudes.

4. PRESERVATION OF THE WOOD BLOCKS FOR PRINTING COLLECTED IN THE ZHEJIANG LIBRARY

On July 1864, the Tai Ping Tian Guo (太平天国 peasants' uprising of Tai Ping Rebellion), which lasted fourteen years, was suppressed by Zeng Guoan's Xiang Army (曾国藩的湘军). Taking the name of the Tai Ping Rebellion destroyed the Chinese traditional historical culture, Mr. Zeng Guofan delivered a memorial to the Tong Zhi Emperor (1862–1875 A.D.), and asked for the establishment of the Jiang Nan (South of the lower reaches of Yangtze River) Official Publishing House. From then on, Zhejiang, Fujian, Sichuan, Shanxi and nine other provinces established the provincial level of official publishing houses. After 150 years, almost all the materials and equipment in these publishing houses has disappeared, with only the exception of the Zhejiang Province. The author of this paper surveyed a lot of materials in the archive and draws this conclusion from the following reasons:

4.1 It attracted great attention of the government officers

In 1907 (33rd year of Guangxu Emperor), Mr. Zhang Henjia, director of the Zhejiang Provincial Educational Department and the Provincial governor delivered a memorial to Guangxu Emperor. It stated: “Your servants happened to know that all the other eight provincial official publishing houses had published a large quantity of the books in classics, history, philosophy and literature collection, and hope to have a duplication of each book for Zhejiang Provincial Library. So it will become and grow into an impressive sight in library collection” (On Oct.27,1907, the Guangxu Emperor wrote an instruction of agreement with the application). This matter showed that the Zhejiang people paid special attention to the books published by all the other provincial level official publishing houses.

In 1909 (the first year of Emperor Xuan Tong), Mr. Zeng Yun, the Zhejiang provincial Governor delivered a memorial of “Establishing and Expanding Zhejiang Provincial Library.” It stated: “There was a good idea to combine the Provincial Official Publishing House with Zhejiang Library. All the materials, included the woodblocks for printing, will be collected together in order to develop the educational undertakings. It is earnestly hoped that the Emperor will accomplish this matter ... We were informed that the official publishing house, which had published more than 110 titles of books in classics, history, philosophy and the collection of literature. In recent years, this publishing house had been in difficult situation and could not expend their business. Your former servant in Educational Department, Mr. Zhang Henjia, established the library, which was also in difficulties with poor facilities, lack of rich collection and unable to satisfy the social intellectualists, and scholars. So, we hope to discuss the publishing house merging with Zhejiang Library. To take this as the basic foundation, it will acquire all the library materials including Chinese and western books...” From this memorial, we can understand that the Official Publishing House was in a hopeless situation at that time. Therefore, we considered that this act, which combined the official publishing house with the Zhejiang Library, is one of the most important reasons for preservation of the wood blocks for printing.

4.2 The preservation of the wood blocks for printing collected in the Zhejiang Library during the Anti-Japanese War

During the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945 A.D.), the safety of the library collection of wood blocks for printing became one of the most anxious things for Mr. Chen Xunci, director of the Zhejiang Library. He made painstaking efforts to preserve the “Wenlan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu” (文澜阁《四库全书》) and other rare books and manuscripts, but he always kept in his mind the collection of these wood blocks for printing. From the record of his diary, we can understand all the facts.

“Dec. 16, 1937 (Thursday). In order not to be destroyed by the Japanese invaders, we have to moved hundreds of thousands of volumes of library collection of rare books including the “Wenlan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu” (文澜阁《四库全书》). Unfor-

unately, some of the library materials of local historical records and western books were not be able to move out from the Hangzhou City. It was awfully pity that more than 170,000 pieces of wood blocks for printing, which were kept from the Provincial Official Publishing House and collected recent years, were unable to move out and protect them

“On Nov. 9 1940 (Saturday), ... about 9:00 PM last night, Mr. Sha Menghai and Mr. Zhu Jialiu paid a visit to my house. When they asked me about the library collection, I was so regret for unable to move out of the collection of wood blocks for printing, which I was on pins and needles for been destroyed by the Japanese invaders. It was still left in Hangzhou, the capital city of Zhejaing Province and it was too late for regrets. I only can excuse myself for “without experiences”.

4.3 The leaders of the Zhejiang Library organized, sorted, and protected the wood blocks for printing in the 1950s

On Nov. 19, 1951, Mr. Liu Chenggan, owner of the Jiaye Library in Nanxun Township, wrote a donation letter to the Zhejiang Library. This donation letter states that the owners was willing to donate all the collection including the rare books, wood blocks for printing, the library's facilities as well as the land and garden around it. After that, Mr. Zhang Zongxiang, director of Zhejiang Library (1950–1965 A.D.), made a plan to reorganize, and to utilize this cultural heritage of wood blocks. He assigned the librarians to assemble all the wood blocks for printing together in the Jiaye Tang Library and put them in order. After the great cultural revolution (1976 A.D. -) the director of the Zhejiang Library assigned a librarian to the Jiaye Tang Library and reorganized all these wood blocks for printing in order to make them useful.

4.4 Preparation for designing a new building for the collection of the wood blocks for printing in the Zhejiang Library

On Feb. 2004, together with Mr. Wang Wenzhong, professor of the Zhejiang Institute of Technology, Mr. Xu Xiangdong, professor of Zhejiang University, Mr. Zhong Jiarui, senior research librarian and Mr. Chen Shuyu from Ningbo City, the author of this paper delivered a proposal to the Chinese People Political Consultation Conference of the Zhejaing Provincial Committee. This proposal asked for the provincial government to design a building to store these 150,000 pieces of wood blocks. The answer for this proposal is positive and initiative. It stated: “the proposal for preparing and constructing a building for storing and protecting these cultural heritage is necessary and valuable. It is necessary to design a building of 3000m² for storing, exhibition, social education and scientific research of the Chinese printing history. It will create a better condition for the preservation of these cultural heritages. The Cultural Department of Zhejiang Provincial Government will urge Zhejiang Library to establish a managed system for the preservation the these valuable wood blocks for printing.” We believe that due to the great concern

of the Zhejiang Provincial People's Government, the Zhejiang Library's collection of wood blocks' condition of preservation will be improved, and the collection will make a great contribution to the valuable cultural heritage.

5. MAKING USE OF THE WOOD BLOCKS FOR PRINTING IN THE ZHEJIAING LIBRARY

Keeping the library's collection is not only for preservation of historical cultural heritage but also for making use of them. The idea is not only for the library to collect ordinary books and periodicals, but also to collect rare books as well as the wood blocks for printing. In 1950, Mr. Zhang Zongxiang, director of the Zhejaing Library, asked several librarians to assemble all the collected wood blocks for printing and to sort them out in order to make them usable.

5.1 In 1964, organized and published the books of "Zi Zhi Tong Jian Xu Bian" (资治通鉴续编 Supplementary of the Reference Book for Governing the Country), etc.

On June 1964, together with the Hangzhou Old Book Shop and the Guanglin Old Book Publishing Society of Jiangsu Province, the Zhejiang Library used the collection of wood blocks for printing to publish the ancient books of "Zi Zhi Tong Jian Xu Bian" (资治通鉴续编 Supplementary of the Reference Book for Governing the Country), "Shi Yuan Congshu" (适园丛书 Series Book of Shi Yuan), "Si Ming Congshu" (四明丛书 A Series Books of Si Ming Area) and another eleven titles.

5.2 On August 1980, organized and published the books of "Jiaye Tang Congshu" (嘉业堂丛书, A Series Books of Jiaye Tang), etc.

On Aug. 29, 1980, the Zhejiang Library signed a contract with Beijing Relic Publishing House to have a joint publication of "Jiaye Tang Congshu" (嘉业堂丛书, A Series Books of Jiaye Tang), "Wuxing Congshu" (吴兴丛书 A Series of Wuxing County), and another 207 titles of ancient and rare books. A total number of 56,000 wood blocks, which were collected in the Zhejaing Library, were used.

5.3 On October 1980, organized and published the books of "Wulin Zhang Gu Cong Bian" (武林掌故丛编, The Collection of Historical Anecdotes About Hangzhou City), etc.

On Oct. 30, 1980, the Zhejiang Library had a cordial talk with the representatives of the Hangzhou Old Book Shop and the Guanglin Ancient Book Publishing Society of Jiangsu Province and decided to have a joint publication of the books of "Wulin Zhang Gu Cong Bian" (武林掌故丛编 The Collection of Historical Anecdotes About Hangzhou City), "Jin Hua Congshu" (金华丛书, A Series Books of Jin

Hua City.), and another twenty titles of ancient books. Thirty-seven thousand wood blocks were used in publishing this work.

5.4 In 2000, organized and published the book of “Jing Song Si Shi” (景宋四史, Four History Books of Song Edition), etc.

On October 2000, the Zhejiang Library cooperated with Guhang Cultural Lit Co. of Zhejiang Hua Bao Zhai to use the wood blocks to publish an ancient Chinese thread binding book. This time, we used the wood blocks from the Jiaye Tang Library of “Song Si Shi” (宋四史, Four History Books of Song Edition), which included “Han Shu” (汉书), “Hou Han Shu” (后汉书), “Shi Ji” (史记), “San Guo Zhi” (三国志). A total number of 6,000 wood blocks were used in this work.

6. CONCLUSION

Just as Mr. Hu Yinglin said above: “The technique of wood blocks for printing was much improved in the Song Dynasty”. Through nearly 400 years of the Sui, Tang and the Epoch of the Five Dynasties, wood blocks for printing had entered a new era of letter board printing, which had happened at Hangzhou by Bi-Sheng in 1040–1048 A.D. of the Song Dynasty. They had a rapid development with exquisite high quality. The Song edition books, which spread in the libraries of China and abroad are the evidences of these facts. The Zhejiang Province was one of China's most important centers of wood blocks in the Song Dynasty (there were four centers in China's Zhejiang, Sichuan, Fujian, and Shanxi Provinces in the Song Dynasty). Early in the North Song Dynasty (960–1127 A.D.), Hangzhou was an important center of wood board engraving and printing in China, Mr. Ye Mengde (1072–1148 A.D.) stated in his book of “Shi Lin Yan Yu” (石林燕语, Twittering in the Stone Forest). It said: “The whole nation's quality of book printing, Hangzhou is the best, Sichuan follows up, and Fuzhou (in Fujian Province) is the last one. The quantity of the printing matter in the capital city is almost the same as in Hangzhou, but the quality for paper printing could not be compared with that of Hangzhou. The soft wood boards in Fujian and Sichuan provinces are easy engraved, but the printing quality can't be matched with that of Hangzhou.” After the Song, Yuan and Ming Dynasties, until the mid-Qing Dynasty (c.1660–1740), the wood blocks for printing in China had reached their summit. Especially in the period of peace and prosperity of the Kangxi Emperor and the Qianlong Emperor (康熙盛世, 1662–1795 A.D.). The social conditions were stable. The traditional culture was developing and book printing and publishing were flourishing. Therefore, wood blocks kept improving, and their makers sought for even greater perfection. The results became better and better.

The valuable wood blocks collected in the Zhejiang Library are the essential articles since the middle-Qing Dynasty of Qianlong Emperor (1733–1795 A.D.).

They are the cream of China's national culture. These valuable wood blocks are treasures of human cultural heritage. They have been well preserved in spite of a hundred years of China's internal disturbances and foreign aggression. We should never forget our ancestors' great contribution, and we also must carry forward and develop this spirit of service for our later generation and for mankind.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lin Zuzao, graduated from Xiamen University in 1965, and received the Master Degree of Educational Media in SIU, USA in 1983, and worked in the Zhejaing Library since 1971. He has been a senior research librarian since 1991, and director of Library Development, Science Institute, Zhejiang Library, and former deputy director of the Zhejiang Library, and former Standing Committee Member of IFLA RBMS (1997–2005). He has received more than ten awards from the State Council, Ministry of Culture, Zhejiang Provincial Government, Cultural Department of Zhejiang Province, as well as Zhejaing Library. Address: #73 Shuguangrd. Hangzhou, China. Postcode: 310007. E-mail: linzz@zjlib.net.cn . Phone: 086-571-87988086

**FROM PROTOTYPE TO RED PRINT:
A STUDY ON THE PRIMARY SOURCE IN *YUSHUTANG
CONGSHU* OF THE TEST PROCEDURE OF THE NEW WOOD
BLOCK PRINTED BOOKS IN THE LATE QING DYNASTY***

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ABSTRACT

The carving and printing procedure of the ancient Chinese books, especially the working details that really existed in the traditional Chinese society, has not been fully discussed due to lacking of proper historical documents. This article investigates the test printing procedure of the new wood block printed book in the late Qing Dynasty, based on the *Yushutang congshu* (Collection of Yushutang) that edited and published by Scholar Shen Shandeng. Through a series of examples, the writing restores every important part in the carving and printing procedure approximately, as well as sorts out primary sources of the Chinese printing history that hide in the *Yushutang congshu*.

KEYWORDS

Prototype
Red print
Yushutang congshu
Shen Shandeng
Carving and printing procedure of the ancient Chinese books

Wood block printing is the most common way on the publishing of ancient Chinese books, and its basic procedure has been discussed by Lu Qian (卢前) as early as 1940s¹. In the late 20th century, get help from some organizations which still publish ancient Chinese books with former wood blocks, Dr Tsuen Tsien-hsuei (钱存训) make a further study in his masterpiece *Paper and Printing*, which was included in *Science and Civilisation in China*². However, as a result of lacking of historical documents, the carving and printing procedure of the ancient Chinese books, especially the working details, has not been fully investigated by the academic circle, and it's hard to find any other achievement of research in the relevant topics over past two decades.

On this question, the prototype and red print of *Yushutang congshu* (豫恕堂丛书, Collection of Yushutang), edited and published by Scholar Shen Shandeng

(沈善登), can provide sufficient and important evidence. Fortunately, the ancient book is preserved by the Shanghai Library. Combine with other prototypes of ancient Chinese books, we can make a further and detailed study, from “xieyang” (写样, means prototype) to “hongyin” (红印, means red print), on the carving and printing procedure of the ancient Chinese books in the late Qing Dynasty, in other words, the test printing procedure of the new wood block printed book. Moreover, *Yushutang congshu* contains considerable record on the publishing industry in the late Qing Dynasty, such as the cost of wood block carving, the method of word count per page, and the dispute between the publisher, the penman of prototype and the craftsman of carving. It is no doubt to say that, all of these can become the primary historical source for Chinese printing history.

YUSHUTANG CONGSHU (COLLECTION OF YUSHUTANG) AND SHEN SHANDENG

The prototype and red print of *Yushutang congshu* is well-preserved in the Shanghai Library, it's a collection of 21 titles (25 volumes), included prototypes of 14 titles (seventeen volumes) and red prints of seven titles (eight volumes). It's important to point out that in the prototypes of fourteen titles, twelve are monographs and the rest are collections.

Shen Shandeng (1830–1902), the editor and publisher of *Yushutang congshu*, was a scholar of the late Qing dynasty. His courtesy name was Gucheng, and his pseudonym was Weihuan Daoren. He passed his Jinshi degree in 1868, and entered the Hanlin Academy. Under the instruction of Zhong Wenzhen, Shen studied *Chunjiu guliangzhuan* in his early life, and he also focused on the studies of Buddhism and Western knowledge. In his old age, he changed his academic direction, focusing on Yi-ology. Shen was a book collection master and publisher, it seems that he tried to edit *Yushutang congshu volume 2*, but the book had not been completed. Among Shen Shandeng's collected works are *Zhengxin ji* in eight *juan*, *Xushi Miaoyan* in ten *juan*, *Bao'en Lun* in two *juan*, *Jin Yapien Siyi* in one *juan*. He lived in the Shanghai's American Settlement in his later life, until his death in 1902³.

PROCEDURE OF MAKING PROTOTYPE IN YUSHUTANG CONGSHU

Based on prototypes of fourteen books preserved in *Yushutang congshu*, we can find out the procedure for making a prototype in the late Qing Dynasty consisted of three steps: “Faxie”, “Jiaokan” and “Gebu”.

“FAXIE” (START WRITING THE SAMPLE)

“Faxie” (发写) is the first step of making a prototype. It means that the publisher gives the manuscript to the penman of prototype, and the penman will write it down with specific papers. Finally, the product of the penman will become the sample for the carving of wood blocks. In the case of *Yushutang congshu*, the penman used a kind of red-printed quadrangular paper, with ten columns in every half page and twenty one grids in every single line. For the main text, every single column has three beelines, plus a centre line to divide the grid equally. We can also find a centre line between line and line, and it should be the actual frame that the craftsman carved on a wood block. One thing worth point out is that, besides the centre line, some quadrangular papers have two more straight lines to break up the grid into four equally divided parts. One of the examples is the *Xixiang wuju zhaji* that well-preserved in the Fudan University Library. These straight lines can ensure that the handwriting of the penman will be written in a regular form, especially when the text should be carved on double lines (i.e. half grid) in small font.

“JIAOKAN” (EMENDATION)

After the penman finished the writing of the sample for carving, he will give the sample back to the publisher, and then the second step “Jiaokan” (校勘) will begin. “Jiaokan” may be more than one time, and sometimes the publisher will make an extra check even though the re-emendation has been completed. Shen Shandeng and his friends are responsible to take the work as this stage, and the result of the emendation can be found in two forms: upper marginalia and inserted memorandum. According to Shen Shandeng’s remark that we can find on the first page of *Dushu zalu* (读书杂录), the difference between upper marginalia and inserted memorandum is as follow:

“Finished the first emendation on 23 March (Lunar calendar), please recheck it. If some writing errors or missing characters have been found in the text, just make comments at the upper margin of the page. If there is anything needs discussion, please write a memorandum.”

In other words, upper marginalia is used for obvious correction, while memorandum is used for general discussion.

Either emendation or re-emendation, the objective is to examine the text, find out the writing errors or missing characters in text, and correct the format or font face. One of the examples of format correction can be found in a memorandum that attached at the end of the preface of *Haiwai xinshu* (海外新书, the preface is written by Qian Yong in 1836):

“This preface is not written in the original format, double space and space have not been used in the correct form. Did the penman find out the problem when they were writing?”

For the correction of font face, Shen Shandeng and his friends focused on the naming taboo (especially taboo against using the personal names of Qing emperors) and character style. Two examples of the former situation can be found in *Jinan shiyou tanji* (济南师友谈记), we can find an upper marginalia on page 15 (second half) pointed out that in column 4, the character of “Li” (曆) “should omit the final stroke”. In page 28 (first half), there is another upper marginalia to remind the penman, the character of “Min” (旻) “should omit one stroke.” Furthermore, an example of the latter situation can be found in *Maoyu Shihua* (毫余诗话), the character of “Gui” (癸) contained clerical error, so the editor used a blue pen to write the correct font style at the upper margin of the page.

“GEBU” (CUT AND PASTE)

The final step of making prototype is “Gebu” (割补), it means that the penman will follow the result of emendation to make correction in specific pages.

We usually believe that when several errors have been found in the prototype, the publisher may use the cinnabar and the ceruse to correct the error, or simply ask the penman to write a new sample. However, *Yushutang congshu* show us another impression, the actual fact is that, the publisher kept the prototype to the greatest extent possible. One of the examples is the *Xiyu xingchengji* (西域行程记) in *Duwuyuan congchao* (独雨园丛钞), we can find a piece of quadrangular paper at the upper margin of page 2 (first half), and compare with the content on the page, we could understand that such a piece of paper is used to replace a writing error that the penman had made a mistake on a place name “Wangzizhuang” (王子庄). According to this example, we can know that use a piece of quadrangular paper to replace the writing error is the main method of correcting partial error.

If the numbers of words that need to be added or to be deleted are not just a few words, the editor may use the method of “Gehang” (割行, cut off the paper between line and line) to treat the problem. The function of “Gehang” is to cut off the whole line that is superfluous, as well as cut off the paper to add an extra line. Sometimes, this “cut and paste” process is not easy to understand, the editor will use an extra quadrangular paper to give a detailed explanation to the penman. For instance, a page of green quadrangular paper can be found in the *Maoyu shihua*. The format of this green paper is just same as the original red-printed quadrangular paper, and it contains a detailed “cut and paste” plan that suggested by the editor after emendation.

In conclusion, there are three main points in the final step of making prototype. Firstly, “Gehang” is to cut off the line out of the boundary of words. Secondly, the

part that contains error would be removed in the process of “Gehang”, and the editor will embed a piece of revised quadrangular paper (often in similar size with the cut-off part) to replace the original part, and then adhere it with a larger paper at the rear side of the page. Finally, if the correction involves a large area, the editor will cut off the paper inside the frame of the block, and a revised sample could be adhered at the top and the bottom of the original page directly (see Figure 1).



Figure 1

PROCEDURE OF MAKING RED PRINT IN *YUSHUTANG CONGSHU*

Once the editor finalizes the prototype, the wood block carving would be started. After the carving of wood block has been finished, the publisher will try to print out one set for emendation at this stage. Based on red prints of seven books preserved in *Yushutang congshu*, we can find out that the procedure of making red print in the late Qing Dynasty consists of four steps: “Test print”, “Emendation on the red print”, “Modification to the wood block” and “Partial re-test-print”.

TEST PRINT

In the tradition of publishing Chinese ancient book, people always use the red ink for the printing of test print, so we called it “red print” in Classical Chinese philology, and such a test print can also known as “Juanyang” (鑄樣) in *Yushutang congshu*, which means the sample of wood block printing.

If we observe the red prints preserved in *Yushutang congshu* carefully, it seems that the red prints contain two types of red color: one is similar to tangerine red, like a type of paint that called “Yingzhu Taodan” (銀朱桃丹) in the past⁴, and the another one is similar to purplish red, like a type of paint that commonly used in

the red print in the late Qing Dynasty. This kind of purplish red can also known as “Yanghong” (洋红), which means “Western red” in Chinese, it may imply that the paint is an imported good.

EMENDATION ON THE RED PRINT

The objective of this step is to examine the carving errors and correct the irregular font faces. In the title page of *Chongzhen yilu* (崇禎遺錄), we can find a comment made by an editor after finished the emendation on the cover of the red print:

“There are some carving errors in the test print, and some strokes in the particular character have been missed incorrectly. I have examined all the text and make upper marginalia each page, please correct all of the errors and send the revised edition to me.”

The example of carving error in *Chongzhen yilu* can be found on page 9 (second half), the craftsman mistook the character of “Ling” (令, means “order” in Chinese) for the character of “Jin” (今, means “now” in Chinese), so the editor point out that “Jin is the carving error of Ling” at the top of the page. On page 21 (first half), we can find a Chinese character “Hao” (昊) was carved in irregular font face, so there is another upper marginalia to remind the craftsman “the lower part of ‘Hao’ should be the character ‘Tian’ (天), the upper horizontal stroke should be shorter” (see Figure 2). The editor also focuses on the broken stroke during emendation, on page 1 (first half), page 3 (second half) and page 36 (second half), we can find broken strokes in the character of “Yin” (印), “Qi” (訖) and “Gu” (骨), so the editor remind the craftsman to replace the broken stroke with complete stroke in these words at the top of each corresponding page.

Sometimes, the editor will find out some problems that should be corrected at the stage of making prototype. One of the examples can be found on page 5 (first half) in *Lianhuaqi suibi part 1*, a rectangular punctuation was added before the word “Sima” (司馬) in line 2, and the editor made a upper marginalia at the top of page to explain that “Here is the new start of another passage, don’t mix it up”. Another example is a sentence between page 14 and 15 in *Nishilingshu* (棟花柳集), the preposition “Yu” (於) have been repeated incorrectly, so the editor wrote the character of “Ji” (及) which has a similar meaning at the top of the page and gave following description:

“Character ‘Yu’ have been repeated incorrectly, that’s why we must replace the first character ‘Yu’ with character ‘Ji’.”

The explanation of the correction is that, the publisher consider controlling the publishing cost, therefore, he prefers to modify the original text rather than make a new wood block.

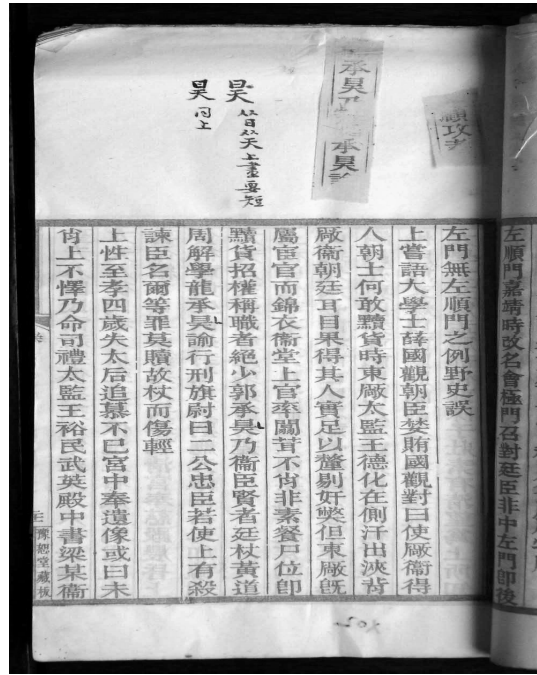


Figure 2

MODIFICATION TO THE WOOD BLOCK

The craftsman will receive the revised red print from the editor after emendation, and he must try to make modification to the wood block. In *Yushutang congshu*, the main method of the modification is called “Qianbu” (嵌補), which means embed a new part in Chinese. On the first page of *Nishilingshu* (倪石陵書), as a result of the craftsman forgot to make abbreviations of the book in the centre line of every wood block, the editor write the following comment at the upper margin of the page:

“The character of Ni (倪) must be shown in the centre area of every wood block, please try to “Kanbu” page by page.”

We can understand the concrete process of “Qianbu” through the experience of the extant publishing house *Jinling kejingchu* (Jinling Buddhist Press), it consists of three steps: Scrape part of the wood block, put glue on the wood block and embed a new part in the original position.

PARTIAL RE-TEST-PRINT

After the modification to the wood block has been completed, the publisher will try to make a partial test print, that is to say, only the revised part of the wood block is necessary to be reprinted. Since most of the modifications are focused on carving error in one or two characters, this kind of partial test print often uses a small piece of paper to reprint the revised part. For example, we mentioned that the character of “Hao” was carved in irregular font face on page 21 (first half) in *Chongzhen yilu*, and in fact we have found a small piece of paper attached with this page. Compared the character “Hao” (昊) that printed on this paper with the original one, the upper horizontal stroke is obviously shorter than the lower horizontal stroke. We can also find out a small piece of paper on page 1 (first half) and page 36 (second half) that contained carving error (broken stroke) in the same book, and both of the paper have shown the completed character font face. In the case of missing abbreviations of the book in *Nishilingshu* we have mentioned in the former section, we can find a small piece of paper, which have a red character “Ni” being printed in the center line of two halves, attached with the first page of the book.

OTHER PRIMARY SOURCES IN THE *YUSHUTANG CONGSHU*

Besides the detailed carving and printing procedure of the new wood block printed book in the late Qing Dynasty, *Yushutang congshu* also contains other primary sources of the Chinese printing history, such as the cost of wood block carving, the method of word count per page and the dispute between the publisher, the penman of prototype and the craftsman of carving.

THE COST OF WOOD BLOCK CARVING

In the red prints of seven books preserved in *Yushutang congshu*, four of them have the record of the total number of carved words and the cost at the last page with text and the back flyleaf. For instance, the craftsman made a remark in the back flypage of *Nishilingshu*, remind the publisher that “this book contains total 38 pages and 15,129 words, so the cost of wood block carving should be 15,129 ‘wen’ (Chinese currency)”.

One thing worth point out is that, we have found a letter to Shen Shandeng, written by a craftsman called Mu zimei, attached with the red print of *Zhoulijie* (周礼解). Here is the translation of the letter (see Figure 3):

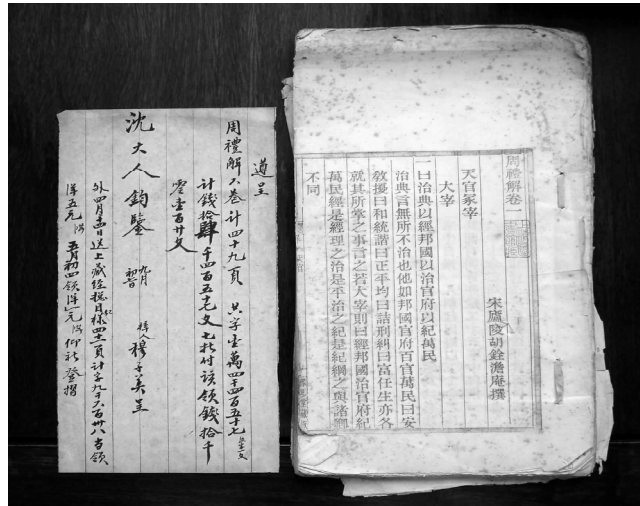


Figure 3

“Attached please find the *Zhoulijie* of six *juan*, it contains total 49 pages and 14,457 words (one ‘wen’ per word), so the cost of wood block carving should be 14,457 ‘wen’. You can enjoy a 30% discount, so the amount now owed is 10,120 ‘wen’.

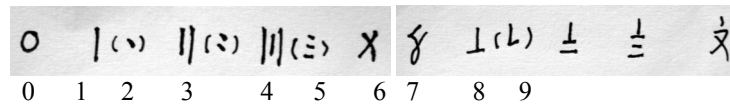
To Mr Shen, 7th of September (Chinese calendar), written by Mu zimei, the craftsman.

p.s. I have sent the red print of *Cangjing zongmu* to you on 14th of April, the book contains total 41 pages and 9,638 words, and the cost should be five “yang yuan” (always mean western silver coin). Please be informed that I have got one “yang yuan” on 4th of May.”

It seems that it is similar to a sample business letter, but the “discount” that the craftsman offered to Shen Shandeng is not really a benefit, and we will try to explain this in the next part.

THE METHOD OF WORD COUNT PER PAGE

We have found that the craftsman usually used a set of secret codes to record the word count per page in the prototypes and red prints of *Yushutang congshu*. Based on the prototype of *Haiwai xinshu* that has a relative accurate word count, and other prototypes or red prints which the craftsman used both of the secret codes and Chinese numbers to count the total number of words, we try to sum up the secret codes that can be used to represent number 0 to 9 in *Yushutang congshu* (We also record another written form of number 1 to 3 and number 6 in the brackets):



Generally, the total number of words per page in *Yushutang congshu*, included the abbreviation of the book, chapter number, page number and the public notice “Yushutang cangban” (豫恕堂藏板) in the centre area of the wood block, should be a three-digits number. The penman or the craftsman will record the total number of words either in vertical column from top to bottom, or in horizontal row from left to right. One of the examples can be found in *juan* four (page 13) of *Haiwai xinshu*, this page contains total 420 words in the main text and total nine words in the centre area of the wood block, therefore, the penman marked 𠄎 in horizontal row from left to right on the page.

However, after we make a further study to the word count per page, we find that the record of the penman or the craftsman is not often equal to the actual total number of words per page.

For example, in the prototype of *Shanghan weizhilun* (伤寒微旨论), we can find the total number of words per page in two ways: the penman recorded the result in the centre area of the wood block with secret codes, while the editor recorded the total number at the top of the page with Chinese numbers. In most cases, there is difference between the record of penman and the record of the editor. One of the examples is the total number of words on page 7 in *Shanghan weizhilun*, *juan shang*. Actually, this page contains total 426 words, and it is equal to the record of the editor. However, the record of penman is 𠄎, which means that the page contain total 432 words.

It is not a special case. In the letter written by a craftsman called Mu zimei we have quoted in the former section, Mu told Shen Shandeng the red print of *Zhoulijie* “contains total 49 pages and 14,457 words”. We tried to count the total number of words of the book page by page, and found that Mu had not told the truth. We suspect Mu falsified the record occasionally, just like the secret code in *juan* three page 8 should be around 200 words, but Mu marked total 302 words at the bottom of the page, next to the original record abandoned by him. Although Mu zimei stated that Shen Shandeng could enjoyed “a 30% discount”, we find that the record of the craftsman still bigger than the actual total number of words. For instance, the secret code on *juan* five page 6 is total 236 words, after “a 30% discount”, the record (165 words) is still bigger than the actual total 129 words.

Sometimes, the publisher is hard to know the actual total number of words per page. It is because the penman or the craftsman often uses a set of secret codes to mark the record, and also claims that the publisher can enjoy some discount. Even though Shen Shandeng and his friends had checked the total numbers of words in *Shanghan weizhilun*, and he felt disappointed on the double charge of the carving of preface in some red prints (we will discuss it in next part), he may not discover that he haven’t get any benefits in the offer of “a 30% discount”.

DISPUTES BETWEEN THE PUBLISHER, THE PENMAN AND THE CRAFTSMAN

Through the comment made by Shen Shandeng in *Yushutang congshu*, we can also find some disputes between Shen and the penman or the craftsman. One of the examples can be found in the prototype of *Zhangshi yishu* (章氏遗书), Shen complained the penman on the flyleaf in front of the book:

“I have requested the penman to delete the line of words with the symbol 𠂔 at top again and again since two months before. Now, the penman still forgets to delete the line, does it mean that he hasn't pay attention to my comment? We must return the sample to the penman, and ask him to delete the superfluous part before re-emendation.”

Besides the complaint to the penman, Shen Shandeng also felt disappointed to the double charge of the carving of preface in some red prints. We can find the remark “Shuangshuan” (双算, means double count in Chinese) on the preface of *Zhoulijie* (written by Zhu Wenzao in 1787) and the preface of *Chongzhen yilu* at the bottom of the page. Shen made a criticism on the second page of the preface of *Chongzhen yilu*:

“Have you ever heard that the total number of words of an original preface in a book should be double counted? If the book contains three different prefaces, does it mean all of them should be double counted? It's really nonsense!”

In conclusion, Shen Shandeng had not finished the publication of *Yushutang congshu*. We may never know the reason why he gave up, but we guess that the conflict between him, the penman and the craftsman could make him feel exhausted and discouraged. Although *Yushutang congshu* is an incomplete work, the collection is still a precious historical document in the study to the carving and printing procedure of the wood block printed book in the late Qing Dynasty. Also, the work of Shen Shandeng and his friends will become an unforgettable part in Chinese printing history.

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NOTES

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AN ORIGINAL DOCUMENT ON THE TECHNIQUES OF CLAY-BOARD PRINTING IN ANCIENT CHINA

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ABSTRACT

During the Yong Zheng Emperor period of Qing Dynasty, Mr. Lv Fu, who was from Xinchang Country, Zhejiang Province, China, was enlightened by the invention of wood blocks and letter board for printing, and invented the techniques of clay-board for printing. Using this technique, he printed his own work of “Jingding Ershiyi Tongsu Yanyi (精订二十一史通俗演义 The Popular Historical Romances of China’s 21 Dynasties)”. In order to introduce Mr. Lv Fu’s technique of the clay-board for printing, the author of this paper translates the whole paper, which was an important document of printing technique in ancient China.

KEYWORDS

Fu Lv Clay-board printing

THE ORIGINAL ARTICLE

1. BACKGROUND

One of my favorite occupations was to read historical books when I was a young. The only pity was that I couldn’t understand the abstruse words. On March 1683 (23rd year of the Kang Xi Emperor in Qing Dynasty), I borrowed a book of “San Guo Zhi (三国志 History of the Three Kingdoms)” from Mr. Kuang Xuan. The problem was that there was no better book than this “San Guo Zhi”, which was about before or after the Epoch of the Three Kingdoms (220–265 A.D.). Therefore, I planned to complete serial books of the popular historical romances, which was from ancient to the present time for the convenience of the common people. Therefore, I required, searched for and purchased the books of “Kai Pi Yan Yi (开辟演义 Romance of Separation of Earth from Heaven by Pan Gu)”, “Pan Gu Zhi (盘古志 History of Pan Gu)”, “Xia Yu Wang Zhi Shui Zhuang (夏禹王治水传 Biography of Yu the Great Brought Water Control)”, “Lie Guo Zhi (列国志 History of Countries in Eastern Zhou Dynasty)”, “Xi Han Zhuan (西汉传 Commentary of Western Han Dynasty)”, “Dong Han Zhuan (东汉传 Commentary of Eastern Han Dynasty)”, “San Guo Zhi (三国志 History of the Three Kingdoms)”, “Liang Jin

Zhuan (《两晋传 Commentary of West and East Jin Dynasties》), “Nan Bei Shi (南北史 History of South and North Dynasties)”, “Yan Shi (艳史 History in Flowery Style)”, “Sui Tang Yan Yi (隋唐演义 Romance of Sui and Song Dynasties)”, “Tang Zhuan (唐传 Commentary of Tang Dynasty)”, “Can Tang Zhuan (残唐传 Incompleted Commentary of Tang Dynasty)”, “Bei Song Zhi (北宋志 History of North Song Dynasty)”, “Nan Song Zhi (南宋志 History of South Song Dynasty)”, “Yue Wang Zhuan (岳王传 Biography of Yuefei)”, “Liao, Jin, Yuan, Wai Shi (辽金元外史 History of Liao, Jin and Yuan Dynasties)”, “Ying Lie Zhuan (英烈传 Biography of Heroes)”, “Xin Shi Hong Xun (新世弘勋 The Great Meritorious Statemen of New Era)” and so on.

I selected the materials from these books and deleted the mistakes, cut out the slanders and libel, and added the omissions in these books. I insisted on the principle of “seek truth from facts”. After the chapter of Dong Zhou Dynasty (770 B.C.-256 B.C.), I kept about two Cun (about 6.6cm) on the top of the page margin in order to copy the important sentences in “Chun Qiu (春秋 Spring and Autumn Annals)” by Confucius, “Gang Mu (资治通鉴纲目 A Bridged Adaptation of a History Book from Zhou Dynasty Onwards)” by Mr. Zhu Xi (1130–1200 A.D.), and “Xu Gang Mu (续纲目 Sequels of A Condensation of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Governance)” by Zhu Xi (1130–1200 A.D.). There was a short comment at the end of each chapter. This book was completed through the hard working of ten years. It was a spectacular sight of either in modern or in ancient times with total 242 Juan of 685 chapters. Before I put the “Si Da Tu (四大图 The Four Big Pictures)” in engraving the wood blocks for printing, and tried to publish this book, but it was only because of too expensive cost to complete this work. So this manuscript was put into my bookcase for about 30 years.

For this reason, I made a careful consideration to use a complete new method for printing this book.

2. MATERIALS PREPARATION

At first, I mixed the husked sorghum flour with water, rub the mixture and make this flour balls just like plum. Then, I put all the balls into the boiling water, and used the small wood club to hit them in order to make them thin paste until they can be drawn like wire. Next, I use a big comb for carding the new cotton, and also prepared some dry clay powder. Later, I put the three-mixed materials together on a thick wood board, and used the axe handle to hit them again and again, and made them rather harder than soft, and prepared it ready to be used.

The next step, I prepared a copper tube, which has two sides, and can be opened and closed but the interior mouth is square. I put the prepared materials into the copper tube, and put one of the copper tube on the letter, which is on the wood blocks for printing and pressed on it. Then, I put this character in shady and cool place to air-dry. Later on, I put the characters in the right line in compliance with

the sequence of “Zi Hui (字汇 Collection of the Chinese Characters)”. At the obverse side, I used to write the character on it for easy to look for. I also write the sequence number on it for convenience to put it back.

Finally, I mixed the cooked Tung oil and rinsed clay mud, and then used the handle of axe to strike again and again, and made it rather dry than wet until thorough sticky and not easy to break. Then, I made the oil clay into square slices, and used the red cinnabar to draw checks on the clay slices. Brush the oil on wood board, cut up the square clay slices and put it on a wood board. I made moulding around the clay slices, and picked up the characters from the words check to the clay board in light of the books. If some characters are higher than the standard level, I'll use the brick to polish them slightly and carefully, and to make them smoothly, up-right and square, which is the basic rule for printing the characters. After printing, I have to use the engraving knife to clean the whole line. If some characters are slant, make it upright. Then, I should use the bamboo stab to make it firmly, and paint it with Tung oil again. According to above procedure's steps, the clay-board for printing is ready. We can put the board in shady and cool place air-dry, until became hard. Before using the board, polish the board by sand paper and to make it flat. The cost of this kind clay-board for printing is cheaper and saves time.

So, I worked with my sons, Weiyuan (维垣), Weicheng (维城), Weiji (维基) and I, my nephew Weipan (维藩), Weifeng (维封) and Weirong (维荣), and with my neighbor Yu Shuoze (俞说再) and others, and tried our best to make the clay board. This board is harder than pear wood and jujube wood, which were used to make the wood blocks for printing.

After I figured out the cost of this work, and final publishing this book, I found it was too expensive. To print this huge popular novel, only the cost of paper, less than two silver can't accomplish this set of book. I said sadly: “This popular of History of Roman Fiction is not for the poor people, but for the rich.” Although my son Mr. Weiji (维基) and other persons said that they will help me to sell several sets of this book, I said that: “This is not my original intention.” Therefore, I gave up this plan to print this monumental work. I made a revision of this book. In the part of unofficial history, I just kept 20–30 % of the original one, for the other parts, I kept only 5–10% of the origin. The sources of the stories in history were from the “Er Shi Yi Shi (二十一史 The Twenty-One Dynastic Histories)” and “Gang Jian (纲鉴)”. So, this set of book had forty chapters with 22 Juan. Then, I deleted the comment at the end of each chapter, but added some contents like the titles of the emperor's reign, mottoes, fairs, local custom, etc. The final text was 44 Chapters with 26 Juan.

3. PROCESSING METHODS AND TOOLS

Instruction of the methods and tools for the characters printing, as follows:

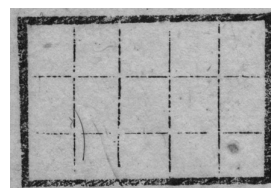
– **Piao Ni Fa (漂泥法 Method of Rinsed Clay)**

To Choose the fine quality clay and put it into water and to stir them to make become muddy.

To pour the muddy with water into another container, and take away the deposited sand, and then to stir the muddy water again and let it precipitating, and dumping the water.

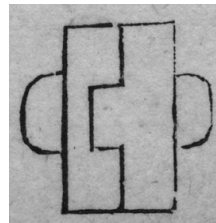
To take away the settled sand at the bottom of the clay and let the clay dry.

Before using the dry clay, I should have to used the wood club and struck it into powder, and use the sieve to sift the dry clay, and make it ready for the usage.



– **Jian Tongyou Fa (煎桐油法 Method of Frying Tung Oil)**

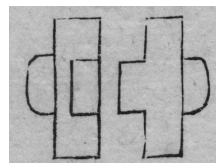
Just as the lacquer man fries the lacquer. They should fry the oil toughly. Then the Tung Oil must be mixed with the tiny clay and stir it, and let it become a homogeneous mixture.



– **Liang Kai Fang Tongguan Xingzhuang (两开方铜管形状 The figure of copper tube, which has two sides with square mouth, rectangular)**

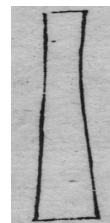
– **Tongguan Fenkai Xingzhuang (铜管分开形状 Separated figure of the copper tube)**

There are two parts of the copper tube, which had one handle in each middle part of outside for ease to open and close. In the middle part, we make it very close to interlock with each other for keeping them tightly and can't be moved by hands. To open the tube and put the clay, which is made of husked sorghum floury and other materials, and close it. Then put the character of the wood block for printing it, and use the bamboo stab to press solidly. In this way, we make the obverse character in intaglio. Later, we open the copper tube and put characters in shady and cool place air-dry, and make ready for usage.



– **Zhuzhen Xingzhuang (竹竿形状 Figure of the bamboo stab)**

The head and the end of the bamboo stabber are parallel, but one is big, the other one is small. The size is neither too big nor too small in order to remove the copper tube in and out freely



– **Fang Zi Ge Zi Xingzhuang (放字格子形状 Figure of placing the Characters)**

The board for holding the characters is like the window frame. The size of the plate pattern is 84.15 cm. (L) X 51.15 cm. (W) X 3.5 cm. (H). There are five checks in length and three checks in width. The characters were written on the edge of the frame for convenient to find it. Sixteen boards like this form a group for convenient to transport from one place to another by shoulder pole. To prepare the wood board for placing at the bottom and on the plate and tie up in order to put in the store.

The characters, which were important and common, were selected in accordance with the Zi Hui (字汇 Chinese Character Collection). The characters, which were seldom used, will not be selected. There are different styles of Chinese written characters. We selected the style of character and prevalent character at that time. Others are Song calligraph style, Wang calligraph style, Mi calligraph style and Cai calligraph type, but not stick to only one pattern. For printing the ordinary article, we need about 3,000 Chinese characters, but for printing the ancient and old book, which about 7,000 Chinese characters are necessary. However, all the characters can be made by the copper tube one by one, until it is enough for the usage.

Symbols and punctuations in the book should use the woodblocks to engrave in intaglio, like ○ (ring) △ (triangle) 乚 (punctuation marks in Chinese ancient articles) etc. It is necessary to make some more duplication for additional usage.

– **Fang Zi Ge (放字格 Checks for putting the characters)**

All the characters, which have the same radicals would be (|) listed in the same check. Horizontal line (一) and straight stroke with a bending tip (乙) one check, vertical line straight stroke with a bending tip (丨) and left slash one check (丿), two horizontal lines (二) and dot with horizontal line (丶) one check, rénzipáng (人) according to the number of strokes divided into nine checks, rùzipáng (入) and bāzipáng (八) one check, érzipáng (儿) and jǐzipáng (几) one check, characters zhòu (胄) and mào (冒) belong to the check of ròuzipáng (肉), characters like shèng (晟) and miǎn (冕) are list under the radical of yuēzipáng (曰), tūbǎogàir (冫) and bǎogàir (冫) share two checks, xuèzītóu (穴) one check, dàozipáng (刀) one two checks, lìzipáng (力) one check, bāozitour (勹), stroke like 冫 (冫) and sīzìr (厶) one check, character chū (出) belong to the check of shān (山), bìzipáng (匕), bǐzipáng (比) and máozipáng (毛) belong to one check, shízipáng (十), stroke like 丨 and cùnzipáng (寸) one check, dān'ěrdāor (阝) and yìzipáng (邑) share three checks, characters like wēi (危) juàn (卷) and niǎn (𠂔) belong to the departement of jǐzipáng (己), fùzipáng (阜) two checks, chángzipáng (长) and guǎngzipáng (广) share two checks, yòuzipáng (又), zhéwénr (攴) and xīzipáng (夕) one check, dǎzipáng (殳) and shūzipáng (受) one check, kǒuzipáng (口) nine checks, fāngkuàng (口) one check, títpáng (土) three checks, shízipáng (士), qiānzipáng (千) and gōngzipáng (工) one check, dàzipáng (大) one check, nǚzipáng (女) four checks, zǐzipáng (子) one check, xiǎozitour (小), yóuzipáng (尤), sāngǎir (彡) and

wángzipáng (𠂔) one check, shānzí páng (𡵓) three checks, shízitour (尸) and hùzitour (户) one check, jīnzí páng (巾) two checks, yāozí páng (𠂔) xuánzí páng (𠂔), zhīzí páng (支), wúzí páng (无) and dòuzí páng (斗) one check, nòngzidir (𠂔) and gōngzí páng (弓) one check, yèzí páng (弋) and gězí páng (戈) one check, stroke like 𠂔 sānpǐèr (𠂔) and jīnzí páng (斤) one check, shuāngrén páng (𠂔) one check, xíngzí páng (行) and zhǐzí páng (止) one check, wénzí páng (文) and fān-wénr (𠂔) one check, xīnzidir (心) eight checks, tīshǒu páng (手) nine checks, fāng-zí páng (方) one check, rìzí páng (日) four checks, yuēzí páng (曰) and báizí páng (白) one check, yuèzí páng (月) and ròuzí páng (肉) share five checks, qiànzí páng (欠) one check, mùzí páng (木) ten checks, hémù páng (禾) one check, wùzí páng (𠂔), shìzí páng (氏), qìzí páng (气), fùzí páng (父), yáozí páng (𠂔) one check, li-āngdiǎnshuǐr (丷) and shuǐzí páng (水) twelve checks, huǒzí páng (火) four checks, jiāngzí páng (𠂔), piànzí páng (片), zhǎozitour (𠂔) and guāzí páng (𠂔) one check, niǔzí páng (牛) one check, quǎnzí páng (𠂔) three checks, yùzí páng (玉) three checks, wǎnzí páng (𠂔) and fǒuzí páng (𠂔) one check, gānzí páng (甘), shēng-zí páng (生) pǐzí páng (𠂔), yòngzí páng (用), dèngzitour (𠂔) and pízí páng (皮) one check, tiánzí páng (田) one check, bīngzitour (𠂔) one check, mǐnzidr (𠂔) and xuèzí páng (𠂔) one check, máozí páng (𠂔), shǐzí páng (矢) and nèizí páng (内) one check, mùzí páng (目) two checks, zìzí páng (自) and wǎngzí páng (网) one check, shízí páng (石) two checks, shìzí páng (示) two checks, yībǔr (衣) three checks, lìzí páng (立) and xīzí páng (辛) one check, zhúzitour (竹) five checks, cǎozitour (艸) eleven checks, mǐzí páng (米) one check, jiǎosī páng (𠂔) six checks, yángzí páng (羊) and lěizí páng (𠂔) one check, yǔzí páng (羽) one check, lǎozí páng (老), érzí páng (𠂔) and ěrzí páng (耳) one check, chénzí páng (臣), shézí páng (舌), zhìzí páng (至), jiézí páng (𠂔), gènzí páng (𠂔), sèzí páng (色) one check, yǔzí páng (聿), jiùzí páng (臼) and hùzitour (𠂔) one check, zhōuzí páng (舟) one check, chóngzí páng (虫) five checks, xīzitour (西), jiǎozí páng (角), guzí páng (谷) one check, jiānzí páng (见) one check, yānzí páng (言) six checks, zhìzí páng (豕) and fānquǎn páng (𠂔) one check, bèizí páng (贝) one check, yèzí páng (页) two checks, dòuzí páng (豆), chìzí páng (赤), shēnzí páng (身), chénzí páng (辰), cǎizí páng (采) one check, fānzí páng (反) and zǒuzí páng (走) one check, zǒuzhī páng (𠂔) five checks, zúzí páng (足) two checks, chēzí páng (车) two checks, yǒuzí páng (酉) two checks, jīnzí páng (金) four checks, lìzí páng (里), qīngzí páng (青), fēizí páng (非), miànzí páng (面) one check, mēnzí páng (𠂔) two checks, zhuīzí páng (隹) one checks, niǎozí páng (鸟) three checks, yǎzitour (雨) one check, gězí páng (革) one check, shízí páng (食) two checks, wěizí páng (韦), yīnzí páng (音) and fēngzí páng (风) one check, shǒuzí páng (首), xiāngzí páng (香), chángzí páng (𠂔), hézí páng (鬲), lǔzí páng (鹵) and màizí páng (麦) one check, gǔzí páng (骨) and biāozí páng (𠂔) one check, mǎzí páng (马) two checks, guǐzí páng (鬼) and lùzí páng (鹿) one check, yúzí páng (鱼) two checks, mází páng (麻), huángzí páng (黄), sǔzí páng (黍), zhìzí páng (𠂔) dǐngzí páng (鼎), gǔzí páng (鼓), bízí páng (鼻) one check, hēizí páng (黑), miǎnzí páng (𠂔) and guǐzí páng (龟) one check, shǔzí páng (鼠), qízí páng (齐), chìzí páng (𠂔) and

longzipáng (龙) one check, other characters one check. Common characters which are putting in together again for two checks, such as huā (花), zhī (之), hū (乎), zhé (者), yě (也), yē (耶), yǒu (有), zài (在), wú (无), fū (夫), cún (存), xīn (心), huái (怀), xiǎng (想), niàn (念), tiān (天), dà (大), xiǎo (小), shàng (上), zhōng (中), xià (下), gài (盖), yǐ (以), yān (焉), zāi (哉), yǐ (矣), etc. symbols like ○, △, ㄣ are listed in one check, knife, stab and other tools put into one check.

– **Geban and Tuoban (格板与托板 Wood board for putting the characters and the wood board for supporting the clay-board)**

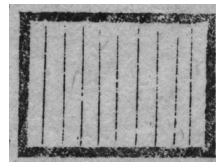
Geban means the wood board for putting the characters. Each worker takes one piece of board when he/she is working. The worker can also take more than one piece in compliance with the situation.

Tuoban is the wood board for supporting the clay-board. Each of the clay-board of the ready arrangement character can print two pages. When we print characters on the oil-clay board, don't print the reverse side until the characters dry thoroughly on the obverse. Timber was used to make Geban and Tuoban must go through the heat treatment. According to the timber's property, China fir wood is the best, the poplar wood and other wood are secondary. Only pine wood can't be used because of its nature of expansion and contraction.

Before placing the characters, we have to print several lines on the clay-board, and also to brush a layer of oil on the Tuoban evenly and equally. In this way, the character will not stick to the clay-board, and it will be easy to remove the character. We also have to slip the character in the dry clay powder for avoid adhering to the clay-board.

– **Jie Fang (界方 like ruler)**

When the worker places the character on the clay-board, he/she has to use a ruler (Jie Fang), which has more than 5.45 cm. long and width. It will prevent to damage the characters.



– **Xiao Zhu Jie Fang (小竹界方 Ruler made of bamboo)**

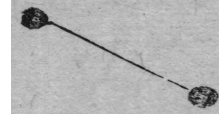
This ruler is made of bamboo with straight and smooth. It is for drawing the lines on the clay-board in accordance with the length and width of the characters. In this way, the placing characters will not be in different situations of higher and lower, or all awry.

– **Pingtou Zhuzhen (平头竹针 Bamboo stab with flat on both ends)**

The two ends of bamboo stab could be round or square, big or small. It is a tool for cleaning the clay crumbs in the characters, and for making the character solidly.

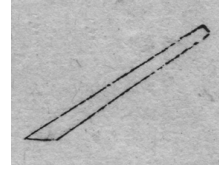
– **Xian (线 Thread)**

The thread is about 33 cm. long, which is the thinner, the better, and with a small clay cake in both ends. After making the lines in the clay-board, we place the characters in accordance with the line. In this way, the characters will not appear higher or lower or in disorder.



– **Qingzi Xiaodao (清字小刀 Small knife for cleaning the characters)**

This small knife is like the engraving knife. One end is small, round and flat for making the character solidly. The other end is like the horse-hoof knife for cutting off the unnecessary clay. It also can be used for drawing lines or placing the characters. Practice can always make perfect.



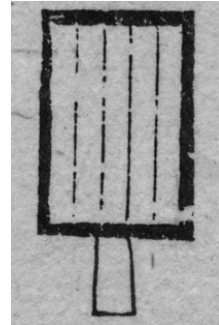
– **Gua Tie (刮铁 Sheet-iron)**

The sheet-iron is a tool for making every line of the characters straight and in order.



– **Cuo Zi Shou Ge (撮字手格 Wood board for holding the characters)**

The size of this wood board is 19.8 cm. (L) X 16.5 cm. (W) and with the handle of 9.9 cm. The wood strips are nailed around the edges. The inner part of the wood strips is hollow for the convenience of the bamboo slice to stretch in and to move and pick up the characters easily.



– **Fang Zi Ban (放字板 Wood board for holding the characters)**

This wood board is rectangular for holding the characters and is a good tool for helping to arrange the characters.

The other ways work, which I have described the above contains.

4. CONCLUSION

In a word, I can employ one worker for picking up the characters and two workers for placing or arranging the characters on the clay-board. I can print four pages a day. If I ask my cousins or my friends to work together, I don't have to employ the engraver to carve the characters. In this way, I can complete even 1,000 articles within several months. It is the easiest way for scholars to obtain books.

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THE INHERITANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF WOOD LETTER PRINTING CULTURE IN THE ZHEJIANG GENEALOGIES

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ABSTRACT

Based on a survey of more than 9,300 existing titles of wood letter printing genealogies in the Zhejiang Province, the author analyses the changes in quantity and the local features of wood letter printing of the Zhejiang genealogies in different periods of the Ming (1368–1644 A.D.), Qing (1644–1911 A.D.), Republic of China (1911–1949 A.D.) and the People's Republic of China (1949–). It indicates the great significance of wood letter printing in compiling genealogy and more than 100 titles of rare books in the Jinhua, Zhejiang Province, in the Long Qing Emperor Period (1567–1572 A.D.) and the first year of the Wan Li Emperor (1572 A.D.) in the Ming Dynasty. This paper also discusses the socialized service in the genealogy compilation procedure such as compiling, printing and papermaking in the modern Wenzhou area, which had an effect on inheriting and developing the wood letter printing culture. From the special position of the genealogy serial publication, this paper also discusses the historical position of genealogy in Zhejiang in China's wood letter printing culture development. The author believes that the endless vitality of contemporary wood letter printing has a close relationship with the market system of compiling genealogies.

KEY WORDS

Wood Letter Printing
Printing Culture
Genealogy
Jinhua
Wenzhou
Zhejiang

INTRODUCTION

Among Chinese printing books remaining from ancient China, the sum books printed from wood blocks is much larger than the printing from wood letters.

While printing from wood blocks came into being in the early Tang Dynasty, the wood letter printing technology was widely used in the Jiangnan area in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasty. Its development influenced the central part of China. In the Chong Zhen Emperor Period (1628–1644 A.D.), it was used in printing *Chao Bao* (court paper) by the government, and in Qian Long Emperor Period (1736–1795 A.D.), it was used in printing “*Wuyingdian Juzhenban Congshu*” (Series of Wuying Dian Collecting Editions) by the court, which further extended its influence. When did the earliest wood letter printed books in existence appear? How did the wood letter printing culture rise and fall afterwards? What historical and regional features did it have? What about its condition of inheritance and prospect of development? Naturally, all these questions became our concern.

Therefore, when modern printing ways, such as offset printing, photo-offset printing and computer printing are disseminated all over the world, in the Wenzhou area, wood letter printing the genealogy compilation still has its own position with a bright prospect, and old papermaking is still widespread. All of these make us feel distant and unfamiliar.

With the compilation of the book-formed *Zhejiang Jiapu Zongmu Tiyao* (Zhejiang Genealogies Bibliography) and the establishment of its database which provides us with an information carrier, it is accessible for us to carry out some objective and rational discussion on the questions relevant to the wood letter printing culture during 400 years, such as its rise, the move of its center, its representative books in existence, and the condition of its inheritance and development.

1. WOOD LETTER PRINTING IS THE MAIN EDITION FORM OF THE ZHEJIANG GENEALOGIES

1.1 The Changes in Quantity of the Zhejiang Genealogies Printed with Wood Letters in the Ming, Qing, Republic of China, and the People's Republic of China

Although wood letter printing used in China rather early, it is hard to tell which book printed with wood letters in existence is the earliest one in the Han nationality regions, for distinguishing wood letter printed books from metal letter printing is difficult. Nowadays, because of the dissemination of typographic printing, offset printing, photo-offset printing and computer printing, many people would think that wood letter printing has died.

However, the condition seems totally opposite to this imagination, which reflected by *Zhejiang Jiapu Zongmu Tiyao* (An Annotated Zhejiang Genealogy Bibliography) published by Zhejiang Library in 2005, which was totally recording 12,775 titles of the existing genealogies of Zhejiang Province. Though these records could not represent the actual appearance of Zhejiang genealogies surviving

now, not to say the whole appearance of genealogies in history. However, combined with the research on the Chinese printing culture and ancient book editions by other scholars, we could discuss the position that the Zhejiang genealogies play in the history of Chinese wood letter printing culture, from the unique view that genealogies are a kind of serial printing and publishing material.

According to the various edition forms of genealogy recorded in *Zhejiang Jiapu Zongmu Tiyaoyao* (An Annotated Zhejiang Genealogies Bibliography), we count out that among 12,775 titles of existing Zhejiang genealogies, there are 9,303 titles of wood letter printed books, being 72%, which shows that wood letter printing is the main printing technology used in Zhejiang genealogies.

These Zhejiang wood letter printed genealogies manifest a different historical appearance and distinct regional features in different periods of the Ming, Qing, Republic of China and the People's Republic of China.

1.1.1 Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 A.D.)

Now, there are 103 titles of Zhejiang genealogies printed in the Ming Dynasty, and thirteen titles printed with wood letters. The earliest one is *Dongyang Lushi Jiacheng* (Genealogy of Lu's Family in Dongyang, printed in Long Qing Emperor Period (1567–1572 A.D.), 4 volumes remained), which was collected National Library of China.¹

1.1.2 Qing Dynasty (1644–1911 A.D.)

Compared with the Ming Dynasty, the sum of books printed with wood letters of the Qing Dynasty is much more. Since the middle and late years of Emperor Qianlong, wood letters have been widely used in printing Zhejiang genealogies. There are 6,430 titles of Zhejiang genealogies of the Qing Dynasty still in existence, and about 5,100 titles are wood letter printed edition.

1.1.3 Republic of China (1911–1949 A.D.)

There are 4,498 titles of existing Zhejiang Genealogies compiled in the Republic of China, though typographic printing began to flourish at that time, wood letter printed editions still hold 3,700 titles.

1.1.4 The People's Republic of China (1949 -)

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, only 123 titles of the Zhejiang genealogies compiled before the Reform and Open Policy in 1979, which are still in existence, and wood letter printed ones are less than 100. Since 1979 until now, there have 1,475 titles of Zhejiang genealogies compiled, among which more than 430 titles were printed with wood letters.

According to the referred distributing features of Zhejiang genealogies in different periods, we can conclude that genealogies compiled in the Qing Dynasty

and Republic of China took the majority in the whole, and wood letter printing is the main edition form of them.

1.2 The Immigrant of Wood Letter Printing of the Zhejiang Genealogies in Ming, Qing, the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China

Among the Zhejiang genealogies, there are 3,465 titles, which native places belong to the Jinhua area. And 3,163 of them are wood letters printing editions, which occupied 91% in total. Over 99% of these wood letters printing genealogies were compiled in the Ming, Qing and Republic of China, only a small portion were compiled in the People Republic of China.

There are 4,822 titles of Genealogies from Hangzhou, Ningbo and Shaoxing, which the wood letters printing take over 67%. The same situation in Jinhua area, 99% of wood letters printing genealogies were compiled in the Ming, Qing and Republic of China, but the editions of the People's Republic of China are rare.

The distribution of existing wood letters printing genealogies in Wenzhou area is contrary to that of Jinhua, Hangzhou, Ningbo and Shaoxing etc. in different periods of the Ming, Qing Dynasty, Republic of China and the People's Republic of China. Among 1,122 titles of Wenzhou area genealogies, there's no wood letters printing edition of the Ming Dynasty, and 59 wood letters printing editions in the Qing Dynasty, 73 in Republic of China, and 488 in the People's Republic of China. Over 87% of the genealogies compiled and printed in the People's Republic of China were after the country carried out the Reform and Open Policy in 1979.²

According to the regional distribution of existing Zhejiang genealogies stated above, the genealogies compiled before 1949, in the middle and eastern parts of Zhejiang Province took its center in Jinhua, and the genealogies after 1949 in the southern parts as its center of Wenzhou, were mostly the wood letter printing.

Thus, on the issue of printing genealogies with wood letters in Zhejiang, there're obvious historical and regional differences between the middle and eastern parts and the southern parts separately represented by Jinhua and Wenzhou.

Therefore, what position should these Zhejiang wood letter printing genealogies take up in Chinese printing history?

2 THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE ZHEJIANG GENEALOGIES PRINTED WITH WOOD LETTERS IN CHINESE PRINTING HISTORY

2.1 The Great Significant of Wood Letter Printing in Compiling Genealogy and More Than 100 Titles of Rare Books in the Jinhua Area

Genealogy "*Dongyang Lushi Jiacheng*" (Genealogy of Lu's Family in Dongyang, wood letters printing in Long Qing Emperor Period, 4 vols. survived, and the gene-

alogy of *Jinhua Lianchi Zhangshi Zongpu* (Genealogy of Zhang's Family in Lianchi Jinhua area, wood letters printing in the 1st year of Wan Li Emperor (1573), 4 Juang (chapters) were all printed in Zzhejaing Province in Ming Dynasty. They have the same value of other 100 titles of rare books of wood letters printing edition, which were printed at the same time. All of them have the same significant in Chinese printing history.³

Since the letters printing technology was invented by Mr. Bi Sheng in Qing Li Emperor Peiod (1041–1048 A.D.), the North Song Dynasty to the first year of the Wan Li Emperor (1573 A.D.), of Ming Dynasty, round 530 years, there always had somebody been using and improving this technology from time to time. For example, Wangzhen and Ma Chende in the Yuan Dynasty and Lv Fu in the Qing Dynasty self-practiced the technology of “creating wood letters for printing”, “engraving letters block for printing” and “creating clay block of letters for printing.” However, these ancient books printed in wood letters remain no real object now. The sum of the letters printing books in existence is very limited. Based on the statistics of *Zhongguo Guji Shanben Shumu* (Chinese Rare Books Catalogue), among the recorded 56,787 titles of ancient and rare books printed in the Qing Dynasty and before, only 340 titles are wood letters for printing books. The ratio between letters printing books and others is 1 and 167, which indicates that letters printing did not become the main way of printing books in ancient time.

Archaeological finds in recent years show that the earliest wood letters printing books were mostly in ethnic minority areas, indicating that the technology of wood letters printing was passed to the Xi Xia and Uyghur regions during the 12th century to 14th century. Most of the letters printing books in the Han Nationality regions were printed with copper letters.

So when and where and by which form did the wood letters printing technology come to prevail?

Zhang Xiumin conducted research showing that Wangzhen had printed books with wood letters in the Yuan Dynasty, while the prevailing technology was in the Ming Dynasty, especially around the Wanli Emperor Period. According to the words by Zhou Shutao and Zhao Yuanfang quoted by Xu Yinong in the” *Huozi Ben* (Wood Letters Printing Book),⁴ we can consider the two paragraphs of quotation not only reflected the social and economical reasons of copper letters printing books rising and falling before the Emperor Hongzhi Period (1488–1505 A.D.) and Emperor Wan Li Period (1573–1620 A.D.), but also explained the scale transition of letters printing from copper to wood which was pushed forward by the government, and actually it was happened in a short time from the last year of Jia Jin Emperor (1566 A.D.) to the first year of Wan Li Emperor (1573 A.D.).

Provided the conclusion stated above is credible, the two titles of wood letters printing genealogies *Dongyang Lushi Jiacheng* (Genealogy of Lu's Family in Dongyang) printed in the Long Qing Emperor Period (1567–1572 A.D.), and *Jinhua Lianchi Zhangshi Zongpu* (Genealogy of Zhang's Family in Lianchi Jinhua area) printed in the first year of Wan Li Emperor (1573 A.D.), could be regarded

together with more than 100 titles of wood letters printing books of the Ming Dynasty.

At the same time, in other places in this region, like Pujiang, Yiwu, Yongkang and Dongyang, wood letters were used in printing genealogies too, which indicated that it was commonplace to print genealogies with wood letters in Jinhua area such as Pujiang, Yiwu, Yongkang and Dongyang in the period of the Emperor Long Qing to the Emperor Wan Li. Besides, Hangzhou, Ningbo, Shaoxing etc. These were also the places where wood letters were used in printing the genealogies comparatively early. There are still real objects printed in those places surviving now. These real objects of Zhejiang wood letters printed genealogies are the best evidence that the wood letters printing technology was generally used in printing books in Zhejiang Province in the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 A.D.).

2.2 Wood Letter Printing Technology Meets the Needs of the Special Literary Style of Genealogies

In the Ming and Qing Dynasties, compiling genealogies became a common practice in Zhejiang Province, and various genealogies were compiled over and over again. To meet the needs of printing numerous genealogies became the basic of wood letters printing technology to inherit and develop. Wood letters printing technology which characterized by easy to brought along in tools, convenient and quickly in use, inexpensive and practical in price, naturally met the social needs. Types used in genealogies' text were limited in amount, generally speaking, 20,000 words were enough. A large part of genealogy contents were taken up by genealogical trees, which did not need many characters in each page, whereas the words and lines should be in a great diversity, large and small, long and short, horizontal and vertical. Laid and printed as will, folded and bound flexible, are just the advantages of wood letters printing technology. The cycle of sequent compilation of genealogies was very short, and there's no need to preserve the primary sheets, which is the exact point that wood letters printing fitting to the need of genealogy's special literary style.

2.3 Jinhua Wood Letter Printing Genealogies Almost Disappeared After 1949

After 1949, because of the changes that happened in the social system and ideology, the compilation of genealogies in Jinhua and many other places of Zhejiang Province ceased. Wood letters of genealogy printing were almost burnt down, as well as the tools that accompanied them. There are only about 20,000 words of wood letters that survived in the whole Jinhua area.⁵

3. STIMULATED BY THE MARKET SYSTEM, MODERN GENEALOGY IN THE WENZHOU AREA CONTRIBUTED AN EFFECTIVE ROLE OF INHERITING AND DEVELOPING WOOD LETTER PRINTING CULTURE.

Today, many people would think that traditional wood letters printing technology has already retreated from the historical stage. However, in Rui'an, Pingyang and Cangnan in Wenzhou area, Zhejiang Province, there has been a strong socialized service team still printing genealogies with wood letters. This condition allows the traditional wood letters printing technology to gain a quick development once more, and many excellent genealogies were printed out with wood letters. From the 1950s to 2001, there were 488 titles of wood letters printed genealogies in Wenzhou, taking 43% of the total existing genealogies, and the great amount is rarely seen nationwide.⁶ Wenzhou modern genealogies inherit the wood letters printing culture, for all the procedure of its compiling, printing and paper-making followed the same pattern of the descriptions in ancient books.

3.1 Socialized Service of Genealogy Compilation

The reason that wood letter printing inherited in the Wenzhou area is complicated is mainly related to the existence of the prosperous socialized service of genealogy compilation in Rui'an, Pingyang and Cangnan.

- (1) There is an artisan team of scale printing genealogies with wood letters. The great sum of existing wood letters printed genealogies reflected that in the early years of the People's Republic of China. An artisan team of scale who used wood letters in printed genealogies had formed in Wenzhou society. It shows that prompted by the impetus of the market system, the action of using wood letters to print genealogies had become a sort of socialized service quite early in Wenzhou. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the number of unofficial genealogy compiling artisans in Wenzhou has increased from very few to near 100. At present only in the Dongyuan Village, Pingyangken Town, Rui'an City, there are over seventy genealogy compiling artisans.
- (2) Genealogy compiling artisans worked hard even under the pressure of the special political atmosphere. From the 1950s to the end of 1970s, with political movements following one after another, these artisans still worked unflaggingly. For example, there were the periods of Agrarian Reform and eradicating feudal patriarchal clan system from 1950 to 1952, Anti-Rightist Campaign in 1957, Implementation of General Line, the Great Leap Forward and People's Commune in 1959, three years of natural disasters in 1960–1962, and the Cultural Revolution in 1966–1976 and “Wenzhou-style capitalism criticism” in 1973. It is thus clear that the genealogy compilation artisans in Wenzhou were professional and unflagging in the sensitive years of Chinese modern history

- without fearing the pressure of political atmospheres, which is hard to imagine if there is no impetus of market profits. The second reason might be the cultural policy implemented in Wenzhou was comparatively relaxed at that time.
- (3) The names of genealogy compiling artisans' households are used as the publishers', therefore it became the representative names of artisans business halls and shops. Most Wenzhou genealogies are printed by the family households who own the same family names as the employers, whereas some new genealogies were printed by the family households, whose names are different. Because of the market profit, it appeared that a few family households provide genealogy printing service for different family names in different districts. Names of genealogy compiling artisans' households are used as publishers' names, therefore it became the representative of technicians' business halls and shops, which bring some commercial color to the family household name which marks blood relationship, history and reputation of a family. It is seldom in other places to use the family household names in printing genealogies.
 - (4) Shops opened that specialized in printing genealogies. Besides using the family household names in wood letters printing genealogies, there were some shops that specialized in printing genealogies being opened. Some of them were new, and some had nearly 60 years experience.

3.2 The Live Testimony of Wood Letter Printing in Modern Inheritance District

The author of this paper made a survey in the autumn of 2005 in Dongyuan village, Pingyangken town, Rui'an city in Wenzhou, the hometown of modern wood letters printing. In the Dongyang village, there are more than 450 families with over 2,000 people, and over seventy genealogy compilation artisans. These genealogy compiling artisans not only have the ability to compile, but also to print, thereby they form many workshops where wood movable type printing genealogies are completely operated by hand, which is very suitable for the people who are willing to compile genealogies while living in the places in south of Zhejiang inconvenient in traffic. In these workshops, there are no modern tools, all the procedure from engraving letters to binding the genealogies is operated by hand. We specially visited a professional genealogy printing family, the head of the household was named Wang Chaohui. The title page of genealogies printed by him was carved with the word "Published By the Wang Family, Jiu Zheng House, Dong'ao, Pingyangken, Rui'an." In March of 2004, the Rui'an government purchased and repaired the house with a courtyard owned by the Wang's family for 400 years, and opened an exhibiting house showing wood letters printed genealogies. This exhibiting house not only shows many texts and pictures, but also invites Mr. Wang to make genealogies in it, which allows visitors to watch the whole process of printing genealogies with wood letters directly. After being reported by the mass media, the house attracts more and more people to visit, further

promoting the influence of Dongyuan village in the whole province and then in the whole country. This situation highlights Wenzhou, as the modern inheritance district, is a live testimony of movable type printing as one of the Four Great Inventions of Ancient China.

3.3 New Highlights of this Primitive Printing Technology

- (1) From the ancient to the present, Wenzhou genealogies printed with wood letters always kept old letters since the Song Dynasty and the original complex Chinese characters. Employing the original complex Chinese characters in printed genealogies, inherits the official character of Chinese traditional culture.
- (2) The procedure of printing genealogies with wood letters is complete and exquisite. The process of making letters consists of attaining the material, writing (reversed), carving characters and making types. The process of printing consists of typesetting, editing, printing, printing the separated circle-carved types (on the right side of characters in order to highlight that part of content), printing the red lines (among the names of different branches in order to show the relationship of them), filling the letters in. The process of binding consists of dividing genealogy pages, folding pages, pre-binding (drilling holes, nailing paper spills), cutting pages (cutting the edge of the paper), binding thread and making covers. Hard and tensile wood of Birchleaf pear is selected as the material of the letters for printing.
- (3) The letters plate of Wenzhou is different neither from the letters case of Wuying Dian, nor from the circled-plate created by Wangzhen. In their long working experience, genealogy compiling artisans continued to improve the order of the type plate so as to make the typesetting good and fast. They divided the letter plate into a common type plate and a rare type plate, which also named as inside type plate and outside type plate. The types put in the inside plate are the titles of emperors, Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches etc. The letters in the outside plate are put in the way in some eccentric words, it is very quick to find letters when needed. This kind of letters plate is different neither from the letters case of Wuying Dian, nor from the circled-plate created by Wangzhen.
- (4) Small sheets of letters “combine” and form a whole printing sheet. For those sheets following some regularity, typesetting is not operated one type after another, instead, artisans make use of combining separated types with small typesheets. Especially when typesetting the lineage of a family and the birth or death years of a man, the whole printing sheet is commonly “combined” by small typesheets that must appear in one’s biography, such as “Ming, Zi, Sheng, Zu, Qu, Pei, Zu, Zang” (the name, the style name, rank in the family, birth, marry, death and burial). Afterwards, separated letters are filled in the sheet in accordance with the content.

- (5) Collate the genealogy set on the letters plate with the draft of the genealogy. When printing genealogies with wood letters, the artisans also changed the process of collation, using the genealogy set on the type plate collated with the draft of genealogy, instead of the complicated procedure of first printing red or blue items, economical both in time and money.
- (6) The technique of chromatograph in red and black is widely used in printing the diagrams of pedigrees, by which generations are linked with red lines making the stretch of each branch very clear. The piece of innovation in wood movable type printing not only promotes the speed of printing, but also makes the appearance of books more artistic than it used to be.

3.4 The Paper Made of Bamboo in the Old Papermaking Method Is the Main Material Factor Inherited by Wood Letter Printing

In Zeya town of Ou Hai, Wenzhou, the old papermaking workshops still in existence amply satisfy the need for paper used in printing wood letter genealogies in Wenzhou. Just the continuous supply of paper produced by the old papermaking methods allows the wood letter printing technology to gain its main material factor of inheritance.

4 CONCLUSION

In order to adapt the social need as well as the scientific and technical condition and productive force, innovation in the material, procedure and method of printing was made unceasingly from wood block printing technology invented by the Chinese in the Tang Dynasty of early 7th century. In the Song, Yuan and Ming Dynasties, new printing technologies such as printing with clay letters, wood letters and metal letters were invented. Among them, in late the Ming and early Qing Dynasties, wood letter printing became the secondary main printing technology next to wood block printing, with the encouragement of the Emperor Wan Li and the Emperor Qian Long. However, in the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China, along with the rising of typographic printing passed from Western Europe, wood letter printing technology gradually declined.

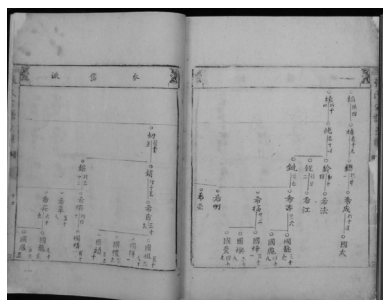
In the People's Republic of China, wood letter printing technology nearly disappeared on other cultural carriers, whereas in modern genealogies printed in Wenzhou, traditional technology of wood letter printing and the process of paper-making have been perfectly preserved.

In Chinese traditional printing culture, although wood letter printing rose later than others, it was wide spread and used with deep influence. Its invention and application had an effect on disseminating, developing and preserving Chinese traditional culture.

Genealogies printed with wood letters in the mid-east Zhejiang Province, which is represented by *Dongyang Lushi Jiacheng* (Genealogy of Lu's Family in Dongyang, wood letter printing in Long Qing Emperor Period) and *Jinhua Lianchi Zhangshi Zongpu* (Genealogy of Zhang's Family in Lianchi Jinhua area, wood letter printing the 1st year of Wan Li Emperor [1573]) had the clear in names and printers. Among the more than 100 titles of wood letter printed books of the Ming Dynasty, the names could be examined, and became an important coordinate in Chinese printing culture.

Modern Wenzhou genealogies printed in the original complex Chinese characters on bamboo-made paper with wood letters, not only respected the Chinese traditional culture, but also make an ineffaceable contribution to inherit and develop wood letter printing culture.

The movable letters printing technique is one of the most important contributions of the Chinese people to human civilization, and its influence should never be underestimated. Zhejiang Province is one of the earliest places where genealogies were printed with wood letters, and the technique spanned a long period and covered a broad area, which took up the leading position in the whole country all the time. Prompted by the impetus of the market system, modern Wenzhou genealogies have an effect on inheriting ancient wood letter printing technology. Therefore, coherent with the effort and brilliance of the Chinese people, wood letter printing technology though always playing an auxiliary role in Chinese printing history, has manifested its unique fascination and vitality in printing genealogies in the Zhejiang Province.



NOTES

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“GRAPH-BOOK” AND LAYOUT DESIGN IN ANCIENT CHINA

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Ancient Chinese bamboo and silk manuscripts excavated in recent decades have provided us rare material for the examination of form and format of ancient Chinese books. These excavated manuscripts can be divided into two categories: administrative documents and intellectual or literary texts, many of which are ancient Chinese books that even the greatest bibliographers in ancient China, such as Sima Qian (145–90 B.C.E.) and Liu Xiang (77–6 B.C.E.), etc., had no opportunity to read.¹ It is self-evident that excavated administrative documents are records and files of ancient political or business administrations. From the perspective of textual form, they are usually quite different from the conventional understanding of Chinese books. However, excavated intellectual or literary texts that can be grouped into the four traditional *jing* (classic), *shi* (history), *zi* (masters/philosophers), and *ji* (literary collections) categories, are close to the conventional understanding of traditional Chinese books or *tushu*, literally “graph-book.” This essay will focus on this category of excavated manuscripts to examine the layout characteristics and implications of ancient Chinese excavated bamboo and silk books.

TUSHU AND ANCIENT CHINESE BOOKS

Tushu or “graph-book” is the general name of Chinese books. The meaning of *tushu* can be interpreted in two different ways: one is graphs and books, and the other is graphic books or books with graphs. *Tushu* of “graphs and books” is recorded in transmitted Chinese textual tradition. The *Hanshu*, “History of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C. – 25 A.D.),” states that when the Han Dynasty Prime Minister Xiao He entered the Qin (221 – 206 B.C.) capital Xianyang, he quickly collected the Qin Prime Minister’s and other officers’ *tushu*. The reason why the first Emperor of the Han knew the population, the number of the passes, and the strength and weakness of China, etc., is “because of the Qin *tushu* that (Xiao) He had attained.”² Here, “*tushu*” refers to both graphs and books, including charts, maps and books, etc.

As for the *tushu* of “graphic books” or “books with graphs,” it includes two different types of books with graphs or pictures. The first type is those books with illustrations, and the other type is those with graphic layout designs, i.e., books with their textual arrangements following particular graphic designs. As shown in Figure 1, the Warring States (476 – 221 B.C.) Chu silk manuscript excavated from Zidanku in Hunan Province is a piece of ancient silk book with ample illustrations.³

Such early illustrations of an ancient silk book can be as dominant as those shown in the 2nd century B.C. silk manuscript *Bibin*, “military avoidance,” excavated from Mawangdui in Hunan Province, overriding the majority of the silk books as shown in Figure 2.⁴ Figures 3 and 4 illustrate examples of the book type with graphic layout designs. Excavated from a Han Dynasty tomb at Yinwan in Donghai, Jiangsu Province, the text of the wood tablet in Figure 3 was arranged by following the TLV designs that were popular in early Chinese bronze mirror inscriptions.⁵ In Figure 4, the text inscribed on Qin Dynasty bamboo slips was specifically arranged in a series of concentric squares.⁶ It is also worthy of noting that some layout designs in ancient Chinese books belong to both the type with illustrations and the type with graphic layout designs. The Warring States Chu silk manuscript in Figure 1 is such an example.

The textual layout feature of the Warring States Chu silk manuscript in Figure 1 is that the inscriptions of the Chu silk manuscript are an integral part of the graphic textual layout. In ancient Chinese books, texts themselves usually do not constitute of any part of the graphs of layout design. Even in an ancient silk manuscript such as the one in Figure 2, although the illustration is dominant in the layout arrangement, the text itself is not part of a specific graph of the layout design. However, in the Warring States Chu silk manuscript in Figure 1, on the one hand, some texts of the silk book have their illustrations, i.e. the twelve spirits on the four sides of the silk as well as the four trees at the four corners. On the other hand, all those texts themselves constitute the specific graph of the whole layout design of the silk book, as illustrated in Figure 5. That is to say, the “graph” of ancient Chinese “graph-book” is not necessarily drawn or painted illustrations, but also can be specific graphs composed of texts.

THE LAYOUT DESIGN OF ANCIENT CHINESE BOOKS

Bamboo slips and silk manuscripts were major forms of ancient Chinese books before the invention of paper. Due to the particular material feature of ancient bamboo and silk books, these archaeologically excavated bamboo slips and silk manuscripts are usually preserved by museums and archaeological institutions rather than normal libraries. Consequently, common readers and scholars have very limited access to those rare ancient bamboo and silk books. This is why there have been so many mistakes in common knowledge of ancient bamboo and silk books in the field of book design.⁷ It is thus important to promote the study of ancient bamboo and silk books so that scholars in different fields, including librarians and book designers, etc., will have proper knowledge and understanding of those excavated rare ancient books, where ancient Chinese book culture was well preserved.

Although the writing/printing media and the binding/folding systems of ancient bamboo and silk books are different from those of paper books that we received

from the transmitted tradition, the layout arrangement of ancient Chinese bamboo and silk books evidently reflects particular ideas of layout design. Such layout design of excavated ancient bamboo and silk books vividly presents the accomplishments of ancient Chinese book culture, in particular, the art and thought of ancient Chinese book design.

That *tushu* became the general name of Chinese books reflects the importance of *tu*, graphs or pictures, in the Chinese book culture. Whenever graphs or pictures become part of a book, the layout design of the book will be more important than that of a text-only book. This is also true in ancient China. According to archaeological discoveries of ancient bamboo and silk books, the achievements and implications of ancient Chinese book design cannot be overstated. No matter what the presentation form or the intellectual thought concerned, ancient Chinese book design does not speak less than modern Chinese book design does.

The basic task that a layout design has to finish is to properly arrange the filled and unfilled spaces for a book in order to effectively establish the connection between the reader and the text, as well as the graphs or illustrations. In this essay, we term the space that text and graphs occupied as "filled space," and the blank space without any texts or graphs as "unfilled space." Such "unfilled space" has been called "negative space" by some scholars in the field of graphic design.⁸ We argue that in layout design, unfilled space occupies "positive" space in terms of either its form or its function. "Unfilled space" co-exists with "filled space," and it only exists where "filled space" presents. "Unfilled space" makes no negative effect on "filled space," but helps "filled space" more efficiently build connections with the reader if it is well designed. This is what Chinese philosophy suggests, emptiness and fullness mutually produces each other. It is thus that we consider the term "negative space" misleading.

The layout design of ancient Chinese books can be best examined from the layouts of excavated ancient bamboo and silk books with graphs or illustrations. According to what is available today, we would like to group the ancient bamboo and silk books in question into two categories, (1) layout arrangement with illustrations, and (2) layout arrangement presenting a graphic pattern. Under the first category, we further divide it into two subcategories, the format of attaching illustrations to the text, and that of attaching texts to the illustrations. These categories can be discussed with the following examples.

The layout arrangement with illustrations is perhaps the earliest and most popular layout design in the world. Both the subcategories of the layout arrangement with illustrations have their ancient examples in Chinese excavated bamboo and silk books. In Figure 1 of the Warring States Chu silk manuscript, the twelve images of spirits on the four sides of the silk manuscript are attached to the twelve sections of the *Yueji* (Monthly Taboo) text. Considered from the perspective of visual effects only, the four illustrations of trees at the four corners are decorative illustrations adjusting the tension of the unfilled space, as seen in Figure 5. Comparing figures 1 and 5, we can see that each section of the "Yueji" text attached by

an image of spirit in Figure 1 consists of one square of the twelve squares on the four sides of the silk manuscript in Figure 5. Clearly, each square is a unit of text attached by illustrations, and this silk manuscript is an example of the format of attaching illustrations to the text.

In Figure 2 of the Mawangdui *Bibin* silk manuscript, it is evident that the images are dominant and the text seems to be captions that are attached to the images. However, the text is an independent military text and the images are actually illustrations of the text. Due to the dominant role of the illustrations, Rao Zongyi suggests that this silk manuscript is *tushi* (graph-poem) of ancient Chinese *huazan* (painting eulogy) style of writing.⁹ Nevertheless, this Mawangdui silk manuscript is an example of the format of attaching texts to the illustrations.

Either the format of attaching illustrations to the text or that of attaching texts to the illustrations is the traditional layout design with illustrations. The images of the illustrations are easy to identify. The layout design presenting a particular graphic pattern is different. Such graphic pattern of layout design is not easy to be identified by an untrained eye. According to the archaeological discoveries, the layout design presenting a particular graphic pattern is an important form of layout design in ancient Chinese bamboo and silk books. Comparing it to the layout design with illustrations, the layout design presenting a particular graphic pattern has the following features: (1) Just like the layout design with illustrations, the layout design presenting a graphic pattern may have illustrations; (2) different from the layout design with illustrations, the layout design presenting a graphic pattern may have no illustrations; and (3) different from most cases of the layout design with illustrations, the layout design presenting a graphic pattern must have its layout arrangement shown as a particular graphic pattern. Take the example of the Warring States Chu silk manuscript in Figure 1 again. We have observed the example of the layout design with illustrations above, and we may also examine the layout design presenting a graphic pattern in this Chu silk manuscript.

The particular graphic pattern of the Chu silk manuscript layout can be traced back to some bronze inscriptions of the Shang (1600–1046 B.C.) and the Zhou (1046–256 B.C.) Dynasties. In *Sandai jijin wencun*, a collection of ancient bronze inscriptions dating back to the Xia (2070 – 1600 B.C.), Shang and Zhou dynasties, Luo Zhenyu included the inscriptions of figures 6 and 7, both of which had been inscribed inside a graphic frame.¹⁰ In Figure 6, the inscriptions were inscribed inside a 卍-shaped design, and in Figure 7, the inscriptions were inscribed inside a 卐-shaped design. The 卍 or 卐 graphs are the graphic patterns that the layouts of the bronze inscriptions follow.

In the Warring States Chu silk manuscript, if we take the four trees at the four corners as pure decorations, the layout of the silk manuscript is shown as Figure 8. It is evident that the layout design of the Chu silk manuscript shares some graphic features of both the 卍 and 卐 -shape designs of figures 6 and 7. If we consider the four trees at the four corners as simply decorations that have no connections with the texts of the Chu silk manuscript, the layout design of the Chu silk manuscript

then presents a 卐 shape pattern, as shown in Figure 5. However, we consider the tree images at the four corners still related to the contents of the Chu silk manuscript thus constitute part of the layout of the Chu silk manuscript. That is to say, the layout of the Chu silk manuscript is a well arranged 卐-shaped design, as shown in Figure 8.

Actually, 卐 or 卐-shaped layout designs are closely related to each other. As a pattern of layout design, the 卐-shaped design is a variation of the 卐-shaped design.¹¹ No matter which design we identify the layout pattern of the Chu silk manuscript as, it is an intentionally arranged graphic pattern that not only has its archaic origins in the Shang and Zhou dynasties bronze inscriptions but also can be found in later excavated textual materials. The inscriptions on the Yinwan wooden tablet from a Han Dynasty tomb in Figure 3 also present such graphic pattern of layout design. As we will briefly discuss its implications below in the next section, the 卐-shaped layout design is a layout pattern that is quite popular in ancient Chinese texts. Needless to say, it is not the only graphic pattern of layout design.

Other graphic patterns of layout design in ancient Chinese books include various forms of graphs. One particular example can be observed in Figure 4, a Qin Dynasty bamboo slip text *Zhengshi zhi chang* (the constancy of the administrative affairs). As we mentioned above, the inscriptions on the Qin bamboo slips were inscribed in the layout of a concentric square design, which requires a wide area of space for writing. If such layout design applies to bronze vessels or silk, no extra efforts are needed before inscribing. However, as for ancient bamboo books, the bamboo slips have to be pieced up together first in order to create a writing space that is wide enough for square layout design. In Figure 4, the bamboo slips should have been bound up together and the concentric squares should have been drawn before any inscription could be inscribed. This involved more technical difficulties and required more efforts than most regular bamboo books did while producing a bamboo slip book. It is thus clear that such layout design must have carried certain particular meaning that is worthy of such extra efforts.

From the above examples of the layout designs in ancient excavated bamboo and silk books, it is evident that the layout designs in ancient Chinese bamboo and silk books were the results of intentional efforts rather than layout arrangements that came into shape automatically while the texts were copied. Different from the layout arrangements in oracle bones and bronze inscriptions, the layout designs in ancient bamboo and silk books, either layouts with illustrations or those presenting particular graphic patterns, clearly present the ideas and efforts of those ancient bamboo and silk book designers. As the precious early forms of ancient book layout design, the layout designs of excavated bamboo and silk books represent important achievements of ancient Chinese book art and culture. These excavated original archaic bamboo and silk books and their design art are irreplaceable rare primary sources for the study of book art and tradition in early China and the ancient book culture and heritage of the human world.

THE INTELLECTUAL IMPLICATIONS OF ANCIENT CHINESE BOOK LAYOUTS

The implications of layout designs of ancient Chinese books are not limited to the art of book design or ancient Chinese book culture. In traditional China, those ancient Chinese book layout designs are one manifestation of ancient Chinese intellectual thought. As an example, the ㄚ-shaped pattern of layout contains particular intellectual significance.

Based on her study of archaeological materials with the ㄚ shape of the Shang Dynasty, Sarah Allan of Dartmouth College argues that the ㄚ shape related to the shape of the turtle in ancient China and reflected the cosmology of Shang Dynasty people.¹² As for the actual meaning of the ㄚ scholars, such as Ding Shan, Chen Mengjia, Qu Wanli, Rao Zongyi, and Yu Xingwu, etc., made extensive examinations.¹³ No matter what the original meaning of the ㄚ is, we argue that the layout design of the ㄚ shape and its variations have connections to the thought of *tian-dao*, the Way of heavens, and the cosmology of ancient China.

The Warring States Chu silk manuscript is an early Chinese silk book that consists of three texts, *Sishi* (four seasons), *Tianxiang* (images of heavens), and *Yueji* (monthly taboo). They all relate to thought of *yin* and *yang*, the four seasons, the Five Phrases, the monthly ordinances, and early cosmology of ancient China. In the center of the silk manuscript, the texts of the *Sishi* and the *Tianxiang* were arranged reversely, i.e., one text starts at the top of the silk while the other starts at the bottom of the silk. Such layout design is quite similar to the pattern of *yin* and *yang* of the *Taiji* symbol and reflects the idea of that *yin* and *yang* give birth to each other and continuously restart a new circulation of their energy while the previous circulation ends. As illustrations of the *Yueji* text, the twelve spirits encircle all the four sides of the silk manuscript (Figure 1) and also imply the idea of endless circulation of the months or the spirits of the months. The images of the trees at the four corners have different colors. They should be related to the ideas of the Five Colors and the Five Phrases. Evidently, the Chu silk manuscript with the ㄚ-shaped (or the ㄚ-shaped) layout design has very close connections with the thought of ancient Chinese cosmology.

Such cosmological implications associated with the ㄚ or the ㄚ-shaped layout designs can be attested not only in the ancient excavated bamboo and silk books but also in the transmitted traditional Chinese books. In Figure 9, we see the ㄚ-shaped layout design of a section in the *Guanzi* (Master Guan).¹⁴ The center of the text is actually a concentric arrangement, which is somehow similar to the layout arrangement of the Qin bamboo book, *Zhengshi zhi chang* (Figure 4). However, the entire layout of the *Guanzi* section is clearly a ㄚ-shaped pattern. Reading the text of the section, we know that it is a section of writing discussing *qi*, the Four Seasons, the Five Phases, and the four directions, etc., thus it closely relates to ancient Chinese cosmology.

A much later example further proves such connection between the layout design and ancient Chinese cosmology. In Figure 10, we read a text explaining the connections between the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Book of Changes* and the hexagram spirits. The whole text forms a particular graph, which is another ䷍-shaped pattern of layout design. The theory of the hexagram spirits is a hypothesis of the relationships between the hexagram lines and hexagrams of the *Book of Changes* and the Twenty-four Solar Terms in the traditional Chinese lunar system.¹⁵ In Figure 10, the layout design is actually a concentric ䷍-shaped pattern: the inner most center is a ䷍-shaped text of the four hexagrams *Kan*, *Li*, *Zhen* and *Dui*; the hexagram pictures of the four hexagrams form the next outer ䷍-shaped text; the names of the Twenty-four Solar Terms form the next outer level of the ䷍-shaped text; so do the twelve Monique hexagrams, the explanations of the Twenty-four Solar Terms and the Monthly Ordinances, and the seventy-two hexagram lines of the twelve Monique hexagrams. Following the pattern of the ䷍-shaped layout design, the text elaborates the connections between the ancient Chinese cosmology and the hexagram names, hexagram pictures, and the Twenty-four Solar Terms, etc.

The ䷍ or ䷍-shaped pattern is only one representative layout design in ancient Chinese books. Other related patterns of layout design are also available in both excavated and transmitted textual traditions in China.¹⁶ We have to acknowledge that scholars in the field have never paid enough attention to the issue of layout design in ancient Chinese books. Even less attention has been paid to the excavated ancient bamboo and silk books. As concluding remarks, we argue that the layout design in ancient Chinese books is not simply an issue of graphic art, as perhaps most people think. From what we have discussed above, it can be concluded that the layout design of ancient Chinese books has close connections with particular intellectual thought. This is an important characteristic of ancient Chinese book design, as well as one significant aspect of ancient Chinese book culture. The art of ancient Chinese book design has its long tradition as well as its own characteristic – the presentations of layout design in ancient China are not limited to the presentations of visual art; they have the functions to transmit particular intellectual thought, and they are also the presentations of particular intellectual thought, and thus are of important intellectual significance.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

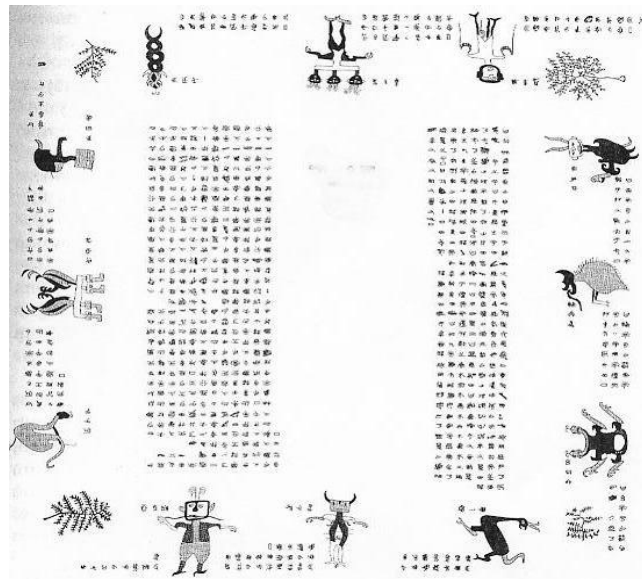
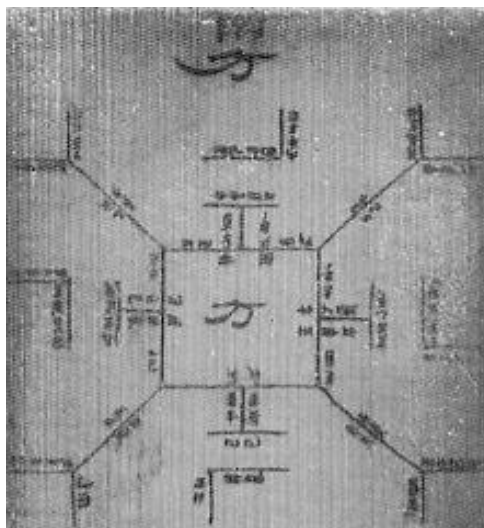
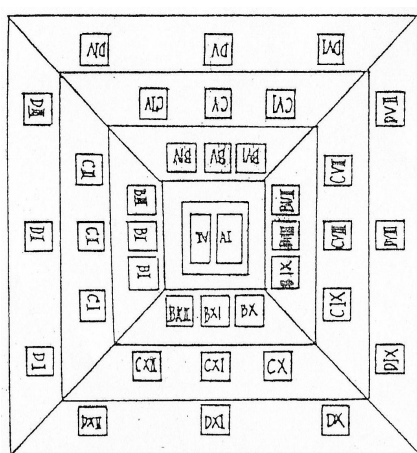


Figure 1: The Warring States Chu Silk Manuscript



Figure 2: The Mawangdui Silk Manuscript Bibin

Figure 3: The Yinwan Wooden Tablet *Boju zhan*Figure 4: The Wangjiatai Qin Bamboo Slip *Zhengshi zhi chang*

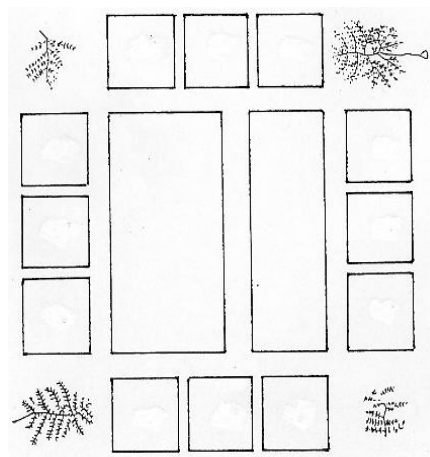


Figure 5: The Trees at the Four Corners of the Chu Silk Manuscript



Figure 6: The 亞-shaped Bronze Inscription



Figure 7: The 卣-shaped Bronze Inscription

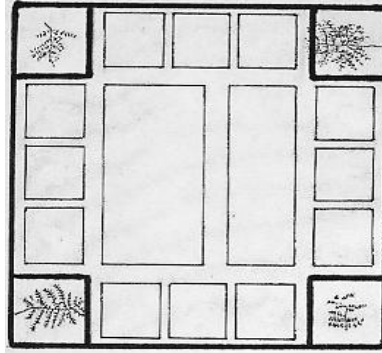


Figure 8: The Layout Design of the Warring States Chu Silk Manuscript

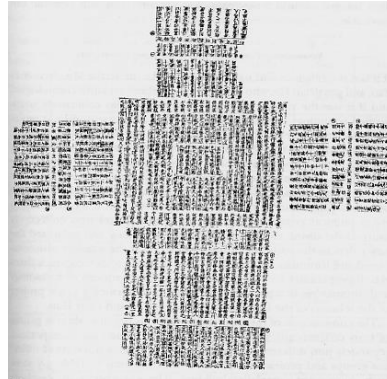
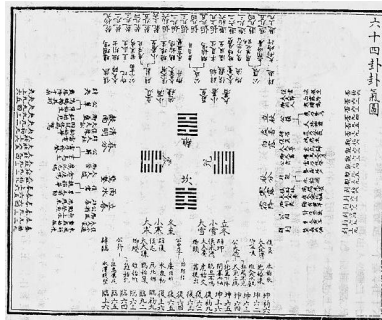
Figure 9: The Layout Design of "Youguan" of the *Guanzi*

Figure 10: The Seasonal Hexagram Spirits

TRADITIONAL HANDMADE PAPER IN CHINA TODAY: ITS PRODUCTION AND CHARACTERISTICS

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ABSTRACT

Handmade papers have long been produced in many different places all over China, and the paper made in each of these places has its own special regional characteristics. The raw materials that go into the paper and the techniques used to make the paper determine the characteristics of the handmade paper and how it will respond when used for calligraphy, painting, or printing and when it is mounted or bound as books.

Illustrations in this article show the production of handmade paper in four areas of China: Fuyang, Zhejiang; Jingxian, Anhui; Jiajiang, Sichuan; and Qian'an, Hebei. The photographs, taken on my visits to these sites between 1999 and 2003, show the physical setting, equipment and tools, methods of plant-fiber preparation, techniques for sheet formation and drying, and the processing and packaging of finished paper. Emphasis is placed on how materials and production techniques determine the qualities of the paper produced, which in turn influence any book or other project in which the paper is used.

KEYWORDS

Papermaking
China
Handmade
Techniques
Regional Papers
Paper Grain

TRADITIONAL CHINESE HANDMADE PAPER

Librarians, scholars of the history of the book and library culture, researchers in the fields of traditional printing, paper, ink, and writing brushes, and specialists in the repair and binding of old Chinese books have various reasons for needing to understand the paper on which the books they use or study are written or printed. For those who work with old and rare books made in China, the production of Chinese handmade papers reveals some of the differences and similarities of the

many kinds of handmade papers on which these books were written or printed. In fact, each of the steps in the production of Chinese handmade paper contributes to the characteristics of the finished paper. Of particular interest is the way in which sheets of paper are formed which determines the grain of the paper. I will draw on what I have learned about production of handmade paper in four areas of China: Fuyang, Zhejiang; Jingxian, Anhui; Jiajiang, Sichuan; and Qian'an, Hebei.

BACKGROUND FOR MY RESEARCH

I don't come from a culture where handmade papers from China are well known, often used, or widely available. So why am I interested in how paper is made by hand in China? My work is as editor of the *East Asian Library Journal* at Princeton University. This journal publishes articles about the history of all aspects of the book in East Asia. Over time I have developed a very strong interest in a hands-on understanding of the materials and the structures of traditional Chinese, Japanese, and Korean books. About ten years ago I met the rare book librarian at Fudan University, and he very generously welcomed me to study with the book conservators in the rare book section at Fudan to begin to learn how to repair and bind Chinese string-bound books. As I worked with the papers on which these books were printed, I found I needed to learn about this fundamental component of traditional Chinese books. I began going to stores that sold Chinese papers to purchase samples of papers and to ask questions of the merchants. This led to invitations from the merchants, many of whom are the direct representatives of paper mills, to go with them to see how their papers are made. This in turn led to my purchasing more kinds of papers and to visiting more mills in China where papers are made by hand. And I also have met and talked with book conservators, binders, and librarians in major institutions and bookstores in many places in China. I continue to make Chinese-style books and to teach others how to bind these traditional book forms. This research project is an eye-opening, informative, and thoroughly enjoyable experience. And this hands-on knowledge and practice of making books and learning about the production of Chinese paper informs my understanding of the manuscripts on the history of the book in East Asia that I edit for publication in the *East Asian Library Journal*.

PRACTICAL UNDERSTANDING OF PAPER

Many kinds of Chinese handmade papers are in common everyday use for all kinds of practical things. Kites and lanterns rely on the lightness and strength of bast fiber paper (*pizhi* 皮紙). Learning to use a Chinese writing brush begins by writing on calligraphy practice paper (*yuanshuzhi* 元書紙) made from roughly processed bamboo fiber. (See figure 1.) A further interest in Chinese calligraphy,

painting, woodblock printing, or making rubbings leads artists, artisans, and scholars to experiment with various papers and to develop a preference for certain papers. How a specific paper absorbs and disperses ink to achieve exactly the desired effect is of special interest to anyone who uses Chinese handmade paper. Practice and experience in mounting scrolls, binding Chinese books, or repairing and rebinding Chinese books leads to an even deeper understanding of the different kinds of papers needed to do this work perfectly.

OBSERVING PAPER PRODUCTION

The more we can learn about the nature of handmade Chinese papers, the more easily we can predict how those papers will behave when we use them. It is quite understandable that a Chinese papermaker, just as is true with any other artist or craftsman, will not reveal everything about the process of his or her craft. Certainly, it is a papermaker's right to guard the secrets of his craft, to preserve some aspects of the magic of paper production, and to protect detailed knowledge of this national Chinese treasure. So, much of our knowledge of the nature of Chinese handmade paper comes from experience and experimentation. However, observing how papers are made today can give some additional clues.

FIBER PREPARATION

Chinese papers are made from many kinds of plant fibers (*zhiwu xianwei* 植物纖維) – bamboo (*zhuzi* 竹子); rattan (*teng* 籐); bast fibers (*renp* 韌皮), such as paper mulberry (*chupi* 楮皮), wingceltis (*qingtanpi* 青檀皮), mulberry (*sangpi* 桑皮), mitsumata (*sanyapi* 三亞皮), wickstroemia (*yanpi* 雁皮), and hemp (*ma* 麻); and grass fibers (*hecao* 禾草), such as alpine rush (*suocao* 蓼草, *longxucuo* 龍鬚草), rice straw (*daocao* 稻草, *liaocao* 燎草), and wheat straw (*maicao* 麥草). (For images of some of these fibers, see figures 2, 3, 4, and 5.) These raw plant materials can be processed by the papermakers themselves, or they can be purchased in a pre-processed form (*zhiban* 紙板). (See figure 6.) Most often papermakers use the plant fibers that grown in abundance in the region where they live.

Raw plant materials must be cut or crushed, retted – that is, soaked in water to soften the fibers –, and then cooked in an alkaline solution (lye, *jianshui* or *shao-jian*). (See figure 7) The duration of the soaking and cooking and the strength and kind of alkaline all influence the condition of the plant fibers. The cooked fibers are rinsed thoroughly and bleached – traditionally outdoors under the sun, but today often using chemical bleach. (See figure 8.) The fibers are then beaten and hydrated – that is soaked in and mixed with water – to form paper pulp (*zhijiang*). Both the natural minerals in and the temperature of the water influence the qualities of the paper produced. Formation aide (*zhiyao* 紙藥), and sometimes other ad-

ditives (*tianjiaji* 添加劑), are combined into the pulp-and-water mixture. For a thorough explanation of just how each of the above factors in the paper production process influences the qualities of the paper produced, we would have to turn to those experts in the chemistry of papermaking or to papermakers themselves.

FORMING SHEETS OF PAPER

Here I will concentrate on the next steps in the production of handmade papers, that is, the way sheets of paper are formed and how they are dried. Sheet formation techniques and drying methods give some very valuable clues as to how Chinese handmade papers behave when they later come into contact with ink, water, or paste – that is when the papers are used, for example, for calligraphy, painting, printing, scroll mounting, repair to book pages, and bookbinding.

To make a sheet of paper, paper pulp is scooped onto a screen of very thin bamboo rods woven together with fine silk threads. (See figure 9.) Chinese paper molds are usually wider than they are tall, but the size and the shape of the mold vary according to the kind of paper to be made. The thin bamboo rods of the mold leave fine lines, called “laid lines,” that run left to right on a sheet of paper. The thread used to weave the mold leaves fine lines, called “chain lines,” that run from top to bottom on a sheet of paper. As the excess water drains off, the screen and the bed supporting it are either held very still or moved to distribute the paper pulp evenly into a thin sheet of paper.

Hand papermakers in China use many different sheet formation techniques. Sometimes the screen is dipped into the pulp more than once as done in Anhui Jingxian to produce *xuanzhi* (宣紙), a fine paper for calligraphy, painting, book printing, and print making. (See figure 10.) Sometimes the screen is dipped only once and then held very still and level as the water drains off as is done in Fuyang, Zhejiang, to produce bamboo papers and other papers for calligraphy and painting. (See figures 11 and 12.) In Qian'an, Hebei, in the eastern part of China papermakers show a history of the influence of Korean papermaking techniques when they move the mold very, very quickly up and down and then left and right to make *Gaolizhi* (Korean-style papers), which is a little taller than it is wide. (See figure 13.) In Jiajiang, Sichuan, in the western part of China papermakers move the mold up and down and left and right, but do this rather slowly, and then toss off the excess pulp in a diagonal direction. (See figures 14 and 15.)

The long and thin plant fibers (*zhiwu qianwei* 植物纖維) in the pulp line up in the direction of the flow of the pulp. The way in which the plant fibers line up in the sheet of paper determines the “grain” of the sheet of paper (*zhiwen* 紙紋). A sheet of paper folds and tears most easily in the direction of the grain. And when a sheet of paper gets wet, it stretches in the direction perpendicular to the direction of the grain.

Papers made in Fuyang and Jingxian generally have a distinctive grain direction that runs parallel with the chain lines because during formation of the sheet of paper, the pulp flows only in the direction of the chain lines. But the grain of papers made in Jiajiang and the *Gaolizhi* made in Qian'an is not distinctly in one direction or the other, and these papers sometimes stretch in unexpected ways when it is used for writing, painting, or scroll mounting. The way that paper stretches and folds is very important to consider, for example, in mounting scrolls, wood block printing, repairing pages of books, and in binding books.

DRYING SHEETS OF PAPER

Wet sheets of newly formed paper are stacked up into a “post,” a stack of several hundred sheets, which is compressed slowly to remove excess water. (See figure 16.) The damp sheets are then peeled off one by one and brushed onto a flat drying wall, which depending on the region is either heated or unheated. Papermakers in Fuyang generally use a metal wall heated to a rather high temperature to dry a sheet of paper in less than a minute, while in Jingxian metal drying walls are heated to a much lower temperature. (See figures 17 and 18.) In Sichuan papermakers generally use unheated, specially prepared plaster walls or wooden planks to dry sheets of paper over several days' time depending on the weather. (See figures 19 and 20.) In winter or when the humidity is very high, Sichuan papermakers alternatively use metal drying walls heated to a very low temperature. In Qian'an, Hebei, plaster-covered drying walls stand outdoors under a covering of vines and mats to protect the sheets of drying paper from the sun's harsh rays. (See figure 21.) Sheets of paper that have been dried very quickly on a very hot metal wall tend to be brittle and likely to stretch and shrink much more than sheets of paper dried more slowly on a metal wall heated to a low temperature or on an unheated plastered wall or a wooden plank. Dried sheets are trimmed and folded into bolts (*dao* 刀) of around one hundred sheets.

USING CHINESE HANDMADE PAPER FOR PRINTING, PAPER REPAIR, AND BOOK BINDING

Knowing where and how paper is made lets calligraphers, artists, printers, printmakers, scroll mounters, and bookbinders anticipate how the paper they use will stretch when it gets wet with ink paste and folded when used to bind and repair books.

Wood block printing is usually done so that the grain of the paper runs vertically, that is, parallel with the center of the printing block (*banxin* 板心). Thus, when Chinese book pages are folded, the finished book remains very flexible and easy to open. (See figure 22.) Of course, sometimes in the interest of saving money by not wasting paper, printers will print so that the grain of the paper runs

horizontally. The completed book is considerably less flexible, even when printed on extremely thin Chinese papers.

Book binders and conservators who repair damage to the pages of old and rare Chinese books must deal with many kinds of damage to paper – worm and insect holes, tears and mold, burned or lost parts of pages, and weakness and brittleness. They very carefully choose materials to repair or support the book pages, selecting papers that are of just the right weight and color. To repair holes in book pages, a paper conservator applies thin paste around the hole or tear and attaches a piece of handmade paper to fill in the damage. (See figures 23, 24, and 25.) Sometimes a weak book page is backed with a thin sheet of soft, strong bast fiber paper (*mianzhi* 棉紙) and the split center fold repaired using the same paper. (See figure 26). A very valuable book whose pages are weak can be rebound with each of its pages inter-leaved with a thin sheet of handmade paper. (See figure 27.) This “gold-edged-in-jade” (*jinxiangyu*) conservation binding is time-consuming, but it supports and protects the pages of the book very well. In all these repair and binding processes, when the grain of the repair, backing, or inter-leaving paper runs in the same direction as the grain of paper in the book, the repaired book is as flexible as it was originally.

This look at hand papermaking in several regions of China shows some aspects of how the raw materials, the production techniques, and the skill of the artisans determine the qualities of handmade Chinese papers used in so many traditional cultural arts in China – calligraphy, painting, printmaking, book printing, book binding, and the repair of old and rare Chinese books. Practitioners of these arts are well informed about the characteristics of the papers they use through their experience in using the papers. And scholars doing research on these literary products of Chinese culture are finding that understanding something of the complexity of Chinese handmade paper enhances their insights and understanding of China's paper-based cultural artifacts.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Nancy Norton Tomasko is editor of the *East Asian Library Journal* at Princeton in the United States. She earned a Ph.D. in Chinese literature at Princeton University and has taught in her field at Connecticut College and at Bryn Mawr College. At Bryn Mawr, she pioneered a studio course on Chinese books and their construction. Her interest in bookbinding centers on the physical aspects of traditional Chinese books, in particular, paper, printing techniques, and binding styles. Her on-going research project on the traditional arts of the Chinese book takes her to China frequently to visit and to purchase papers from mills where handmade papers are produced, to meet librarians and book conservators, to visit publishing houses where traditional wood blocks for printing are kept. In addition, she collects pre-World War II books, maps, guide books, directories, and travel-related ephemera for countries in East Asia.

ILLUSTRATIONS

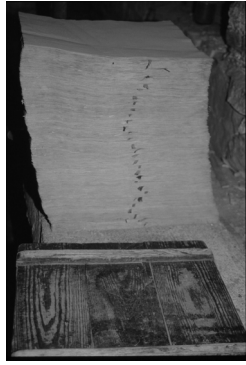


Figure 1: Stack of calligraphy practice paper (*yuanshuzhi*), Fuyang, Zhejiang.



Figure 2 : Stack of calligraphy practicepaper (*yuanshuzhi*), Fuyang, Zhejiang. Leaves of the blue sandalwood tree (*qing-tanshu*) whose inner bark is used in making *xuanzhi*, Jingxian, Anhui.

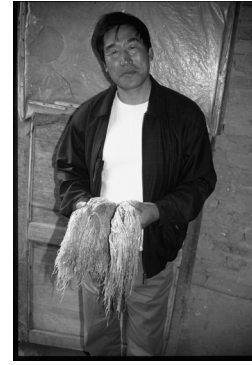


Figure 3: Papermaker holding bundles of cooked mulberry-bark fiber (*sangpi*), Qian'an, Hebei.



Figure 4: Basket of alpine rush fiber (*suocao* or *longxucao*), Jiajiang, Sichuan.



Figure 5: Washing rice straw (*liaocao*), Jingxian, Anhui.



Figure 6: Packages of pre-processed plant fibers (*zhiban*) for papermaking, Fuyang, Zhejiang.



Figure 7: Retting bamboo fibers in a large concrete vat, Jiajiang, Sichuan.



Figure 8: Sun-bleaching rice straw on the hillsides, Jiajiang, Sichuan.

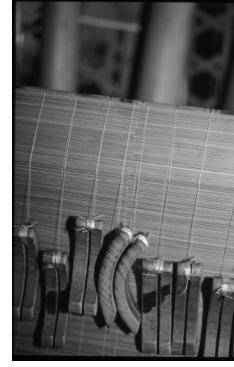


Figure 9: Weaving a mold for hand papermaking, Jingxian, Anhui.



Figure 10: Husband-and-wife team forming a sheet of true *xuan* paper, double-dip method, Jingxian, Anhui.



Figure 11: Forming a sheet of bamboo paper (*zhuzizhi*), single-dip method, Fuyang, Zhejiang.



Figure 12: Forming a sheet of calligraphy paper (*shuhuazhi*), single-dip method, Fuyang, Zhejiang.



Figure 13: Forming a sheet of Korean-style paper (*Gaolizhi*), two-direction flow, Qian'an, Hebei.



Figure 14: Forming a sheet of calligraphy paper, two-man, three-direction flow method, Jiajiang, Sichuan.



Figure 15: Forming a sheet of calligraphy paper, one-man, three-direction flow method, Jiajiang, Sichuan.



Figure 16: Pressing a post of Korean-style paper, Qian'an, Hebei.



Figure 17: Drying paper on a very hot metal wall, Fuyang, Zhejiang.



Figure 18: Drying paper on a moderately hot metal wall, Jingxian, Anhui.



Figure 19: Paper drying on rows of specially made, plaster-covered drying walls in the courtyard of a papermaker's home, Jiajiang, Sichuan.



Figure 20: Sheets of paper drying on large wooden planks hanging under the eaves of a papermaker's home, Jiajiang, Sichuan.



Figure 21: Sheets of Korean-style paper drying on plaster-covered walls built outdoors, Qian'an, Hebei.



Figure 22: Printing a book page from a wooden printing block at Jinling Buddhist Press, Nanjing, Jiangsu.



Figure 23: Repairing insect damage to a book page: applying thin paste to the edges of the hole, Zhejiang Library, Hangzhou, Zhejiang.



Figure 24: Applying a sheet of thin, fine-quality handmade paper to repair the hole in the book page, Zhejiang Library, Hangzhou, Zhejiang.

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT PAPER MAKING AT WENZHOU AREA, ZHEJIANG, CHINA

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ABSTRACT

The authors of this paper give a brief account of the history of ancient papermaking in the Wenzhou area, China. This paper also concludes that Wenzhou has played an important role in China's papermaking history through the textual research on the exact original time and techniques of "Wenzhou Juan Paper" in the Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), "Nanping Paper" in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties (1279-1644 A.D.), and the mode of joint venture of the papermaking industry in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.), and also the "living fossil" of papermaking art and the papermaking workshop groups of Si Lian Dui in Zheya, and Huajian Paper in Taishun Country.

KEY WORDS

Papermaking
Wenzhou Juan paper
Nanping paper
Huajian paper
Si Lian Dui

1. HISTORY OF WENZHOU JUAN PAPER

The earliest records about ancient papermaking in Wenzhou are found in Cheng Kai's *San Liu Xuan Za Shi* (程棨三柳軒雜識 *Miscellaneous works of San Liu Xuan*) in the Song Dynasty. It said that: "Wenzhou produces Juan paper, white and firm, similar to Korean paper. Most of the paper mills located in the southeast of Wenzhou produce papersomeone thoughtwas one of the best papers in China, even superior to Youquan paper and the others. Because of lower production, the paper was not offered as articles of tribute to the emperors until the Zhihe reign (1058). Afterward, more and more dignitaries preferred to use the paper, so that the papermakers could not bear it. Up to the Qian reign of the Wu Dynasty, the papermakers became tax-free persons, so the paper was named Juan (exempt) Paper." However we can find two mistakes in this record:

First, the time given for when Wenzhou paper was first submitted to the imperial court of the Song Dynasty is wrong. The book of *Taiping Yuangu Ji, Yue Shi* (乐史《太平寰宇记》*Records in Taiping Yuangu Period in History of Music in Song Dynasty*, see Vol. 99) said that: “Wenzhou submitted the native products, which included shark fish, Juan Paper etc.. The book was written in the Taipingxingguo Reign, and recorded what had happened in the early North Song Dynasty. Apparently, it is wrong that Wenzhou paper was “submitted as the articles of tribute to the imperial court of Song Dynasty since the year of the Zhihe Reign (1058 A.D.)” Another record in the book of *Yuanfeng jiuyuzhji, vol.9* (王存等《元丰九域志》*a record of nine territories in Yuanfeng reign*), which was written in the Song Dynasty by Wang Chun etc. revealed that, “Wenzhou submitted five pieces of shark skin and 500 pieces of paper,” which clearly mentioned the quantity.

Second, the origin of the paper's name was wrong. The same mistake could also be found in Mr. Zhou Hui's book of *Qingbo biezhi* (周晖《清波别志》*Notes of Mr. Qingbo*, see vol.1) in the Song dynasty, which said that: “In Tang dynasty, the papermakers could be exempted from taxation and service, so the paper was named Juan (exempt). The paper made in Yongjia, at that time, was attracted by the literati and officialdom with the special function of the paper on calligraphy and painting, vying with each other to collect the paper with high price because that the paper could meet their needs in pursuit of the art, just as the Chenxintang Paper etc.” Mr. Zhao Yushi, a scholar of the Song Dynasty, gave a clear explanation for it in his book of *Bin tui lu* (赵与峕《宾退录》vol.2), which quoted from *Chao ye lei yao* (《朝野类要》*The important affairs in state and society, classified*, Vol. 2), and said that: “In Lin An the paper sold by some paper sellers was treated with size and starch to enhance (sic) brightness and smoothness. So it was called Juan (bright) Paper. Juan means clean and white. *Shi jin* (《诗经》*the book of odes*) says: ‘Choose a good day to cleanse for cooking.’ *Zhou li* (《周礼》*the Ritual of Zhou*) said, ‘Unclean eunuch will be dismissed’, the name of Juan (cleanse) is after that. Also it was recorded in a book of *Hezhe zhuang, Wu dai*, (《五代何泽传》*the Biography of Hezhe in a history of Five Dynasties*), “The Chinese common people were afraid of being a soldiers, and often cut their own meat as medicine to cure their parents, or lived in the temporary house in mourning beside the graves of their deceased parents in order to evade the military service to the government. The number of exempting orders annually issued by the Treasury Department were so large that the local governments were asked to provide the paper named Juan Paper as a scutage.” The name of Juan Paper looks as if it were similar to the meaning of exempting, but it does not mean exempting. It is obvious that Wenzhou Juan Paper was named after its brightness and whiteness, not after exempting the papermakers from taxation and service or corvee. So the paper had another name Juan Jiang Paper. As recorded in vol.41 of *Dili zhi* and *Song shi* (《宋史》, 《地理志》*geographical records in a History of the Song Dynasty*, Vol. 88) Wenzhou “submitted shark skin, Juan Jiang Paper.” Another book of *Qing yi tong zhi* (《清一统志》*a record of unifying Qing Dynasty*, vol.235), which clearly explained

for it,” and “Wenzhou’s Juan Jiang Paper made with wheat (or rice) flour, began to be submitted to the imperial court in the Song Dynasty.” According to the explanations of *Shuo wen* (《说文》 *origin of Chinese characters*), originally, Juan means a kind of worm on the horses, then clean and white, the last extensive meaning is exempting. Also as explained in the book of *Zhen zhi tong* (《正字通》 *a book for correcting Chinese characters*), “The people of Tang Dynasty made paper from paper pulp with extract of size and starch for smoothness and brightness, and named it as Juan Paper.” Mr. Gu Qiyuan of the Ming Dynasty in the series book of *Shuolue* (《韵略》 *An outline of the classics* Vol. 15) also quoted the poem by Mr. Li Shiming, the first emperor of the Tang Dynasty: “Water shakes gently with bright waves, like the bright and beautiful flower floating. Tang has Juan Paper, which is also named Yan-bo (waving) writing paper, because the paper has wavelike texture.” Obviously, the Juan Paper was named in the early Tang Dynasty first. Wenzhou began making paper also in the Tang Dynasty and paying tributes to the imperial court in the early Northern Song Dynasty.

At that time, Wenzhou Juan Paper, which was good in quality and suitable for painting, was as well known everywhere as the famous papers such as the Chenxintang paper in South China, Youquan paper in Yuhang County, Korean paper etc. It even went by the name of a wonderful paper in the Song Dynasty, just as Mr. Yang Wanli of the Song Dynasty described in *Chengzhai ji* (《杨万里》 *selected works of Yang Wanli* Vol.180), All presented articles indicating the Juan Paper, writing brush and ink were top grade. (《答徽州知府任寺丞》, “Responding to Ren Shi Cheng, the prefecture magistrate of Huizhou”). So the paper became favorites of past scholars, for example, Mr. Zeng Ji of the Song Dynasty in the poem “Sending Professor Zhang Qian from Shaoxing to be the Yongjia’s education official” (《曾几》 *送召张耒年教授之永嘉学官* see vol. 4 of *Chashan ji* (《茶山集》, *works of Mr. Zeng ji*), also complained he had no Juan Paper to record his unhappiness. Mr. Wu Zuo of the Qing Dynasty highly praised the paper in *Nansong zashi shi* (《吴焯》 *南宋杂事诗》 Miscellaneous Poems in Southern Song Dynasty*, Vol.2). The paper was not only favored by the common people, but also recommended to the government and imperial palace for use. Mr. Tao Zongyi mentioned it in the book of *Shuo fu* (《陶宗仪》 *说郛》 On the five classics* Vol. 21), and said that: “Since Shang Yuan Emperor period of Tang Dynasty (760–761 A.D.), those from the emperors to the government officials all take Juan Paper for official use. From the Li Zong Emperor Period of the Song Dynasty (1225–1264 A.D.), the paper made of bamboo and the ivory of the imperial seal, were used as a memorial to the emperors by the close ministers, which were known as the Royal wooden tablet for writing. It is really an invention.” Besides, it was also widely used for copying Buddhist Sutra. Mr. Zhang Xiumin mentioned that the printing art in the Wuyue State in the Five Dynasties (907–960 A.D.), “Wenzhou produced Juan Paper, which was white, smooth and firm, and was superior to Korea paper, which provided the material conditions for printing and copying Sutra.” (See the Selected Papers of Mr. Zhang Xiumin on Printing History 张秀民印刷史论文集). In 1965, it was found in the

Baixiang (white elephant) Pagoda, which the *Amitayur-dhyana-sutra* (佛说观无量寿佛经) copied in the 3rd year of the Emperor Da Guan of the Song Dynasty (1109 A.D.). The paper was Juan Paper, and it is the earliest specimen of the paper found in Wenzhou.

2. RAW MATERIALS OF WENZHOU JUAN PAPER

What kinds of materials were used to produce the Wenzhou Juan Paper? The existing local historical literature and documents in the Wenzhou area have not yet given an exact answer to this question. Someone believed that the raw material of the Wenzhou Juan Paper was tender bamboo, which was based on two factors. One is from a book of *Yunju mishu* (芸局秘书 *rare books in Yunju*) in the Song Dynasty, which said that: “The materials of paper include hemp in Sichuan, tender bamboo in Jiangsu and Zhejiang, mulberry bast in the North China, vine in Yanxi and moss in the seaside area”; the other is that Wenzhou is rich in bamboo resources, and Mr. Wang Zan wrote in *Hongzhi Wenzhou fuzhi* (王赞《弘治温州府志》 *a Record of Wenzhou prefecture compiled in Hongzhi reign, vol.7*), that Wenzhou produces “stone bamboo, its summer. The shoots is sweet, the leaves can be made into paper.” Besides, there were the other kinds of bamboo, such as moso bamboo, bitter bamboo, glaucous bamboo, Omei mountain bamboo, lotus bamboo, square bamboo, fishscale bamboo, robert young bamboo, giant timber bamboo, black bamboo, spotted bamboo, mat bamboo, fishpole bamboo, lady palms hedge bamboo, fernleaf hedge bamboo, early spring shoot bamboo, chequer-shaped indocalamus and so on. Therefore, it was reasonable that tender bamboo was used as the raw materials for Wenzhou Juan Paper. In fact, Mr. Song Yingxing’s book of *Tian Gong Kai Wu* (宋应星 *天工开物* *The Development of Materials formed by nature*) has a clear explanation, “Sangpizhi, i.e mulberry paper, extremely thick. Yongjia Juan Jiang Paper is also made from the bast fiber of mulberry” (See Vol.13, *Making bast paper* 造皮纸). Therefore, Wenzhou Juan Paper is a kind of white, dense, well proportioned, lubricative paper.

3. GROUP MILLS OF SILIANDUI FOR PAPER MANUFACTURE

Although the manufacturing system of Juan Paper was lost long ago, the productive techniques have been recorded in detail in the book, *Hongzhi Wenzhou fuzhi* (王赞《弘治温州府志》 *a Record of Wenzhou prefecture compiled in Hongzhi reign, vol. 7*). Fortunately, the ancient manufacturing method of Wenzhou Juan Paper has been preserved. It is called Method of Jiang-Fen-Yan. It says that: “The method shows as follows. First, put the rice and wheat flour mixed with mirabilite in water and cooked. When it was cool, we had to take the extract for use, and size the paper with glues or gums and alum. After drying, we had to brush the drug ex-

tract on both sides of the paper with a big brush, and finished with wax like playing cards. Then we wipe and grind them with pieces of the coarse cloth. In the past, the paper was taken to the government for official use, but now it is ceased. The method recorded here is used just as memorandum of past for the later generations.” It is clear to introduce the manufacturing process of batching method of manufacturing Juan Paper. Yan means thick juice, here for the drug extract, Jiang i.e size, a gelatinous or glutinous substance as glue or gum, Fen i.e starch of rice or wheat, that will enhance the whiteness of Juan Paper; mirabilite applied to enhance the flexibility of Juan Paper. The whole procedure is to cook starch, size, mirabilite until a drug extract was gained, and then the paper was treated with a series of complex and strict procedures, such as sizing with glue and alum, drying, brushing the drug extract, redrying, waxing, finishing, to prevent aqueous solution in writing. As recorded in Jiang Zhun’s book of *Qi hai suo tang*, (姜淮海鹽談 *On trivial affairs in a remote seaside town* vol.11) in the early Ming Dynasty, the Wenzhou government had established the Paper Board in the old Street of Quxi to administer the manufacturing, paying tributes and distribution of Wenzhou Juan Paper. During the Xuan De Emperor period (1426–1435 A.D.), Mr. He Wenyuan, the mayor of Wenzhou Prefecture, wrote a memorial to the emperor and said that: “We are worried that the disease was a great distress to the people. We tried our best to change the water, but because of papermaking and turned into black.” After the emperor sent the people to check and confirmed it, the tribute for Juan Paper was exempted. Thereafter, the manufacturing system of Wenzhou Juan Paper could not be handed down from the past generation. It is pity to lose the quality paper.

The Wenzhou Juan Paper has already disappeared, while in some places of Wenzhou like Zheyu, Quxi, this kind of paper production has never ceased. When did the Zheyu produce the paper? Mr. Huang Huai of the Ming Dynasty recorded in “Mr.Lin’s Epitaph, Who Was a Retirement Scholar” that the ancestors of Zheyu, who immigrated from Naping County, Fujian Province in the early Ming Dynasty to avoid the war brought the techniques of manufacturing Ping paper. After immigrating here, they found that Zheyu was rich in water and suitable for growing bamboo for papermaking. Therefore, the techniques of Naping papermaking fell upon the Zheyu ground and took root. They built water-powered trip hammers, paper troughs, and used the hydraulic water to smash bamboo into paper pulp, and finally produced paper which is still called “Naping Paper.” In 1999, a group of experts from the China Printing Museum paid a visit to Zheyu and were astonished to find the techniques of ancient China papermaking had been preserved completely. They suggested that the papermaking workshop groups, locally named Siliandui (Four Joint Water-powered Trip-hammer), were the “living fossils” of papermaking. The Siliandui is located in Paper Mountain between Zheyu and the West Bank in Ou Hai County of Wenzhou City, Zhejiang. Since the later Yuan and the early Ming Dynasties, the Siliandui (Four Joint Water-powered Trip-hammer) had been used to produce paper, and now it has become a rare exist-

ing example of the ancient technique of papermaking. As one of the four greatest inventions in China (i.e. papermaking, printing, the compass, and gun powder), the techniques of papermaking had a unique significance in its traditional handicraft workshops. Therefore, it could be considered a miracle in the history of papermaking that the Siliandui (Four Joint Water-powered Trip-hammer) was preserved so perfectly and completely from the whole process to the workshop's construction. The groups of Siliandui (Four Joint Water-powered Trip-hammer) used the essence of techniques in production of Ping Paper, of which much matched to the records in the book, *Tian Gong Kai Wu* (天工开物 The Development of Materials formed by nature) by Mr. Song Yingxing, a scholar in the Ming Dynasty. Some techniques are even earlier. It is valuable that the series of practicalities and historical information, such as the techniques of papermaking, tools and facilities of production, as well as the working environment and working environment for producers, are preserved so perfectly and completely. In 2001, the Siliandui (Papermaking Workshop Groups), was approved as the "Most Important National Preservation Cultural Relic" by the State Council of China. In 2004, Ouhai Country submitted the Siliandui to the 28th World Heritage Conference and applied as the World Cultural Heritage.

4. THE STEPS FOR PROCESSING THE WENZHOU JUAN PAPER

The process of primitive papermaking in Zheya follows these steps: First step. To take off the bamboo's leaves and cut the bamboo into around one meter. Then, we'll split the bamboo into strips and tie up into the bundles. The workers called it "Sha."

Second step. To put these bamboo bundles under the blazing sun in order to make them dry.

Third step. To put these bamboo bundles into a stone pond full of quicklime and press them with big stones. This stone container can hold the capacity of 1,500 kg. of the bamboo bundles.

Fourth step. After 3–5 months, take the bamboo bundles out and put them under the sun for drying and then put them into clean water to wash the lime away and be ready for use. We call this process "pickling bamboo."

Fifth step. To put the pickled bamboo into the pit of the water power trip hammer, which is a simple hydraulic tool with a big water wheel driven by water and rotating as a turbine. It can propel a four-meter long wooden hammer slightly to crush the pickled bamboo into golden, fluff pulp. We call this process "smashing the bamboo bundle," which is the only step in which the workers can use external force in the entire traditional method of papermaking.

Sixth step. To put the fluff pulp into the stone container with clean water and stir it completely and drain the water. It becomes the pulp. We call this process "stirring the fluff pulp."

Seventh step. To put the pulp into clean water and stir up thoroughly and use the sieve, which was made of small bamboo strips and scoop out the paper membrane. Then, to pile up these paper membranes and use a wooden board to squeeze out the water. We call this process “scooping out paper.”

Eighth step. To depart and dry the paper. The piled paper membranes are very easily broken. Usually this work should be done by female workers who are clever and deft and careful. After taking the membrane from the piles, the women workers had to put it on the absolute level ground or on the wall for drying.

That’s all for the processing steps of Zheyu paper manufacturing. This is exactly the same as the technique of papermaking created by Mr. Cai Lun (? 121 A.D.) about 2000 years ago.

5. JOINT VENTURE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WATER-POWERED HAMMER

On July 2001, a stone tablet named “Stele for building water-powered trip-hammer in Cao Dui Lu Xia Tang Tan of Tang Zai Village” was found in the north wall of Tang Tan, the hydraulic trip hammer which was located in the Tang Zai Village of West Bank, Ou Hai County. This stone tablet was made as a contract in Pan’s family to create the shared stocks in the construction of the water- power trip hammer. This rectangular stone tablet was made of bluestone with the size of 57 cm. (L) x 23.5 cm. (W). The text of the stone tablet was seven lines with thirteen characters in each line. It reads that:

“We, the kinfolks of Pan’s Family, including Zhi Yu, Zhi Ren, Mao Jiu, Zhi Guang, Zhi Jin, Mao Jin and Mao Tong, made concerted efforts to build one water-powered trip-hammer, which was located in our villadge, and called Cao Dui Lu Xia Tang Tan. After paying the tax revenue with grain, this stock will be divided into seven sharings and thereafter, it will never be allowed to increase any sharings. During the rice harvesting season, the rice comes and the machine starts to grind the rice first. There is no argument. It will be fined 1,000 coins if anyone made argument. Everyone should obey this rule. Founded by Pan’s Family on Feb., 55th year of Qian Long Emperor (1790 A.D.)”

On June 9, 2002, Mr. Wu Mingze, who is an associate researcher of the Cultural and Museum of Longwan District, Wenzhou City, found a cornerstone of a water-powered trip-hammer in Zheyu. This cornerstone is a stone tablet, with engraved characters from the 4th year of Yong Zheng Emperor (1727AD). It described the local resident built papermaking mill of water-powered trip-hammer with joint stocks. This new discovery recorded the exact time of joint stocks papermaking in Zheyu 65 years earlier. Actually this mode of cooperation is the rudimentary way of the modern shareholding economy. In ancient China, the water-powered trip-hammer, as one of the largest-scale machinery equipment, was exactly a mechani-

cal pump equipped with a complete series of facilities including water supply, driving and rigging system, processing, braking and lubricating devices. In the forms of production of papermaking based on a family as a unit, it is the most economical, the most reasonable way to employ this kind of cooperation to invest in equipment for the large-scale production of paper pulp, which requires large amounts of capital and equipment.

6. PAPER MARKET IN THE WENZHOU AREA

In the marketing chain, Ping Paper is distributed by the specialized paper selling firms, which purchase paper from the paper manufacturers, and then sell it to the market. This business model of decentralized production and centralized marketing, in all times, has been adopted, the vitality of which is still quite strong. The old Street of Quxi also was the paper distribution center of Wenzhou from ancient time to the middle of the 20th century, an extension of the “Most Important National Preservation Cultural Relic” Wenzhou Four Joint Water-powered Trip-hammer papermaking workshop group. In the past, Wenzhou had many famous paper firms, which including Hu Chang Ji, Huang Zheng chang, Chen Maolai, Lin Changji in Quxi town, Tao Shengji and Zhang Renliu in Xiongxi town, and Yang Changji in Guoxi town etc. At the beginning of 2006, two remnant stone tablets of the Qing dynasty were found in the old street of Quxi town.

Stone Stele 1, it reads:

“Announced by Chang, prefect of Wenzhou prefecture in Zhejiang, Chen, magistrate of Yongjia County in Wenzhou, Peng, magistrate of Ruian County in Wenzhou.”

The engraved stele is made for an eternal ban. According to the report submitted by the elders, Mr. Zhang Han and others from both of the counties, Yongjia and Ruian, they are residing in the area of mountains and villages and living on papermaking because of barren lands. They used to carry the paper on their shoulders with a pole to Chaozhi Street, or to the junction of Yongjia, Quxi, Rongxi for sales. In the 30th year of Daoguang Empeo (1850 A.D.), Mr. Wu Juhuai, a first-degree graduate (collegian of imperial academy), entrusted his men with the business to open the broker houses in the key traffic sites where they passed by, nominally called transit trade, actually acted as blackmailers to extort profits from the papermakers, so that the local citizens as Lin Tingcai, Zhang Qipeng, a first-degree licentiate (government student), etc, repeatedly charged them with extorting.

The prefect of the prefecture instructed the magistrate of the county to issue a ban with engraved inscriptions on record. Unexpectedly the stone tablet was ruined during a turmoil. At present, a few of profits pursuers want to follow the bad custom and open broker houses to extort and exploit civilians, this ... (incomplete below).”

Stone Stelet 2: (It only shows an outline as below because of the fragmentary text) “Announced by the magistrate of Yongjia County under the Wenzhou Pre-

fecture, according to the report submitted by the elders, the old peasant Mr. Wu Jiming, Mr. Pan Rui Qing, Mr. Pan Qiyuan, who reside in Yongjia County, living on planting bamboo and papermaking, when they wanted to sell paper in Quxi, or elsewhere they are blackmailed extorted by the someone, the leading blackmailer named Mr. Wu, who colluded with some broker houses to extort transit dues from them in the name of transit trade. Now the case is under investigation approved by prefectures and county. Unexpectedly another person named Mr. Xu, also opened a broker house called Ru Risheng, who did not follow the rules on fair trade but Wu's bad habits extorting transit dues from paper sellers against their willings by obstructing and meddling. Because it has made a bad result that influenced the lives of common people so much that we decide to issue an announcement carved on the stone to ban the wrong doing forever. Hereby we reaffirm that all the people should follow the rules of fair trade, and any middleman or broker house cannot do anything against sellers' willings, no obstacle for their selling and buying, no monopolization allowed. If anyone is found to disobey the order, he should be punished severely after confirming and so on." According to the existing text of inscription, it is possible to determine the following facts: First, Quxi and Xongxi in Ou hai, as well as Chaozhi in Ruian are the distributing centers in the papermaking industry of Wenzhou area; second, some evil local forces of and broker houses repeatedly set up trade barriers to extort from the papermakers or to monopolize the market, the papermakers repeatedly appealed to both the governments, the Wenzhou Prefecture also repeated the orders, even carved on stone tablets to ban any of the illegal operations and market monopoly, to safeguard the interests of the public as well as the order of the paper market. It is very important as the two stone tablets have filled a gap in the historical documents and data of the Wenzhou paper industry. Furthermore, it is also very valuable for those who are interested in the study of the modern history of business development of Wenzhou are as well as its history of the market towns that the fragmentary records on the two stone tablets reflecting what happened in the production and market trade of the commodity between the countryside and towns of Wenzhou during the late Qing Dynasty.

7. MANUFACTURE OF PAPER IN TAISHUN COUNTY, WNZHOU AREA

In addition to Nanping paper, the production of Wenzhou Huajian, Mulberry paper production has never ceased in Wenzhou. "Tai Shun's Hua Jian, Yong Jia's Mulberry paper both are produced unprosperously because of their poor quality." (See Mr. Lin Datong's *jianzhishuizhai tanxiao*, 林大同 鉴止水斋谭屑 *Trivial talks at Study of Jiang Zhishui*) In Lingbei of Taishun there have existed as many papermaking workshops as in the Xiaochun village and Beipai, but Lingbei's papermaking is representative of the manual papermaking base in Taishun because of numerous practitioners, large scale production (the papermaking workshops once over dozens during its most prosperous time for papermaking). In the northwest to the town of

Taishun, Lingbei Township, inhabited by Mr. Xu, as recorded in *A genealogical record of Xu*,” that its paper industry started in the Ming Dynasty.

The process of basic papermaking in Taishun is the same as that elsewhere.

The first step is to “choose bamboo”: the bamboo shoots growing in Qingming (at the beginning of the spring season), after about thirty days, they can be used as the raw material for papermaking. The skin of the Bamboo should be removed, then cut into sticks about two meters long, tied as a bundle of about 25 kg.

The second step is to “pickle bamboo,” fill the special pool full of water with a layer of bamboo bundles, then sprinkle quicklime over them, depending on the size of the pool, repeat the operation until the entire pool is full, but the water in the pool must cover the bamboo bundles. After being macerated for forty days, dry up the pool of limewater, remove the bamboo bundles, and then set up a wooden stand in the pool, pile up the bamboo bundles on it, covered with bark or bamboo skins, and then use the brick and stone on top of the stack to press it. When the bamboo bundles are air dried (about seven days), followed constantly on watering and draining about seven times. Then again fill the pool with water, bamboo bundles soaked in the water a month later, until the bundles have been rotten, at this time, can “pick up the materials,” remove the debris from the bamboo pulp.

The third step is to “tread materials.” After removing the debris, put the bamboo pulp into a big stone mortar, keep stamping with feet, make bamboo pulp into paste. It is said that, in the entire papermaking processes, only three people may be called Master, one of whom is the master to tread materials. Another two were the masters of scooping pulp and drying paper; the paper quality depends on the sincere co-operation between them; any errors in the whole procedure will have a direct impact on the quality of paper..

The fourth step is to “scoop out pulp”. After treading the bamboo pulp, it is removed to the paper container with water mixed with “glue.” “Glue” is a local name for a mucus from plants growing in the mountains. In the book of *Tian gong kai wu* (天工开物 The Development of Materials Formed by Nature), it is known as “paper drugs.” Pulp mixed with the “glue” that could play a very good role in the regulation, make the paper more white and flexible. The tool for scooping out paper pulp is called a “paper sieve” which was made of small bamboo strips.

Fifth step is to “Dry paper,” After scooping the paper pulp, the paper membranes will be piled up approximately fifty centimeters, and then it will be pressed by the rock on the top. The water will be squeezed out. After that, the paper membrane will be put on the vertical level wall of a kiln for drying. This kiln is wide in the upper part, but narrow in the bottom, which is different from the porcelain kiln. After drying the paper sheets will be taken off and stacked up. This process is different with natural drying of Paper Hill.

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8. CONCLUSION

China is one of the earliest countries where civilization and culture flourished in the world. Thousands of years ago, China invented the techniques of papermaking. Therefore, China is the cradle one of the earliest countries of civilization. Wenzhou occupies a very important position in China's papermaking history. Wenzhou Juan Paper is famous all over the world. During the endless and continuous stream of history, Wenzhou Juan Paper has enjoyed its own past glorious days. The group of Siliandui (the four joint water-powered trip-hammer) papermaking workshop in Paper Hill has its special traditional technique. This is also symbolic that Wenzhou is a place propitious for giving birth to great men, and a place of profound traditional cultural heritage. Siliandui is an important part of the Wenzhou regional culture. It belongs not only to Wenzhou, but also to China, as well as to the world.



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SOME ISSUES ON THE PRESERVATION AND REINFORCEMENT OF PAPER-BASED RELICS

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ABSTRACT

Through a summary of the research on the preservation and reinforcement material and preservation technology of the paper-based relic, “Saddharma-Pundarika Sutra of the South Song Dynasty”, which was unearthed from the Tianfeng Pagoda in 1982, this paper probes into the texture composition, material selection and preservation environment of the recovery process. Related factors in the process of preservation and administration are also explored.

KEYWORDS

Paper-based relic
Paper Preservation
Tianyi Ge Museum
Library Documents' Preservation and Conservation

1. BACKGROUND

The “Saddharma-Pundarika Sutra of the South Song Dynasty” from the Tianfeng Pagoda, was un-earthed by the Ningbo Cultural Relic Bureau in 1982. According to the research, this Sutra, which was a double-sided printed cultural relic, has a history of more than 1000 years. It was the first doubled-sided printed cultural relic discovered in China, and it is extremely valuable. It plays a great and significant role in China's paper-making and printing history.

The size of this Sutra is 21 cm. (L) x 7 cm. (W) x 3.8 cm. (H). It is bound in the shape of a forty-folded booklet. The cover of this Sutra is 0.296 mm. thick and the thickness of the tawny inner page is 0.087 mm. Appearance: it was attached a few ink on its surface and was seriously pulverized on its edges. The mechanical strength was zero, and it was illegible because of its serious aging. In China, we have different methods of protecting and restoring paper-based relics, including traditional mounting, silk-screen, membrane, Parylene vacuum membrane and resin reinforcement. For recovering this seriously damaged and pulverized Sutra, all of the above traditional methods can only achieve limited results. Therefore, we have to make a special multifunctional material to cure the pulverization.

Doing research on the materials for paper restoration has universal significance. As an ancient country with a history of 7,000 years, China abounds in paper-based

historical documents such as ancient books, paintings and calligraphy, scrolls, and rubbings from stone inscriptions. These cultural relics record the histories of politics, economics, cultural, military, religious, and social life in different historical periods. They are the most authentic and original documents reflecting the social life at that time, and they play an irreplaceable role in preservation of cultural heritage, in distributing human civilization, and in promoting social progress and social development. However, these paper-based cultural relics are fragile because they are easily affected by the natural and artificial factors during preservation and conservation work. Many of these precious paper-based cultural relics are becoming mildewy, and they are aging. According to the statistics, one-third of the extant ancient documents in China are in need of repair and restoration. Many well-preserved ancient books are aging as well, and the paper sheets are becoming yellow and fragile. Therefore, it is extremely urgent to solve these problems in the management of preservation and the conservation of these paper-based cultural relics. In these circumstances, we, the Ningbo Tianyi Ge Museum, the Nanjing Aeronautics and Astronautics University, and the Nanjing Museum jointly applied for a research project of “A New Reinforcement Material and Recovering Technology of the Sutra in South Song Dynasty” to the State Cultural Relic Bureau in 2001. This project tried to create a special glue for preservation of the “Sutra in South Song Dynasty” in accordance with its present situation, and it was approved and supported by the State Cultural Relic Bureau in 2002. This research project lasted for three years. Under the guidance of the relic preservation experts from the State Cultural Relics Bureau, the research group made an analysis of the composition of the Sutra paper, and consulted relevant documents and data. On the basis of many visits, investigation and study, the research group decided to use raw materials for experimentation. The natural high polymer materials, synthetic high polymer materials and nanometer materials were selected, purified, synthesized, modified and applied in the preservation and reinforcement work. This research project was checked and accepted by the State Cultural Relics Bureau in 2004.

2. TO ANALYZE AND RESEARCH THE SUTRA PAPER’S RAW MATERIAL STRUCTURE, THE ENVIRONMENT AND THE AGING MECHANISM

We performed analysis and research on the Sutra paper’s raw material structure, the preservation environment and the aging mechanism. When the Sutra was unearthed, it was found wrapped in two layers. The outer one was a stone box, while the inner one was a wooden box. The Sutra was put in the wooden box. The whole package was buried under the ground of the Tianfeng Pagoda. Under such circumstances, the Sutra was in a relatively closed natural environment, and it was not much affected by the surrounding environment and climate conditions. Ac-

cording to the meteorological chronicles, the Ningbo area has been seriously hit by heavy climate changes about 600 times, changes such as drought or flood since the South Song Dynasty (1127 A.D.–). The great changes of temperature and humidity had affected the Sutra's surroundings. The Sutra aged gradually under this condition of the irregular changeable environment. The main reasons for the Sutra's aging include:

(1) The Sutra paper was affected by the temperature and humidity. The paper's fiber changed and became acidic. The condensation aldehyde bond of the cellulose molecule was sensitive to the acid. In the density of hydrogen ion, the glucoside bond split, the polymerization declined and the reduction increased. In this way, the paper's fiber became acidic and aged. The test showed that the Sutra was acidic.

(2) The germs and moulds in the Sutra bred encouraged by the changeable temperature and humidity in the Pagoda. Germs and moulds need oxygen, water and other nutrition in the air. Therefore, there are correlations of the PH value in the air. When the PH value in the air becomes acidic, this will affect and accelerate the aging of paper. These factors are coexistence but restrained by each other. Under the multi-functions of these factors, the paper cellulose became degraded. The germs live on the paper's fiber and permeated from the surface into the interior part and were dissolved at the contact point. The corrosion trace of saw-tooth marks was left on the surface of the cellulose. After the degradation of the cellulose by the microbe, the mechanical strength of the cellulose was greatly reduced until it lost all the strength. All these factors had functioned on the "auto-catalysis" to the aging and degradation of the paper fiber of the Sutra during the years.

The Sutra of the South Song Dynasty has been aging in the course of many years. Observed through a microscope, the fiber cells of the inner pages were seriously broken and most of the conduit molecules and thin-walled cells were cracked. There still remained some thin, long and complete fibers. Being tested, the paper pulp might be rice or wheat straw according to the fiber's structure and form.

3. TO SELECT THE PRESERVATION MATERIALS

For selection of the preservation materials, the research group had discussed and made experimentation on the basis of the present situation of the Sutra paper's aging mechanism. We have to insist on the principle of "Repairing the Old and Make It Like the Original One." On this basic principle, we made the following requirements for repairing and restoring this paper-base relic.

- To keep the original texture, thickness and color of this paper –base relic;
- To reinforce and preserve the aspects of fiber thickening, brittle reinforcing, pulverization curing, anti-fermenting and antisepsis etc.
- The requirements of the preservation material, like: transparent, colorless, non-luminous, non-filming, and excellent in imbibition, permeability and adhesion;

- To increase the property of tensile and endurable in folding strength;
- To not dissolve the handwriting and ink, non-fading, non-discoloring;
- It should have the property of being aging-resistant and prolong the degradation of the paper fiber;
- It must have the property of anti-bacterium and anti-silver-fish.

In order to keep the original appearance of the Sutra, which was damaged on account of various factors, synthetic materials with multi-functions were adopted instead of a single material.

The inner pages of the Sutra are a certain kind of plant fibers, like rice or wheat straw, which mainly consisted of cellulose, hemi cellulose, lignin, etc. It has a certain amount of hydroxides, which are connected by hydrogen bonds. It also has a few fruit acids and ash. The Sutra's paper is yellow, thick, and rough. The preservation material selected should be a natural material with long fiber, strong adhesive and fine permeability. According to the different priorities of the strengthening materials, we had done testing according to the requirements of the preservation of the paper-based relic. We concentrated on testing the synthetic polymer material, natural polymer material and nanometer material with specific functions. Through the experiments, four kinds of materials are selected. 1 The polymer material of fluororesin, which is transparent, non-luminous and aging resistant; 2 The natural polymer material of deacetylated chitin, which has similar structure to the ancient paper fiber; 3 Oligomer active material with high reactivity, and 4 Bacterium nanometer material, which is mould proof. The synthetic polymer material features fine adhesion and strong curing. The natural material has a similar structure with the ancient paper fiber high in affinity and adhesion. The oligomer active material, with a low formula weight, is fine in imbibition and permeability. The nanometer material is effective in brittle fracture reinforcement, pulverization curing and mould resistance.

Then, the selected materials are modified. For example, the fluororesin is low in adhesion, permeability and salvation. Part of the fluororesins grafted by polar group, and was selected to take experimentation to improve their adhesion and permeability without changing their specific characteristics. The deacetylated chitin is hard to be dissolved, while it can easily be degraded though having similar chemical structure with paper fiber. In order to keep a certain adhesion with paper fiber, it is cross-linked and modified.

4. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PAPER RESTORATION GLUE

There are three characteristics of this paper restoration glue:

- (1) The combination of natural materials, synthetic high polymer materials and nanometer materials. The modified fluororesin which has the similar structure with paper fiber, and is fine in compatibility and affinity, deacetylated chitin,

both mold and bacterium resistant, and nanometer material, UV-ray and mold proof, which are adopted and combined together. The anti-aging problem is solved by fully utilizing the characteristics of these three kinds of materials.

- (2) The paper-based relic can be reinforced and preserved through the methods of fiber thickening, pulverization curing, cross linking strengthening and bacterium resistance. Because of the adoption of the materials combined by low-molecular and polymer materials to the reinforcement, the preservation glue not only can permeate into the inner part of the fiber, but also can cover the surface of the fiber. Therefore, the preservation and reinforcement by stuffing, covering, permeating and thickening, can be handled both from the surface and the inner part of the paper fiber. It is a combination of physical reinforcement and chemical preservation.
- (3) After strengthening the paper-based relic, which will not change its color, thickness and texture, it will effectively prevent it from becoming pulverized and corroded. It is an easy operation and effective. There is no change in the thickness and texture of the paper-based relics on the whole. The problems of luster, film-forming and color-fixing are solved.

5. CONCLUSION

Through the study of this project of "A New Reinforcement Material and Recovering Technology of the Sutra in South Song Dynasty," I emerged with some considerations on the issue of the preservation environment and conservation management of rare books and manuscripts. Paper aging is a process of gradual changes restricted by various kinds of environmental factors. So far, a large number of the ancient and rare books existent in China are aging. There are many factors, which make the paper age. Paper is affected by the preservation space, environmental temperature and humidity, external surroundings, light, dust in the air and UV-rays etc. At present, most of the libraries, museums and archives in China cannot provide a natural preservation environment with enough air circulation and constant temperature and humidity. The neglect of the management of the collection is another reason of the aging. Without enough air circulation and testing of the various factors which will harm the preservation environment, the books and manuscripts are going to age, and be infested with silver fish and mold.

Therefore, in order to prevent the aging of books and manuscripts and make them more durable, preservation of these books must be accomplished by chemical methods. However, it is more crucial to improve the daily management and control the whole process of the preservation environment by controlling and testing the surroundings, examining the temperature and humidity of the stack room along with the changes of the climate, and providing enough air circulation to build a more favorable preservation environment.

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RESEARCH ON RECOVERING THE DAMAGED ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CHINA YI MINORITY

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ABSTRACT

A number of rare and precious manuscripts of the China Yi Minority, which are collected in the Tsinghua University, are valuable for scientific research. During the last few decades, all these rare materials were covered with dust and had their miserable stories of preservation. They were seriously damaged because of the mildew, rot, smoke and pages were stuck together. In 2004, the Tsinghua University Library received a special budget for sorting out and restoring these damaged ancient manuscripts. In 2005, the Tianjin Library was entrusted with taking full responsibility for restoring these Yi Minority rare manuscripts. Based on the speciality of these manuscripts, the repair workers carried out the daring experience and exploration in this work. In this paper, the authors trace back the collection of precious manuscripts in the Tsinghua University Library, and also introduce these materials' academic value, and narrate the comprehensive detail of the repair work. This paper also summarizes and discusses the problems of solving and making special treatments during the repair work. The authors also hope to provide and to explore more methods for research and preservation of the Yi Minority ancient and rare books and manuscripts.

KEYWORDS

Ancient Manuscripts of Yi Minority
Yi Minority
Repair and Recovery of Damaged Manuscripts
Study of Ancient and Rare Books.

The Yi Minority is an old nationality with a long history in China. Bimo culture, which is recorded by the ancient Yi language, is the essential part of the Yi Minority culture. This culture has been inherited from generation to generation in various kinds of ancient religious rites in the way of hand-written copies. Bimo cultural documents, as the carrier recorded all aspects of Yi Minority's society, which include the social politics, economy, philosophy, history, astronomy and calendar, culture and art. The Bimo culture is one of world's most valuable cultural treas-

ures with speciality in its style, reality in its contents, and its inheritance of rarity and nationality. Therefore, the Bimo culture is really worth being preserved and being rescued. Tsinghua University Library collects a number of these ancient Bimo culture documents of the Yi Minority, which is rarely known to all. These ancient Yi Minority documents were collected by Mr. Ma Xueliang, who was a great linguistic master of Chinese nationalities in 1940s. These rare and precious manuscripts are rich in content and are full of value for scientific research. But common people could not read them, and were laid in a corner of the stack room for a long time. Therefore, these manuscripts were seriously damaged with mildew, rot, smoke, and were stuck to each other. (see figure 1).

In the fall of 2004, supported by the Tsinghua University Educational Foundation, and working together with the experts of the Yi Minority language in the Central University of China Nationalities, the Tsinghua University librarian had sorted out these documents included all the detail description of the catalogue and made everything ready for repair and recovery.

By the end of 2005, Tianjin Library was entrusted to take the full responsibility for repair and recovery of these Yi Minority ancient documents. Not only did we make full use of traditional skills in the repair work, but we also made attempts and daring to explore the traditional techniques for the specialties of these ancient minority documents. The authors of this paper tried to trace back the hard work of collecting these ancient Yi Minority documents by Mr. Ma Xueliang, to record the whole work of the Tsinghua University Library in collecting these documents, and also to introduce the complete work in repairing and recovering the damaged documents. This paper also wants to sum up the experiences in solving the different problems and the special treatments during the recovery work. The authors hope to present the valuable experiences of preserving and recovering the ancient minority documents for our colleagues to make reference.

1. THE VALUABLE CLASSICS AND CULTURAL TREASURY WERE HANDED DOWN FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION

Ma Xueliang (1913–1999) was a famous national linguist and national educationist and writer at home and abroad. He went into the Yi Minority region and learned from the Yi Minority people. He studied the Yi language and translated Yi Minority classics. He made great and brilliant achievement on Yi culture. In the early 1940s, Mr. Ma applied for a fund from the Institute of History and Philology (IHP) of Academia Sinica, and with the help of the grant, he went into the Yi Minority region in Wuding and Luquan of Yunnan Province from Sichuan Province. He visited many local inhabitants and inspected Yi Minority's customs and habits. He also studied Yi classics there. At that time, the common Yi people did not know their own writing materials. The Yi characters were only used by a few intellectual Bimos. Bimos, transliterated from Yi pronunciation, also called Bai-

mao, Baima, Bimu and so on. Bimos were professional teachers who taught Yi classics, and persons who hosted the sacrificial rites. They are the very important persons, who know the Yi history, the different rites and customs, sacrificial ties, divination; they pray for freedom from natural calamities and cure the sickness. In the old time, these Bimos stayed with the tribal chiefs all the time to give correct and valuable advice on events. In 1943, an old Bimo recommended Mr. Ma Xueliang for going to the Feng's chieftain yamen in Maolian country in Wuding county. Mr. Ma accepted the suggestion and spent six days to get there from Kunming. The Feng's chieftains took the north area to Kunming in Yunnan Province and even the parts area in Guizhou Province as their sphere of influence in the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 A.D.). They were devout religious believers and set up schools from generation to generation. They built the library in the local government building and collected many rare and precious Yi books and relics in this library. Therefore, this building was very valuable. The last chieftainess, named Na Anheqing, was well-educated, sensible and enlightened. She knew the Yi history and culture very well. It was great pity that almost all these treasure books and relics were lost in the war disturbances with the only exception of several hundred volumes. In order to collect these scattered books and classics, Mr. Ma made a suggestion to the chieftainess for holding a mass meeting and asking for the Bimos to donate their own books. On January 18, 1944, the mass meeting was successfully held by the chieftainess. Many well-known Bimos from the adjacent counties participated in the meeting on time. The performances in this meeting were in highly skilled with wonderful result, and lasted all night long. People came together in crowds with a warm and enthusiastic, grand scene. The rare and precious books of Yi classics and relics were sent to the local chieftainess continuously like a steady stream for more than a month after the grand mass meeting. Mr. Ma Xueliang's wish of collecting the Yi classics came true.

In the 1940s, almost none of the Chinese scholars paid attention to the Chinese national linguistics. It was blankness in this field of science research. Mr. Mao Xueliang was upset and felt uneasy in his heart for the great damage of these rare and precious books by the foreign missionaries, and the greed and pandering of the scholars from France, Britain, Germany for these Yi Minority relics. In order to protect these valuable cultural treasures and to avoid their disappearance and damage, Mr. Ma wrote a letter to Mr. Fu Sinian, who was the director of the Institute of History and Philology (IHP) of Academia Sinica in Sichuan then, and asked to collect Yi classics in the name of the central government. At the same time, Mr. Ma persuaded the last chieftainess to sell or donate this collection of rare ancient books to the central government. Finally, the chieftainess sold the rare and ancient books at a low price. Mr. Ma sorted out, checked, and packaged these books personally. The chieftainess also assigned a cavalry to protect the books to go out of the mountains. There were about more than 2,100 volumes in this collection of books, and they were divided into five sections. Unfortunately, these books were scattered in different places of China because of the social disturbance dur-

ing the last half century. At present, these books are collected in the National Library of China, the Institute of History and Philology (IHP) of Academia Sinica in Taiwan, Peking University library, Tsinghua University library and Nankai University library.

There were more than thirty packages of these Yi classics books collected in the Tsinghua University library. These packages had never been unpacked and had kept their original condition since the 1940s, when they were sent from Yunnan Province to Beijing. In the fall of 2004, supported by the Tsinghua University Educational Foundation and working together with the experts of the Yi Minority in the Central University of Nationalities, the Tsinghua University librarian sorted out these rare and precious books, included all the detailed description of catalogue, and made everything ready for repair and recovery. These descriptions included: the title name of Yi, and Chinese languages, the author, edition, abstract, collation (physical description), the feature of the edition, annotations and comments, binding and the broken situation, etc. All of this information was put into the database for retrieval.

After sorting out these rare and valuable Yi documents and books, which were sealed up for more than half century, there are 252 volumes altogether with only one of them in the Ming edition of wood block printing. Others were manuscripts or hand-written books from the late Ming Dynasty through to the early Republic of China. Most of them were the copy of editions in Qing Dynasty (1644–1911 A.D.). Many of the hand-written books have beautiful black-and-white illustrations. One of them has elegant color illustrations. The pages in these books are various in number. There are about 200 pages of two books *Yi Han Jiaodian*. There are only four pages of the books *Xiancha Liyi Jing*, *Sheli Shizu Citang Jing*, *Qingjing Xiaozai Jing*. The size of the pages is different. The book *Chazhi Picture* is 90 cm. (H) x 67.6 cm. (W) in each page. If we open the picture, it will extend nearly ten meters long. The size of the smallest books has only 9 cm. (H) x 5 cm. (W), which can be held in the palm is exquisite and lovely.

There are eight categories classified by the following subjects:

- Literature: 7 volumes. 6 of them are poems and rhyme prose; 1 of them is narrative poetry.
- Economy: 7 volumes. 6 of them are account books; 1 of them is a reckoning book.
- Religion: 201 volumes.
 - 23 of them are on divination;
 - 10 of them are on pray and wishes;
 - 29 of them are on sacrificial rites;
 - 67 of them are on how to make a sacrifice;
 - 5 of them are on the magic arts (or theurgy);
 - 36 of them are on fasting;
 - 6 of them are on pray;
 - 11 of them are on *BaiJieJing*;

- 3 of them are on the worship;
- 5 of them are on the worship for the ancestor;
- 1 of them is on the directory of the shrines
- 2 of them are collections of drawings
- 1 of them is on the calender
- Geography: 6 volumes. All of them are give the transportation directions.
- Medicine: 3 volumes.
- History: 18 volumes.
 - 2 of them are Biography;
 - 1 of them is on the narrative epic
 - 10 of them are on the historical records;
 - 3 of them are on genealogy;
 - 2 of them are on Bimo history.
- Philosophy: 7 volumes
 - 5 of them are on prediction;
 - 1 of them is on ethics;
 - 1 of them is on explanation.
- Education: 3 volumes.
 - 2 of them are on the quotation;
 - 1 of them is on comment.

If we compared these with the other sections of the Yi Minority Rare books, which are collected in the other five libraries, the Yi collection in the Tsinghua library has its own characteristics.

First, they rare and precious Yi books, which are handwritten have a long history and have high historical value. They came from the Feng's Yamen in Wuding county, where the Luo Wu culture is popular. These books are the early handwritten copies, which are the exemplars for recopying. There are 32 titles in which we can find the author's name or and the names of the copier's. Some of the authors or the copiers were famous Bimos, who really knew the Yi Minority language. It is seldom happened in the ancient and old Yi rare and precious books. Some of the books even have the clear time of recopying. The book entitled *Education Theory of Yi and Han 49 Teachers* was copied in March, 1756 (21st year of the Qian Long Emperor period, the Qing Dynasty), which is the earliest book. *Qiji Zhufu Jing* was brought out in 1936 (25th year, Republic of China). This is the most recent book.

Second, this collection of books has special and valuable content, which has the important documents for study and research on the original religion and astronomy of the Yi Minority. For example, there is the huge picture of *Chizhi illustration*, *the Picture of Shrine*, *the Bimo Collection of Mr. Zhang Wenyuan* etc. The seven account books recorded the annual financial situation and tributes and others in the local old society. These records reflect the reformation from the slave society to modern social transformation in the Yi region. It is full of value for us to study and research Yi Minority's economy history.

2. REPAIR AND RECOVERY WORK SHOULD ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF “REPAIRING THE OLD LIKE THE ORIGINAL ONE”

Gu Yiwen (The Ancient Yi Minority Words) is the Yi Minority’s original transliteration words. It was ever called Cuanwen, Weishu and Luoluowen, etc. In order to distinguish the ancient words from the new Yiwen, which passed the standard program in 1975, it is generally called Gu Yiwen or LaoYiwen. According to the Yi legend, the Yiwen books were brought down by Bimo, who was dispatched by the God from the heaven to the Yi land. Therefore, the Gu Yiwen books were regarded as *Tianshu* (the book from heaven). The Bimos put these books in a wooden box and stored them on a high place and burnt the incense to worship. Before they held the theurgy, they had to make sacrifices to these books. Otherwise, it would not be effective. When the books were too old to be used, they would be burnt after being sacrificed in order to avoid getting them dirty and to show respect to these books. The common Yi people could not understand this Yi written language and also could not read them. As the time passed by, and the society changed, there were fewer and fewer Yi people, who could read and understand these Yi classics. Therefore, Ma took these classics as “the book of decline like a sun setting beyond and western hill.”

These Yiwen classics deal with the Yi Minority’s history, philosophy, religion, culture, science and technology, astronomy, medicine, etc. They are the accumulation of ancient literature with precious national cultural heritage and treasury of knowledge.

These rare and precious Yi books collected in the Tsinghua University library, are still kept their original binding formats, and also they provide a good example of binding structure and evidence for scientific research. The most of the writing-style is kept the Yiwen’s tradition. The words are written in the page from up to downward and from left to right in vertical rank. Only some books, which were influenced by Han books, are written from right to left vertically. Most of the binding formats are wrapped up in cloth of a scroll. It is something like the thread binding format. (see figure 2 special binding)

The package method

To put a piece of cloth which is bigger than the book under the folded pages. This cloth was made of sackcloth, cotton or huocao. Three volumes will have a leather cover with it. This cloth was sewed from one edge to another edge and wrapped string. After wrapping, it will be like a scroll. Besides, there also had Mao Zhuang (bind the page together only by 2–3 point, not by thread.) or Jing Zhe Zhuang (bind the book by folding the book with hard cover on the book face and the back cover). In the Yi Minority region, the common people often used the *huocao* fiber for spinning and weaving. A book of *Nanzhao Tongji* says: there is a plant named *huocaobu*, its leaf has 3 or 4 cun (9.9 cm – 13.2 cm) long and crawl on the ground

to grow. People can draw this fiber from the leaf's back and weave the fiber into cloth... This plant can make fire, so it is named of *huocao*.

Besides the special structure, the paper of Yi books was also different from the Han ancient books. The Yi paper was made by Yi people who used the local methodology to produce the paper called *Goupi paper*. The fiber of this kind of paper is coarse and long. These books were used to sacrifice and were often exposed to smoke in the shrine. So, the colors of these books were getting darker and darker.

There are different completenesses of these Yi ancient and rare books. Some of them are intact. Others are seriously damaged and needed repair and recovery urgently. The techniques of the Yi Minority book materials production were rarely handed it down or spread. The work of repair and recovery of these minority books had never even been heard of. Through the hard work of investigation and detailed discussion, the librarian of the Tianjin library and the specialists of Tsinghua University decided to take the principle of "Repairing the Old One Should Be Like the Original One" for executing this significant work.

3. REPAIRING SCIENTIFICALLY AND RESTORING REVERSIBLY.

According to the existing repair experiences, we carried on the repair of these old Yi Minority rare and precious handwritten books in the Tsinghua University library scientifically.

First, we established a complete repairing file on the basic of the archive in Tsinghua University. And also in-put these catalogue items into the computer's database for retrieval. We recorded every part in our repairing working process detail. We analyzed the paper of each book. We recorded the physical descriptions of the book's appearance, broken or worn-out circumstances, and also the plan of repair. We took the photos of every repair step too. All of the information will provide the original data for further repair work.

Secondly, we set up the repair principle. After making tests again and again, we decided to accept the principles of "Repairing the Old One Should be Like the Original One"; "Give Emergency treatment first and then cure;" "Reversible Repairing." The following picture shows this repair case.

3.1 Method of Special Folding of the Pages.

Call number 136. The book of *Shizu Jizu Dadian (A Dictionary of Sacrifice the Clan Ancestor)*, was not damaged seriously. When we opened the pages, we found the pages were folded specially. A big page folded into some small pages and than bound together. The bottom of the pages was in a line and the foreedges were separated. (See figure 3) We just patched the damaged parts and then folded and bound them as the original one.

3.2 Wash or not wash.

As the reasons we described above the Yi rare and precious books were heavily smoke damaged and hard to read (See figure 4). Some papers were stuck together and were very difficult to separate. Therefore, we had to steam it in order to make it soft, and carefully, slowly separated it, and then using the pure water of 70–80°C to wash it until the characters on the paper are clear. Later on, we had to put it in a shady place to dry.

Some books were written in red ink. (See figure 5) Some pages were tattered as cotton fiber or crisp. If they are washed, these papers will be dyed and spoilt. So, they cannot be washed.

3.3 Repairing and Recovering the Book Cover and the Pages, Which Have the Words in Double Sides

Call number 70. The book of *Jitan Qingshen Jing* (*A classic for Inviting the Divinity*) is a folded book with pages of the words in double sides. (See figure 6) We soaked the book cover and the pages and separated it. Then, we let it dry in a shady place. We patched each page and membrane to make it like the original one.

Call number Yi-168. The book of *XianShui Jing* (*Classic of Devoted Water*, its cover was stuck together with the first page. We separated it and patched it and recovered them as the original book cover and the first page of the book. (See figure 7 and figure 8)

3.4 Flexible Using the Traditional Skills of Repairing, Patching, Mounting and Inlaying

During the repair and recovery work, we made full use of the Chinese traditional techniques. We tried in every means to keep every page of the damaged book in its original style.

To some of the particular circumstances, we have to treat them flexibly. For example, the call number Yi-49, the book of *Shishuo Jidian Nongruo Jing* had serious damage, but it was only in a few pages, which were very thin. We decided to mount the whole page in order to bind it beautifully. (See figure 9)

Another example, the call number Yi-250, a book of *Baijie Daochang Ji Weirong Shenzun Jing* was made of white cotton paper, which had become rot like wad. The bottom of the page was incomplete. (See figure 10) We treated this book like this.

- To put the page on the working table and cleaned the stains on the paper with a writing brush lightly.
- To clean the stains on the paper, we have to use the warm and pure water with the Chinese writing brush to clean several times.
- To use the absorb water paper and tried to make the paper dry.
- To use the inlaying repair method to patch the damaged area with white cotton paper.

- After binding, this book looks very beautiful with the new book mark. (See figure 11)

3.5 To keep the Original Yi Book Binding and Bring Forth the New Binding format

The collection of these Yi Minority rare and precious books in Tsinghua University library were kept in original form. Therefore, we can learn the variety of ancient Yi Minority book binding formats. Before starting to repair these books, we had the prerequisite to obey and keep the principle of “Repairing the Old One Should Like the Original One”. The overwhelming majority of these Yi documents were recovered with the original binding formats finally, with the only exception being of those books that were wrapped up in cloth of a scroll. Because it will be inconvenient to store them in the book shelves, we had to make a little change and gave a bigger cover, which was twice the size as the page for each book. Anyway, we still kept the trussing gunny rope. (See figure 12)

Besides, we also made some attempts of giving the different colors for these book covers in accordance with the book’s quality and its contents. More than 80% of these books were about the religion. The books of *Zuoji Jing* (On how to make sacrifice) and *Zuozhai Jing* (Books on Fast) have 103 volumes. So, we selected the different colors and materials for the different book’s contents. For example, the color for the book cover of geography and history was dark green, the color for the religion and economy was brown, and the color for literature was reddish brown. Thus “it will be convenient for us to classify these books easily from the different colors of the book covers.” (See figure 13).

Almost all the Yi books were handwritten. There were only a few of them that were the editions of wood block prints. The book of *Quan ShanJing* (*A Classic for Persuade People Doing Good Things*) had two editions. The call number YI-244 that is collected in the Tsinghua University library is the earliest one. It was engraved and printed in the late Ming Dynasty by Feng’s chieftain. The surviving engraved wood blocks were stored in Na’s Yamen and were donated to the China National Library. The title of this book is *Taishang Ganying Pian* (A Famous Daoist Moral Book), which has 22,900 words, and was translated into the Yi Language and was popular and easy to understand. From this book, we can easily understand the influence of Han’s Taoism thought in the Yi Minority region, and the cultural communication between the two nationalities in ancient time. Therefore, we adopted the patching repairing skill to save this book and choose the original thread binding format, (see figure 14) and used a blue cover to highlight its speciality. (see figure 15)

The ancient Chinese Minority’s books are full of knowledge. They enrich Chinese history and culture. These Yi Minority ancient and rare books describe the Yi Minority’s history and culture, and also reflect an important part of Chinese history. The contents of these Yi ancient and rare books are broad and profound with many aspects and have strong local characteristics, and the minority speciality.

Much of them are fresh to the Han Nationality. With the help of the Yi fellow countrymen, Mr. Ma Xueliang tried his utmost to rescue these Yi precious and rare books, which will be handed down from generation to generation. He made a great contribution to Chinese history.

We are moved and inspired by Mr. Ma's spirit, and worked to repair and recover these Yi Minority precious and rare books. It is necessary to summarize the recovery experience and the weak points for improving our work. It has also great significance for preservation of and research in the ancient and rare books in China as well as for our colleagues around the world.



Figure 1: The original state.

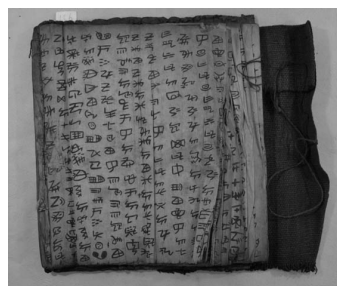


Figure 2: Special binding.



Figure 3: Folding method.



Figure 4: Books need to wash



Figure 5: Pages not to wash.



Figure 6: Pages wrote in two-sided.



Figure 7: Pages not to tear off .



Figure 8: Pages torn off.

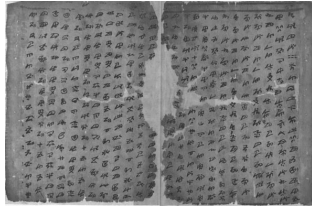


Figure 9: Page mounted.

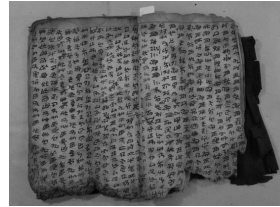


Figure 10: Pages before recovered .

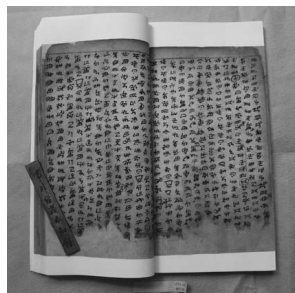


Figure 11: Pages after recovered.



Figure 12: Book after binding.



Figure 13: Books after binding.



Figure 14: Book before restoring.

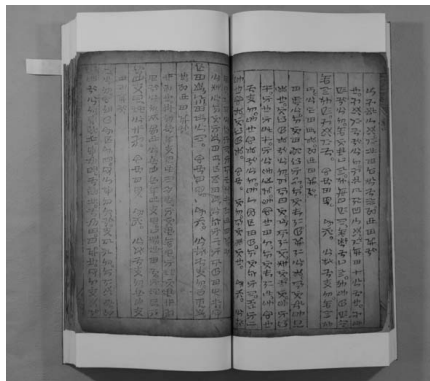


Figure 15: Recovered book.

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MR. LIU CHENGGAN'S TRAIN OF THOUGHT BEFORE AND AFTER DONATING JIAYE TANG TO THE ZHEJIANG LIBRARY

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ABSTRACT

Jiaye Tang is a modern library, which was built by Mr. Liu Chenggan, an authority on old and rare books and a collector, beginning in 1924 at his hometown of Nanxun Township, Huzhou City. In 1951, Mr. Liu donated this library to the Zhejiang Library. The author of this paper describes the survival of the former Qing Dynasty, Mr. Liu's train of thought that led to his generous donation of the Jiaye Tang to the Zhejiang Library, and to understand the "developing new China's social cultural work" through further study of the archives and the letters of Mr. Liu Chenggan in his own handwriting. This paper also discusses Mr. Liu's basic idea of the donation and the reasons for donating to the Zhejaing Library because of other factors, such as (1) his family's tradition of giving to charities; (2) the owner's open mentality of book collection; (3) an original relationship with the Zhejiang Library; (4) his deep love for his native hometown; (5) to have a special friendship with Mr. Zhang Zongxiang, director of the Zhejiang Library at that time.

KEYWORDS

Jiaye Tang Library Liu Chenggan Culture of Book Collection

On November 19, 1951, Mr. Liu Chenggan wrote the donation letter, which will stand forever in Chinese library history. In the letter he said: "To whom it may concern, Chenggan spends all his time concentrating on culture, searching out ancient and rare works, and builds the Jiaye Tang Library in hometown-Nanxun, which held more than one hundred thousand of books, and provided for specialized scholars to make reference and research. During that period, the Jiaye Tang Library was broken by the Japanese invaders, and parts of the collection were lost. Chenggan was old then, and stayed in Shanghai, still had no time to take care of the library even after the triumph of the Anti-Japanese War. Fortunately our People's government appreciated cultural relics, and sent persons from the Zhejiang Library to tidy up and manage this library. What a positive thing that Chenggan's whole desire was luckily deposited, and all the books and articles finally got their place. Therefore Chenggan was willing to donate the Jiaye Tang Library building,

the vacant area around it, all the books and the wood blocks for printing together with various facilities and equipment to the Zhejiang Library for permanent keeping, for the needs of developing new China's social cultural work. Thanks to understand Chenggan's enthusiasm for this donation and hope to get your positive reply of acceptance. For the books in Qiushu Studio, are all copies for reference, not belong to this library. Once they were in the Shanghai flat, but had to be transferred to Jiaye Tang when Chenggan's sons sold out the flat in Shanghai. Chenggan asked that the self-printed books, lithography and letterpress printed books, inscription and rubbing, calligraphy and paintings were brought back, which could be reported to the government. Yours sincerely, Liu Chenggan. Nov. 19th, 1951".¹ Obviously, Liu Chenggan's politics are quite conservative. He was only 31 years old when the Qing Dynasty was overturned, but his emotional ties to the survival of this past seems never to be released. For example, in the Jiaye Tang Library we can see "the list of donors in 1928", "the list of donors in 1929", which were delivered by "the Qing's office in Tianjin". On the lists, which recorded "how much money was donated to whom", "who got a vertical-hung writing of Fu (福 Happy) and Shou (寿 Longevity)", "who got a Scroll for Spring Festival", "Tong Xi Han Yi Jing Qing - namely Liu Chenggan, was designated to receive the donations". All the above showed that until the year of 1928 and 1929, Mr. Liu Chenggan was still ardently doing things for the last emperor - Puyi, and was well trusted by him. Making a comprehensive view of Mr. Liu Chenggan's whole life, the examples that can manifest his emotional ties to the survival of the past are innumerable. However, how does Mr. Liu Chenggan come through the ideological struggle changing from preserving the previous regime to be a person who can generously turn his private treasure to be public, and donate "the extraction of his whole life's mental exertion"² - the Jiaye Library for "the developing of the new China's social cultural work."

On May 7, 1949, when the Chinese People's Liberation Army was about to liberate the South Yangtze River Area, Comrade Zhou Enlai gave an order: "Giving special protection to the Jiaye Library to show the respect for culture."³ In late June, as soon as Jiaxing was liberated, the county committee received Comrade Zhou Enlai's instructions transferred from the Prefectural and the Provincial Party Committees, to the first company of Jiaxing's independent battalion to Nanxun and to carry out the task of protecting the Jiaye Library. Mr. Liu Chenggan, living in Shanghai then, didn't quite understand about that. On September 27, 1949, Mr. Liu Chenggan wrote a letter to Mr. Zhang Yuanji and told him that the Jiaye Library was taken over by the People's Liberation Army, and asked him to transfer his request to the Government that he wanted the army withdraw from the Jiaye Library.⁴ On October 30, Mr. Zhang Yuanji's reply arrived, "You should report to vice-mayor, Mr. Wei Que about the taken-over things. Jiaye Library is in Zhejiang's territory, and it's beyond the responsibility of Shanghai military administration area, so this thing should be reported to Zhejiang Provincial government for solving this problem. In my opinion, this thing is about the protection of culture,

and you can state it according to the facts, then asked to return it back, which could not be turned down.⁵ Mr. Liu Chenggan could not understand the Communist Party and the People's Army's intention of protecting the cultural inheritance during the war. Since the 1930s, although the Jiaye Tang Library survived the war, it was occupied continually by army's of Japanese invaders and Kuomintang. As the owner of the Jiaye Tang Library, Mr. Liu Chenggan could only sign over the building: "Since the Anti-Japanese War till now, the building was taken over by one army and another, it's nearly impossible to get in and have a look. The Jiaye Tang Library is lost to its owner."⁶

We do not know whether Liu Chenggan followed Mr. Zhang Yuanji's advice to make a report regarding the situation of the Jiaye Tang Library to the Zhejiang Provincial People's Government. But on March 27, 1951, Mr. Liu Chenggan received a letter from Mr. Wang Datie, vice curator of the Jiaxing Library, and he received the information that the Jiaxing Prefectural Government office commissioners had designated the Jiaxing Library to sort and to make an inventory of the Jiaye Tang Library's collection. Then, Mr. Liu Chenggan changed his mind about asking the army to withdraw instead of requiring the government to purchase his library. In the letter to Mr. Liu Chenggan, Mr. Wang Datie told Mr. Liu Chenggan about the present situation of the Jiaye Library, and he also asked Mr. Liu for the keys to the bookcases, the situation of the rare books and the Yongle Dadian, and the quantity of titles and the catalogues of the collection. On April 3, Mr. Liu Chenggan replied to Mr. Wang's letter and said: "It's really satisfied my wish that Mr. Wang was appointed to manage the checking work. I'm over seventy, and my family possessions are all used up. What I'm worried about is means of support in my future days. If the library can be bought by the government, my whole life's mental-exertion would not be wasted."⁷ Mr. Liu Chenggan also wrote letters to Mr. Tan Zhenglin-Chairman of the Zhejiang Provincial People's Government, to the Jiaxing Prefectural Government office of commissioner, and to Mr. Zhang Yuanji, Mr. Zhang Zongxiang, Mr. Mao Chunxiang, etc. The contents of these letters may be generalized to the following three main points: firstly, he complained that "he was at the end of his resources",⁸ and using the Qu's Tieqintongjian Library in Changshu as an example he asked the government to purchase the library in Jiaye Tang for conservation. Secondly, he was willing to donate all the wood blocks for printing to the government. Thirdly, he requested the return of the copies in the Qiushu Studio, the self-printed books, stone rubbing inscriptions, calligraphy and paintings.

However, Mr. Zhang Yuanji indicated in his reply letter to Mr. Liu Chenggan on October 22: "Though the library of Qu's in Changshu could be taken as an example, the purchasing was because of the fact that the books in Tieqintongjian Library had won universal praise few decades. The rare books collection in your library may weigh the same as in the Tieqintongjian Library, but there was no catalogue of the books for reference, even if the government was willing to purchase. Furthermore, the provincial government hadn't arranged the budget for the pur-

chase, if it was forced to add the budget by central government, which was not in accordance with the present governmental system.”⁹

At that time, there really was not any bibliography that could completely show the storage status of the Jiaye Tang Library. In the history of the Jiaye Tang Library, Mr. Miao Quansun, Mr. Wu Changshou, and Mr. Dongkang had been compiling the Jiaye Tang Library's early or late Chronical Records, but unfortunately all of which had not been finalized. Mr. Zhou Zimei and Mr. Shi Yunqiu compiled the *Library Book Catalogue in Jiaye Tang, Catalogue of the Rare Books of Ming's Edition in Jiaye Tang* when they were in the Jiaye Tang Library. But in the course from prosperity to decadence, the Jiaye Tang Library nearly lost all its precious rare books. Therefore, the catalogues also lost their functionality for retrieval. No one knew how many books were in the Jiaye Library. So Mr. Wang Datie asked Mr. Liu Chenggan in his letter: “Whether the good editions of ancient and rare books, and the Yongle Dadian were still in the Jiaye Library? How many titles of books are there? And what's the catalogue of all these books.” Mr. Zheng Zhendu, who was the chief of the Cultural Heritage Bureau in the Cultural Ministry, knew about the missing materials from the Jiaye library, since he had been associated with Mr. Liu Chenggan several times in the Literature Conservation Association from April, 1940 to April, 1941. He had visited Mr. Liu's house in Shanghai, where he also had browsed thousands of titles of rare books, which were transferred from Nanxun's Jiaye Tang Library. At last, on behalf of the National Central Library, he purchased over 1,200 titles of the Ming's edition and 36 titles of transcriptions. Nevertheless he also did not have any idea of the missing materials situation of Liu's other library collection. Even Mr. Liu Chenggan himself was unaware of his own library. In 1937, Mr. Shi Yunqiu transferred parts of the Jiaye Tang's books to the third floor of Liu's house at No. 203, Nanxun, to protect them from the Japanese bombardment. But what were these books and how many, Mr. Liu Chenggan did not know. When Mr. Shi Yunqiu passed away, it remained a secret to Mr. Liu. What is more, Mr. Liu Chenggan had not been able to return to his hometown, Nanxun, since the beginning of the Anti-Japanese War. He could not tell how heavy the losses were when the Library encountered so many wars. For example, he insisted on trying to reclaim the calligraphy and paintings, but they had already disappeared long ago. In such a situation, the government did not know how to evaluate the library and how to price it. Mr. Liu Chenggan admitted that in 1950, the Central People's Government really had sent someone to Shanghai to contact him about the purchasing of the library.¹⁰ But the transaction turned out to be unsuccessful for the reason that there was no catalogue of the books for reference, even if the government was willing to purchase them.

In late April, 1951, the Zhejiang Provincial Cultural and Educational Department designated the Zhejiang Library together with the Jiaxing Library to help Mr. Liu manage the Jiaye Library. One thing had happened during this period. Mr. Liu Chenggan's hoped for request for purchasing the library became a soap bubble. That is the so-called “First Book” event. The workers found a strange thing

when they were sorting the library collections, almost all the first volumes or the last volumes in every set of the books was missing. In their working report, they considered that: "Mr. Liu Chenggan had a premeditated activity", "To make every set books incomplete so that it will be useless".¹¹ In the age of "Taking class struggle as the key link", the result of this action could be easily understood. On October 5, the Culture Ministry issued a document: "All the books in Nanxun Liu's Jiaye Library should be taken over by the People's Government. The requested thing of purchase could be ignored. Being the former owner of the library, Mr. Liu Chenggan destroyed the books on purpose, should be informed formally by the local government and not to do such kind of things. If being found have any serious cases, he should be sent to the local people's court according to the law. For the hidden book collection, which should be found out."¹² As a matter of fact, early on April 3, in the letter to Mr. Wang Datie, Mr. Liu Chenggan had told him that parts of his library books were transferred to his own house to avoid the Japanese bombardment, and asked the workers to bring them together, but he really did not know the detailed list of these transferred books. Although Mr. Wang Datie had reported this matter to the Jiaying Prefectural Government office commissioner, the work was not carried out, and no one connected these transferred books with the "First Book" event, thus the injustice to Mr. Liu Chenggan was not redressed.

According to the archive in the Zhejiang Library, the Culture Ministry's established guideline for disposal of the Jiaye Tang has been, "Persuade the owner to donate" since July, 1951. On March 28, the Zhejiang Library delivered a report to the Zhejiang Provincial Cultural and Educational Department to warrant and obtain the library relics of Liu's library in Nanxun and Fuyan Xia's library. In this report, the library in Jiaye Tang was treated as a landowner's library, and confiscation was requested and obtained. On July 19, 1951, the Zhejiang Provincial Cultural and Educational Department issued document no. 14580 to the Zhejiang Library: "According to the Central People's Government Culture Ministry's no.131 document, the reply to your request is as follows: in accordance with prescription of the 2nd article, 2nd chapter in the Agrarian Reform Act., and the supplementary explanation of the last section, 4th article of the Report on the Questions of Agrarian Reform given by Vice-Chairman Mr. Liu Shaoqi on June 14, 1950, Liu's library shouldn't be confiscated, but taken over and helping manage by Zhejiang Library together with Jiaying Library, and then waited for the chance to persuade the owner to donate. Hereby informed, wish you to deal with it discreetly."¹³ Considering the decision "waiting for the chance to persuade him to donate after taking over", there seems to be some hope, but "taking over by the government, ignoring the purchase" is definitely confirmed.

Certainly, Mr. Liu Chenggan was not able to have knowledge of the contents of the Culture Ministry's document, but Mr. Zhang Yuanji's letter really reminded him that: there was no way to purchase. Moreover, there was a historical tendency to turn the private into the public. Like the streams flow into the sea, donating the private collection to the State was the history current at that time. Taking the

Tieqintongjian Library as an example, on January 11, 1950, Mr. Zheng Zhenduo wrote a letter to praise Mr. Qu Jicang, Mr. Qu Xuhe, and Mr. Qu Fengqi: "I feel quite delighted to be able to your house and read your books. Your Tieqintongjian library, has been handed it down for five generations, and came across over one hundred years. It was indeed the most complete treasury of the private library at home. You gentlemen, turning the private to be the public, donated 52 titles of 1816 volumes of the Song's, Yuan's, and Ming's editions and transcriptions to the Central People's Government. I really appreciate your such admirable activity. Your enthusiasm of protecting the culture and trusting the government, should be seen and admired by all the people in the world. Hereby express my deep thanks."¹⁴ Considering the situation, Mr. Liu Chenggan decided to take the historic step.

It is not an easy thing for one person to donate his whole life's work to the State and the People. The pressing situation was an external reason. However, the internal cause seems to be a more important factor. When we analyze Mr. Liu Chenggan's fundamental train of thought regarding the donation to the Zhejiang Library for "developing new China's social cultural work," especially the following points can not be ignored.

Firstly, Mr. Liu's family had the tradition of gladly giving to charities. Mr. Liu Chenggan's grandfather, Mr. Liu Yong had always engaged himself in disaster relief and been doing good deeds since he became rich. He enjoyed a good reputation in his hometown, Nanxun, and became famous throughout the country, just like a philanthropist in the late Qing dynasty. Mr. Liu Chenggan's father, Mr. Liu Jinzao and Mr. Liu Chenggan himself, were rich people and were enthusiastic about charity. Being generous, doing good deeds, and requiting society are the traditions of Liu's three generations. The arches, in memory of Mr. Liu's family's almsdeeds are still at the front of Liu's family temple in Nanxun's Xiaolian-zhuang. Although the arches were set up by Imperial decree, it affirmed from another side the contribution of Mr. Liu's family to society.

Secondly, Mr. Liu Chenggan was a master great book collector. As the top leader of bibliophiles in recent history, Mr. Liu Chenggan knew full well that knowledge is public and of the world, and was well aware of the current history of collected books being used by society after the foundation of the public library could not be held up. Therefore, anyone, no matter public or private, who was in need of doing research, found the doors of the Jiaye Library always open. Nevertheless, Mr. Liu Chenggan spent a great deal of money to carve and print rare ancient Chinese books, in order to make many copies for the use of scholars. He never carved and printed books for the purpose of making a profit. In fact sometimes he would not even sell his books. For example, once Mr. Lu Xun called him to buy a copy, but his request was in vain. However, Liu was quite generous when it came to giving to libraries and scholars. As a result, Mr. Liu Chenggan got the name of "Sha Gongzi."

Thirdly, Mr. Liu Chenggan had a deep affection for his hometown. In 1911, Mr. Liu Chenggan moved to Shanghai with his family, but in 1920, he still chose

his hometown, Nanxun, as the place for building the Jiaye Library. He collected, carved and printed ancient books, especially the valuable local literature, which expressed his affection to his hometown. His relationship with the Zhejiang Library, can be traced to the 1920s when he provided financing to help Wenlange supplement the Sikuquanshu. In 1936, the Zhejiang Library held an exhibition of Zhejiang Literature, which got Mr. Liu Chenggan's great support. He provided the manuscripts, the books with collations, transcriptions with a total 48 titles. He was one of the private book-collectors, who provided the largest collection. In 1951, right before donating the Jiaye Tang Library, Mr. Zheng Zhenduo had a discussion with Mr. Wang Yeqiu, who was the vice-minister of the Eastern Culture Ministry about that, and they had the idea of taking over of the Jiaye Library for the Nanjing Library. But Mr. Liu Chenggan finally donated the library to the Zhejiang Library, since Zhejiang was his home.

Fourthly, Mr. Liu Chenggan had a deep friendship with Mr. Zhang Zongxiang (curator of the Zhejiang Library). Based on *Lengseng Zibian Nianpu* (*A chronical of Mr. Zhang Zongxiang's life*), in 1927, Mr. Zhang Zongxiang "lived in Shanghai, doing transcribing and proof reading work, he got Mr. Liu Chenggan's book of *Zui Wei Lu*, which was written by Mr. Zha Dongshan, then he knew that this book was written on the base of Zhuang's *Ming Shi*. Unfortunately, *Zui Wei Lu* was broken and diverted, so he collated it and transcribed. In 1929, Mr. Zhang Zongxiang was invited by Mr. Liu Chenggan to help and compile the geography records of *Huangqingxu Wenxian Tongkao*."¹⁵ Mr. Liu Chenggan was fond of becoming acquainted with experts and scholars, and having such an old friend as Mr. Zhang Zongxiang for decades. Therefore, he could not be more pleased than to donate to the Zhejiang Library.

Hereby I have to point out that Mr. Liu Chenggan's donation of the Jiaye Library to the Zhejiang Library had his own consideration in mind. He wanted to get back the duplicate books, his self-printed books, lithographs and lead letter printed books, inscriptions and rubbings, and calligraphy and paintings. According to the letter, which Mr. Liu Chenggan wrote to the Zhejiang Library on August 25, 1957, "I'm quite prudent on the matter of donating, and associated with you by letter, requested to return back the duplicated books and self-printed books and got your confirmed reply. So I formally wrote the donating letter, and stated seriously again to return the books." We cannot find any related letters of association and reply in the present files in the Zhejiang Library, but the response must be real.¹⁶ Regrettably, the promise Mr. Liu Chenggan formerly got from the Zhejiang Library finally came to nothing.¹⁷

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THE “PI & LU” POEM COLLECTION AND BOOK COLLECTION IN SUZHOU IN THE LATE-TANG DYNASTY

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ABSTRACT

The Tang poetry correspondence between Mr. Pi Rixiu and Mr. Lu Guimeng in Suzhou in the Late-Tang dynasty is quite famous in literary history. The “*Song Ling Ji* (松陵集 *Song Ling Poetry Collection*)” is this Tang poetry collection, which was a correspondence and has been handed down since the Tang Dynasty. This poetry collection not only has the characteristics of a large quantity of poetry covering a wide range of topics and a completeness of stylistic approach with refreshed styles, but it also has a theoretical summary and the distinguishing features of “Learning from the Poetry”. It also can be considered that this correspondence between the two learned scholars of poetry, Mr. Pi Rixiu and Mr. Lu Guimeng, reveals their close relationship with the rich book collection in the Suzhou area at that time.

KEY WORDS

Poetry Correspondence between Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu
Mr. Pi Rixiu
Mr. Lu Guimeng
Scholar, Learned
Suzhou’s Book Collection

Book collecting is a cultural phenomenon, and it is like a distant source with a long stream. It is not only an outcome of cultural activities, but it is also the source of other cultural activities. The activity of corresponding through poetry among scholars depends especially on book collections. The following is a case study of a poetry correspondence between Mr. Pi Rixiu and Mr. Lu Guimeng in the Suzhou region in the 10–12th year of the Xian Tong Emperor Period of the Late-Tang Dynasty (869–71 A.D.). Therefore, we can understand that book collections had a very important significance to correspondence by poetry among scholars.

1. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MR. PI RIXIU AND MR. LU GUIMENG, THEIR POETRY CORRESPONDENCE, AND LEARNED SCHOLARS.

After the “An Shi Trouble time (755–757 A.D.)” in the Mid-Tang Dynasty, the practice of corresponding through poetry among scholars extended from the emperor palace to become popular in the offices of local government officials, especially in the South Yangtze River area. The occurrence of the poetry correspondence between Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu in Suzou was mentioned in Mr. Pi Rixiu’s book, “*Song Ling Ji Xu*”: “In the 10th year of Xian Tong Emperor (869 A.D.), the government officer Jian Qinghe went to Wu area (Suzhou region) on his official business with Mr. Pi Rixiu, who was a minister. They lived there for a month. Mr. Lu Guimeng, another name of Lu Wang, who was a successful candidate in the highest imperial examination, paid a visit to them and showed his brilliant talent in poetry writing. Scholars Wen Feiqing and Li Yishang were the general acknowledged great poets. Mr. Lu can be compared with them and also can’t tell who was the best... So, I made a poem to attract him, and it turned out that they were right.” Before that, poetry correspondence occurred between relatives and good friends, but the case between Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu was quite an exception here. Mr. Pi was from Xianyang, while Mr. Lu was from Suzhou. Although they had only a casual and temporary meeting, they inspired one another greatly, and their correspondence burst forth like a flooding river. The reasons for this might be quite complex. But from the contents of the poetry we can understand the learned scholars, and their endless and continuous poetry documents may be an important element. There are some characteristics of the contents as discussed below:

1.1 Quoting Many Legendary Figures and Anecdotes.

Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu seemed to have a great interest in books of historical anecdotes, more so than any other subjects in their poetry correspondence. This is reflected in the slow sipping and tune humming figures of Wangmu legend (Wife of the Supreme Deity of Taoism), Chang E (The Goddess of the moon [a lady in the legend who swallowed elixir stolen from her husband and flew to the moon]), Chao Fu and the forefather of the same dynasty. Their poetry correspondence involved the literary quotations of more than 200 historically eminent people. At first glance, the whole book of “*Song Ling Ji*” seems an atlas of eminent people.

1.2 Regarding Daily Issues and Unusual Things

In ancient China, scholars paid little attention to the insignificant outing, botanical garden work, planting flowers, pet breeding, etc. But Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu recited many poems with the flavour of pure interest and elegance and quoting the classics. There are some good examples, like “*Cha Zong Za Yong*”, and “*Jiu Zhong Shi yong*,” etc. Also, they were in favour of something unusual. For instance, the

poem, “*Tai Hu Shi Xu*”, described: “All of my experience called unusual. So I composed 20 poems to prove this matter and sent it to my friend”, but “When I came to this place, and no over half of it was recommended by chorography.” Mr. Lu also had a similar case in his poem, “*Si Ming Shan Shi*”. Besides, they also showed great interest in some unusual poetry correspondence, such as “*Qin Yan Jing*,” “*Ji Shi Zhan*,” etc.

1.3 Regarding Buddhism, Taoism, and the Expression of Their Unusual Viewpoints

The philosophy of Buddhism and Taoism had a great impact on the book of “*Song Ling Ji*.” Mr. Pi Rixiu had developed a close relationship with Buddhism and Taoism since he had visited the Wu area. Mr. Lu Guimeng also quoted a lot of Buddhism and Taoism chants in his work. It was also in the poetry correspondence which had too many to be mentioned. Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu showed their great interest in “*Yin Fu Jing*”, which they wrote about and replied from time to time with special viewpoints that were praised by later generations. .

1.4 Regarding Style Itself and the Innovation That Came Along

Corresponding through poetry was used as a kind of activity that had much to do with culture and rich connotation. Sometimes scholars did not stick to seeking a deep way to express their internal feelings, but would rather pay more attention to content of beauty and fascination with style itself. What brought forth new ideas to Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu’s poetry correspondence was not only the traditional styles they inherited, but also the further developments of the structure of “short length with non-stressed rhyme” since the great poets, Mr. Yuan Zhen (779–831 A.D.) and Mr. Bai Juyi (772–846 A.D.), created the structure of “long length with five words and non-stressed rhyme.” Besides, Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu also put their words both in classical and non-classical styles in order to pursue as many poetic styles as they could. Just as Mr. Pi Rixiu stated in his book, “*Za Ti Shi Xu* u,”: “Since the ancient styles to the classical style, and to the non-classical styles, we have covered all of these poetry styles.” Based on these different styles of poetry correspondence, Mr. Pi Rixiu came to his theoretical discoveries and the summarization, which can be found in his books, “*Lu Luwang Du Xiangyang Die Jiu Zhuan*”, “*Lu Luwang Zuo Yi Wu Bai Yan Jian Y*,” “*Za Ti Shi Xu*,” and “*Song Ling Ji Xu*,” etc.

Mr. Du Fu (712–770 A.D., a great poet in the Tang Dynasty) in his “*Feng Zeng Wei Zuo Cheng Zhang Er Shi Er Yun*” said, “Having read more than 10 thousand books – well reads learned, Laying the pen and writing the masterpieces.” When scholars wanted to have a correspondence through poems, they would like to put forward new and extraordinary ones. So they have to read more to reserve more and more knowledge in their brains. When these scholars gathered together for competition in making poems and replying, it was during the time of prosperous learning styles. The practice and its theoretical discovery and the summarization

of Mr. Pi's and Mr. Lu's poetry correspondence were all based on their wide studies and their possession of a large amount of different antiquarian books and records. It was the admission process of the "Ke Ju (Feudal China's imperial examination)" in the Mid and Late Tang dynasty, which preferred to accept those scholars in a lower social position, that stimulated civilian academic development. Meanwhile, traditional classical studies were being questioned a great deal and thus were in decline. As a result, the trend toward broad learning had become popular. They preferred to read and collect the "Za Shu (miscellanies topic of books)" and the "Pi Shu (the people seldom read books)." Therefore, this caused a tendency toward broad learning. If a scholar did not know something, he or she was filled with shame.

Being a "Jin Shi (a successful candidate in the highest imperial examination)" in the 8th year of the Xian Tong Emperor, there was no doubt that Mr. Pi Rixiu was a learned scholar. As soon as Mr. Pi visited the Wu area, Mr. Lu respectfully called him by "Mr. Lu Men" [sic] and "Fu Zi Pi" the first time they met each other. As a matter of fact, Mr. Lu Guimeng, himself was from a family background of great scholarly learning. In his poem, "*Qiu Zhi Fu*," which said, "Throughout my whole life, there's nothing more for me to be so fond of, except for classical studies." Anyway, Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu had their own focuses in great learning. According to some surviving poems, Mr. Pi Rixiu, who was a successful candidate for the highest imperial examination, concentrated on the traditional classics and study of history, while Mr. Lu Guimeng paid more attention to broader learning as he spent a long time in different parts of the country. Both of them admired each other very much. On the one hand, they were eager to learn from each others' strong points and offset their weaknesses. On the other hand, they also wanted to compete with each other as well. This competition was embodied in their poetry correspondence. To the scholars, the poetry correspondence was the best way to show their great learning after all.

2. THE PORTRY CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR PI AND MR. LU, AND THE BOOK COLLECTION IN THE SUZHOU AREA

The large scale and the broad contents of the poetry correspondence between Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu had rarely been seen before. Certainly, it had much to do with their wide range of knowledge. It also had to do with their close relationship with the abundant book collection in the Suzhou area. Originally, Mr. Pi had a small library in Lu Men Hill of Xiangyang county which had a large part of his collection in it. Since the 9th year of the Xiantong Emperor (869 A.D.), he went to Yangzhou from Chang An, and then to Suzhou to take refuge from the "Pang Xun Crisis (Pang Xun, leader of peasant uprising in Shandong, Anhui Jiangsu provinces in 868–869 A.D.)". During the long distant journey of in the war of disturbance, Mr. Pi's book collection was almost all lost. Anyone who was fond of reading suffered

seriously in those days without books. Therefore, the first thing he did in the Suzhou area was to pay a visit to a library. We can understand that it was a matter of luck which brought Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu together to borrow and read books, and to write and reply in poetry. The whole process of their poems' creation was the story of their friendship and was the process of exchanging the reading experiences among the book collectors in the Suzhou area. The relationship between Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu in their poetry correspondence and the Suzhou book collection can be illustrated as the following:

2.1 Mr. Lu Guimeng's Private Book Collection

Mr. Lu came from an old and well-known family. His ancestors used to be ministers of the Empress Wu Zetian (684–705 A.D.) and the Emperor Tang Xuanzong (712–756 A.D.). From the remark of "*Qi Ju*", which said, "There's a room for Books collection," in a book of "*Qiu Zhi Fu*", which said that: "I had a hobby of collecting books, which had different duplicates." Thus, we can understand that he had a special room for his book collection. In the poem, "*Wu Zhong Ku Yu Huai Lu Wang*", Mr. Pi said that Mr. Lu was in a bad situation, but admired Mr. Lu's "Thousand of books collection." There was no doubt that Mr. Lu's abundant books brought a lot of comfort to Mr. Pi Rixiu. It became a good medium for the poetry correspondence between Mr. Pi Rixiu and Mr. Lu Guimeng.

Firstly, undoubtedly there were many volumes of poetry literature in Mr. Lu's private library. The direct role of the poetry correspondence between Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu should be the literature, and the poetry correspondence between the scholars in Yue Zhou of the East Zhejiang Province and Wuxing of the North Zhejiang Province during the Tang Da Li Emperor Period (766–779 A.D.). For example, the collections of poetry anthologies of "*Da Li Zhe Dong Lian Chang Ji*", "*Wu Xing Ji*", "*Yun Hai Jing Yuan*", "*Shi Shi*" etc., could be the evidence of this relationship. Mr. Lu Guimeng wrote a poetry anthology, "*Wu Xing Shi Lu*," consisting of forty chapters, which belonged to the chorography [sic] and anecdotes. From this poetry anthology, we can understand that the author was quite familiar with the grand event of Mr. Yan Zheqing, a mayor of Huzhou, who gathered nearly a hundred famous poets to perpetuate the poetry correspondence succession during the Tang Da Li Emperor Period (766–779 A.D.). Besides, Mr. Lu had traveled around the east of the Zhejiang Province during his early years with his father Lu Binyu who was an officer in the local government there. Later on, Mr. Li Hu, minister of the east Zhejiang government also joined the activity of Mr. Pi's and Mr. Lu's poetry correspondence. It was indicated that Mr. Lu Guimeng had close contact with the scholars and poet club in east Zhejiang, which was led by Mr. Bao Fang, Me Yan Wei, and Mr. Xie Liangfu etc. During the Tang Guang De Emperor Period (763–764 A.D.) and the Tang Da Li Emperor Period (766–779 A.D.), most of the contents of Mr. Pi's and Mr. Lu's poetry correspondence were about the landscape of mountains and water, and admirable and distinguished persons. They

were inspired by previous scholars and by some intention to compet with them as well.

Secondly, there was no doubt that there were many reference books with material taken from various sources and arranged according to the subjects in Mr. Lu's private library. During the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), Wei Dynasty (220-265 A.D.), and the Epoch of Liu Chao (265-589 A.D.), the common people liked calling others by nicknames, which has been mentioned much in the literature such as "*Shi Shuo Xin Yu*." Mr. Lu Guimeng intended to search for the nicknames of many historical figures, and compiled a book of "*Xiao Ming Lu*." From the skillfulness when they talked about the historical figures, we can imagine that the book of "*Xiao Ming Lu*" probably was Mr. Lu's preparatioin for their poetry correspondence. These reference books with anecdotes played and directed an important role in the poetry correspondence between Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu.

Thirdly, there were large numbers of agricultural books in Mr. Lu's private library. Mr. Lu Guimeng was convinced that agricultrue played a key role in the poeple's livelihood. Once he wrote an essay of "*Ye Lv Jing*", which introduced the names, structure, location, and functiion of different parts of agricultural tools, such as plough, rake, stoneroller, Li Ze (a kind of stone roller with rake), etc. He stated that: "It was all that needs in agriculture in east of Yangtze River." There were nearly thirty kinds of fishing tools mentioned in the poetry correspondence between Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu. On the base of Mr. Lu's poem, Mr. Pi worked out a poem collection of "*Tian Yu Ju Shi*", which was rarely seen by others. Mr. Lu wrote a preface and said: "There [sic] are all coming out of the miscellaneous works and literature to be checked, and no fake at all."

Fourthly, Mr. Lu Guimeng wrote a book of "*Zi Lian*" and said in its preface: "I had been sick for three years in some remote place, and the doctors here are not qualified at all." He felt deeply grieved by the circumstance of witch doctors being wide spread and the low-grade or inferior medical skill. The surviving paper collection listed forty nine places involved in the "sickness" and nineteen places related to "medicine." There is a poem in the correspondence that said: "Visiting medicine sellers far away, visiting fishers when free; when coming back, looking up in them into the ancient literatures patiently." Thus we can imagine that there should have been some medical books in his private library and also some medical books written by Mr. Lu Guimeng as well.

2.2 Mr. Xu Xiuju's Private Library's Collection

Mr. Pi's and Mr. Lu's readings and poetry correspondence were never restrained at all. They had a very close connection with other collectors in Suzhou. One of the most important persons was Mr. Xu Xiuju. In his book, "*Er You Shi*," said: "There's a military minister in En Wang Fu named Xu Xiuju, who had kept tens of thousand volume books, and enjoying them quite much. So, I tried to borrow thousand volumes from him and was satisfied within a year." Obviously, Mr. Xu's

good book collection made Mr. Pi Ri xiu widen the field of his vision. In the poem of “*Xi Ti Xi Mei Shu Yin Nang*,” Mr. Lu Guimeng said: “Xi Mei has read more than ten thousands of books; who will mention about Shen’s collection now?” Another poem praised Mr. Pi like this: “Mr. Pi’s professional zaue [sic] like the lofty mountain. Today’s social position like the rosy clouds and everyone admired”

2.3 Other Private Library Collections in the Suzhou Area

Suzhou is a place always famous for its talents. Scholars who got involved in Mr. Pi’s and Mr. Lu’s poetry correspondence were the famous learned scholars, such as Yang Zhenwen (another name Zhao Ye). Mr. Lu Guimeng wrote a poem, “*Song Yang Zhen Wen Xian Bei Wang Gui Yang Gui Qin*,” and said, “If this talented gentleman write something here, all other scholars should be shamed of themselves” with the remarks below saying, “His father became executive of Guiyang because of his good achievement in his studying of *Shi Jing*.” Mr. Yan Xuan in his poem, “*Song Yang Zhen Wen Xian Bei Qin Gui Yang*,” said, “Yang and my uncle who was an officer got admission as Imperial Scholar in the same year”. From this information, we believed that Mr. Yan Zhenwen was from a rich family with abundant book collections.

Also, there is a person named Sun Fa with the nickname of “Sun Bai Pian”. Mr. Lu Guimeng wrote a poem, “*He Sun Baipian Jiang You Tiantai Qing Shi Zeng Xing*,” and praised him saying: “Only give him one day can he work out a hundred poems.” Actually, Mr. Sun Fa did not have a large book collection neither was he learned. So, we have no evidence to say that: “He can work out a hundred poems just in a day.” Besides, Mr. Yang Taiwen, Mr. Yang Dingwe, Mr. Gu Hong, Mr. Sima Du, Mr. Zheng Bi, Mr. Yan Xuan, Mr. Yan Yao and so on were all local scholars with the academic background of their families. Although there is no clear record of their book collections, once in the poetry correspondence of Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu it was noted that they provided books and also took part in this poetry correspondence, and also had a lot of help in this activity.

2.4 Book Collections in Buddhist and Taoist Temples

Chinese Buddhist and Taoist temples used to have rich book collections. After the Mid –Tang Dynasty, many scholars would also prefer to keep their books in the Buddhist and Taoist temple libraries for the purpose of handing them down from generation to generation. Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu had a very close relationship with the Buddhist and Taoist temples in Suzhou. There were quite a few persons mentioned in the book, “*Song Ling Ji*,” such as Ji Shang Ren, Da Shang Ren, Zhang Shang Ren, Lai Er Shang in the North Chan Temple; Gu Taoist Priest and his disciples, in the Kai Yuan Temple; Yuan Da in the Zhong Xuan Temple; Nan Feng monks in the Zhi Mountain temple, etc. Both Pi and Lu paid frequent visits to all those collections in temples, which allowed them to read and quote from these libraries’

collections of Buddhism and Taoism. Not only these temples provided them with all kinds of book collections, but also sometimes opened some places for their poetry correspondence. For example, several linked up poems of Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu in their correspondence were completed in the North Chan Temple, the Kai Yuan Taoist Temple, the Bao En Temple, and so on.

2.5 Local Government's Library Book Collection

In the 10th year of the Tang XianTong Emperor (869 A.D.), Mr. Pi Rixiu was admitted into the Cui Pu official bureau as a minister of military. According to Mr. Lu's poem, "*Qiu Fu You Qi Yin Ji Xi Mei*," and the remarks of Mr. Pi's poem of reply: "Then, Mr. Pi was in charge of the local examination for the imperial scholar." Therefore, we can see that Mr. Pi was in charge of culture and education works, and also had the experience of taking charge of the *Ode to the Autumn*. In "*Huai Yang Tai Wenyang Dingwen Er Xiucui*," there is a sentence that reads: "If I have spare time, I would like to go to the small houses to inscribe poems," and with the remark of these small houses of libraries- Chong Lan and Xiao Shan. So, we believed that it was very convenient for them to visit the small libraries in the local government library's collections.

3. THE COMPILATION OF THE BOOK, "*SONG LING JI*," AND BOOK COLLECTION IN SUZHOU AREA

There are two key reasons that make this paper pertinent for this discussion topic. On the one hand, Mr. Pi's and Mr. Lu's poetry correspondence was a milestone in history, as it began a tradition which broke out in the imperial palace and among the government officers, and also showed up in civilian communities. For the learned scholars, like Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu, who were the main characters and met by chance like patches of drifting duckweed, the Suzhou book collection was the key factor for their activity. Therefore, we can take this private poetry correspondence between Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu as a poetry correspondence among the libraries. It also can be regarded as the first sign of a similar response after the Song dynasty. On the other hand, the book, "*Song Ling Ji*," which was compiled by Mr. Lu Guimeng, is the only literature that has survived until now. It provides us with a good document for our practical study.

Mr. Hu Yinglin said in his book, "*Shi Shuo*," "The scholars in Tang Dynasty were fond of sending their poetry writing and replying in forms of good collections. But only a few of them were published and thus it couldn't [be] handed down. There were only 40–50% survived in according to the records of arts and literature in "*Song Shi Ji*." When it came to "*Tong Kao*," and said that there were only 3 of them existed, such as *Han Shang Ti Jin* and *Song Ling*. Today there is only "*Song Ling Ji*" left, while all others were disappeared." At that time, Mr. Pi

and Mr. Lu were not just well-known poets, but also good at writing books and collecting books. As a result, when their poetry correspondence came to an end, Mr. Lu Guimeng as a landlord and book collector, sorted out and compiled the book, "*Song Ling Ji*," (actually, there are more than six hundred poems of the their poetry correspondence within one year), and he asked Mr. Pi Rixiu to write a preface from memory. All these were reasonable and easily understood. A comprehensive survey of the book, "*Song Ling Ji*," shows not only the format of this book was arranged with different categories, but also it had its own clear character with many remarks (or notes), which were different from other poems. These notes concerned many eccentric matters and unusual books alluded to in the poetry correspondence between Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu. Mr. Lu Guimeng provided these many notes for the convenience of its readers' comprehension. These remarks or notes made clear the origin of the anecdotes, which related to many collected works and unusual books of different dynasties. For example, Mr. Pi Rixiu quoted "*Jiang Wen Tong Ji*" for his remarks in the poem, "*Wu Zhong Shu Shi Ji Han Nan Pei Shang Shu*," quoted "*Shen Yue Ji*" for the remarks in the poem, "*Lu Wang Yi Lun Gou Xiang Shi Mian Huai Gao Zhi Yin Zuo San Pian*," and quoted "*Shi Fa Xian Zhuan*" for the remarks in the poem, "*Kai Yuan Si Fo Bo Shi*," etc. Sometimes, there were several remarks in a poem, like in Mr. Pi's poem, "*Gong Zhai Si Yong*," and Mr. Lu's "*Feng He Gong Zhai Si Yong*."

All these remarks proved that Mr. Pi and Mr. Lu had read all the books they could find and their knowledge was all-embracing. In other words, the compilation of this book, "*Song Ling Ji*," with its different categories of remarks, especially for those notes, would be impossible to complete by those learned scholars without the support of abundant book collections.

It is also worth mentioning that the contribution of the survival of the book, "*Song Ling Ji*," should belong to its publication by Mr. Lu Guimeng, and also to the book collectors in Suzhou. Of course, it would be remiss to neglect the book collectors who participated and promoted the poetry correspondence. There is no doubt that the readers and book collectors in Suzhou should clap and cheer for this book, "*Song Ling Ji*," and for Mr. Pi's and Mr. Lu's poetry correspondence. The Suzhou people may also claim this local document as an honor. The fact that this collection is well preserved also proves the completeness of the book collection that existed in Suzhou during the Late Tang Dynasty.

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RARE MING EDITIONS IN THE BERLIN STATE LIBRARY – THE EXAMPLE OF THE LIEGUOZHI ZHUAN

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State Library, Chair of the IFLA Newspapers Section

ABSTRACT

It is a common knowledge that quite a number of rare Chinese texts survived only outside China proper. European countries play an important role in this respect as books were at first collected as items of curiosity - there was hardly anybody who could actually read the language. For that reason, many such books lay on library's shelves almost for centuries before anybody recognized their value for historical studies. The Berlin State Library, founded almost 350 years ago, has the distinction of having published a printed catalogue of its Chinese collection as early as 1683. In spite of the destruction of WWII still part of the original collection is intact and features rare editions of such well-known novels as *Shuihuzhuan*, *Sanguo Yanyi*, and *Lieguozhi Zhuan*, which deserve to be presented to a professional audience.

KEYWORDS

Rare Books of Ming Edition
Chinese Collection in Berlin State Library
Chinese Rare Book Edition Study

It is well known that a number of Chinese books did not survive in their country of origin but only in foreign countries, like Japan, and Europe. Europeans in the early times assembled Chinese books mainly as curiosities and considered them exotic rarities. Few people could read Chinese characters, and thus the books survived on the shelves of libraries or museums if they were not destroyed during WWII or transferred to Poland or the Soviet Union afterwards as it happened to the older Chinese collection of the Berlin State Library. The library, originally the Grand Elector of Brandenburg's private collection, was opened to the public in 1661. Brandenburg was a poor country, there were hardly any natural resources, the soil was sandy, and therefore it was dubbed "The Empire's Sandbox". The Grand Elector thought about improving the economic situation, and one way seemed to get into the East India trade which included China. In order to prepare his new venture well he wanted first-hand information about China and concluded that such data could be gathered most reliably from Chinese books. Therefore he or-

dered his honorary librarian Andreas Müller¹ (1630?-1694), a clergyman, to acquire Chinese books for him and learn the language. This was all but an easy task but Mueller managed to find Chinese books in the Netherlands, and in 1683 the first catalogue of the Grand Elector's library was printed² – a catalogue of the Chinese books! While it was a small collection by today's standards, it was one of the largest Chinese libraries in Europe.³ Mueller was a learned Orientalist, and he managed to acquire some basic knowledge of the Chinese script and language. He apparently recognized the graphic patterns of Chinese characters and claimed to have found the *clavis sinica*, the Key to Chinese. In addition he carved what was probably the first major set of Chinese type in Europe – about 2,800 characters which look remarkably well, considering that Mueller was self-taught, and the wood-carvers had no experience with the Chinese script. This *Typographia sinica* survived to this day and is a testimony to Müller's ingenuity.

Müller's successor was the physician Christian Mentzel⁴ (1621–1701) who started learning Chinese at the ripe age of 60, and planned on compiling a huge Chinese dictionary which, almost needless to say, remained unfinished. He has the merit of having published a small Latin-Chinese dictionary, and he also arranged for the publication of the first treatises on Chinese medicine in Europe, Jesuit translations from the *Mejue* and other texts. A rather curious item is a portrait of the Grand Elector which he had cut in wood and framed with a Chinese caption which – in somewhat garbled Chinese – identifies the ruler.

After having provided the historical setting let us look at one example of a rare Chinese edition that survived in Germany.⁵ While preparing an exhibit of 16–19th century resources in the Duke August Library at Wolfenbüttel (near Braunschweig)⁶ a fragment of the well-known Chinese novel *Lieguo zhizhuan* 列國誌傳 came to light. It was difficult to identify the edition as the fragment consisted of 4 fascicles only which all lacked the first folio. Let us look at the bibliographic data:

Margin title: *Quanxiang Lieguo zhizhuan* 全像列國誌傳

4 fascicles. 13.5 x 23.9 cm.

Call no.: HAB Cod. Guelf. 117.1 Extrav.

The fragment consists of juan 2, fol. 2–64; juan 3, fol. 2–69; juan 7, fol. 2–37; juan 8, fol. 2–47. There are 15 columns per page, and 26 characters per column. There is no title-page. There is a small illustration in the upper part of each page, with a 6 character caption. The paper is of low quality, and reminds of the editions of Yu Xiangdou 余象斗 (fl. 1588–1609) and other publishers in Jianyang 建陽 in Fujian Province. The author was a certain Yu Shaoyu 余邵魚 (fl. 1566) who was a relative, perhaps an uncle, of the publisher Yu Xiangdou.

The novel deals with the history of the Zhou Dynasty and covers six centuries. It certainly is no rival to the famous Chinese novels like *Shitouji*, or *Shuihu zhuan*, and it is not well known outside of China. Carl Arendt⁷, professor of Chinese at the Oriental Seminar in Berlin translated several chapters into German and characterized the novel as “full of romantic details” and assigned it a high position in lit-

erature. He extolled the fresh style of the narrative and the well arranged composition. He could not deny a fair number of repetitions and trivialities, however.

Let us quickly glance at the text tradition:

- The original work by Yu Shaoyu was published during the Wanli era: both a 6 and 12 juan version are known.
- A revision and reworking by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574–1646) bears the title: *Xin Lieguo zhi* 新列國志. It is to be dated after 1627 and comprises 108 hui. Three editions known.
- Cai Yuanfang 蔡元放 prepared a new version under the title *Dong Zhou lieguo zhi* 東周列國志, during the Qianlong period. There are numerous editions with prefaces of different dates, e.g. 1736, 1744, 1752, or 1767. This version is the most popular one, and all Western translations are made from it as far as I can see:

Das schöne Mädchen von Pao. Eine Erzählung aus der Geschichte Chinas im 8ten Jahrhundert v. Chr. (Aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt von C. Arendt.)

Yokohama: Buchdruckerei des Echo du Japon. 34 S. 4°

(Beilage zu Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens. 2. 1876/80)

[juan 1–3 of *Dong-Zhou lieguo zhuan*, from an edition with a preface dated 1752]

Episoden aus dem historischen Roman «Geschichte der Fürstentümer zur Zeit der Östlichen Chou». II. Chou-Hsü, der Usurpator von Wê. III. Der Kaiser in seinem Verhältnis zu den Vasallenfürsten nebst Andeutungen über die barbarischen (nicht chinesischen) Völkerschaften im jetzigen China. (Aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt und teilweise bearbeitet) Von Carl Arendt.

Yokohama: Buchdruckerei des Echo du Japon. 13 S. 4° (Beilage zu Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens 2. 1876/80) [juan 4.]

Episoden [...] IV. Die Schlacht bei Hsüko (707 vor Christo).

Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens. 2. 1876/80, 260–267 [juan 5]

Arendt, Carl: On Chinese apologues.

China review 13. 1884/85, 23–24 [From juan 82]

Arendt, Carl: Parallels in Greek and Chinese literature.

Journal of the Peking Oriental Society. 1886:2, S. 51–53 [From juan 13]

Greiner, Leo: *Chinesische Abende.*

Berlin: E. Reiss (1922), p. 1–66

Die Geburt des Kung Fu-Tse

Der Flötenspieler

Die Tochter aus Drachensamen [«Das schöne Mädchen von Pao.»]

Tsung Erl und Kiang

Dschang I und der Minister

Die Freunde

Die Musik des Untergangs

Kuhn, Franz: *Chinesische Staatsweisheit*.

Darmstadt: O. Reichl 1923,37-68

3rd ed. Zürich 1954,54-82: Pao Tze [«Das schöne Mädchen von Pao.»]

Kuhn, Franz: Die Frau ohne Lachen.[«Das schöne Mädchen von Pao.»]

Chinesische Meisternovellen. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag 1941,3-32

Ling Tsiu-sen [Lin Qiusheng]: Die Phönixmelodie. Aus dem Dung Dschou Lië Guo Dschü.

Sinica 5.1930,260-265

Also in Ling: *Chinesische Legenden*. Berlin: A. Metzner 1938,9-11

Wilhelm, Richard: *Chinesische Märchen*. (34.-35.Taus.)

(Düsseldorf, Köln:) Diederichs (1955). 393 S.

No 84: Wie über zwei Pfirsichen drei Helden zu Tode kamen.

No 85: Wie das Heiraten des Flußgottes aufhörte.

There are also a number of translations into English, e.g. by R. W. Hurst⁸, H. Kopsch⁹, S. Wells Williams,¹⁰ and J. Liao,¹¹ H. A. Giles¹² gave an excerpt from an anonymous edition.

The Wolfenbüttel fragment belongs to an original version by Yu Shaoyu, however. In order to identify it properly, let us look at the known editions of the original text:¹³

– The first edition does not seem to be preserved.

– 8 juan version (Wanli): *Xinkan jingben chunqiu wuba qixiong quanxiang Lieguo zhizhuan* 新刊京本春秋五霸七雄全像列國誌傳

A reprint was made by Yu Xiangdou¹⁴, 1606 (Santai guan), with illustrations, shangtu xiawen 上圖下文. The text has 13 columns per page, with 20 characters each. Each chapter is introduced by the phrase: Houxue Weizhai Yu Shaoyu bianji 後學畏齊余邵魚編集. Shulin Wentai Yu Xiangdou pingshi (Compiled by Yu Shaoyu, style Weizhai, with commentary by Yu Xiangdou, style Wentai, from Shulin). A copy is held by the Hôsa Library 蓬左文庫 in Nagoya¹⁵ while the Lüda municipal library only has 5 juan.

In addition there are new editions in small script by Wenying tang 文英堂 and Wenjin tang 文錦堂 publishers with annotations by Li Zhuowu 李卓吾評點.

– 12 juan version (Wanli): *Xinjian Chen Meigong xiansheng piping Chunqiu Lieguo zhizhuan* 陳眉公先生評點春秋列國誌傳

Preface by Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639).¹⁶ Caption: Yunjian Chen Jiru chongjiao. Gusu Gong Shaoshan zihang 雲間陳繼儒重校姑蘇龔紹山梓行 (again revised by Chen Jiru from Yunjian. Published by Gong Shaoshan, Suzhou). Each chapter is introduced by 5 fol. of illustrations. 10 columns per page, 20 characters per column. Copy held by Naikaku Bunko, Japan.

There is a 1615 reprint of this edition by the same publisher, with an additional preface by Zhu Huang. Copy: Beijing tushuguan.

Liu Ts'un-yan who described Chinese fiction in London libraries¹⁷ found another edition:

Xinke jingben chunqiu wuba qixiong quanxiang Lieguo zhizhuan

新刻京本春秋五霸七雄全像列國誌傳

Ming period, 8 juan, published by Meiyuan 梅園 (plum garden). With preface by Chen Jiru. The title given in the reproduction is: *Quanxiang chunqiu wuba qixiong Lieguo zhizhuan*

The table of contents gives the title: *Xinke shigang zonghui Lieguo zhizhuan*

15 columns per page, 26 characters per column.

Copy held by The British Library, call no. 15334.e.4

Liu proposes to date this edition 1606 and would have the Chen Jiru preface added later.

Getting back to the Wolfenbüttel fragment, it seems to be very similar to the London copy, and a comparison of page 2/2a even suggests that they were printed from the same blocks. E.g. the little gap at the lower margin is identical.¹⁸ The summary collation of the fascicles seems to be different, however. A more detailed comparison of both copies would prove whether they really belong to the same edition, or whether there are differences.

Walter Fuchs who described rare Chinese books in German libraries, mentioned another fascicle of an unidentified *Lieguo zhizhuan* edition in the Weimar library (Herzogin Anna Amalie Bibliothek).¹⁹ On inspection, it turned out to be part of the same set. It is noticeable that also this fascicle lacks the first folio. It is juan 4, fol. 2–13.

The Wolfenbüttel copy carries a handwritten note: *Hunc librum habet etiam bibl. Reg. Dresd.* The Dresden library does not seem to have a copy, however. Whether it got lost, or it was transferred to Weimar, is not known.

So as a result of this investigation we may state that a fragment of a very rare Ming edition of the original *Lieguo zhizhuan* is scattered among two German libraries, with a possible third part (that used to belong to the Dresden library) lost. Further research is necessary to prove whether this belongs to the same edition as the so far unique London copy.

A curious feature of the five fascicles found in Germany is that each of them lacks the first folio. One can only speculate about the reason; possibly these folios were given away as specimens, or souvenirs as the then owners may have been under the impression they were the last folios and therefore less important.

Researching these fragments also led to an examination of the holdings of the Berlin State Library, and it turned out that the library has an edition²⁰ with a title page: *An Jian yanyi lieguo zhizhuan* 按鑑演義列國志傳 (call no. Libri sinici 99). The publisher is given as Shulin Yang Meisheng zi. The undated preface by Chen Jiru has the caption *Xinke shigang zonghui lieguo zhizhuan* 新刻史綱總會列國誌傳 while the caption title of juan 1 runs: *Xinke jingben chunqiu wuba qixiong quanxiang lieguo zhizhuan*. The text was revised by Yang Meisheng and Yang Yusheng 美生楊瑜校刊羽生楊鴻編集, both belonging to the Sizhiguan

四知館²¹. The edition comprises 8 juan and has the same style of illustrations as the Yu Xiangdou edition. There are 15 columns per page, with 26 characters each. A comparison shows that this edition is very close to the London copy. There are minor differences – e.g. on p. 2/13a, line 8 the London copy has 國 while the Berlin copy has 國. What is the relationship of the two editions? It seems that the blocks of one were engraved from the other. We may assume that Yu's printing blocks were either taken over, or re-engraved, or partly re-engraved by other publishers. It was, however, common practice among the Jianyang printers to share printing blocks, either simultaneously, or consecutively. Chen Jiru wrote his preface (according to Fang Chaoying [Fang Zhaoying]) between 1606 and 1615. So this would be the time frame also for the Berlin edition. The Berlin copy was printed from already worn blocks.

So far no other copy from the same publisher seems to have come to light, and this would make the Berlin copy unique.

The Berlin State Library also owns a Manchu translation of the novel: *Geren gurun-i bithē*²², which was never printed (call no. NS 1540 1–4). The manuscript comprises 23 fascicles and is apparently not translated from the 108 *hui* edition. The contents corresponds to *debtelin* 10–19 and covers appr. one third of the text. A Chinese version of 30 juan is not known to me, however. The text seems to be close to the 8 juan edition.

Thus even the Manchu translation offers a new challenge ...

Let me conclude with a note on the special importance of the *Lieguo zhizhuan* for German literature.²³ As indicated, Carl Arendt translated several chapters of the novel, and he probably read the text also with his students. Among them was the writer and poet Otto Julius Bierbaum²⁴ (1865–1910) who became known through novels like *Prinz Kuckuck*. He took to the motif of Paosi and turned this into a novel *Das schöne Mädchen von Pao* (using the title of his teacher's translation); the book was printed in a numbered deluxe edition,²⁵ bound in leather and illustrated by Franz von Bayros (1866–1924) who was known for his delicate erotic art. A popular edition²⁶ apparently had wide dissemination. Later on the writer Hermann Hesse used the same motif – whether he borrowed it from Arendt, subsequent German translations, or from Bierbaum's novel, is not clear. His fragment is called *König Yus Untergang* and is dated 1929.²⁷ The topos itself had been known in Europe already for some time through Du Halde's *Description de la Chine*²⁸ and Thoms' *Chinese courtship*.²⁹

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1: Anjian yanyi Lieguo zhizhuan – Title-page of copy in the Berlin State Library



Figure 2: Text sample

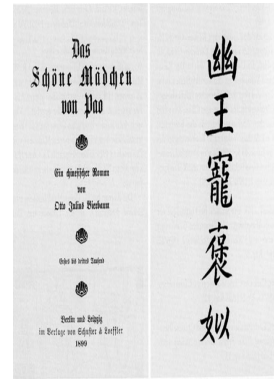


Figure 3: Title-page of Arendt's translation

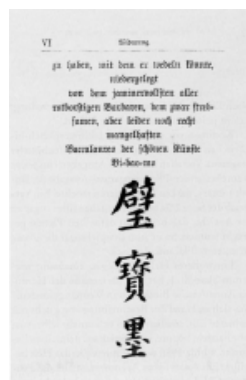


Figure 4: Bierbaum's novel – title-page

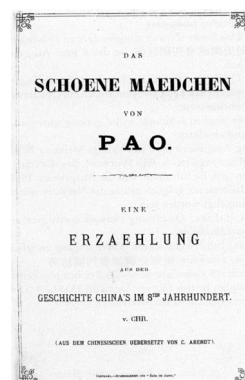


Figure 5: Bierbaum's dedication

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2. Müller, Andreas: *Catalogus librorum sinicorum Bibliothecae electoralis Brandenburgicae*. O.O. [ca. 1683]. 1 fol.; Müller, Andreas: *Anderer Theil des Catalogi der Sinensischen Bücher bey der Churfürstl. Brandenburgischen Bibliothec, zu Cölln an der Spree*. Cölln 1683. 14 fol.
3. Cf. Eva Kraft: Die chinesische Büchersammlung des Großen Kurfürsten und seines Nachfolgers. *China und Europa*. Berlin 1973, 18-25.
4. Cf. Lothar Noack, Jürgen Splett: *Bio-Bibliographien. Brandenburgische Gelehrte der Frühen Neuzeit. Berlin-Cölln 1640–1688*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1997, 264-271
5. For other examples from Germany see: H. Walravens: Zwei frühe Beispiele volkstümlicher chinesischer Prosa in der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek. *Philobiblon* 1983, 58-70; *Two recently discovered fragments of the Chinese novels San-kuo-chih yen-i and Shui-hu-chuan*. Facsimile reprint of the original Ming editions. Hamburg 1982. (Han-pao tung-Ya shu-chi mu-lu. 11.); Wu sung, der Held und seines Bruders Rächer. Die vergessene erste europäische Übersetzung aus dem chinesischen Räuber-Roman Shui-hu chuan. *Nachrichten der OAG* 159/160. 1996, 189-218.
6. *China illustrata. Das europäische Chinaverständnis im Spiegel des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*. (Weinheim:) VCH Acta humaniora (1987). 302 p. (Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek. 55.)
7. 1838–1902. Cf. *T'oung Pao*. 3. 1902, 37-38 (H. Cordier).
8. *China review*. 20. 1892/93, 371-381.
9. *China review*. 4. 1875/76, 104-114, 227-232
10. *New Englander* 1880, Jan, p. 30-61; translation of juan 1 and 2.
11. The empire breaker. *Orient* 1951, May, p. 23-28; June, p. 25-32; July, p. 32-38.
12. *A history of Chinese literature*. New York 1958 (reprint of the 1923 ed.), 310-315.
13. Wendy J. Zeldin: *New History of the States. The sources and narrative of a Chinese fictionalized history*. Diss. Harvard University 1983. 409 p.; Sun Kaidi: *Zhongguo tongsu xiaoshuo shumu*. Hong Kong 1957 (reprint 1967), 24-25.
14. Cf. *Dictionary of Ming biography, 1368–1644*. New York 1976, Bd 2, S. 1612-1614; Lucille Chia: *Printing for profit. The commercial publishers of Jianyang, Fujian*. Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Asia Center 2002. XXI, 442 p.
15. Title-page: *An Jian yanyi quanxiang Lieguo pinglin*. Santai guan ke.
16. Cf. Fang Chao-ying in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*. Washington 1943/44, 83-84.
17. *Chinese popular fiction in two London libraries*. Hong Kong: Lung Men (1967), 48-51; 169, no. 21; 231-232. The title-page of the edition is reproduced on p. 49.
18. Collation of the Plum Garden edition: 2 fol. preface 5 fol. Contents; juan 1 – 42 fol.; 2 – 66 fol.; 3 – 61 fol.; 4 – 68 fol.; 5 – 69 fol.; 6 – 70 fol.; 7 – 53 fol.; 8 – 59 fol.

19. Walter Fuchs: *Chinesische und mandjurische Handschriften und seltene Drucke*. Wiesbaden: Steiner 1966, No 93.
20. Julius Klaproth: *Verzeichniss der chinesischen und mandshuischen Bücher und Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*. Paris 1822, p.151.
21. Sizhiguan was the name of the printing shop of the Yang family.
22. Cf. M. Gimm: The Manchu translations of Chinese novels and short stories. An attempt at an inventory. *Literary migrations*. Ed. by Claudine Salmon. Beijing 1987, 165-166
23. This issue was studied several times, e.g. by Ernst Rose: The beauty from Pao (Heine – Bierbaum – Hesse). *The Germanic Review* 32.1957,5-18; The latest contribution is: Gao Zhongfu: Die Gestalt des schönen Mädchens von Pao. *Fernöstliche Brückenschläge*. Hrsg. von Adrian Hsia und Siegfried Hoefert. Bern: Lang, 1992 (Eurasinica.3), 265-281.
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25. München: Georg Müller 1910. VII,214 p. 500 copies printed on Dutch paper. Typography by Joh. Enschedé en Zonen in Haarlem.
26. Leipzig: Schuster & Löffler 1899. 239 p.
27. Published in Hesse: *Traumfährte*. Neue Erzählungen und Märchen. Zürich: Fretz & Wasmuth 1945,201-211.
28. German edition: Johann Baptista du Halde: *Ausführliche Beschreibung des chinesischen Reichs und der großen Tartarey*. Teil 1-4. Rostock: Koppe, 1747–1749, 1756. I have the English edition before me (*The general history of China*. London: John Watts 1736), and there the episode is mentioned in vol. I, p. 321-322 (Yeou vang).
29. Peter Perring Thoms: *Chinese courtship in verse*. Macao: East India Company 1824. XVI, 339 pp. The appendix, by the way, contains poems to accompany the portraits of 100 beautiful women, which motivated Goethe to write his own poems in Chinese style.

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A STUDY OF THE DECEIVING TRICKS EMPLOYED BY THE CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION AIDS PUBLISHERS IN THE MID- AND LATE-MING PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

There were two common deceiving tricks employed by the commercial publishers who published civil service examination aids in the mid- and late-Ming period. One of the tricks was the names of the eminent persons being dishonestly used on their publications. These works were usually written or compiled by unknown literati who were engaged by the publishers. The other trick was pirating the best selling titles that were originally published by other commercial publishers. Some of the pirated works had their titles altered with the intention of misleading the readers into regarding them as new works. This paper explores these two commonly used deceiving tricks employed by the commercial publishers which published examination aids in the mid- and late Ming period.

KEYWORDS

Common Deceiving Tricks
Civil Service Examination Aids
Mid- and Late-Ming Period
Ancient Commercial Publishers

People generally advocated good character traits such as honesty, uprightness, fairness, modesty, and amiability in ancient Chinese agricultural society. However, those characteristics were no longer conformed to in the new era after the arrival of the social commercialization in the mid-Ming period. Based on the observation of Huang Zongxi 黄宗羲, a political theorist and philosopher in the early-Qing period, the human heart had been transformed into a machine in that period and different classes of people deliberately planned to take advantage of others and seized the goods that did not belong to them.¹ Falsifying goods and products could be seen everywhere after the mid-Ming period.

Like other merchants after the mid-Ming period, the commercial publishers were also keen on employing trickery to deceive their customers, i.e. the readers. One of the commonly used tricks employed by them was using the names of eminent persons, such as officials and literati, dishonestly on their publications. Those

eminent persons were generally officials with remarkable social status and literati with respectable reputations in that time. This trick was usually employed without the consent of the eminent persons. Yang Shoujing 杨守敬 a private book collector in the late-Qing period, remarked, “The commercial publishers during the Ming dynasty were keen on dishonestly using the names of eminent persons on their publications in order to earn huge profit. The printing of red and black editions by Min Qiji 闵齐敬 were mostly forged.”² The commercial publishers engaged unknown literati (they were usually literati who gave up on the civil service examination after several attempts or examinees who failed in their provincial examination and were waiting to sit for the next examination) to compile the civil service examination aids and then publish those works under the names of eminent persons at that time. This trick would produce greater impact as well as strengthen the reliability on the titles and could effectively catch the attention of the potential readers. If the readers were unaware or uninformed that these publications were actually forged titles and were lured by their cheaper price, they might possibly acquiring them and joyfully studying them.

Based on a thorough examination by some Chinese book scholars, the following titles listed in the table below were some of the forged examination aids published under the names of eminent persons without their consent.

Title	Edition	Authors Appeared on the Books	Notes (Sources ³)
<i>Xinjuan Jiao taishi huixuan baijia pinglin mingwen zhuji</i> 新刊焦太史汇选百家评林明文珠玑 (Compilation of hundred critics on gem of remarkable writings by Hanlin academy scholar Jiao Hong, newly engraved)	Wangli 万万 (1573–1619) edition	Compiled by Jiao Hong 焦竑 collated by Tao Wangling 陶望龄 revised by Liu Yingqiu 刘应秋 and Dong Qichang 董其昌	Names of Jiao, Tao, Liu and Dong were being falsely used by commercial publishers. (see Qu Wanli, p.528.)
<i>Xinkan Chen meigong xiansheng jingxuan gujin renwu lun</i> 新刊陈眉公先生精选古今人物论 (Selected discussion on ancient and modern public figures, newly engraved)	Wanli edition	Compiled by Chen Jiru 陈继儒	It was compiled by Zheng Xian 郑贤 and Chen's name was being falsely used without his consensus. (see Li Fengping, p.102.)
<i>Xinjuan Jiao taishi huixuan zhongyuan wenxian</i> 新刊焦太史汇选中文献	Wanli edition	Compiled by Jiao Hong 焦竑 revised by Xu Guo 许国 appraised by Tao Wanling 陶望龄	Names of Jiao, Xu, Tao and Zhu were being falsely used. It was very probably compiled by

Title	Edition	Authors Appeared on the Books	Notes (Sources ³)
<i>(Compilation of remarkable writings, by Hanlin academic scholar Jiao Hong, newly engraved)</i>		annotated by Zhu Zhifan 朱之蕃 collated and published by Wang Zongchun 汪宗享, Wang Yuanzhan 汪元湛, Xu Jideng 许继登 and Wang Zongji 汪宗汲	Wangs. (see Siku, p.1756; Wang Zhongmin, p.379.)
<i>Xu mingwen zhuji 续明文珠玑 (Gem of remarkable writings, a continued compilation of earlier edition)</i>	Wanli edition	Compiled by Huang Fengxiang 黄凤翔, Yang Daobin 杨道宾, Li Tingji 李廷机 and Shi Jixie 史继偕	Names of the four Hanlin academy scholars (翰林), i.e. Huang, Yang, Li and Shi, were being falsely used. It probably compiled by either Li Guangjin 李光晋 or Yang Jiuqing 杨九经 (see Wang Zhongmin, p.450; Qu Wanli, p.523.)
<i>Dingjuan zhu fangjia huangming minggong wenjuan 鼎镌著方家皇明公文集 (Remarkable essays from well-known public figures in Ming dynasty)</i>	Taichang 泰昌 (1620) edition, published by Kuibi Tang 奎璧堂	Compiled by Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道, supplemented by Qiu Zhaolin 丘兆麟, revised by Zhang Nai 张鼐, interpreted by Wu Congxian 吴从先, apprised by Chen Wanyan 陈万言.	Yuan's name was being falsely used without his consensus. (see Siku, p. 1757)
<i>Gu qiwen pinsheng 古奇文品胜 (Commentary on remarkable ancient writings)</i>	Tianqi 天启 (1621–1626) edition	Compiled by Kong Zhenyun 孔贞运, collated by Zeng Chuqing 曾楚卿, revised by Qiu Zhaolin 丘兆麟	Names of Kong, Zeng and Qiu were being used under false pretences. (see Wang Zhongmin, p.453; Shen Jin, p. 588.)
<i>Jiale Zhai sansu wenfan 嘉乐斋三苏文范 (Model writings by three Sus from Jiale's study)</i>	Tianqi edition	Compiled by Yang Shen 杨慎, revised by Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道	This examination aids did not seem to be compiled by Yang. Yang's name was being falsely used. (see Siku, p. 1745; Qu wanly, p. 514)
<i>Zhuji huihan 诸子汇函 (Collection of various schools of thought)</i>	Tianqi edition	Compiled by Gui Youguang 归有光, revised by Wen Zhenmeng 文震孟	Name of Gui and Wen were being falsely used by commercial publisher without their permission. (see Siku, p.1121; Qu Wanli, p. 133.)

Title	Edition	Authors Appeared on the Books	Notes (Sources ³)
<i>Tang Shuian xiansheng jianding yijing yizhu</i> 汤肅先生鑑定易經 (Annotation of Yijing Yi [Assistance to Book of Change], appraised by teacher Tang Binyin)	Chongzhen 崇禎(1628– 1644) edition	Appraised by Tang Binyin 湯賓尹, revised by Qiu Zhaolin 丘兆麟 collated by Yang Guoqiu 楊國球	Names of both Tang and Qiu were being falsely used. It probably compiled by Yang (see Wang Zhongmin, p.5.)
<i>Chen xiansheng xiuanshi Guoce bianqi pangxun pinglin</i> 陳先生選釋國策詳奇旁訓評林 (Selection and commen- tary on remarkable writ- ings on Guoyu [Dis- courses of the states] and Zhanguo [Discourses in the Warring States] by teacher Chen Zilong)	Late-Ming edition	Compiled by Chen Zilong 陳子龍, annotated by Zhang Pu 張溥	Name of Chen and Zhang were being falsely used by commercial publishers without their consensus. The list of articles for <i>Zhanguo</i> was identical with <i>Zhanguo Ce Pangxun Biandu</i> 戰國策旁訓便讀 compiled by Zheng Weiyue 鄭維岳 (see Qu Wanli, p.144-145.)
<i>Gulun daguan</i> 古論大觀 (Complete compendiums of ancient discourse es- says)	Late-Ming edition	Compiled by Chen Jiru 陳繼儒, edited by Wu Zhenyuan 吳震元	This book was probably compiled by Wu Zhenyuan or three Chens (Chen Mengxi 陳夢溪 Chen Menglian 陳夢蓮 and Chen Mengcao 陳夢草). (see Wang Zhongmin, p.448; Li Fengping, p.105-106)
<i>Hexuan wenzhang guifan</i> 合選文章範 (Combine edi- tions and selection of model compositions, original and supplemen- tary editions)	Late-Ming edition	The earlier edition was compiled by Xie Fangde 謝枋得, supplemented by Wang shouren 王守仁, revised by Zhang Nai 張鼐, the later edition was supplemented by Chen Jiru 陳繼儒	This edition was combined and abridged by the commercial publishers. It claimed that it was supplemented by Zou Shouyi 邹守益 at the section on <i>Guide to Use the Book</i> 凡例 however, in the main body of the text, it stated that it was supplemented by Wang Shouren. Wang's name was probably being falsely used without his con- sensus. It was a common trick by the commercial

Title	Edition	Authors Appeared on the Books	Notes (Sources ³)
<i>Juye riyong midian</i> 举业日用密典 (Secret daily manual for preparing examination)	Late-Ming edition	Compiled by Chen Jiru 陈继儒 revised by Feng Mengzhen 冯梦祯 collated by Tu Long 屠隆	publishers. (see Wang Zhongmin, p. 442–443.) The qualities of this book were poor. It was probably compiled by Xu Yizhong 许以忠. Names of Chen, Feng and Tu were dishonestly used to strengthen the influences. (see Li Fengping, p.102.)
<i>Li xiangguo Jiuwo xian-sheng pingxuan suwen huijing</i> 李相国九我先生评选苏文精 (Compilation and commentary on writings by Su from teacher Li Tingji)	Late-Ming edition, published by Shijian Tang 师鉴堂	Appraised and complied by Li Tingji 李廷机 and Chen Jiru 陈继儒	Names of both Li and Chen were being falsely used. (see Qu Wanli, p.532.)
<i>Pingzhu badai wenzong</i> 评注八代文宗 (Model writings from eight dynasties, with commentary and annotation)	Late-Ming edition	Compiled by Yuan Huang 袁黄	Yuan's name was being falsely used without his consensus. (see Siku, p. 1756)
<i>Qinghan wenkuai</i> 秦汉文隽 (Popular writings in Qin-Han period)	Late-Ming edition	Compiled by Chen Jiru 陈继儒	It was probably compiled by Zou Diguang 邹迪光 (see Li Fengping, p.106.)
<i>Xinke Gu huiyuan jingxuan Zuozhuan qizhen zu-anzhu pingyuan</i> 新刻顾会元精选左奇珍篇主评苑 (Selected remarkable writings in Zuozhuan [Zuo's tradition] by Gu Qiyuan, runner-up scholar in final imperial examination)	Late-Ming edition	Apprised by Gu Qiyuan 顾起元 annotated by Ye Xianggao 叶向高 revised by Li Tingji 李廷机 compiled by Li Pengyuan 李鹏元	Names of the Gu, Ye and Li were being falsely used. It was probably compiled by Li Pengyuan. (see Qu Wanli, p.42–43.)
<i>Xinke hanlin pingxuan zhushi chengce huiyao</i> 新刻翰林平选注释程策会要 (Compilation and commentary on model policy questions by Hanlin academy scholars, newly engraved)	Late-Ming edition	Appraised and selected by Li Tingji 李廷机 annotated by Ye Xianggao 叶向高	Names of both Li and Ye were being falsely used by Jianyang's commercial publisher. (see Wang Zhongmin, p.450.)

Title	Edition	Authors Appeared on the Books	Notes (Sources ³)
<i>Zhanguo Ce qichao</i> 战國策奇抄 (Collected writings from <i>Zhanguoce</i> [Discourses in the Warring States])	Late-Ming edition	Collated by Chen Renxi 陳仁錫 revised by Liu Zhaqing 劉肇天	Chen's name was being falsely used. It was very likely compiled by Liu Zhaoqing. (see Qu Wanli, p.144.)
<i>Zhengxu mingshi wenzong</i> 正續名世文宗 (Remarkable model writings, a combined edition of both original and continued compilations)	Late-Ming edition	Compiled by Wang Shizhen 王世貞 collated and annotated by Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 proofread and revised by Qian Yunzhi 錢允治	Names of Wang as well as Chen were being dishonestly used. (see Wang Zhongmin, p.444) It was probably compiled by Hu Shihua 胡時化 and supplemented by Qian Yunzhi 錢允治 (Shen Jin, p.553)

It is believed that the forged titles were very common in the book market in the mid- and late-Ming period. Eminent persons such as Jiao Hong 焦竑, Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道, Zhong Xing 鍾惺 and Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 were always being targeted by commercial publishers. Their names were repeatedly used dishonestly by the commercial publishers for the examination aids that they published.

Xu Wuru 許吳儒, a student of Jiao Hong, remarked that a number of books published under the name of his teachers were spurious copies.⁴ In addition to the works mentioned in the table above, examination aids such as *Shiji cuibao pinglin* (史記萃寶評林 *A collection of remarkable commentaries on Shiji [Records of the historian]*), *Lianghan cuibao pinglin* (兩漢萃寶評林 *A collection of remarkable commentaries on [Qian] Hanshu and Hou Hanshu [Histories of the Former Han and Later Han]*), *Shihan hechao* (史漢合抄 *Collected writings in Shiji and Hanshu*), *Xinkan Jiao taishi huixuan baijia pinglin mingwen zhuji* (新刊焦太史匯選百家評林明文珠璣 *Collection of hundred critics on gem of remarkable Ming writings, by Hanlin academy scholar Jiao Hong and newly engraved*), *Huangming guanke jingshi hongci xuji* (皇明官課經世宏辭彙集 *Compilation of schoolwork in Ming Hanlin academy, supplementary edition*), *Zengzuan pingzhu wenzhang guifan* (增纂評注文章軌範 *Collection of commentaries on model compositions, enlarged edition*), *Xinjuan xuanshi like chengmo ersanchang yifu qunyu* (新镌選釋科程墨二三場藝府群玉 *Selected model writings in second and third examination sessions, with explanation and newly engraved*), *Xinqie hanlin biao lu panxue xiangshi* (新镌翰林標律詳釋 *Detailed explanation of judicial writings by Hanlin academy scholar, newly engraved*), *Xinqie er taishi huixuan zhushi jiuzi quanshu pinglin* (新镌二太史匯選釋九子全書評林 *Compilation of remarkable writings in nine schools by two Hanlin academy scholars*), which were falsely identified with Jiao and were widely circulated in the late-Ming period, were identified as spurious titles being published without his consent.⁵

Yuan Hongdao, Zhong Xing and Chen Jiru had written and compiled many books during their lifetime. Qian Xiyan 钱希言, a scholar in Wanli period, recalled that *Kuangyan* (狂言 *Wild language*), a book which was originally written by Jin Sheng 金生 from Hangzhou, had only become popular after it was published under the name of Yuan Hongdao.⁶ In addition, it is observed that there were numerous spurious titles published under the name of Zhong Xing. Zhong has sixteen works listed in *Zhongguo shanbenshu tiyao* (中国善本书提要 *Notes on Chinese rare books*). The commercial publishers who published those titles claimed that they were commented on, reviewed or selected by Zhong. However, we can say confidently that they are spurious titles published under Zhong's name. Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎, a modern Chinese scholar, concluded that some of Chen Jiru's works that have been handed down were originally written or compiled by unknown literati. The commercial publishers in the late-Ming period published those works under the name of Chen with the intention of attracting more buyers to acquire these spurious copies.⁷

In addition to Jiao, Yuan, Zhong and Chen, Wang Shizhen 王世贞, Dong Qichang 董其昌, Feng Menglong 冯梦龙, Qiu Zhaolin 丘兆麟, Li Tingji 李廷机, Yuan Huang 袁黄 and Su Jun 苏濬 were eminent persons that the commercial publishers were fond of using their names on publications to deceive and to mislead the readers. It was very seldom that the eminent persons pursued the matters when their names were being dishonestly used on those examination aids.⁸

Besides, it was common that the prefaces were being arranged before the main texts of the examination aids. These prefaces were usually composed by the relatives or friends of the authors. From time to time, the commercial publishers would engaged unknown literati to compose prefaces on spurious copies they produced. They would then deceitfully name those prefaces composed by the unknown literati under the names of the eminent persons in that time. Based on careful examination by Shen Jin and Wang Zhongmin, the prefaces in *Sishu tushi hekao* (四书图史合考 *Combined Inspection on the pictures and histories in the Four Books*), *Dingjuan Zhaotian Liaofan Yuan xiansheng bianzuan guben lishi dafang Gangjian Bu* (鼎建以田了凡袁先生编纂古本万史大方纲鉴补 *Scholarly Outlines of the Annalistic Histories by teacher Yuan Huang, supplementary edition and newly engraved*), and *Xinqie hanlin san zhuangyuan huixuan ershijiu pinhui shiping* (新镌翰林三状元汇选二十九子品汇释评 *Collection of remarkable writings in twenty-nine schools by three Hanlin academy scholars and Zhuangyuan [first in final imperial examination], with commentary and newly engraved*) were believed to be composed by unknown literati and were dishonestly named under Zhong Xing 钟惺, Han jing 韩敬 and Li Tingji 李廷机 respectively.⁹

To pirate the best selling titles that were originally published by other commercial publishers was another common deceiving trick employed by the commercial publishers in the mid- and late-Ming period. Some of pirated copies had their titles altered with the intention of misleading readers into regarding them as new works.¹⁰

As profits for pirated best sellers were huge in that time, some commercial publishers would try every possible way to pirate them without the consent of the publishers who had originally produced the books. Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 recalled that the reproduction of the pirated copies were sometimes quicker than the original copies.¹¹ Lang Ying 郎瑛 observed that the prices of pirated copies by the Jianyang publishers were cheaper than the original editions and some of them only cost half of the price of the original editions. Although the qualities of the pirated copies were poorer than the original editions, some readers still were keen on acquiring them as they were cheaper than the original copies.¹² Feng Menglong 冯梦龙 remarked that the commercial publishers in Suzhou had made huge profits on publication business. However, they were annoyed by their best sellers being repeatedly pirated by other publishers.¹³

This deceiving trick could be spotted on *Xinkan hanlin kaozheng gangmu dianyin zizhi tongjian zhengyao huicheng* (新刊翰林考證綱目點音資治通鑑正要會成 complete compendiums on the textual research of Gangmu [Outlines of Mirror for Government] by Hanlin academy scholar, with punctuation and pronunciation, newly engraved, original edition). It was published by Zhangyi House (張裔軒) in late-Ming. Shen Jin remarked that the original title of this book was *Xinkan hanlin kaozheng gangmu dianyin zizhi tongjian jieyao huicheng* (新刊翰林考證綱目點音資治通鑑節要會成 Complete compendiums on the textual research of Gangmu [Outlines of Mirror for Government] by Hanlin academy scholar, with punctuation and pronunciation, newly engraved, abridged edition). The marks from the word “Zheng” which was being cut out of the woodblocks and then patched up with the word “Jie” were still visible.¹⁴

Another example of this deceiving trick could also be found in *Shiji zongfen pinglin* 史記綜分評林 (A collection of remarkable commentaries on Shiji [Records of the historian]), published by the Jianxing Book House 建興中軒, in the Wanli period. The owner of the Jianxing Book House was Wei Weisuo 魏畏所. Shen Jin discovered that there were two words in the title between *Shiji* and *Pinglin* which were blank and missing at the book mouth (書口) at the beginning chapters. Besides, he also spotted that the title at the book mouth on the concluding chapter was entitled *Shiji cuibao pinglin* 史記萃寶評林. Shen Jin concluded that *Shiji zongfen pinglin* was in fact a pirated work of *Shiji cuibao pinglin*. The two blank words between *Shiji* and *Pinglin*, were deliberately cut out from the woodblocks by the Jianxing Book House. Wei Weisuo then renamed the title of this book to *Shiji zongfen pinglin* in order to mislead readers.¹⁵

Some of the commercial publishers employed this trick on their own publications. For example, the publishing house of Yu Xiangdou 余象斗, a famous Jianyang publisher, had offered *Scholarly Outlines of the Annalistic Histories* (大方綱鑑 *Dafang Gangjian*) with at least three differently titled works between 1600 to 1610. The content of these works was mostly the same and consisted of portions from various Tongjian (通鑑 *Mirror for Government*) and Gangmu (綱目 *Outlines of Mirror for Government*). The compiler of the first printing in 1600 was named un-

der Li Tingji and the title of this printing was *Xinke Jiuwo Li taishi bianzuan guben lishi dafang gangjian* (新刻仇我李太史編纂古本方綱鑑). It is suspected that the name of Li Tingji was falsely used on this book. The second printing was published in 1604. However, the title had been altered to *Xinke Jiuwo Li tingshi jiaozheng guben lishi dafang tongjian* (新刻仇我李太史校正古本方通鑑). “Li taishi bianzuan” (李太史編纂 compiled by the Hanlin academy scholar Li Tingji) had been altered to “Li tingshi jiaozheng (李太史校正 revised by the Hanlin academy scholar Li Tingji)” and “Dafang gangjian” (大方綱鑑) had been changed to “Dafang tongjian” (大方通鑑). Although it was still named under Li Tingji, his editorial responsibility had been reassigned from compiler to reviser. There was a major change in the title for the third printing in 1610. The title had been altered to *Jingqie Zhao-tian Liaofan Yuan xian sheng bianzuan guben lishi dafang jian bu* (鼎鑒趙田了凡袁先生編纂古本方鑑補). In addition, the compiler had also changed from Li Tingji to Yuan Huang 袁黃.¹⁶ It is obvious that the name of Yuan was being falsely used by Yu’s publishing house in order to mislead readers to regard this printing as new publications. It is also interesting to note that the content of this book is mostly the same as the *Xinkan hanlin kaozheng gangmu dianyin zizhi tongjian zhengyao huicheng* that was discussed above.¹⁷

In order to discourage other commercial publishers from pirating their publications, some of the commercial publishers had declared “reprinting will be surely investigated” (翻印必究) in their publications. Besides, some publishers had even brought local authorities into play to prevent piratization. Before Yu Xianzhang 俞羨章 published his new title *Tang leihan* 唐類函 (Encyclopedia of Tang dynasty), he falsely made a report to the local authority that some copies of the *Tang leihan* had been stolen. This trick had successfully prevented the other publishers from pirating *Tang leihan*.¹⁸

According to the estimates by Yuan Yi 袁逸, the profits of publishing a book were about twelve times of the production costs in the Wanli 萬曆 period.¹⁹ As the profits of the publication business that could possibly come to the publishers were irresistible to them and new titles were not easily obtainable from renowned authors due to the intense competition among the commercial publishers on securing new titles, some commercial publishers in the mid- and late-Ming period switched to employing the deceiving tricks that were discussed above in order to take a share of the profits. In addition, unlike the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) where it was a requirement for publishers to submit the drafts of books that they intended to publish to the government for examination and approval for publication, there was no such procedure in the Ming dynasty.²⁰ As there was not governmental organization and procedure in place to guard the contents of the publications in the Ming dynasty, the commercial publishers could then unscrupulously employ deceiving tricks on their publications to mislead readers and bring the publishers huge profits.

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6. Qian Xiyan, *Xixia*, juan 3, p.589.
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8. When Xu Guangqi (1562–1633) found out his draft of *Maoshi liutie jiangyi* was being published without his noticed, he insisted that the woodblocks of that book to be recalled and destroyed. See Xu Xiaoman, “*Xu Guangqi de ‘Maoshi liutie jiangyi’ ji qi yanjiu jiazhi*”, pp.190-191.
9. Shen Jin, *Ibid.*, pp.53, 129, 274; Wang Zhongmin, *Ibid.*, p.46.
10. Ye Dehui, *Shulin Qinghua*, juan 7, pp.151-152.
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A RESEARCH REVIEW OF CHINESE BOOKS EXCHANGED BETWEEN ANCIENT CHINA, JAPAN AND KOREA AND ITS INFLUENCE

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ABSTRACT

Book exchange is an important component of cultural communications between China and foreign countries in history. Book exchange between ancient China and Korea was done basically on a grant from the government. However, the book exchange between ancient China and Japan was primarily made between the two common peoples. This paper reveals that the intercommunications of traditional cultural between China, Korea and Japan had a long history. The exchange of Chinese books is an important factor, which can strengthen cultural and educational communication within these three countries.

KEY WORDS

Japan
Korea
Chinese Book Exchange

1. DURING THE PERIOD OF THE HAN, WEI, WEST JIN, EAST JIN AND THE EPOCH OF DIVISION BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH DYNASTIES (206 B.C. – 589 A.D.)

1.1 China–Japan

During the Ōjin period in Japan (271–310 A.D.), Chinese books were distributed to Japan. In 285 A.D., Mr. Wani, a scholar from Baekje, Korea, was invited to visit and be a teacher in Japan. He brought ten volumes of “Lun Yu (论语 The Confucius Analects)”, and “Qian Ziwen (千字文 Thousand-Word-Easay).” According to the record in a book of “The Chronicle History of the Founding State of Japan for 5,000 Years”, which said that: “during the period of the Ōjin Emperor, the king of Baekje sent Mr. Azhiqi to Japan. Mr. Azhiqi was good at teaching Chinese classical works. He also told others that there was another scholar named Wani in his country, who could do better than he. The Emperor immediately sent a message to invite Mr. Wani to Japan. The next year, Mr. Wani went to Japan to pre-

sent ten volumes of “The Confucius Analects” and one volume of “The Thousand-Word-Essay” to the Emperor. The prince Ujinowakiiratume (うじのわきいらつめ) took Mr. Wani as his teacher and became acquainted with Chinese classical works during the Emperor Ōjin Period of 16 years. [1]

At 7th year of the Emperor Keitai (513 A.D.), Mr. Duan Yanger (だんように), a scholar of «Wu Jing (五经 The Five Classics)» went from Baekje to Japan to teach “Confucius School of Thought.” In 516 A.D., another scholar of “Wu Jing (五经 The Five Classics)” came to Japan instead of Mr. Duan Yanger. From then on, the “Chinese Five Classics” became well known to the common people of Japan. In the 15th year of the Emperor Kimmei Period (554 A.D.), Mr. Wang Liugui, Mr. Ma Dingan, the scholars of the “Wu Jing (五经 The Five Classics)” from Baekje, and Mr. Wang Daoliang, scholar of the “Yi Jing (易经 The Book of Changes)”, from Baekje, paid a visit to Japan and distributed ancient Chinese classics.

During the period of the Han, Wei, West Jin and East Jin dynasties (206 B.C.-420 A.D.), the transportation route of Chinese books to Japan started from China’s Central Plains Area (around the present site of Henan Province) and took the route of the Korean Peninsula and then passed the Tsushima Strait to Kyushu of Japan by sea. Until the Epoch of the Division between the North and South dynasties (420–589 A.D.), Chinese books took another transportation route from Shandong Peninsula through Baekje to Japan by sea.

During this period (206 B.C.–589 A.D.), there was movement of books only one-way which was from China to Japan.

1.2 China-Korea

The two countries of China and Korea are linked by common mountains and rivers. Transportation and communication are much easier than that for Japan, and also the exchange of Chinese books with Korea started earlier than that of Japan. At that time, the Three Kingdoms in the Korean Peninsula including Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla were usually called “Small China”, and also the most Chinese ancient books in the “Cultural Circle of Chinese Character” were found there. For example, in the 8th year of the Jianyuan Period of the Former Qin Dynasty (372 A.D.), Goguryeo accepted the Buddhist pictures and the Sutras, which were brought by Fu Jian, the envoy of China. At the 27th year of Yuanjia Emperor Period of Songwen of Song Dynasty (450 A.D.), the king of Baekje, Yu Pi, issued a letter and sent his envoy to Mr. Feng Yufu and viceroy Xi He to China to present cultural relics and ask for the book of “Yi Lin (易林 Changing the Forest),” and “Shi Zhan (式占 Augury),” and waist crossbows. The Chinese Emperor accepted the gifts and in response satisfied all his requirements. During the period of 534 to 541 A.D., the Chinese Emperor Liang Wu of the Liang Dynasty frequently sent classic books to the King of Baekje and also sent scholars of poetry and rites to Baekje to teach the “Shi Jing (诗经 Classics of Poetry)” and “Li Ji (礼记 Books of Rites).” The Emperor Liangwu also frequently sent professionals, experts in medi-

cine, engineering and techniques, etc. to Baekje to distribute these skills and knowledge. [3]

2. DURING THE PERIOD OF THE SUI AND TANG DYNASTIES (589–960 A.D.)

In this historical period, there were two characteristics of the distribution of ancient Chinese books. One was that the Chinese Buddhist classical works were re-translated to promote the prosperity of Buddhist research work, and the other was that the newly translated Buddhist works in China were distributed to neighboring countries. Therefore, this period was the first high tide in history of distributing ancient Chinese books to the east.

2.1 China–Japan

The Japanese Emperor Suiko and his Prince Shotoku took the Chinese Confucian School of Thought as their root of founding and governing the state. They sent their “envoys to the Sui Dynasty of China” as many as four times. These envoys’ main tasks were to study the Chinese culture and “purchase and acquire Chinese books.” In the Tang Dynasty, more and more “Envoys to Tang” were sent in an unprecedented number and scale. During the 8th century, the Japanese politician, Mr. Kibino Makibi, and a scholar, Mr. Abe no Nakamaru came to China twice to study and live in China for more than ten years, and wrote a book of “*Buddhist Catalogues*”. During the Zhenyuan Emperor Period of the Tang Dynasty (785–805 A.D.), a Japanese scholar, Mr. Saicho did research on the Buddhist classical works in China’s Taizhou and Yuezhou and wrote the book of the “Record of Preaching Master in Taizhou”, and a book of “Record of Preaching Master in Yuezhou.” During the Zhenyuan Emperor Period of the Tang Dynasty (785–805 A.D.), a Japanese Monk, Kukai also wrote a book of “*Canonical Catalogues*.” All these Canonical catalogues can be regarded as the truthful and accurate records of the Japanese intellectuals who brought Chinese books back to Japan at that time.

A Japanese scholar, Mr. Fujiwara Sukeyo, compiled a book, the “Witness Book Catalogues in Present Dynasty” (it was also called “Book Catalogue in Japan”) from 876 to 884 A.D. This book recorded the situation of Chinese book collection in Japan at that time. According to the structure of a Chinese book of the “Chronical of Sui Classical Books”, this catalogue book was divided into forty categories of classics, history, philosophy and collected works, and described 1,568 titles of books (16,725 Juan). According to this statistic, Mr. Yan Shaodang, who was a Chinese scholar, made a comparison with a book of “Ancient Books in Tang Dynasty”, which said that: “During the 9th century, the Chinese books were distributed to Japan, 50% of the Sui Dynasty (589–618 A.D.), and 51.2% of the Tang

Dynasty (618 – 906 A.D.). Namely, one half of the Chinese literatures and classical books were in Japan at that time.” [4]

One of the significant marks of the prosperous Tang Dynasty (618–906 A.D.) is the influence of Chinese culture upon neighboring countries and the formation of the “Chinese Culture Circle.” During the period of the 264 years from 630 to 894 A.D., the Japanese government sent their ambassadorial groups to the Tang Dynasty sixteen times in groups of from 200–300 people or 500–600 people each time. They brought back a large number of Chinese books each time, when they returned to their country. For example, the first Chinese pharmacopoeia “Xin Xiu Bencao (新修本草 New Rised Book of Medical Herbs)” was compiled and completed in 713 A.D. and there was a manual copy in Japan at the same year. In 718 A.D., the Japanese government formulated “Lu Ling (律令 The Order of Law),” which quoted a lot of Chinese classical analects. Moreover, the Japanese government set up “An Institute of Copying Chinese Classical Books.” Many of the handwritten copies are still well preserved today.

A famous eminent Chinese monk, Mr. Jian Zhen in the Tang Dynasty (688–763 A.D.), was invited by a Japanese monk, Mr. Rongmen Puzhao, who had studied in China. The eminent Chinese monk risked his life to cross the sea to Japan six times. In 753 A.D., he overcame tremendous difficulties, hardships and setbacks, and succeeded in his sixth attempt to arrive at Japan in his 66th year of age, and when he was blind in both of his eyes. When he was in Japan, he was warmly welcomed by the government and all walks of life. He worked hard and diligently to teach Buddhism, to explain Chinese classical works, to help and build the temples for worshipping Buddhism, to identify medical herbs and cure diseases, etc., for about ten years. Not only did he bring the Buddhist Sutras and ancient Chinese books to Japan, but also he distributed academic knowledge, such as the skills and techniques of architecture, sculpture, medicine, and the culture of calligraphy to Japan.

The Tang Poetry was also brought to Japan in the prime Tang Dynasty, such as the poems by Li Bai, Wang Wei and Bai Juyi. According to the record of the Japanese historical book “A Memoir of Emperor Montoku“, which said that: “On May 2nd in the 5th year of Chenghe (じょうわ) Emperor Period, when Fujiwara, a Japanese general officer inspected the goods from the China Tang Dynasty, he occasionally found a book of ‘Yuan Bai Shi Bi (元白诗笔 Poems of Yuan Wei and Bai Juyi),’ and he presented it to the Emperor immediately. The emperor was so happy and accorded him with the 5th degree of the official position.” This fact showed that Mr. Bai Juyi was still alive and he was 67 years old, and his poems had already been introduced to Japan.

During the Tang Dynasty, there appeared to be a two-way communication of Chinese books. During this period a large number of Chinese books were brought to Japan, and some Chinese books from Japan were also introduced to China of the Tang Dynasty by the envoys, scholars and monks, etc. For instance, the book of “San Jing Yi Shu (三经易疏 Notes of the Three Classical Works)” written by

Prince Shotoku of Japan was brought to China by a Japanese monk. China also sent envoys to Japan, and purchased it with a large sum of money.

2.2 China-Korea

In the mid 7th century AD, the Korean ruling class of Silla inherited the tradition of the previous dynasties of attaching great importance to Chinese culture. They sent their envoys to China during the Tang Dynasty to acquire essays and purchase books, or they sent the people to the Tang Dynasty to learn culture or further study Buddhism or practice the ritual system, etc. For example, in 648 A.D., the Emperor Tang Taizong (627–649 A.D.) granted a “Bing Shu (兵书 Book of Military Tactics)” to a visiting Silla of the Korean envoy. In 686 A.D., the Silla of Korea sent envoys to China during the Tang Dynasty, and asked for poems and essays, The Tang Empress Wu Zetian (684–704 A.D.) bestowed on the envoys fifty Juans of books. According to the record in the book of “Xin Tang Shu (新唐书 New Books of Tang Dynasty),” which said that: “the people of Silla of Korea were out of admiration for Mr. Zhang Zhuo and went to Chang An (Xi An City now) and spent a large sum of money to purchase Mr. Zhang’s essays. The poems and essays by Bai Juyi were also sought by the merchant of Silla of Korea.” “The essays of Bai Juyi were wonderful, brilliant and incisive, but he was excellent in his poems... At that time, the people in Silla vied in having and reading Bai Juyi’s poems, and the merchants were willing to spend a piece of gold for his poem.”

In the course of the Silla people studying Chinese Tang Culture, they tried to import the systems of policy, education and rites of the Tang Dynasty. The Silla people could not do it without Chinese classical works. This was one of the most important features in the history of the Chinese and Korean books exchanges. In the schools of the Tang Dynasty, there were a lot of overseas students from Silla of Korea. For example, in a book of “Tang Huiyao (唐会要 A Compilation of the Tang Government Regulation) vol.36,” it was recorded that 217 students from Silla were studying in the schools of the Tang Dynasty in 837 A.D. In a book of “Jiu Tang Shu (旧唐书 The Old Book of Tang Dynasty) vol.36,” which recorded that as many as 105 students returned to Silla after studying in China during the Tang Dynasty in 840 A.D. After returning to Silla with many Chinese books, these students from Silla put the Chinese ideology, legislation, and education etc., into practice in Silla of Korea. In 682 A.D., Silla of Korea set up Chinese courses and taught the subjects of the “Wu Jing (五经 The Five Classics Works),” “San Shi (三史 Three Historical Books).” In 747 A.D., Silla changed the Taixuejian (The Imperial College) and set up the doctorate tutorship to inculcate the Confucius School of Thought. The compulsory or the selected courses were: “Lun Yu (论语 The Confucius Analects),” “Xiao Jing (孝经 The Filial Book),” “Zhou Yi (周易 A Book of Changes, one of the six confucian classics),” “Shang Shu (尚书 Canons of Yao and Shun- the Book of History),” “Mao Shi (毛诗 The Book of Odes),” “Li Ji (礼记 Record of Rites Book),” “Chun Qiu (春秋 Spring and Autumn),” “Zuo Shi Zhuan (左氏传 A Commentary Book on the Spring and Autumn Annals),” “Wen

Xuan (文选 Anthologies),” etc. The Silla government also followed the imperial examination systems of the Chinese Tang Dynasty and took the mastery of the Confucius School of Thought as their standard for selecting qualified personnel.

The Silla of Korea took the worship of Buddhism as its fundamental factor for government affairs. Therefore, they sent a lot of monks to China during the Tang Dynasty to study the Buddhist Sutra. They also brought back many of Buddhist Sutras when they returned to their own country. For instance, a Silla monk Chajang Yulsa brought the “Tri-pitaka Sutras” of more than 400 titles back to Silla, and was warmly welcomed by all the people of his nation. After entering China during the Tang Dynasty, some of the Silla monks blended themselves into Chinese society. Another example, a monk of Silla, Mr. Wonchuk, the monk of Silla came to China during the Tang Dynasty to learn Buddhism from the famous eminent Tang monk Xuan Zhuang in 627 A.D. He took part in the translation work of eighteen titles and 34 Juan Sutras from the Indian to the Chinese language. Later on, he also participated in translating “The Sutra of Universal Rain” from the Indian to the Chinese language. Thus, he became one of the famous monks in China during the Tang Dynasty.

In 1966, a Sutra printed from wood blocks, “Dharani Spotless Pure Light,” was discovered in the Sokka Pagoda in the Pulguk-sa Monastery in Kyongju, Korea. Through textual research, it has been determined that it is probably the earlier printed matter in the world. The Sutra is much earlier than “Jin Gang Jing (金刚经 Diamond Sutra),” which was discovered in the Qianfu Cave of Dunhuang in 1899. According to the detailed study of this Sutra, it was identified as being printed during China’s Sui and Tang Dynasties of the late 6th or early 7th century. The South Korean academic circle published a lot of papers accordingly and deemed that it was engraved and printed in the 10th year of the Jingde King of Silla (751 A.D.), and thus inferring that printing technology first occurred in the Korean Peninsula instead of in China. Since the 1980s, Chinese scholars have successively published many papers to refute this conclusion. According to the authentication by the experts, this printed Sutra was transferred to Korea from China. No matter what is the result of this dispute, there are two points that should not be ignored. Namely, Chinese printing technology was introduced to Silla of Korea in the Tang Dynasty, and the Silla of Korea applied the engraved printing technology rapidly and effectively. It also confirms the far-reaching and extensive influence caused by the distribution of ancient Chinese books.

3. DURING THE PERIOD OF THE SONG AND YUAN DYNASTIES (960–1368 A.D.)

3.1 China–Japan

“Da Zang Jing (大藏经 Mahayana Buddhist Sutras),” the edition of wood blocks for printing is the general collection of Chinese Buddhist classical books, which

was published in the Kaibao Emperor of North Song Dynasty (968–976 A.D.). It can be regarded as an encyclopedia, which it involved the philosophy, history, linguistics, literature and arts, astronomy and calendar, medicine, architecture, the relationship of China and foreign countries and other fields.

In 983 A.D., the Chinese Emperor Song Taizong of the Song Dynasty received the Japanese monk Diaoran, who came to China and asked for books. The Emperor granted him a whole set of “Mahayana Buddhist Sutras” and other 286 Juan translated Chinese Sutras. The “Mahayana Buddhist Sutras” were from wood blocks for printing, and were published at the beginning of the Song Kaobao Emperor Period (968–976 A.D.). They were the original edition that the monks reproduced and collated, and were the most valuable and treasured books for collecting and study in Japanese Buddhist circles at that time. After the South Song Dynasty, more and more Japanese monks came to China like a continuous stream, and returned to Japan with the different editions of “Mahayana Buddhist Sutras.”

In 1168 A.D., Mr. Chong Tyuan brought back the Song edition of “Mahayana Buddhist Sutras”, “The Sutra of Daban Ruo” and other classical Sutras of the Song edition from China.

In 1218 A.D., Mr. Keisei brought back the Fuzhou edition of “Mahayana Buddhist Sutras.”

In 1228 A.D., Mr. Hounin Jyougyou brought back “Mahayana Buddhist Sutras.”

In 1262 A.D., Mr. Nyuzou at the Temple Byakugoji in the suburb of Nara asked a person to bring back the Song edition of “Mahayana Buddhist Sutras” from China.

In 1275 A.D., Mr. Chuan Xiao brought back the Sixi edition of the “Mahayana Buddhist Sutras” from China.

With the increasing frequency of commercial and trade activities by the sea, large numbers of Chinese books were transferred to Japan.

In 1006 A.D., a Chinese merchant Mr. Zeng Lingwen sent a book of “Wu Chen Zhu Wenxuan Wenj (五臣注文选文集 The Anthology of Five Officers’ Annotations)” to the Japanese government’s high officer, Mr. Fujiwara Michinaga.

In 1151 A.D., a Chinese merchant Mr. Liu Wenchong sent the books of “Pictures of Scholar Su Dongpo,” “Historical Records of the Five Dynasties (907–960 A.D.),” “The Book of the Tang Dynasty” and other Chinese books to the important Japanese official Fujiwara Yorinaga.

In 1178 A.D., a Japanese purchased 300 Juans of handwritten copies of “Tai Ping Yu Lan (太平御览 A Comprehensive Reference Books with 1,690 titles of 1,000 Juan for Emperor Zhao Guanyi to read in Taiping Xingguo Period 976–984 A.D.)” from a merchant of the China Song Dynasty with a huge amount of money, which was the first time that Japan obtained precious Chinese books forbidden to be exported out of the Song Dynasty.

By 1192 A.D., the shuttles of commercial boats between China and Japan became more frequent. Therefore, the cultural exchanges and communications between the two countries became much closer than ever before, and it formed a second high tide of Chinese books distributed to the east since the time of China’s

Sui and Tang Dynasties (589–906 A.D.). It was still the monk, who played an important role on this communication chain.

In 1244 A.D., Mr. Enni Ben'en made an official request of China's South Song government for "Taiping Yulan (太平御览 A Comprehensive Reference Books with 1,690 titles of 1,000 Juan for Emperor Zhao Guanyi to read in Taiping Xingguo Period 976–984 A.D.)" and brought back 103 volumes of these books. Later on, the other tens of volumes of the Song edition of "Tai Ping Yu Lan" were transferred to Japan through other Japanese monks.

In this time, the Chinese books of the Confucian school of idealist philosophy were also distributed to Japan in large scale. Mr. Enni Ben'en, who had been living in China for six years, brought back thousands Juans of Chinese books and literatures to Japan, such as "Hui An Ji Zhu Mengzi (晦庵集注孟子 The Annotation on Mencius by Hui An)," "Hui An Daxue (晦庵大学 Annotations to the Great Learning by Hui An)," "Hui An Daxue huo wen (晦庵大学或问 Questions to the Great Learning by Hui Yan)," "Hui An Zhongyong Huo Wen (晦庵中庸或问 Questions to the Doctrine of the Mean by Hui Yan)" and other books.

In 1242 A.D., Mr. Song Ci, a Chinese legal medical expert, compiled a book of "Xi Yuan Lu (洗冤录 The Record of Avenge Wrongs)," which is the earliest medical jurisprudence in the world. Afterward it was distributed to Japan, and was used until the 19th century. Another example, Mr. Gachirin Daishi Shunjō who had lived in China for twelve years and brought back 1,200 Juans of Buddhist Sutras and 719 Juans of Chinese books to Japan in 1211 A.D., including "Si Shu Wu Jing (四书五经 The Four Books and Five Classics: The Great Learning, Confucius Analects, Doctrine of the Mean, Mencius; The Book of Changes, The Book of History; The Odes; The Books of Rites, The Spring and Autumn Annals)" and many other of Mr. Cheng Hao's and Mr. Zhu Xi's idealist philosophy books.

After China's Song Dynasty was replaced by the Yuan Dynasty, there were two wars between China and Japan, and then their normal relationship was resumed after the middle period of the Yuan Dynasty. The Japanese continued to search for Mahayana Buddhist Sutras in China. According to the record of "*Chronicle Quotations of Datong Eminent Monk*", some of the Japanese temples "dispatched commercial boats to China Yuan Dynasty to ask for Mahayana Buddhist Sutras." For example, the Mahayana Buddhist Sutras collected in Tofukuji Temple, which is still kept intact now, is the edition of the Kaiyuan Temple in Fuzhou of the North Song Dynasty edition. The most extensively spread of the Yuan Dynasty edition of Mahayana Buddhist Sutras is the edition of Da Pu Ning Temple of Nanshan Hill in Yuhang County, Zhejiang Province. The Japanese monks and merchants also took away other kinds of Buddhist books, biography of monks, collections of poems and essays and "Hundred Schools of Thoughts", and many other historical Chinese books. The eminent monks of the Yuan Dynasty Yishan Yining and others also brought a lot of Chinese books to Japan, when they paid visits to Japan.

3.2 China–Korea

The period of China's Song and Yuan dynasties is about equal to the period of the Koryo Dynasty in Korea. The distribution of Chinese books was mainly from China to Korea, but it also went both ways. The Koryo people obtained three sets of Mahayana Buddhist Sutras from China in 989–1022 A.D. In 1011 A.D., they started to engrave the wood blocks for printing the Mahayana Buddhist Sutras, and finished this work in 1082 A.D. In 1091–1011 A.D., they made the wood blocks for printing the “Mahayana Buddhist Sutras: Continued.” In 1236, the Koryo people again engraved the wood blocks for printing the Mahayana Buddhist Sutras, which was the famous “Koryo Sutra”, which is still held intact in the Haeinsa Temple of Buzenda-cho now.

Because the Koryo edition of Sutras were exquisitely printed with wood blocks and were of superior quality, China's Yuan government frequently sent envoys to Koryo and purchased them for a high price. For example, in 1300 A.D., China's Yuan government “purchased the Sutra with 7.5 kg. of incenses, 360 feet of satins and 3,600 feet of thin silk for linings and 864 spindles of white gauze” [5]. Later, in 1303 A.D. and 1305 A.D., the Yuan government sent envoys to Koryo to purchase the “Koryo Sutra” and frequently asked for Sutra paper and invited the Koryo monks to China and to copy the Sutras. In 1305 A.D., in answer to the invitation of the Yuan Government, the Koryo government sent 100 monks to China to copy Sutras. [6]

In the early Song Dynasty, Koryo began to imitate the imperial examination system of China. So it needed a large amount of the Chinese books, especially Confucian classical works. From the fourth year of Chunhua (993 A.D.) to the 5th year of Tianxi (1021 A.D.), the Koryo government accepted the Song government's bestowment and through the commercial trade of the Chinese books, they received books of different fields such as history, calendar, geography, poems and essays, etc. It included: “Shi Ji (史记 History),” “Liang Han Shu (两汉书 History of East and West Han Dynasties 206BC–220 AD),” “San Guo Zhi (三国志 History of Three Kingdoms 220–265 A.D.),” “Jin Shu (晋书 History of Jin Dynasty 265–420 A.D.),” “Shen Hui Fang (圣惠方 Taiping Royal Prescriptions),” “Ce Fu Yuan Gui (册府元龟),” “Wen Yuan Ying Hua (文苑英华),” etc. During the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368 A.D), the communication between the two countries became much closer in political, economic and cultural exchange. For instance, Dr. Liu Yan of Koryo purchased 10,800 Juan of Chinese classical books in the Jiangnan Area (south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River). In 1314 A.D., the Emperor Yuanren of China's Yuan Dynasty granted 4,371 volumes (17,000 Juans) of Chinese books to Koryo, which were the rare books of superior quality of the original Song Edition.

According to the record of “Gao Li Shi (高丽史Koryo History) vol.10” and “Zeng Bu Wen Xian Bei Kao (增补文献备考 A Supplementary Literature Reference) vol.242” in 1091 A.D., a group of Koryo envoys headed by Mr. Yao Ziyi de-

livered a paper, which was written by the Chinese Song Emperor Zhezong to the Koryo King Xuanzong, when they returned to Koryo. The content of this paper was the list of “Obtain Good Books”, which included 128 titles (more than 4,980 Juan) of Chinese books on Confucian classical works, history, poetry and odes, military works, geography, local customs, medicine, music and others. From this fact, we could easily understand the prosperity of Koryo’s books culture, and made (sic) the Chinese books back to their place of origin. After imitating the use of wood blocks for printing, which was invented in China in 7–8th century, and also referring to the letter board for printing, which was initiated by Bi Sheng in the North Song Dynasty in the 11th century, the Koryo people took advantage of their own production of high quality paper and ink, and started to engrave wood blocks for printing books, and achieved a good result. Therefore, we could understand a Chinese saying of “the pupil surpasses their (sic) masters.”

4. DURING THE PERIOD OF THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1644 A.D.)

4.1 China–Japan

On the one hand, many Japanese monks came to China to learn Buddhist Sutras and theories and brought back a lot of Buddhist Sutras and other Chinese Confucius classical works. On the other hand, many Chinese monks also went to Japan. “As the envoys of Ming Dynasty’s government, the Chinese monks were the eminent monks in academically and morally (sic). Although they stayed in Japan only a short period of time, they brought much new excitement to the poetry, essays and other academic circles in Japan.” [7]

The contents of the book exchanges between the Ming Dynasty and Japan were even broader in scope than the previous dynasties. In addition to Buddhist classical works and Confucian works, it included almost every aspect of collections of poetry and essay, fiction, political books, reference books, medicine, and art theory, etc. The Chinese book communication between China and Japan mainly occurred among the ordinary people. The Chinese book learners of Japan were mostly monks. The organizations of the Chinese book collections were mainly in five temples in Kamakura and Kyoto. It was called “Five-Mountain Times” in history. In this period, Chinese books were exchanged among the monks of Japan and the Ming Dynasty, which was very frequent. In addition to studying Buddhist Sutras, they also studied Chinese literature and wrote Chinese articles, and tried by difference channels to obtain Chinese books. For example, one of the famous Japanese monks, Shūryō, wrote detailed records in his diary “The Collection of the Ferry First Time”, which said that: “To purchased one set of books ‘Helin Yulu (鹤林玉露) 4 volumes;’ To use a knife and fan to exchange a set of books ‘Xu Du Yu De (续杜愚得) 8 volumes;’ To accept as a gift books ‘Guwen Daquan 古文大全 (An Encyclopedia of Ancient Chinese Writings) 2 volumes’ from a Chinese friend Mr. Ke Yuchang; To spend 0.85 kg. of silver to buy a set of book

‘Ben Cao (本草 Medical Herbs) 10 volumes’ etc.” Thus it can be seen that Japanese monks got Chinese books mainly through purchasing and accepting the gifts from friends. Most editions of the books were printed with wood blocks in the Song Dynasty but only a few of them were the editions of the early Ming Dynasty. The contents of these books covered canonical works, biographies and history of monks, collections of poetry and essays, political books, Confucian classical works and medical books, etc.

The “Five Mountain Temples” paid special attention to engraving wood blocks to print Chinese books in Japan. They invited and employed engravers from Fuzhou and Putian in the Fujian Province of China to impart the engraving skills needed to make wood blocks for printing. Therefore, these Chinese books were called “The Editions of Five Mountain”. From 1370 A.D. to 1519 A.D., the Chinese engravers, Mr. Yu Liangfu (俞良甫), Mr. Yan Ming (颜明), Mr. Chen Mengrong (陈孟荣), Mr. Chen Boshou (陈伯寿), Mr. Chen Yao (陈尧), Mr. Sheng Ji (盛继) and others had worked in engraving the wood blocks for printing the books of “Yue Jiang Heshang Yulu (月江和尚语录 Quotations from Yuejiang Monks),” “Zong Jing Lu (宗镜录 Quotations from Zongjing),” “Wen Xuan (文选 The Anthology),” “Bishantang Ji (碧山堂集 Collection of Bishantang),” “Baiyun Shiji (白云诗集 Collection of Baiyun’s Poems),” “北 shi 诗文集 (Collection of Beijian’s Poetry and Essay),” “Jiqianjia Zhu Fenlei Dugongbu Shi (集千家注分类杜工部诗 Categorized Du Gongbu Poems with Many Annotations),” “Fuhai Heshang yulu (福海和尚语录 Quotations from Fohai Monk),” “Chuanfa Zhengzong Ji (传法正宗记 Buddhism Circulation Record),” “Mingshu Huiyao 冥枢会要,” “Xinkan Wubaijia Zhuyinbian Tangliu Xiansheng Wenji (新刊五百家注音辩唐柳先生文集 Newly-published Anthology of Mr. Tang Liu with Five-Hundred Phonetic Notations),” “Wubaijia Zhuyinbian Changli Xiansheng Wenji (五百家注音 辩昌 黎先生文集 Anthology of Mr. Chang Li with Five-Hundred Phonetic Notations),” “Banruo Xinjing Shu (般若心经疏 Prajnaparamita-hrdaya-sutra),” “Miaofa Lianhua Jing (妙法莲华经 Saddharma Pundarika Sutra),” etc.

The organizations of Chinese book-collecting made a great contribution to book communications between China and Japan. The most famous organizations were the Ashikaga School and Kanazawa-bunko libraries. There were 43 titles of the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of Chinese books (960–1644 A.D.) in Ashikaga School, which included “Zhouyi Benyi (周易本义 Original Meaning of Book of Changes),” “Shangshu Zhengyi (尚书正义 Orthodox Meaning of Book of History),” “Zhouyi Zhushu (周易注疏 Annotations of Book of Changes),” etc. The sources of these books are mainly from the donations of Mr. Uesugi, the Five-Mountain monks, the private book collection of the masters of the past dynasties, and Mr. Dechuan Yongkang (德川永康). Because the Ashikaga School took the principles of Confucian School of Thought as its tenet, they collected the main books of “Su Shu (四书 Four Books),” “Liu Jing (六经 Six Classics),” “Lie Zi (列子 Liezi),” “Lao Zi (老子 Laozi),” “Shi Ji (史记 Record of History),” “Wen

Xuan (文选 Anthology),” “Qianziwen Jizhu (千字文集注 Annotations for Adaptation of the Thousand-Character Essay),” “Guzhu Meng Qiu (古注蒙求 Ancient Annotations to Meng Qiu),” “Huzeng Shizhu (胡增诗注 Annotations to the Poems of Hu Zeng),” etc. The Chinese books of Song editions of “Shangshu Zhengyi (尚书正义 Orthodox Meaning of Book of History),” “Zhouyi Zhushu (周易注疏 Annotations of Book of Changes)” were identified as “Japanese National Treasure.”

The Kanazawa-bunko library was established in the first year of the Jianshi Period of Japan (1275 A.D.). This library mainly collected the Confucian classical works and Buddhist books. However, during the Warring States Period of Japan (1467–1567 A.D.), this library’s collection was gradually lost. Another book-collecting organization Momijiyama Bunko Library was established in 1639 A.D. Mr. Tokugawa Iemitsu was the founder of this library. Once Mr. Iemitsu Shogunate took away most of the rare books (about twenty titles) to enrich the Momijiyama Bunko Library. Mr. Tokugawa Mitsukuni once went to Kanazawa-bunko to take away books for compiling “The History of Great Japan,” but they were stored in the Tokugawa Museum. Later on, this collection were scattered and stored in such places as Sonkeikaku Bunko and Hosa Bunko through some of the Japanese seigniors.

In the Ming Dynasty, Chinese books were demanded by Chinese people in Japan, which was one of the important factors in distributing Chinese books to the east. During the period of the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, many Chinese people were unwilling to be suppressed by the Qing Dynasty’s ruler, and they escaped to Japan with many Chinese books. After they came to Japan, they took an active part in propagating Chinese culture. One example was Mr. Zhu Shunshui (1600–1682 A.D.), who was from Yutao country of Zhejiang Province, and was proficient in “Chinese Six Classics.” He stayed in Japan for more than twenty years and was engaged in teaching Chinese classics and gained the esteem of the Japanese people. He was respectfully called “Dr. Zhu” or “Mr. Shunshui.” He had a tremendous influence in a Japanese monumental work, “The History of Great Japan,” because the chief-editor of this book was Mr. An Jijue, who was the student of Zhu Shunshui. The compilation of this masterpiece with 397 Juan, and took 50 years. The format of this book completely imitated Chinese orthodox history, which included the biographies of monarchs, the biographies of ordinary people, tables and records, which had everything necessary. The usage of the Chinese language was clear and also easy to understand. In order to satisfy the demands of the overseas Chinese in Japan, Chinese merchants carried many Chinese books to Japan for sale through the commercial boats by sea. More and more Chinese books were brought to Japan by merchants since the Japanese Nagasaki had the trade relationship with China during the Changqing Emperor Period of Japan (1596–1614 A.D.). Some of the Chinese ancient rare books were lost, but they were still well preserved in Japan. So many Chinese scholars of the Ming Dynasty went to Japan and searched for, bought, or copied and brought them back to China by merchant boats. For example, a set of the book “Qunshu Zhiyao (群书治要

Books of Compendium for Governing the Country) 50 Juan,” which was compiled by Wei Zheng of the Tang Dynasty, had already been lost in China, but there was a hand written edition by the Kamakura monks in Kanazawa-bunko. In 1616 A.D., Tokugawa Ieyasu made an order to publish it. Later on, this book was returned to China and played a significant role in the collation of the classical books in the Qing Dynasty.

4.2 China–Korea

In 1392 A.D., after the establishment of Li's Dynasty in Korea, the Li's government accepted and absorbed Chinese culture and was full of enthusiasm for Chinese academic research. In this time, there were two factors that promoted Chinese book distribution in Korea.

The first factor was that Koreans had made great progress with wood blocks for printing in the early 11th century, and there were a lot of wood blocks for printing books of Chinese classics, history, works on Chinese ancient philosophy and collected works, which were damaged and lost in social disturbance during the past century. At the beginning of the 13th century, after Choe Ch'ung-hŏn seized power and made an order to reprint some books in Xijing (Pyongyang), the conditions for developing academic books was seriously stifled and was not improved. After Li's Dynasty replaced Koryo King, the conflicts for the King position were still very chaotic and fierce. Since the beginning of the 15th century (1401–1471 A.D.) of the Taichong Period, Korea people began respecting the Chinese Confucian School of Thought and pursued academic studies. Therefore, collecting Chinese books became one of the urgent matters at this time. To take different channels, the Korean people continuously imported Chinese books. At the same time they reprinted many valuable Chinese books independently. This work was mainly undertaken by the government, but less by the common people.

The second factor was that Korea's Li Dynasty followed the previous dynasties and carried out the Chinese imperial examination system. The contents of this examination were still China's “Si Shu Wu Jing (四书五经 Four Books and Five Classics)” and the like. In the meantime it also imitated the phonetics of the Chinese language and created Korea's own phonetic characters. The extant “Hunmin Jeongeum” was created according to “Hongwu Zhengyun (洪武正韵 Hongwu Orthodox Phonetics)” of the Ming Dynasty, China. In order to accomplish the above work, it was necessary to have many Chinese books to study, learn and to be used.

The emperors of the Ming Dynasty always paid attention to Korea's Li Dynasty, and granted many Chinese books to Li's government. The Emperor Ming Taizu (1369–1398 A.D.) sent his envoys to Korea and promulgated the imperial examination programs. In his order, it said that: “The people in Koryo, Annam and Campapura and other countries, who studied Chinese classics, could participate in the imperial examination at the provincial level in their native place, and the personnel who had passed the provincial examination could participate in the exami-

nation in the capital without any limitation of quantity.” [8] According to the statistics by Mr. Wu Han “From the 6th year of the Yongle Emperor Period (1408 A.D.) to the 5th year of Jingtai Emperor Period (1454 A.D.), the Ming Emperors bestowed the following Chinese books on Korea: ‘Renxiao Huanghou Quanshan shu (仁孝皇后 劝善书 Persuasions of Renxiao Empress),’ ‘Xiaoci Huanghou Zhuan (孝慈皇后传 A Biography of Xiaoci Empress),’ ‘Tongjian Gangmu (通鉴纲目 An Abridged Adaptation of a History Book from Zhou Dynasty Onwards by Zhuxi),’ ‘Daxue Yanyi (大学衍义 Derivation of the Great Learning),’ ‘Xinli Daquan (性理大全 Complete Collection of Nature & Idea),’ ‘Si Shu (四书 The Four Books,; The Great Learning; The Confucius Analects; Doctrine of the Means; and Mencius),’ ‘Wu Jing (五经 The Five Classics: The Book of Changes; The Book of History; The Odes, The Book of Rites; The Spring and Autumn Annals),’ ‘Song Shi (宋史 History of Song Dynasty),’ etc.” [9]

The envoys of Korea’s Li Dynasty always wrote a list of good books before they went to the Ming Dynasty. For example, in the tenth year of the Xuande Emperor Period of the Ming Dynasty (1435 A.D.), Korea’s Li Dynasty king Shizong sent the envoy Mr. Nanzhi to Beijing to congratulate the Hesen Festival, and also deliver a book list to ask for Chinese books. This book list included: “Zizhi tongjian (资治通鉴 A Synopsis of History from the Zhou Dynasty Onwards 1027 B.C.) which had phonetically noted by Mr. Hu Sansheng,” “Yuan Wei (源委 Original Cause) by Zhao Wanbi,” “Tongjian Qianbian (通鉴前编 A Previous Chapter of the Comprehensive Mirror) by Jin Lvxiang,” and “Lidai Biji (历代笔记 Notes of Past Dynasties) by Chen Jing,” etc.

The scale of bestowing Chinese books from the Ming Dynasty on Korea exceeded that of the previous dynasties. Also the envoys of Korea spared no effort in collecting Chinese books. They went to China to make friends with Chinese scholars of the Ming Dynasty and purchased and brought back then-popular notes, in addition to classics, history, works of ancient Chinese philosophy, collected works, and fiction, such as “Sanguo Yanyi (三国演义 Romance of Three Kingdoms)” and “Mengyou Lu (梦游录 Record of Sleepwalking).” Besides, the Korean Li’s Dynasty also published the books of “Xing Li Daquan (性理大全 Complete Collection of Nature & Idea),” “Chu Ci (楚辞 Songs of Chu – Hunan Province),” “Xiao Jing (孝经 The Filial Piety Classics),” “Zhuwengong Ji (朱文公集 Collection of Zhuwengong),” “Zizhi Tongjian Gangmu (资治通鉴纲目 An Abridged Adaptation of a History Books from Zhou Dynasty by Mr. Zhuxi),” and more than ten others.

There were many Chinese scholars who went to Korea’s Li Dynasty and associated with the Korean people, and also brought back many Chinese books. Because the editions of books printed in Korea were of high quality, made of excellent paper, good ink and big Chinese characters, fewer errors, and exquisite binding. These books became the treasures of Chinese scholars and government officials. For example, when Mr. Wu Mingji staying in Korea, he collected the works of more than one hundred Korean poets, and compiled a book of “Chaoxian Shixuan

(朝鲜诗选 Anthology of Korean Poems),” which was quite popular at that time. On the other hand, many Korean intellectuals used the Chinese language and wrote literary works, which were brought back to China by the merchants and the scholars. For instance, one of the famous anthologies of Korean poems, “Dong Fang Xuan (东方选 Oriental Anthology),” was spread in China, and many libraries still collect it until now.

5. DURING THE PERIOD OF THE QING DYNASTY (1644–1911 A.D.)

5.1 China – Japan

Chinese books were distributed to Japan mainly through the channel of commercial trade. These Chinese books, not only included the wood blocks for printing the editions of Ming and Qing Dynasties, but also included large quantities and contents in rich, ancient rare books and secret, collected books by famous Chinese book collectors. This was the main reason for the perfection in Chinese book collecting and bibliographic systems, and public and private book professional work in Japan.

Owing to the frequent transportation of the commercial boats, many new Chinese books were distributed to Japan immediately after been published.[10] For example, a huge serial book of “Gujin Tushu Jicheng (古今图书集成 The Integration of Ancient and Present Books)” with 10,000 Juan was compiled in Yongzheng Emperor Period 1723–1735 A.D. and was transferred to Japan within 20–30 years. Soon after the “Kangxi Zidian (康熙字典 Kangxi Dictionary),” which collected 47,035 Chinese characters was published in China, but it was pirated in nearly twenty editions in Japan. According to the statistics book of “A List of the Goods Quantity Imported from China by Chinese Commercial Boats from 1637 to 1833 A.D.,” which was written by Nagazumi Yoko of Japan, there were 742 book-cases with 151,229 volumes of Chinese books transported from Zhapu Port of Zhejiang Province, China to Japan. For example, the fiction of “Jin Ping Mei (金瓶梅 Golden Vase Plum)” was introduced to Japan in the middle Tokugawa Period, and the fiction of “Hong Lou Meng (红楼梦 Dream of Red Chamber)” was also introduced to Japan in this time. According to the records of historical material, on November 23, 1793, the No. 2 Commercial Boat of Wangkaitai of Nanjing sailed from Zhapu Port of Zhejiang Province to Japan, carrying 67 kinds of books, including “Hong Lou Meng (红楼梦 Dream of Red Chamber)” and other dramas, fiction, etc.

5.2 China–Korea

In the early Qing Dynasty, Chinese books were transferred to Korea mainly through the channel of scholars purchased and brought back to Korea personally. For example, Mr. Liu Degong, Mr. Piao Qijia, Mr. Li Demao, Mr. Hong Darong

and other people, who were not only famous men of letters of the Li Dynasty, but also they were the book-inspecting officials sent to the Qing Dynasty on a diplomatic mission. In Beijing, they extensively collected Chinese books to enrich their National Library's collection.

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CLOSING REMARKS

Jan Bos, Secretary of IFLA RBMS
and Vice-chairman of the Preparatory Committee
of the 2006 IFLS RBMS Pre-Conference in Hangzhou

Dear Colleagues,

I am really astonished about the amount of library work in the field of rare books and manuscripts and of book historical research in China! There is so much going on! Of course, before coming here, I was aware of the great and important tradition of book production and paper making in China. But already during the first speeches of this morning by Mr. Yang Jian Xin, Director General of the Cultural Department of Zhejiang Province, and by Dr Zhan Furui from the National Library of China, I was also informed on the extensive cataloguing programmes, preservation programmes and digitization programmes that are being executed. I was very glad to learn about these programmes, as they are the basis of modern library work.

The predominant place of China in the invention and development of wood block printing, movable type printing, and papermaking is evident and is being recognized world-wide. The tradition of a book society in China is longer than anywhere else in the world. And if I make some comments on what we have heard today, please remember that I have been listening with Western ears and that I speak with a Western mouth. And I hope that you will also realize that a wrap up of a conference like this can only be very fragmentary.

I can only comment on the papers that we have heard today. But in fact there are many, many more papers in this conference as we can see in this huge volume of collected papers. I have only had the opportunity for a quick glance through the abstracts of the 66 (!) collected papers, but I was impressed by the variety of subjects and the richness of book historical research and library work that is presented. And I am also looking forward with great expectations to the visits that we will make in the next two days to the old libraries, museums and printing villages; these are part of the conference as well, but can not yet be summarized now!

As *paper* is one of the most basic materials for book production and also for calligraphy, papermaking, preservation and restoration fully deserved the attention they received from various speakers. The really spectacular slides by Nancy Tomasko were highly instructive for this subject; but also the proposals and advice by Mr. Li Dadong regarding the restoration of ancient paper and the discourse by Pan Mengbu are worthy to be mentioned.

Enormous numbers of wood blocks for printing have been preserved, and many speakers dealt with this fascinating subject. For Europeans like me both the *number* and the *nature* and the *size* of these wood blocks are exciting. I agree with

Prof. Xiao Dongfa and Dr Lin Zuzao that all efforts to preserve these wood blocks are very important, and that both the central government and the local organizations should take a responsibility in this.

The influence of Taoist seals on the development of Buddhist wood blocks, as explained by Mr. Zhang Zhiqing, brings me to the function of books and texts in society. In our research on early books and manuscripts we should never forget to study their role in society, a role that could change substantially through the centuries and in different regions. But also at the same moment and in the same region books could have different functions for different social layers. We heard some very fine examples of that, e.g. from Lin Zuzao, but also in relation to the genealogical publications that Ms Ding Hong spoke about.

Understanding the practical processes and procedures that are involved in book production is very important knowledge, in the first place, when we speak of very early writing and printing techniques, e.g. the use of bamboo strips which Ms Yi Xuemei introduced to us. But it is also important to know and understand all activities in the printing process in later ages, like the calculation of characters, the way of proof reading, the economical aspects of publishing, and copyright standards, as explained by Prof. Chen Zhenghong.

At the beginning of my speech I mentioned cataloguing, digitization and research as basic tools for antiquarian and rare books librarians. But I think that one task is even more basic, more elementary. That is the task of advocacy. Cultural heritage is always under pressure. There is always a great risk of neglect. By speaking out loud to government institutions, to scholars and students, but also to the general public, we, librarians and book historians, should promote the collecting, preservation and research of these precious materials. That is exactly what we have been doing today: by the papers that we heard, by the other papers that were published and by the exhibition in the library hall. I want to thank you for everything I have learned today. Thank you.

LIST OF PAPERS FOR THE 2006 IFLA RBMS PRE-CONFERENCE IN HANGZHOU, CHINA

1. Written and Printed Cultural Heritage in Gansu Region – An Archaeological Study on the Technical
2. Development of Wood Block Printing and Paper Making, by Yi Xuemei, Historical Document Department of Gansu Provincial Library; Lu Xiuwen, Document Center of Dunhuang Research Institute
3. Research Review of the Book Exchange with Ancient China, Japan and Korea Respectively, by Qian Chengjun, Associate Research Librarian, Nanjing Normal University Library
4. The Ancient and Rare Books Collection Reflects the Ancient Chinese Written and Printed Cultural Heritage – A Case Study on Zhejiang Library's Collection, by Li Fang, Librarian, Zhejiang Library
5. To Pass Forward and Carry on the Chinese Book Cultural Heritage and the Future of the Library Work, by Chou Jiajing, Hangzhou Library
6. A Textual Research on Some Ambiguous Issues of Chinese Bamboo and Wood Slips, by Jin Mingsheng, Library Document Information Research Institute of Zhejiang Normal University; Fan Ruifei, Educational College Library of Jin Hua, Zhejiang Province
7. Chinese Traditional Writing Tools, by Dr. Li Haiying, Circulation Department of North East Forestry University Library
8. “Hu Bi” (湖笔) – An Unusual Flower of China's Writing Brush, by Xu Puying, School Library of Zhejiang Provincial Communist Party Committee; Zhang Lin, School Library of Huzhou City Communist Party Committee
9. Study on Some Issues of Letter Board Printing by Bi Sheng (? – 1051 A.D.), by Gu Zhixing, Zhejiang Provincial Social Science Academy
10. On Some Reasons of Slowly Development in China's Printing Plate with Movable Type Technique, by Yang Jurang, Department of Special Collection in Shanxi Provincial Library
11. One of the Great Wonder in Library's Collection – A Case Study on Wood Blocks for Printing of Collection, Utilization and Preservation in Zhejiang Library, by Lin Zuzao, Senior Research Librarian, Zhejiang Library
12. An Unusual Flower in China's Block Printing Art – A Brief Introduction of Buddha Bible Picture Printed from an Engraved Plate, by Lang Qing and Hou Aiqi, Shanxi Provincial Library
13. An Annotated Paper from the Original Paper of “The Art of Mud Board Letters Printing,” by Lufu, By Li Guoqing, Tianjin Library
14. China's Ancient “Book” and its Format Designing, by Huang Haijing, Zhejiang Library, Xing Wen, Department of Modern Linguistic and Literature, Trinity University, USA.

15. Wood Letters for Printing is Carrying on and Developing in Publishing the Genealogy in Zhejiang Province, by Ding Hong, Senior Research Librarian, Zhejian Library
16. A Brief Account on the Zhejiang Official Publishing House, by Yu Yueli, Librarian, Zhejiang Library
17. To Seek the Origin and Development of Wood Blocks for Printing in Guyue, Shaoxing Area, by Peng Yan, Librarian, Shaoxing County Library
18. Jinling kejingchu (金陵刻經處) and the Wood Blocks of Buddhist Scriptures Compiled by Koreans, by Park,Hyun-Kyu, South Korea
19. To Make a Proof Until Sample Printing – A Document On Ancient Chinese Book Printing Procedure from Proof to Sample Printing in a Book of “Yu Shu Tang Congshu,” by Chen Zhenghong, Ancient and Rare Books Institute of Fu Dan University
20. A Study on Oversea Chinese Publishing History Recent Years, by Zhang Zhiqiang, Professor, Department of Information Management, Nanjing University
21. The Missionary at the End of Qing Dynasty and Modernization of China’s Published Work, by Zhang Zhiqiang, Professor, Department of Information Management, Nanjing University
22. Jieziyuan Bookstore and its Publications with Characteristics and Significance, by Li Caibiao, Senior Research Librarian, Lanxi Country Library, Zhejaing Province
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24. Western Missionary and the Evolution of China’s Traditional Printing Techniques, by Zhou Quan, School Library of the Communist Party School of Zhejiang Provincial Committee
25. An Elementary Analysis on Repairing and Recovering Damaged Rare Books and Manuscripts and the Preservation Model, by Luo Minglan, Nanjing Library,
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29. Some Problems Should Be Solved in Strengthening the Paper of Relics, by He Yuhong, Tianyi Ge Museum

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 61. The Characteristics of the Development in China's Library Science Education in 80s-90s of Last Century, by Dai Jing, Nanjing Normal University Library

62. History of the Chaoshan Dialect Dictionary and Collection in the Libraries of Them, by Zhou Xu, Graduate Student of Chinese Literature Department of Jinan University
63. Study on the Collection of Library's Braille Resources and the Present Situation of China's Braille Publications, by Zhang Yingdi, Senior Research Librarian, Zhejiang Library and Zhang Xiaowei, Zhejiang Library

AFTERWORD

Cheng Xiaolan and Lin Zuzao (Zhejiang Library, China)

The 2006 IFLA RBMS Pre-Conference in Hangzhou, which took place on Aug. 14–16, 2006, came to a successful and satisfactory close. This Pre-Conference was lauded by all the participants. Our chair, Dr. Susan M. Allen said that it was one of the largest pre-conferences in the history of IFLA RBMS. There were 158 participants from twelve countries and regions of Asia, America, Europe and Oceania. Altogether sixty-three papers concentrated on the subject of “Chinese Written and Printed Cultural Heritage and Library Work.” Fifteen people made welcoming speeches, keynote addresses and paper presentations, including our chair, Dr. Allen Mr. Yang Jianxin, Director of the Cultural Department of Zhejiang Provincial Government, Dr. Marian Koren, on behalf of IFLA, Dr. Zhan Furui, Director of the China Society for Library Science and Director of China National Library, and Dr. Jan Bos, secretary of IFLA RBMS, who made closing remarks. There was also an exhibition on China’s Ancient Libraries, a cultural evening at the China Yue Opera where “*The Family of the Book Collector*” was performed, and two days of visits to see ancient Chinese papermaking, book printing, book thread binding, damaged rare book and manuscript repair and recovery, the Chinese Writing Brush Museum, and the collection of 150,000 pieces of wood blocks for printing, etc.

All these speakers and activities made the attendees excited and enthusiastic. Dr. Alice Prochaska, IFLA RBM Section’s former chair said: “Everything went so well, and the papers were all fascinating. The rest of the program all fitted so well, too, with the theme of the papers. I learned a great deal about Chinese rare books and print culture, and it was a great pleasure to make contact with you and so many other Chinese colleagues.” Dr. Hartmut Walravens, chair of the IFLA Newspaper Section, expressed his feeling in his E-mail: “I can only summarize that you and your colleagues deserve the highest praise for arranging such a wonderful conference; the hospitality was truly magnificent. I also find the several publications that we were given most enlightening.” Dr. Bjorn Dal, IFLA RBM Section’s Standing Committee Member, said: “After all, it was one of the most interesting conferences I have ever attended. It was all very well arranged and all the talking between the participants afterwards was full of enthusiasm. You can be very satisfied with the job done! I’m absolutely honest when I say that I really hope to be able to visit China again. If there will be another conference further on I will do all I can to be able to come!” Prof. Li Guoqing from the China Tianjin Library said: “Being an attendee, I have participated in many seminars at home and abroad, I compared with the different conferences, no matter on the contents of the announcement or the final program; the welcoming speeches or the keynote speeches, or paper presentation; the pre-print papers or the special cultural eve-

ning; the exhibition of the Chinese ancient library or the excursion on the conference theme, it was really worth as an international level conference because of the hosts and sponsor's hard working, the detail planning and good arrangement." Dr. Jan Bos said: "I returned home, still full of sweet memories of our wonderful Pre-Conference in Hangzhou! It was a magnificent experience. The hospitality, the organization, the welcome speeches, the papers, the visits, the unforgettable cultural evening, the many gifts, everything was perfect." Dr. Susan M Allen said: "The three days of papers and tours were extraordinary, and your many gifts and kindnesses to me and the other attendees at the meeting were very much appreciated. I will long remember my first visit to China with warmth and happiness. Thank you very much for all that you did to make this important conference a successful event in every way. I hope you will also tell your staff how meaningful it was to us all, and thank them for taking such good care of those of us visiting from other countries." Therefore, this Pre-Conference made a lasting impression on all the attendees. The title of the Pre-Conference attracted many participants. The attendees from China believed that this conference theme will have a good result for strong support of the preservation of China's material and non-material cultural heritage and will strongly promote the preservation of rare books and manuscripts in China. The keynotes and paper presentations were all wonderful and fascinating. During the Pre-conference, three keynotes speeches and nine papers were warmly welcomed by all the attendees. "The papers selected for presentation were high in quality and they reflect the latest development and trends of the study on Chinese printing, Chinese papermaking, Chinese ancient libraries, preservation work on Chinese wood blocks for printing, as well as Chinese ancient and rare books preserved by libraries in China and Europe" said Dr. Sim Chuin Peng, of the Singapore National University Library.

In a word, almost all the attendees suggested having an official publication of these high quality papers in order to share them with more and more colleagues across the world.

The sites chosen for cultural visits matched the pre-conference. On Aug. 15-16, 2006, we arranged for all the participants to visit the Ancient and Rare Books Department of Zhejiang Library to see the repair and recovery of damaged rare books, to visit Chinese Traditional Printing Cultural Village and see the traditional papermaking, book printing, and book binding, to visit the 440 years old Tianyi Ge Library, the museum of the Chinese writing brush and 150,000 pieces of wood blocks for printing collected in Jiaye Tang of the Zhejiang Library. The arrangements were a great success. Dr. Björn Dal said: "The excursions were extremely important for me as I was able to see this with my own eyes, notice the details in fabrication and enjoy the whole impression. You know, there are in many aspects no similarities between East and West culture of books."

Special Features of the Chinese Ancient Library Exhibition made people know that the history of book collecting in China can be traced back 3,000 years. Literature, in the form of books and precious materials, was handed down from genera-

tion to generation, from dynasty to dynasty. Unfortunately, China has suffered from foreign invasion and internal disturbance in recent centuries and the traditional Chinese ancient libraries have barely survived. According to an uncompleted estimate, there were more than one thousand ancient libraries in the Zhejiang Province since the Song Dynasty (960 A.D. -). Only fourteen of them have survived to this era. Around twenty of them still remain in the whole of China. To support this pre-conference, the Zhejiang Library prepared an exhibition, which introduced the surviving fourteen ancient libraries in Zhejiang. The contents of the exhibit showed pictures and a written explanation of each one. The superb exhibit of the beautiful ancient libraries was attractive and a feast for all to see. It added to the enjoyment of the conference. Dr. Jan Bos, IFLA RBMS secretary said: "Sorting out my pictures after I returned home, reminded me of the very nice exhibition in the hall of your library. I hope it will be possible to make a small e-publication of it."

The Special Cultural Evening, local Yue Opera performance, touched everyone's heart. In China, book collecting, which is a good quality of the noble character, has been carried forward from generation to generation. Therefore, there were many stories, which had circulated among the people. "The Story of the Fan Family Library (Tianyi Ge Library)" was one of them. The Preparatory Committee of the 2006 IFLA RBMS Pre-Conference arranged for the performance of the Yue Opera with its soft melody of the Zhejiang local style. This was a great success. Dr. Hartmut Walravens said: "I was at first a little doubtful about the Yue Opera but after the performance I can only congratulate you on including it in the programme. It seems unique that a library story was made the theme of an opera, and when I mentioned this at the Seoul World Library and Information Congress colleagues were extremely interested. I must also say that the cast was excellent and the performers were first rate."

In a word, the 2006 IFLA RBMS Pre-Conference in Hangzhou obtained such a great success, because of its hosts who attached the utmost importance to it, and were supported by the committee members of our Section and the hard-working sponsor and co-organizers. We would like to express our sincere gratitude and many thanks to our chair, Dr. Susan M. Allen, to our secretary, Dr. Jan Bos, our Newsletter editor, Dr. Jutta Weber, and all members of the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section. We also want to express our special thanks to our IFLA President Dr. Alex Byrne for his strong support of this Pre-Conference and for writing the special preface for this book.