A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE CHINESE BOOK

Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China

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Introduction

In the northwestern suburbs of the city of Suzhou, situated near the center of the lower Yangzi delta, there is a small hill that overlooks narrow streets crowded with shops, shrines, and homes. Known as Tiger Hill (*Huqiu*), it has for well over a millennium been the subject of innumerable poems, paintings, and stories, all recognizing it and its buildings as a symbol of the wealthy and civilized city it graces. Its leisurely slopes have drawn countless visitors from near and afar and become the final resting home of famous monks, celebrated women, and successful scholar-officials. One of these honored dead, laid to rest over two centuries ago among the shrubs and grasses at its western foot, was a shoe repairman named Qian Jinren (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 The grave of Qian Jinren, at Tiger Hill, Suzhou, Jiangsu Province

What won this busy cobbler a seemingly incongruous place on this celebrated hill of literati leisure was his ardent love of books and learning. Orphaned when young, Qian was taken in by a cobbler household too poor to pay his school fees but practical enough to teach him the trade of repairing shoes. Eventually, when a young adult with a paltry income, he learned how to read, according to one account, from neighborhood children who were attending school. His practice was to pay his informants one copper cash for each Chinese character they taught him to identify. He then did work for Suzhou bookstores and temples, which allowed him at his request to borrow and read their books in lieu of the normal cash payment. This arrangement, even as he continued to do his work as a shoe repairman, lasted for some forty or fifty years, and, as his own book collection grew, he slowly acquired in this center of classical scholarship something of a reputation for his knowledge of Confucius' *The Analects* and a popular intermediate text, *The Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing*). Some well-known Suzhou scholars visited him and talked of their shared concern with books. When in his old age his feet grew ulcerous and left him bedridden, one of these scholars, Wang Bing, came to the rescue. Wang had abandoned his early dreams of repeating his father's success in the civil service examinations and had become a doctor respected for both his Confucian learning and medical practice. With the approval of his family, Wang took Qian into his home to grow old and die. And so, this surprisingly literate artisan ended up being called a teacher (albeit, "the Shoe-Repairman Teacher") and honored with a gravesite at a place associated with the rich and famous of this cultured city. Moreover, the carving onto his gravestone of the calligraphy of the province's high-ranking surveillance commissioner publicly confirmed his admission into the city's cultural élite. Qian's life, then, would seem to have epitomized that traditional Chinese dream, whereby any man could rise in station from poverty to fame due solely to his command of the written culture of his country.[1]

Yet, there is another account of his life, specifically, his manner of death, that does not sit well with this tale of social success. In 1792, a year of poor grain harvests, Qian died, directly or indirectly, not from ulcerous feet but from a food shortage that struck the city of Suzhou. It was only after Qian could not leave his house due to the food shortage that this Confucian doctor, Wang Bing, moved Qian

out of the cramped half-room he had rented for much of his life into the more comfortable quarters of Wang's own home. Some 100 days later, Qian died there at the age of 76 *sui* without a son, without a bed, without a chair and table, and even without a pot and pan to his name. As he left nothing but his shelves of tattered books, several scholars from Suzhou chipped in to rescue him from the disgrace of burial among the forgotten and displaced, in the six public graveyards in the vicinity of Tiger Hill.[2] Tens and hundreds of literati came from all directions to attend his burial at the foot of their Tiger Hill, thereby honoring a man who had venerated them and their learning for his entire adult life.[3]

Which image or impression is true? At this distance it is hard to say. But, regardless of which is true — and possibly both are — this pair of tales merits our attention for underlining the lure and power of the book in late imperial Chinese culture and its complex relation to China's social and economic hierarchies. In examining these two themes, this book tries to discern what the history of the Chinese book can tell us of important changes in technology, learning, and social relations between 1000 and 1800.

To many observers inside and outside of China, such an effort will seem odd. What else is an old Chinese book but a treasured artwork? Placed apart on a shelf and wrapped in elegant clothboard, it exudes a sense of the quiet diversions of the study rather than of the contentions of history. Yet, scholars of Chinese bibliography (*banxue, muluxue*) have for generations helped to undermine this idealized fantasy by researching essential facts about these books, such as the publication date, location, publisher, and collectors, for their original and subsequent printings. Here, by making use of the writings of these bibliographers, as well as more recent research on book production, distribution, and consumption, I would like to replace this precious image of the book with one that does justice to the book's centrality in the evolution of Chinese culture from the eleventh through the eighteenth centuries. In each of the following chapters, then, I want to consider a variety of social and economic issues too seldom associated with the history of the Chinese book. Firstly, how was a book most commonly printed and why did this method of woodblock printing remain the predominant technology for book printing for so long in China? Secondly, when and how did the imprint — that is, the printed book — replace the manuscript

as the principal form of book in China? Thirdly, what changes did this adoption of the imprint bring about for the distribution, consumption, and use of books in late imperial times? Fourthly, when and how were Chinese scholars able to overcome problems of access to books and thereby constitute what we today might call a sizeable "community of learning"? And, finally, what were the understandings of the uses of literacy and books that the literate and illiterate held in late imperial China and how did they cut across social divisions?

If these questions about book history appear to be bookish, then my aim in writing this book will have been misunderstood. It is my belief that the history of the book should lie at the heart of our understanding of China's élite culture. For at least the last thousand years, book learning has been central to the identity and legitimacy of this country's cultural and political élite, as determined by the state's written examinations as well as by that élite's definition of itself and its culture. Books, then, have had a profound impact on the social, political, and intellectual history of China as well as on the aspirations, obsessions, and living conditions of a sizeable number of its men and women, of its Qian Jinrens as well as his scholarly patrons. What we can learn about the production, spread, and use of books will go a long way to explaining not just the gradual ascendance of the imprint or the intellectual and literary impact of a book, an author, or a school. Our conclusions will also suggest how the literate élite's world of learning evolved and what role it may have played in the making of an empire-wide culture shared by literati and non-literati alike.

Consider for a moment the impact of writing and its various media on Chinese history. More than 3,500 years ago, the invention of writing in China helped to establish and strengthen political and social institutions that made knowledge more explicit and fixed, that transmitted it more successfully, and that nurtured experts in its contents. The bronze inscriptions of ancient China record the early efforts to create these institutions, just as the stone steles with inscribed texts of the Confucian classics demonstrate the antiquity of the commitment to make this approved knowledge available to literate men. The manuscript copy, greatly facilitated by the invention of paper, represented the fragile and repeated struggle to transmit written knowledge more privately in the making of a written culture. And, the printed book, a remarkable offspring of the basic Chinese

inventions of paper and printing, expanded both the audience and contents of written works, making them more mobile, transferable, and useful to the educated élite and society at large. Thus, the study of when and how this particular form of communication known as the imprint gained priority in Chinese culture over manuscript copies can reveal how people dealt with bookish knowledge and how an already ancient written culture gained a wider and deeper role in the public and private life of its people, particularly the literate. In other words, the history of Chinese printing, as explained in the following pages, will cast light on the spread of Chinese learning, the evolution of its institutions, the activities of its experts, and the growth of groups with shared bodies of knowledge on both the local and imperial levels. Surely, such concerns cannot be dismissed as bookish.

This book's analysis, despite its breadth of concern, accepts two significant limitations, one spatial and the other social. Instead of trying to explain an eight-century history of the book for all of China, this book focuses on one region, the lower Yangzi delta, and on the one type of reader we know the most about, the literati. A regional focus is crucial for dating the transition from manuscript to imprint, if only because it brings into play local factors essential for this analysis, such as prices and distribution. For instance, in mid-twelfth-century China, the price for an imprint title could vary by as much as 600 percent, depending on where the text was published;[4] such variation effectively nullifies the utility of any empire-wide comparison of imprint prices for an analysis of how they may have influenced the production and trading of books. The focus on the lower Yangzi delta is also intended to tighten our analysis, since this region maintained an unquestioned centrality in the production, distribution, and transmission of books from the Song dynasty (960–1279) to the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). In the Song, the printing center of Hangzhou had only two serious national rivals in the book trade: Jianyang in northern Fujian and Chengdu in Sichuan. After the 1230s, however, Chengdu ceased to offer much competition; it was not until the eighteenth century that its printing industry recovered from the Mongol conquest in the mid-thirteenth century.[5] Jianyang remained a formidable rival, at least in the amount of book production, through the Yuan (1232–1367) and Ming dynasties (1368–1644).[6] But, for the Ming, less information on book culture, especially book consumption, survives from the area of Jianyang than collectively from Suzhou,

Nanjing, Hangzhou, and other book center cities of the lower Yangzi delta.[7] Thus, an account of book production and consumption in the lower Yangzi delta, particularly one concerned with this region's transition from a manuscript to an imprint culture and its residents' use of books, promises to provide the most complete, long-term picture of the Chinese book world from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries. It may also serve to suggest for much of the rest of China a *terminus ante quem* for the retreat of the manuscript copy in the face of an ascending imprint culture.

A second restriction for our analysis concerns the primary type of writer and reader it discusses: the literati. This focus on the Chinese men who made the writing, reading, and collection of books central to their self- or family identity is determined by practical considerations. Extant books from these centuries and our knowledge of them derive overwhelmingly from literati or government collections and writings. The mass of popular imprints of almanacs, calendars, broadsheet ballads, prayers and other religious texts, as well as newspaper sheets (*xiaobao*) and tax forms put out for the "utilitarian reader" have by and large not survived. While our concentration on longer lasting materials will not bar us from eventually considering these usually ephemeral publications, the evidence and conclusions presented here in most of the chapters refer predominantly to just the most literate portion of the largely illiterate population in arguably the wealthiest, most heavily commercialized, and most culturally advanced area of China during these eight centuries. When, in the last chapter, we return to the case of Qian Jinren, our understanding of his situation will be transformed by what we have learned of the life and learning of the literati and scholars whose writings he fervently admired. We can then proceed to see what these two worlds of the artisan and the literati shared in their perceptions of literacy and the book.

These restrictions, even when put this strictly, will, I believe, have their own rewards. At this stage of our understanding of the Song, Yuan, and Ming book world, the process of moving from relatively certain information to less certifiable speculation is more promising than repeating the broad, unfounded generalizations that glut most books on the printing history of China. A regional and literati perspective will in the end provide us with a reasonable chance of clarifying the proportion of imprints to manuscripts in the most

important governmental and private libraries, the difficulties that even major book collectors encountered in acquiring copies of famous works, and changes in the social status of these collectors, in their collecting focus, in their social composition, and even in some reading practices in the seventeenth century. This approach will also allow us to analyze the reasons for the imprint's eventually permanent ascendance from the mid-Ming, as well as to determine how the world of Song and late Ming publishing may have differed. The last chapter, after offering a brief account of Qian Jinren's learning and literacy, explores the various understandings of the benefits of literacy and the book in late imperial times and then compares Qian's appreciation of them with that of his literati admirers in Suzhou. We may not end up certain which account of Qian Jinren's final days is more likely to have been true. But, we will, I hope, better understand the critical role of the book, especially the imprint, in the making of Chinese culture and society from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries.

6 Literati Writings and the Case of Qian Jinren

The alert reader will have noticed that, over the course of this book, subtle changes have taken place in the type of reader under discussion. Whereas the first chapter considers woodblock imprints published for many types of readers, the second and third chapters deal largely with a variety of literati readers and writers, some far more concerned with entertainment than with scholarship. The fourth and fifth chapters narrow the range further, concentrating on scholarly book collectors and would-be scholars anxious to gain access to important collections of rare or valuable books. This contraction of the focus is accompanied by an emphasis on the difficulties that literati and scholars in the lower Yangzi delta had in acquiring books or even gaining access to them. Such obstacles persisted for these readers, until printed books became more numerous in the late Ming and until some important government and private collections became more accessible during the Qing.

And yet, the problems for the spread of literati learning and an expansion of its readership were far from solved. Some late Ming literati "descended to the market" to engage in commercial writing and publishing. The books they wrote and edited, regardless of whether they were put out by the government, a commercial house, or another type of private party, won a wider audience, drawing commoners, even artisans, "up" into the readership of what could loosely be called "literati writing." Even though these late Ming and Qing readers became familiar with a range of reading materials narrower than those discussed in the previous chapters, an expansion of literacy is, in the cautious judgment of the editors of a recent book on Qing education, "difficult to doubt."[1]

On the face of it, this increased literacy was expanding the readership for literati learning far beyond the ranks of the literati. Certainly, the literate would have encompassed some Buddhist

monks, Daoist priests, military officers, boxing and fencing masters, medical men, geomancers, fortune-tellers, merchants, actors, private secretaries, clerks, schoolmasters, scribes, innkeepers, pettifoggers, shopkeepers, and artisan workshop heads.[2] Even moderately well-to-do tenants in the eastern stretches of the lower Yangzi delta had their sons learn how to read from as early as the middle of the twelfth century; the same skill was being acquired by the sons of "the small people in the countryside" there in the early seventeenth century.[3] In addition, some social and regional variations were recognized, such as that, in late imperial times, literacy was significantly more common among men than among women,[4] in south China than in north China,[5] and in cities than in villages.[6]

Yet, once an effort is made to quantify any of these categories with even a rough approximation, the concept of literacy becomes ever so nebulous and the analytical problems it poses to the social historian so troublesome. Chinese scholars have generally considered literacy to be the ability to recognize a certain number of characters.[7] But, they have sharply differed on the required number of these characters, some arguing for as few as 984 and others for over 3,000.[8] Furthermore, estimates of the literacy rate for adult males have varied so widely, from ten to forty-five percent and even higher,[9] that that one is forced to conclude that these figures are just "stabs in the dark" discussing and assessing quite different skills.

The concept of literacy, in other words, needs to be broken down into more useful categories. Helpfully, Evelyn Rawski and Wilt Idema have proposed different levels of literacy: the scarcely literate, the moderately literate, the fully literate, and the highly literate.[10] For the last two of these, Benjamin Elman has conceived the category of the classically literate, i.e., men with the ability to "read, explicate, and indeed memorize the canonical texts used in the civil-service examination system; and to write essays and poetry in classical style — whether or not they ever passed an examination."[11] In line with a figure suggested by F. W. Mote for Qing civil service examination candidates, Elman has proposed a roughly ten percent rate of classical literacy for adult males in Qing times.[12]

But estimates of literacy in Chinese need, as Rawski and others have recognized,[13] to go beyond designating these horizontally graded levels of competence and then adding up the share of the population with each of these skills. As the American missionary W.

A. P. Martin (1827–1916) observed, they also need to consider for written Chinese the co-existence of somewhat non-transferable functional literacies, each with its own distinctive characters and phrases and with its own distinctive meanings for shared characters and phrases:

> In the alphabetical vernaculars of the West the ability to read and write implies the ability to express one's thoughts by the pen, and to grasp the thoughts of others when so expressed. In Chinese, and especially in the classical or book language, it implies nothing of the sort. A shopkeeper may be able to write the numbers and keep accounts without being able to write anything else; and a lad who has attended school for several years will pronounce the characters of an ordinary book with faultless precision, yet not comprehend the meaning of a single sentence.[14]

Martin's observations were written in Beijing, but they were echoed for the southern province of Fujian by the English missionary Edward Joshua Dukes: "When I expressed to one of these [learned] men my surprise that he could not read a pamphlet which I had fairly well understood myself, he replied, 'How should I? I have never seen the book before!' "[15]

The ranks of the literate in China thus included not only a great number of busy, infirm, shortsighted, and unstudious men who had forgotten many of the characters they had learned in their youth. The ranks also included many adult readers who could not read the books written by other adult readers. Hence the great variation in Western estimates of "Chinese literacy" as well as the obstacles that David Johnson encountered in his far more sophisticated effort to quantify each of these functional types and levels of "literacy rate" and map with precision their social distribution among different communities of the empire.[16]

In place, then, of undertaking such a direct sociological analysis of the relation among different readerships, this chapter approaches the issue of literacy obliquely, by focusing on the question of what literacy, books, and book collecting meant to the literate and illiterate in the early and mid-Qing. It begins by reviewing common economic, moral, social, and religious perceptions of literacy, books, and book collecting, and then considers the extraordinary case of Qian Jinren. Introduced at the start of this book as the book-collector cobbler who was eventually buried at Tiger Hill, Qian had experiences as a reader

and book collector that will easily seem marginal to the cultural concerns and activities of the literati and scholars of eighteenth-century Suzhou. Born into poverty and shortly afterwards orphaned, he learned to identify characters not from a teacher but from other readers paid for each character they taught him. He had access not to a school or private library but principally, through work, to books in Suzhou's bookstores, temples, and shrines. He thereby acquired a small collection of books and enough knowledge of the Confucian classics to impress a small group of Suzhou literati and scholars, such as Peng Shaosheng, Wang Jin, Wang Bing, and Xue Qifeng, with his love of learning. But, as we shall see in the last section of this chapter, Qian's use of his literacy ran counter not just to some widespread assumptions of his time but also to the far wider intellectual commitments of his literati admirers, particularly Peng Shaosheng. In the end, the case of this marginal figure will provide a useful, if indirect, way to examine the complex relations among the different levels and types of literacy in late imperial culture.

Perceptions of the Uses of Literacy and Books

The understandings of literacy and books that were current in late imperial China were largely positive. Admittedly, in the sixteenth century, some followers of Wang Yangming downplayed their significance for the necessary pursuit of sagehood, claiming that any man could become a sage and that to do so one need "just follow the way of 'ignorant men and women' who, without education, go about their daily tasks."[17] But by the seventeenth century, the influence of this Taizhou school of neo-Confucianism had largely receded, and throughout the eighteenth century, literacy and learning were once again appreciated and extolled widely, if not universally. Literacy and learning won favor not only for their cultivation of taste and discrimination but also, and probably more, for their improvement of a man's career chances, especially in the civil service examinations and official life. The successful candidates in these examinations could, in Samuel Johnson's memorable words, "smile with the wise and feed with the rich."

Over time, fewer and fewer of these educated men continued to think of success as limited to the examination hall. Despite the

continuing allure of official life, the high failure rate in the examinations and the prospect of acquiring wealth through other careers persuaded many men to write of the usefulness of literacy outside of the study and the examination hall. Such expressions of literati appreciation of non-literati uses of literacy date to least the twelfth century, when Yuan Cai urged scholar-official families to educate their sons for non-official careers such as trade.[18] From the thirteenth century in north China and from no later than the seventeenth century in the lower Yangzi delta, some Confucian scholars developed a discourse that judged working for a living (*zhisheng*) to support one's family to have moral priority over reading books, particularly when an educated man could not gain an official appointment.[19] Although these scholars rarely specified the types of alternative employment they had in mind and their views represented a minor chord in the writing of the time, Ho Ping-ti has observed that many Qing scholars took on jobs "derogatory to [their] social status."[20] According to one Nanjing scholar at the close of the eighteenth century, financial hardship was driving nine-tenths of the scholars to live like commoners, working as merchants or clerks while concurrently retaining their degree.[21]

This linkage of literacy and commercial life eventually penetrated the rarefied world of rare book connoisseurship in the mid-Qing, when, for the first time, distinguished bibliophiles and collectors were operating as full-time dealers in the rare book trade. Huang Peilie, the influential collector, bibliographer, and book dealer discussed at the close of the previous chapter, is the most famous example; he opened his shop in 1825. Two other influential book men, Qian Tingmo (1750?–1802) and Qu Zhongrong (1769–1842), started dealerships in the vicinity of Tiger Hill in Suzhou. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, Qian Tingmo moved there from Huzhou to set up a rare-book store, elegantly called "The Study for Collecting Antiquities," which attracted many Suzhou literati and scholars.[22] In 1829, Qu Zhongrong, a well-known Changshu county book collector, also moved to Tiger Hill at the age of sixty to set up a dealership in books and antiquities in order to support his family.[23]

This increased penetration of the world of learning by commerce, of course, worked the other way as well. Just as literati engaged in commercial life, so did merchants and their family members engage in literati life and indulge in literati habits, such as

collecting rare books. A few sons of merchants, including even a butcher's son, had become well-known collectors in the fourteenth century,[24] and merchants themselves (other than book dealers) became significant book collectors from the sixteenth century onwards, with the appearance of art and book lovers like Xiang Yuanbian. Yet, Xiang was the younger brother of a metropolitan degree-holder who shared his interest in collecting.[25] And so, the first significant book collectors in merchant families, outside of Huizhou and of the book trade itself, possibly date from as late as the Qing dynasty. Certainly, in Ye Ruibao's recent survey of Suzhou book collectors, the first collector labeled a merchant — that is, a merchant other than a book dealer, who, along with his family members lacked an examination degree — is Song Binwen (1690–1760).[26] This keen bibliophile, who, according to one account, engaged in the silver smelting business, substituted the traditional requirements for admission into élite bibliophile circles — a privileged education and/or examination degrees — with his book collection and his book knowledge. Through purchase, he acquired a fine collection of handcopies of rare Song and Yuan editions of collected writings, and thereby developed a professional level of rare-book connoisseurship that won the admiration of literati and official collectors.[27]

This involvement of literacy and books with a wide range of knowledge outside of literati culture could in theory have forged more practical bodies of written and printed knowledge. Yet, such benefits and even the economic reasons for such literacy represent only a minor chord in the late imperial discussions we have of the benefits of literacy. Indeed, the most detailed such discussion, included in the seventeenth-century morality book, *Treasured Instructions on Examining the Mind (Xingxin baoxun*, pref. 1694), virtually neglects the economic benefits of literacy, to focus overwhelmingly on the moral and social benefits in ways typical of many other discussions of literacy.[28] Its simple style of composition indicates that it was written for intermediate readers like the inexperienced Qian Jinren, that is, moderately literate young males seeking far from complete classical literacy. The author takes care to address his remarks not to those too poor to study but instead to "those who could read but don't." To him, it is "as if they stand facing a blank wall, as if they recline with a covered head, and as if they go on a journey after extinguishing their candles. Their eyes are blind

and their ears blocked. They are without knowledge and without learning." Such untalented men, "how can they be described together with Heaven, Earth and Man? I say, 'These men are hardly different from the birds and beasts'." Similarly harsh scorn falls on fathers and older brothers for not teaching their sons and younger brothers how to read.

To make clear the sharp moral and social distinctions between the literate and illiterate, this book details ten advantages of literacy and five disadvantages of illiteracy. Above all, it emphasizes the importance of acquiring a general literacy that enabled one to read books on morality. Such literacy is said to enable a person to understand morality and act morally ("those who do not know books often violate morality out of ignorance, while those who know books fear for their reputation and righteousness and so their violations of morality are few"). Literacy also improves a man's ability to reason clearly about moral principles and thus act morally ("those who read books do not turn their back on moral principle, while those who know books acknowledge obedience and seldom reject moral principle."). It teaches men how to control the movements of their body and thereby practice the proper etiquette and ritual that the illiterate cannot perform. It also teaches them shame, a sense of which marks "the difference between a gentleman and a petty man" ("the petty man does not know books and therefore he cherishes a mind without a sense of shame, while the gentleman knows books and has the capacity to perform acts that have a sense of shame"). And, it instills self-control, enabling a person to restrain his emotions and not show his joy or anger, regardless of whether he has been honored or disgraced.

This view of the moral benefits of literacy fits comfortably within the broad concerns and values of neo-Confucian thought, and derives primarily from the views espoused by the twelfth-century thinker Zhu Xi about learning. In arguing that book learning was crucial for "observing the intentions of the sages and worthies,"[29] Zhu had stressed the centrality of reading in attaining moral perfection: "In the Way of Studying nothing takes priority to the pursuit of moral principle, and the essence of moral principle invariably lies in reading books."[30]

The ability to read, according to the *Xingxin baoxun*, also conferred tangible social advantages that promised halcyon joys and

blessings for the literate, the family, and the descendants, in five ways. Firstly, literacy leads to an increase of knowledge by letting one "check the past to judge the present"; the stories the book favors are the success-and-failure narratives that crowd Chinese books with strategies for gaining victory and avoiding defeat. Secondly, literacy is a means for securing posthumous fame. The written word preserves a person's reputation and record of accomplishments long after the bones have withered.

The three other practical benefits attributed to literacy are perhaps of greatest interest to us. For literacy, in this view, marks a person off from the vulgar, the stupid, and the unsuccessful. The distinctions it confers are more than moral and educational; they are social and visible:

> The appearance of those who do not know books is mean, their language base, their faces and eyes repulsive, so that they cannot be approached. As for those who read books, elegance will assemble on the peaks of their eyebrows, charm will come to life in the corner of their mouths, their spirits will be pure and standards elegant, so that one can really be intimate with them.

If that were not enough to win a young person over to literacy, then a fear of being stupid — or, worse, being considered stupid — should prove convincing:

> In dealing with friends, those who do not know books are afraid of everything and find it hard to practice tolerance. In verbal exchanges they are silent and make no reply. They have an earthen form and are a wooden doll; they are like a lump of a thing. Those who know books bow and give way and have a broad tolerance. In their social intercourse they show a sense of rank.

And, to crown it all, literacy will bring wealth and title (*fugui*). Ten years of hard work at reading will lead to success and fortune, give peace and pleasure, and bring honor to the kinsfolk and titles to the sons. Here the author appears to be referring to the consequences of examination success and an official career. But, overall, little is made of this practical goal and its rewards.

The advocacy of other practical and material dimensions of literacy is strengthened by the *Xingxin baoxun*'s listing of the dangers that literacy helps one avoid. Literacy helps assure that one's family

will never lose the "family style" (*jiafeng*) of a wealthy and titled family. Learning will have a tradition, money will be transmitted, and copies of the classics will be read. Secondly, literate sons will escape quarreling about the care of their parents' food and clothing, thereby gaining rest for their own body and ease for their own mind. Literacy also will shield them from having to worry about food and clothing for themselves. It will give them numerous opportunities to learn from fine teachers and many schoolmates. And, it will let them have a quiet and secluded residence, set in a pure natural setting full of fresh and famous plants.

These practical moral and social reasons for becoming literate would lead to the moral order and social stability that Cynthia Brokaw has rightly judged to be a predominant theme in early Qing morality books.[31] *Xingxin baoxun* shares with these books, despite its appeal for the individual's moral transformation, a conservative rejection of social change and transformation. It insists that an individual's wealth, status, lifespan, and good fortune can all be ascribed to a fate that Heaven can change but — paradoxically and crucially — only after the individual has transformed his or her mind to know and accept the dictates of fate. Not surprisingly, in their appeal for greater literacy, these texts confirm the long-standing Chinese belief that the most literate men, the scholars, rightly held the highest social status, especially when they also attained government office.[32] Despite all the signs of the need for and reward of other types of literacy, many Chinese still linked literacy — i.e., classical literacy — to the study of the Confucian canon, the civil service examinations, and government office.[33] To adopt Donald Sutton's words about illiteracy, even moderate literacy in the classical language was "an index of social rank, a target of social snobbery …"[34] A family might exempt half of its males from taking the exams for official appointment and have them work for a living.[35] But, in the words of an early Qing scholar from Suzhou, these males still had to be educated to read Confucian texts: "Even the stupid sons and grandsons must learn how to read the [Confucian] classics (*jingshu*)."[36]

This view was held with particular conviction by many commentators who survived the final decades of Ming misrule and the early decades of Qing order. To them, literacy — here we are talking about classical literacy — conferred moral benefits and a social distinction along some of the lines explicated by the *Xingxin baoxun*.

The late Ming Cantonese scholar-official Zhang Xuan wrote of literate men who wasted their literacy — "the number one means of a livelihood" — by "being content with being accustomed to the low-grade (*xialiu*)."[37] For the celebrated neo-Confucian thinker Liu Zongzhou (1578–1645) in Shaoxing prefecture, "the low grade of humans in the universe" was the carefree young men of his day who "are not fond of reading books."[38] A generation or two later, the Jiaxing scholar Lu Longqi (1630–93) wrote in strong terms to his sons: "I want you to read in order to understand the moral principles of the sages and to avoid being vulgar persons (*suren*). Reading books and being a man are not two [different] things."[39] His contemporary in Suzhou, Zhang Xikong warned, "Once the fragrance of books dies, the family's reputation will gradually fall into the base."[40]

Slightly later, a native of Hubei in the middle Yangzi Valley, Tu Tianxiang, added to the growing volume of scholarly concern by placing even stronger emphasis on literacy's role as a social marker:

> For a son or younger brother not to read books for one day is then to be close to petty men. How much more so if it goes on to the end of the year! Reading books cuts off the roots of being a petty man. Not reading books is on the way to being close to petty men. Moreover, if one reads books to the end of the year, then even if by chance one is close to petty men, still there will be days when one feels shame and regret [about what one is doing]. If to the end of the year one does not read, then one will daily be associating with petty men. One will fall into their ranks and not know it.[41]

For those who did not know which ranks of men were petty, a separate passage by this author made the identity clear: "In our family those who can read books are to be Confucian scholars and those who cannot are to work at agriculture. They are to be content with their station and practice self-discipline and thereby accept the aid of Heaven. They absolutely are not to hasten the censure of Heaven by having wild desires and violating their station."[42]

This exalted respect for literacy, the literate, and their elevated lifestyle was accompanied by a heightened respect for the printed book as a key signifier of this literacy and its social status. More often than in the Ming, families in the Qing were exhorted to retain their books in order to assure their survival as a scholarly family. It is as if the possession and accumulation of books were intended to relieve the anxiety that the heads of many official families rightly felt about

their inability to prevent the decline and loss of their family's status. Even if the sons, as noted in Chapter 3, often ignored the father's appeals and sold off the books in order to preserve the family's living standard, the ideal of an old family library was certainly urged on readers by early Qing commentators like Zhao Minxian: "If for generation after generation the family does not make a break with the fragrance of books, then this will be a great good fortune for the family's status (*mendi*) and also be enough for it to become an old and hereditary family."[43] An arch neo-Confucian contemporary from Jiaxing prefecture, Zhang Lixiang, attributed to books even greater significance:

> The graves, the ancestral residence, the fields, and the books — these four the descendants are to guard. They are not to leave them even at the point of death. Such is what is meant by being a worthy. Invariably, when you have no choice, the fields can still be measured [for sale] and abandoned. But, the books definitely cannot be done without. Being without property merely means one is cold and hungry. Being without books means that one does not know righteousness and moral principles. How is one then different from the birds and the beasts?[44]

A century later, in a celebrated essay, the Suzhou bibliophile Sun Qingceng (1692–1767) called books "the greatest treasures of the empire." This district degree-holder, who eked out a living partly from the practice of medicine, reiterated Zhang's claim that their mere possession marked a man off from animals: "For one to have books is like a man's body having a soul (*xingling*). If a man does not have a soul, how then is he different from the birds and the beasts?"[45] What man, even a lowly artisan, could then ignore the moral and social significance of books?

This respect for books as a social and moral marker is complemented by a reverential, virtually religious, understanding of books as sacred objects that receives more attention in Qing sources than in those of earlier dynasties. Sun Qingceng, for example, develops his argument about the sacredness of books, to claim for them a role in the cosmological order: "If heaven and earth have no books, then how are they different from when at their beginning order had not yet been established?"[46] Among Qing scholarly circles, this religious impulse is most clearly evident in the high appreciation accorded ritual practices,[47] and particularly the ritual of a Suzhou book-collecting group centered on Huang Peilie. Aware that some literati had performed sacrifices to poems (*shi*) in the Tang dynasty

and to ink in the 1650s, Huang decided to honor books in a similar manner.[48] On the last day of the year in 1801, 1803, 1805, 1811, 1816, and perhaps 1818, he carried out a sacrifice and rite of his own devising to honor rare books that he had specially arranged in one of his studies. The proceedings, called "[meetings to make] sacrifices to books" (*jishu, jishu zhi hui*), were attended by specially invited bibliophile friends, some of whom painted accounts of the ceremony.[49] Unfortunately, none of these descriptions is presently available, but it seems that Huang laid out his Song and Yuan woodblock editions as well as other important books in his collection. He then would offer some libation and food in their honor, the remnants being kept for a banquet held that night for his guests — all this done by a scholar-collector who would eventually open up his own bookstore in 1825 after dealing privately in books for many years.[50] The overall effect, it may be surmised, would have been a dignified ceremony not very different in spirit from the less formal versions of the better-known Japanese tea ceremony. In the Republican era, the ex-head of the Palace Museum, Fu Zengxiang (1873–1949), arguably China's greatest private book collector in modern times, is said to have carried on Huang's "sacrifice to books" with his own friends.[51]

As far as can be ascertained, these ritual activities garnered little attention in other Suzhou circles at the time. What instead caught the imagination and fired the passions of scholarly and commoner circles alike were two popular religious societies that promoted veneration of the written and printed word: the Cherishing Characters Associations (*xizi hui*) and the Wenchang cult. The practices of these associations can be traced to at least the sixth century, when educated Chinese were exhorted to show special care to books and any piece of paper bearing the name of a Confucian sage, a quotation from the Five Classics, or a Confucian commentary. By the mid-fifteenth century, scholars' respect for any paper with script had been designated a meritorious deed, and Ming scholars are sometimes described as collecting discarded scraps of used paper for cremation in special brick furnaces.[52] This essentially private custom of scholars, as Angela Ki Che Leung has perceptively argued, was transformed by no later than the last third of the seventeenth century into public acts that engaged scholars and others in the veneration of the written and printed word.[53] Cherishing Characters

Associations were formed initially in the Suzhou area and then grew popular throughout the Yangzi delta and the rest of the country. Their goal was to collect and then wash in water any scrap of paper their members found with Chinese characters, before burning it and placing the ashes into a ceramic container for release into a stream or the sea (see Figure 7).[54]

Figure 7 Paper Scrap Collector for Cherishing Characters Associations in Ningbo, in R. H. Cobbold, *Pictures of the Chinese, as Drawn by Themselves* (London: John Murray, 1860), p. 48

These associations in some cases had originally been formed by Buddhist monks in the early Qing and influenced by certain religious cults' handling of charms and religious texts.[55] Even these associations, however, soon came under the control and management of local Confucian scholars anxious to perform good deeds and thereby improve their chances and those of their descendants for success in the civil service examinations. Some associations took on a broader social agenda, such as helping to enforce government bans on lewd publications, destroy obscene woodblocks, and carry out acts of charity such as the provision of coffins and food to the needy.[56] Although these associations involved far more individuals of various

social rankings than Huang Peilie's book-worship circle, they shared with the bibliophiles some cultural assumptions about writing and learning. In particular, they repeatedly elevated the scholars' use of paper — and by implication the scholars — over all other uses and statuses. Most vulnerable to these bouts of scholarly righteousness were artisans, as Cherishing Characters Associations wanted a general ban on artisan recycling of used paper for, among other things, candlewicks, umbrellas, fans, pottery, and shoes.[57] At least initially, when membership charges were not cheap, the poor and rich, whom some claimed could run these voluntary associations, clearly intended to include manual workers, like the cobbler Qian, mainly as their scrap collectors. Nonetheless, the practice of showing respect to writing spread widely both inside and outside of these associations. By the close of the nineteenth century, an "old China hand," well-traveled throughout the Qing empire, would observe: "... how scrupulously the Chinese of all classes abstain from desecrating or polluting manuscript or printed paper."[58]

The Cherishing Characters Associations were linked to a popular cult devoted to worshipping a deity thought to determine the outcome of the civil service examinations according to a candidate's accumulation of merits (such as from cherishing characters). Initiated in the Song dynasty and then banned as heterodox by the Ming government in 1488, this cult of the god Wenchang remained very popular with scholars, particularly examination candidates and their fathers. The god's focus of his powers on enabling success in the official examinations restricted his appeal mainly to students and officials, at least until the very late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.[59] In 1801, the god was accepted back into the orthodox imperial pantheon of gods, presumably because the cult's widespread popularity persuaded the government that co-opting it was safer than opposing it. By 1849, on the birthday of this god, "crowds of commoners (*zhongshu fenji*) in droves assembled" at one of his Suzhou shrines in order to burn incense and pay their respects.[60] Thus, by the end of the eighteenth century, scholars no longer had a monopoly on this god, who, in the nineteenth century, is even identified as the deity of commoner occupation groups associated with literacy, such as woodblock carvers and book merchants.[61]

This adoption of literacy as a personal goal and as a set of values by commoners involved in these religious activities suggests three

conclusions. Firstly, while some Qing scholars and officials were anxious about the social instability fostered by "the status-changing nature of real literacy in imperial China,"[62] more sought to foster respect for literacy if only to promote orthodox Confucian values and to counter the allure of potentially troublesome religious cults. In addition to establishing and managing these Cherishing Characters Associations and Wenchang shrines, such gentry and scholars opened many charitable schools for commoners in the lower Yangzi delta.[63] Admittedly, the heirs of these donors often chose not to continue their father's charity; yet, such decisions were financial, not ideological. Secondly, the focus in virtually all these discussions of literacy and activities was on the individual and his family. The Wenchang cult and the book worship ritual are centered on scholars as a social group; but the concern of the first case is personal, not group, success, and that of the second is the scholarly book and bibliophile. No concern is expressed for any "imagined national community," the development of an empire-wide written culture, and even the written language as a means for engaging readers and writers into a public, let alone a national, consciousness. The reader, like the members of the Cherishing Characters Association and the Wenchang cult, is to think of his relation with past sages and not with other readers. The ties that might form among participants in these associations and cult could lead to their collective efforts to reform local customs, but nothing political is either intended or desired. Finally, there is no awareness of the impact that success in these efforts to promote literacy — such as the attainment of mass literacy — would have upon the written language and the social order. Such insight would, like nationalism itself, emerge only from the political tragedies of the nineteenth century and the cultural crises of the twentieth century.

Qian Jinren and His Benefactors

All these Qing social, economic, moral, and religious appreciations of literacy, books, and writing could, of course, be held and advocated by a single individual at the same time. What is striking, then, about Qian Jinren's understanding of his literacy and book collecting is how indifferent it was to the economic benefits and perhaps even social

status changes that most Chinese expected from the acquisition of literacy. While some skepticism is perhaps warranted about the idealized depiction of Qian presented by our sources, it does seem that examination success, improved status, greater wealth, and a better job held little attraction to him. For forty to fifty years, he read and collected books and yet resolutely remained a shoe repairman. The job held no status: distinguished in Qing times from shoemaking and shoe-selling, the occupation of shoe repairing "was considered base by the masses."[64] Practitioners like Qian suffered demanding routines that kept them walking through neighborhoods in search of uncertain work and waiting to be hailed off the street to repair shoes on request.[65]

> The cobbler … goes his rounds from street to street and announces his presence with the rattle peculiar to his calling. He carries in his basket, on his back, all the implements necessary to this trade; a large piece of leather, more used in mending than in making shoes, a pair of uncouth scissors, a large knife, a stone on which to sharpen it, his wax, thread, needles, brad-awls, and the other implements necessary to his functions.[66]

The itinerant nature of Qian's work possibly explains why he seems never to have married and acquired a family of his own, despite his close identification with Confucian values, like filial piety, that assumed the centrality of family relations in the practice of a moral life.

And, the job paid little, far less than most other skilled work. According to a British visitor to Canton in c. 1870, a shoemaker's monthly wage — and I assume that a shoe repairman like Qian received no more and probably less — was just a third that of a first-class ivory carver's, three-quarters that of a blacksmith's, four-fifths that of a (house) painter's, and the same as that of a skilled embroiderer.[67] In short, he was just one step above the mass of unskilled laborers in status and pay.

Despite these social and economic disadvantages to his employment, Qian proved remarkably reluctant to use his literacy to find a better job or raise his station in life. He did some unspecified work for Suzhou bookstores and temples, and he sometimes responded to requests from neighborhood children, often as many as twenty or thirty, to teach them characters. But, he did so reluctantly, showing little interest in teaching permanently and less

in earning an income from it (although he had paid character by character for his own education): "Qian did not ask them about the teaching fee … He did not supervise or punish them but merely held the post as teacher and that is all. Therefore, after a short time they would go away, and Qian practiced shoe repairing as before."[68] In stark contrast to Qian's persistent effort to divorce his learning from his job and source of income stands the more predictable decision of Qian's Suzhou contemporary, Cao Bing. Self-taught like Qian in the Confucian classics, "Cao was by nature simple and rustic. His feet never came into contact with the homes of the titled, and therefore no one in the world knew of him." Yet, Cao's reputed indifference to worldly success did not prevent him from giving up his family job in the clothing trade to pursue a career as a village teacher.[69]

Qian, in contrast, did not actively use his books and book learning to gain admission to higher social circles. He engaged in no book-sharing schemes, made no visits to family collections, took on no literary (*zi*) or personal (*hao*) names in the literati manner, held no parties to discuss his poetry or ideas, and appears not to have indulged in the literati practice of writing colophons into his books.[70] The public success he eventually enjoyed in the eyes of some Suzhou scholars was mainly of their making, not his.

Qian also was no bibliophile. Even though his name is regularly found in twentieth-century books on traditional book collectors, there is no evidence at all that he was a member of any eighteenth-century book-collecting circle or wished to be. He lacked the family pedigree, examination success, and wealth usually required for membership in these groups. Moreover, his book holdings were "tattered" (*po*),[71] consisting of "miscellaneous and old things" arranged disorderly on a white wooden board some three to four feet long, plus "many old books" (*duo gushu*) placed between the walls of his tiny room. Their total of just "10,000 *juan*" was large perhaps for a commoner collector but very small by the standards of the Suzhou collectors of his day. Also, they contained no old or notable edition we know of, except for a Yuan imprint edition of Su Shi's writings.[72]

And, Qian, as his otherwise admiring biographer Wang Jin recognized, was no "thinker":

> In reading books he roughly looked at their general meaning and never could delve into them deeply. But once words moved him, then he tirelessly retained them in his memory.[73]

In a similar vein, Qian's biographer for the prefectural gazetteer of Suzhou observed that Qian skimmed (*liulan*) through a large number of books in a wide range of genres.[74] His main book interests were conventional and orthodox: *The Analects,* the *Xiaojing,* and, less so, some unnamed Daoist writings. The first two texts in particular tended to be learned after a student had mastered one or more of the standard reading primers (though some educators in the Qing found the *Xiaojing* too simple and others found it too difficult for young readers).[75] Qian's Confucian reading seems to have stretched beyond such intermediate fare only tentatively, making him familiar with the oft-quoted twelfth-century neo-Confucian anthology, *Jinsi lu.* His choice of this canonical work of the increasingly rejected Song Learning tradition indicates a commitment to the orthodoxies of all things, the examination curriculum, and a disinterest in Han Learning, then the rage of Suzhou's scholarly circles.[76] In sum, he was learned about a few standard texts and their commentaries, capable of quoting passages from them and perhaps a few more. His functioning library was essentially his memory, and his learning remained that of a man who neither owned nor had access to many books. In the bookish world of eighteenth-century Suzhou, that meant that he would be considered neither learned nor perceptive enough about any of these books to merit plaudits as a "scholar."

Consequently, when Qian's literati admirers spoke of him as "unique (*du*)" and flatteringly called him a "scholar (*shi*)" or "a local scholar in retirement (*chushi*),"[77] what they meant was that he read books, pure and simple, and did not allow the economic concerns of his work to taint his efforts at moral cultivation through reading. They saw his books and literacy as his means to practice spiritual cultivation, to put him in touch with the sages, and to show reverence to their texts. Hence, he often made visits to "burn incense and worship solemnly" at the Suzhou shrine dedicated to Zhou Dunyi (1017–73), the Song founder of the neo-Confucian movement who had "recovered the Way that had not been transmitted since Mencius and passed it on to the brothers Cheng Hao (1032–85) and Cheng Yi [1033–1107]."[78] No wonder that men who saw no reason to admire Qian's book collection or scholarship — but were well aware of the debasement of scholarly ideals in their time — were moved to respect him. His commitment to Confucian learning was exceptional enough to make him an example to more than other artisans. The attention

paid to him at his death was thus to honor not so much him as the moral values which he but no longer the typical scholar was seen to embody: diligence, honesty, respect for learning, and a single-minded commitment to reading.

When we examine the writings of Qian's Suzhou literati admirers, however, it is clear that their understandings of the benefits of books and literacy only imperfectly matched what we know of Qian's. Situated towards the opposite end of the social scale from Qian, they enjoyed a type of classical literacy both more comprehensive and intensive than that acquired by Qian. Likewise, their appreciation of literacy and books encompassed all the understandings of literacy and books that we have discussed so far. In their youth, they had studied for the examinations, some proceeding so far that they acquired the provincial or metropolitan degree. When, by middle-age, they had cast aside whatever hopes they had once entertained of a successful official career, men like Peng Shaosheng and Wang Jin stressed other appreciations of literacy than the economic and social, thereby expressing the eclectic nature of their intellectual interests. Along with Qian, they held books and writing in reverence. But, ironically, it was they rather than Qian who became strongly committed to and identified with Suzhou's popular Cherishing Characters Associations and its Wenchang cult for writing and learning. Their sympathy for Qian in his final days would thus derive not from a shared single-minded commitment to Confucian orthodoxies but from their many-sided intellectual commitments and their religious understanding of books and humanity.

Consider the case of the Cherishing Characters Associations. Qian made a living walking the streets of Suzhou but is never linked to any paper-collecting activity for a Cherishing Characters Association. Tattered books he collected for his library and not for burning. Yet, the family of Peng Shaosheng was for generations closely linked to the establishment and operation of such associations, arguably more so than any other Suzhou family over the course of the eighteenth century. His great-grandfather, Peng Dingqiu (1645–1719), wrote what is now the oldest extant essay on the activities suitable for a Cherishing Characters Association (it included a ban on the recycling of used-paper-with-writing for artisan production). The Peng family's devotion to "the cherishing of characters" remained so strong that, in the view of many Chinese, it justified the Yongzheng emperor's unexpected

elevation of Peng Shaosheng's father, Peng Qifeng (1701–84), from tenth to top rank in the palace examination of 1727.[79] Later on, in the eighteenth century, Peng Shaosheng continued this family tradition by composing an essay to support the association's fundraising and by donating some fields to it:

> Characters (*zi*) are to give birth, that is to say, they create without limit. To create without limit is the intention of Heaven and is the Way of man. The making of characters is meant to correct virtue, communicate feelings, and in honoring the past look into the future. Therefore, nothing is better than characters for being able to make all under Heaven profit from fine benefits and yet not speak of that which profits. To treasure and cherish [characters] is the intention of Heaven and the Way of man. To destroy and abandon them defies the intention of Heaven and opposes the Way of man. It brings no benefit and does harm.[80]

Peng Shaosheng's insistence that all under Heaven share in the cherishing and creativity of writing was not for him and his family a patch of hollow rhetoric. His great-grandfather, Peng Dingqiu, had, after retiring from office, acquired in the early eighteenth century books of two Wuxi county collectors, the Gus and the Gaos, thereby initiating his family's interest in Confucian scholarship.[81] Peng Shaosheng's father, in the course of a very successful official career, saw to a greater dissemination of books by persuading the Qianlong emperor in 1740 to distribute copies of books recently collected and printed on imperial orders. More importantly, in 1773, he ran for a year an office set up by the court in Suzhou to persuade local collectors to lend rare books to the Qianlong emperor's Four Treasuries project, thereby acquiring over 1,800 titles for the emperor before his project manifested an interest in censorship.[82] And, Peng Shaosheng himself printed a wide variety of texts that he composed, edited, or compiled for distribution.[83]

The Pengs' promotion of literacy was evident also in their worship of the god Wenchang. Their support for this god of the examination-hall students dates to at least the mid-seventeenth century, when they made a major contribution to the reconstruction of a Wenchang shrine in Suzhou city. They again in 1752 made important contributions to the repairs of this shrine. In c. 1775, while denying the validity of Confucian fears that devotion to Wenchang was tainted by its Daoist origins and links, Peng Shaosheng recognized

the generous favors that his family had received from this god.[84] Eventually, after the death of his wife and his father, in 1785 he took up permanent residence in the family-supported Wenchang shrine.[85] Wang Jin also showed an interest in the cult, writing an encouraging preface to the text most associated with its god.[86]

This interest of Peng Shaosheng and Wang Jin in not just the preservation but also the distribution of the written and printed word can be traced to their rejection of the academic and examination-linked Confucianism of their time. Both disliked the more narrow interpretations of Zhu Xi's orthodox commentaries used in the examinations. They also showed minimal interest in the Han Learning project then seeking to regain the original meaning of the Confucian classics by restoring their original texts. Instead, they preferred a far more eclectic and inclusive body of thought that blended Confucianism and Buddhism. While they recognized the validity of Zhu Xi's orthodox thought, they gave at least equal preference to the more internal and activist teachings of Wang Yangming. This blending of the two principal schools of neo-Confucian thought can, at least in Peng's case, be traced to the influence of the late Ming scholar-official Gao Panlong (1566–1620). As the teacher of Peng Shaosheng's great-grandfather, Gao had made creative use of Buddhist concepts such as emptiness and isolation that were current in late Ming scholarly circles. He also had supported the teachings of Zhu Xi against the "immoral excesses" of some followers of Wang Yangming. Peng Shaosheng's grandfather, in transmitting this expansive late Ming worldview into the far more empirical and secular intellectual circles of the Qing, earned for himself and his family a reputation for proficiency in Zhu Xi's learning and the activism of Wang Yangming's school.[87] The family continued to support Wang's insistence that moral principles could be found in the human mind and had to be enacted in actual life. Even when discussing the central text of the Wenchang cult, Peng denied any need to look "outside the mind" for the principles of filial piety and loyalty that, in his view, were espoused by this text.[88]

This more personal and internal reading of the Confucian classics was joined by an eclecticism that gave at least equal place to Buddhism. Peng had become interested in Buddhism ever since Wang Jin had discussed it with him in c. 1770. He particularly favored Pure Land Buddhism and its central text, the *Sutra of Infinite Life*

(*Wuliang shou jing*; aka the Larger Sukāvativyūha). While both surviving versions of this sutra urge all sentient beings to strive to be reborn in the Pure Land, the longer version — the one preferred and chosen by Peng for reprinting in 1775 — emphasizes the central role of good deeds and faith in Amidābha in any sentient being's attainment of enlightenment.[89] Here we have not only a set of beliefs similar to Wang Yingming's core teachings that all men can gain sagehood and that action, not just mental reflection, was essential for the moral life. We also have a social role laid out for Peng as a devout Buddhist layman acting on behalf of the needy and the suffering. Filial piety is basic but so is kindness (*ci*). The resulting openness to the suffering of others is underlined in this sutra's espousal of equality (*pingdeng*) among all sentient beings, both in the intellectual disregard for the conventional distinctions between the mind, Buddhahood, and the mass of sentient beings and in the widespread distribution of the joys of the Pure Land. In 1775, Peng printed his own views of this sutra in two writings that lay out his belief that salvation for all beings lay in compassionate action.[90]

Wang Jin's path to similar views was neither as family based nor as linked to past traditions. His generation was just the third of his family to live in Suzhou, and his father's early death impoverished him, his mother, and his younger brother (for years he was too poor to hire others to copy books).[91] After a particularly slow start at learning to read and memorize, his studies, and especially his proficiency at writing, launched him on a promising career as a Suzhou literatus. But, his efforts to become an official ended mainly in failure, five failures to acquire the provincial degree. His profession of his commitment to writing came in a self-description: "One manifests the Way [or the dharma] by relying on writing (*yinwen jiandao*)."[92] Like Peng, he considered Buddhism and Confucianism closely related bodies of thought, so much so that for him the main route to the Pure Land was the practice of filial piety, and the Buddha was identified with the mind.[93] His faith in Amidābha eventually made him a more pious believer than Peng in Pure Land Buddhism and its *Sutra of Infinite Life*. To him, all sentient beings were originally Buddhas and should regard the Pure Land as their destination.[94] Such inclusiveness is not given an explicit social dimension in Wang's writings, but it suggests an openness that would explain his willingness to write a biography honoring a man he did not know but thought

gave meaning to "the manifestation of the Way [Dharma?] through writing."

This range of Confucian and Buddhist sympathies helps to explain the support given to Qian by his literati admirers in his final days. Certainly, the surviving Chinese accounts, even though they disagree about the condition of Qian at the time he was rescued, do stress the care and concern shown to the enfeebled Qian by others. Peng Shaosheng and another of his friends, Xue Qifeng, we read, had spoken often of Qian's admirable qualities to their friends, like the Confucian doctor Wang Bing. So, when Qian was forced by his ulcerous feet to stop working (or was felled by hunger in a famine), Wang Bing won the approval of the other male members of his family to "summon Qian to their house where they treated him with very great courtesy. They then moved him and his books to reside and grow old in their home," under the tireless care of this medical family.[95]

The removal of Qian's books into the Wangs' home, along with their ailing owner, points to the central role that books in general played in the formation of a common ground for Qian and his literati admirers. Peng Shaosheng had suffered the loss of one eye at an early age, Wang Jin been a slow learner until his late teens, Wang Bing had been repeatedly frustrated by disappointments in the examination hall, and Qian Jinren had to overcome poverty and family indifference just to learn his characters.[96] Their sufferings and sacrifices on the way to gaining literacy, whatever its level and type, in no way removed their separate commitments to these books and their awe at what these texts of the Confucian sages and worthies had to teach them for life. These books they revered as sacred receptacles of a moral wisdom that benefited all those who read them.

Yet, it is important to recognize that the Confucian and Buddhist commitments of Qian's admirers had led them to essentially a much more inclusive and learned appreciation of literacy, the book, and learning than that held by Qian. The gap between Qian and these men is perhaps represented by the limited nature of their social interaction. Some of these admirers spoke to Qian only after he had moved into the Wangs' home; others, when they met him, did not converse. Wang Jin himself confessed that he wrote Qian's biography but had seen him only once and had never spoken to him at all. Also, those Suzhou scholars who did speak to him and visit him — such as

Peng Shaosheng and Xue Qifeng — are said, by Suzhou's prefectural gazetteer of 1883, to "have humbled themselves (*zhejie*) to have an association with Qian,"[97] hardly a sign of strong interest and friendship.

Thus, even if Wang Bing did remove an elderly Qian bedded by his ulcerous feet from his room, his rescue of Qian to the Wang family's home was an act of charity, not a sign of this family's acceptance of Qian as a social equal or an expression of interest in his learning. Qian's admission into the ranks of Suzhou's scholars and literati would come only with his death, when he was laid to rest in the literati earth of Tiger Hill on the outskirts of Suzhou. This burial as a scholar may have crowned his life, assuring Qian's reputation of far greater symbolic power in the future than it had enjoyed in his lifetime. But, it cannot be understood as a confirmation of the existence of a social and cultural unity that wove these different types of literacy into a widely shared understanding of literacy and integrated them into a common commitment to book culture. The history of literate men, their literacies and the book in late imperial China was far too complicated and unpredictable to allow for such a boring "happy ending."

Notes

Introduction

1 Wang Jin, *Wang Ziwen lu* (Records of Wang Jin) (XXSKQS ed.), 10. 5a–6a; Zhao Erxun, et al., *Qing shi gao* (Draft standard history of the Qing) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976–77), 502, pp. 13,882; He Shixi, *Zhongguo lidai yijia chuanlu* (Biographical records of doctors in Chinese history) (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1991), v. 1, pp. 22–3; and Xu Weixin, "Huqiu you zuoxiejiang mu (Tiger Hill has the grave of a cobbler)," pp. 95–6, in Xu Gangyi, *Qili shantang* (The two-mile-long Mountain Embankment) (Shanghai: Guji, 2003), pp. 95–6.
2 Lu Zhao and Ren Zhaolin, comp., *Hufu zhi* (Gazetteer of Tiger Hill) (1792) (Suzhou: Gu Su xuan chubanshe, 1995), 3, p. 260; most of these charitable graveyards were set up between 1735 and 1743.
3 *Suzhou fuzhi* (Gazetteer of Suzhou Prefecture) (1883), 89.14b–15a; and Xu Gangyi, pp. 95–6.
4 Inoue Susumu, "Zōsho to dokusho (Book collecting and book reading)," *Tōhō gakuhō* (Journal of Oriental Studies) 62 (1990), pp. 425–6.
5 Paul J. Smith, "Family, *Landsmänn*, and Status-Group Affinity in Refugee Mobility Strategies: The Mongol Invasions and the Diaspora of Sichuanese Elites, 1230–1330," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52.2 (1992), pp. 668–72.
6 This topic is well treated in Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit, The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th–17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asian Center, 2002).
7 In sharp contrast to Jianyang, the lower Yangzi delta could boast of an exceptionally large number of major book collectors, as evident in the numerous recent accounts of Chinese book collectors (e.g., the entries on major Song, Yuan, and Ming collectors in Li Yu'an and Chen Chuanyi, comp., *Zhongguo cangshujia cidian* [Dictionary of Chinese book collectors] [Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1989]).

Chapter 1

1 Zhang Shudong, comp., *Zhang Xiumin yinshua lunwen ji* (Collected essays of Zhang Xiumin on publishing) (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1988), p. 55.

2 Timothy H. Barrett, "Woodblock Dyeing and Printing: The Innovations of Ms. Liu and Other Evidence," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64.2 (June 2001), pp. 240–7. In the West, as Thomas Hobbes observed, such ignorance cloaks the person(s) who invented our alphabet: "The Invention of Printing, though ingenious, compared with the invention of letters, is no great matter. But who was the first that found the use of Letters, is not known" (David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003], p. 17).

3 Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum, with Other Parts of the Great Instauration*, trans. and ed. by Peter Urbach and John Gibson (Chicago and La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1994), Bk. 1, aphorism 129, p. 131.

4 Shen Kuo, *Mengxi bitan* (Notes of Shen Kuo) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 18, p. 184; and Ye Mengde, *Shilin yanyu* (Chatter from Ye Mengde) (CSJC ed.), 8, p. 74.

5 Zhang Zexian, *Tangdai gongshang ye* (Industry and commerce in the Tang dynasty) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 201–3; and Seo Tatsuhiko, "Tōdai Chōan toshi no insatsugyō (The publishing industry in Chang'an's Eastern Market in the Tang dynasty)," pp. 200–38, in Tōdai kenkyūkai hokoku shū, *Higashi Ajiashi ni okeru kokka to chiiki* (State and regions in East Asia) (Tokyo: Tōsui shobō, 1999), provides a careful summary of the evidence, both textual and material, on Tang printing, especially in Chang'an. This fine study is now available in English, under the title given above, in *Memoirs of the Tōyō Bunko* (2004), pp. 1–42.

6 Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshua shi* (A history of publishing in China) (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1989), pp. 13–4, 21–2.

7 Li Zhizhong, Zhou Shaochuan, and Zhang Dazao, comp., *Dianchi zhi* (An account of old books) (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1998; v. 8 of the *Yiwen* set within the 100-volume series *Zhonghua wenhua tongzhi* [Comprehensive account of Chinese culture), pp. 226–7.

8 Tsien, Tsuen-hsuin, *Paper and Printing*, in the series of Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation, v. 5, Chemistry and Chemical Technology, pt. I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) [hereafter Tsien], p.149.

9 Timothy H. Barrett, *The Rise and Spread of Printing: A New Account of Religious Factors* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Working Papers in the Study of Religions, 2001), esp. p. 11.

10 Seo, pp. 228–31.
11 Denis Twitchett, *Printing and Publishing in Medieval China* (London: The Wynkyn de Worde Society, 1983), pp. 13–22; and Tsien, pp. 146–54.
12 Tsien, pp. 194–5. Also, Jean-Pierre Drège, "Des effets de l'imprimerie en Chine sous la dynastie des Song," *Journal Asiatique* 282.2 (1994), pp. 409–42, esp. 415, describes this 1947 interview as the first and only detailed discussion of woodblock book production methods in Chinese.
13 Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin (Qian Cunxun), "Zhongguo diaoban yinshua jishu zatan (Miscellaneous talk on the craft of woodblock printing in China)," pp. 139–52, in his *Zhongguo shuji zhimo ji yinshua shi lunwen ji* (Collected essays on Chinese books and publishing history) (Hong Kong: Xianggang zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1992). A film recently made at Dege Buddist Temple in present Ganzi Tibetan Autonomus Prefecture in western Sichuan Province shows the traditional carving methods used in the past to make 270,000 woodblocks for the Tibetan Buddhist canon (Jun'ichi Nakanishi, "The Dege Printing House and the Local People Who Support It: Hand Printing the Buddhist Canon from Woodblocks," *The Toyota Foundation Occasional Report* 31 [August 2001], pp. 3–6).
14 Ye Shusheng and Yu Minhui, *Ming Qing Jiangnan siren keshu shilüe* (A short history of the private printing of books in Jiangnan in the Ming and Qing) (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2000).
15 Zhao Yushi, *Bintui lu* (Records after the guest has left) (Shanghai: Guji, 1983), 4, p. 44; and, Shen Kuo, 18, p. 178.
16 I.e., Zhang Yanyuan in his *Lidai minghua ji* (Record of famous paintings over the ages) (Robert van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art, as Viewed by the Connoisseur* [Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio Estremo Oriente, 1958], pp. 148–ff); and Edward Martinique, *Traditional Chinese Binding* (San Francisco, CA: Chinese Materials Center, 1983), p. 29.
17 Klaas Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China: Lu Ban jing, a Study of the Fifteenth-Century Carpenter's Manual* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), pp. 25–6, 31–2, and 134; also Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, v. 4, Physics and Physical Engineering, pt. 3, Civil Engineering and Nautics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 81–4, 128 and 141; and Shen Kuo, 18, p. 177.
18 Su Yijian, *Wenfang sipu* (Four guides on the scholar's study) (CSJC ed.), 4, pp. 52–4; and Sung Ying-hsing, *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu, Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. E-tu Zen Sun and Shiou-chuan Sun (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966), pp. 223–32.
19 Shen Kuo, 18, p. 184; and, Tsien, pp. 201–11, introduces these sources effectively. See also R.C. Rudolph, *A Chinese Printing Manual, 1776* (Los Angeles, CA: Typophiles, 1954), for a translation of an eighteenth-century Chinese account of making wooden moveable-type for the

imperial court. The survival of such records helps to explain why Chinese accounts of Chinese book technology focus overwhelmingly on the kind of Chinese printing, moveable type, that was least important for virtually all of China's printing history.

20 Li Dengzhai, *Changtan conglu* (A comprehensive record of regular talk) (Weijing tang ed.), 1.13a–b.

21 Bacon, p. 114.

22 William Milne, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* (Malacca: Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820), pp. 222–87, consisting of Section XVII. On p. 254, Milne says he is writing this passage in 1819; the entire section, however, would not be finished (and published) until 1820 (Robert Morrison, comp., *Memoirs of the Rev. William Milne, D.D.* [Malacca: Mission Press, 1824], p. 85). In the early fourteenth century, the Persian scholar official Rashid-eddin gave an account of Chinese printing, but it is far less detailed than Milne's on technical and economic matters (Edward G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature Under Tartar Dominion (A.D. 1265–1502)* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920], pp. 102–3. About three centuries later, Matteo Ricci wrote a similarly brief account of Chinese printing, one that nowadays is often used by scholars (*China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583–1610,* trans. Louis J. Gallagher [New York: Random House, 1942, 1953], pp. 20–1). Tsien's recent accounts in "Zhongguo diaoban" and Tsien, pp. 194–251, are clearly more detailed and informative.

23 Jean-Pierre Drège, "Les aventures de la typographie et les missionnaires protestants en Chine au XIXe siècle," *Journal Asiatique* 280 (1992), pp. 279–305; and "Poirier et Jujubier: La Technique de la Xylographie en Chine," pp. 85–93, in Frédéric Barbier, et al., eds., *Le livre et l'historien: Etudes offertes en l'honneur du Professeur Henri–Jean Martin* (Genèva: Librairie Droz, 1997).

24 Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795–1895* (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), v. 2, p. 431. He also was frustrated by the profusion of dialects: "… when going among the people, in one house the chief part of what was said was understood; in the next, perhaps a half; and in a third not more than a few sentences. In addressing a small company of fifteen or twenty persons, a knowledge of two dialects is in many instances necessary in order to impart instruction with effect to all" (Robert Philip, *The Life and Opinions of the Reverend William Milne, D.D* [London: John Snow, 1840], p. 206).

25 Morrison, pp. 41–2 and 44–5.

26 A. Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese: Giving a List of Their Publications, and Obituary Notices of the Deceased* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867; reprt. Taipei: Chengwen Publishing Co., 1967), pp. 12–3. For whatever reason, Milne's biography in the

Dictionary of National Biography (London: Smith and Elder, 1899), v. 38, p. 9, mentions only his work as a shepherd. His own autobiographical memoirs simply refer to this work as service to a family.

27 Philip, p. 264; and Milne, p. 140. The printing workers included the Cantonese Leang A-fa (aka Liang Afa) (1789–1855), who was better known to Westerners as Milne's first convert (Lovett, v. 2, p. 434); his second convert was an assistant of Leang, Kew-Agang (ibid., v. 2, pp. 426–7). Milne also brought from Canton some printing paper and a Chinese language teacher (Milne, p. 140).

28 Wylie, pp. 25, 44. Cecil K. Byrd, *Early Printing in the Straits Settlements, 1806–1858* (Singapore: Singapore National Library, 1970), provides a brief but fascinating account of the early activities of the mission-run Anglo-Chinese Press. Within three months of his arrival in Malacca in 1815, Milne had established this press and printed up its first publication, a periodical. Like most of this press's subsequent publications up to 1842, it was in Chinese and done by woodblock, even though from November 1816 the press also had a printing press recently arrived from Bengal. In June the following year, Medhurst arrived in Malacca and assumed the post of superintendent of all the press's operations (ibid, pp. 9–13).

29 Ching Su, The Printing Presses of the London Missionary Society Among the Chinese (University of London, University College, Ph.D dissertation, 1996), pp. 51 and 119. Milne even had his children study how to read the Chinese language every day (Morrison, p. 116) and had his catechism schools teach the children how to bow in the Chinese manner to their superiors, parents, teachers, and one another (Philip, p. 191). Yet, his own writings show him far from being a blind sinophile (e.g., Milne, p. 280).

30 Ibid, p. 239.

31 Ishii Kendō, *Nishikie no hori to suri* (Tokyo: Geisodō, 1994 reprint of the 1929 original). This book, as the title suggests, is concerned primarily with woodblock illustrations; yet the techniques it describes are, but for the absence of the scribal work, those used for carving and printing from woodblocks. It mentions two earlier Japanese accounts of these techniques: a volume (*ce*) in *[Nihon] Seihin zusetsu* (Pictures and descriptions of Japanese products) (compiled by Ko Eiichi and first printed in 1877) and a brief account in *Bungei ruisan* (Literary arts) (compiled by Sakakibara Yoshino and first printed in 1878) (ibid, p. 2). Both of these texts are of considerable interest but provide far less concrete detail and instruction than Ishii's work, which merits a translation into English in the near future. It should be added that the earliest Chinese illustration of woodblock printing — that is, carving, printing, and binding — that I have found is in the apparently Qing imprint, *Yinzhi wentu zhu* (as reproduced in Luo Shubao, comp.,

Zhongguo gudai yinshua shi tuce [trans. by Chan Sin-wai as *An Illustrated History of Printing in Ancient China*] [Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, and Beijing: Wenwu, 1998], p. 57).

32 Milne, pp. 223–4. One is tempted to think that this method is linked to the millennia-old, pre-paper practice of writing on strips of bamboo and other kinds of wood.

33 Ibid., p. 223; and Zhang Xiumin, pp. 566–7. William C. Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, and Co., 1885), p. 216, tells of their use, announced by street criers, for every kind of news but political criticism. As elsewhere, he here is writing about mid-nineteenth-century Canton. Roswell Sessoms Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1933), pp. 4–5, aptly observes of this technique, "Time and cost were saved at the expense of legibility and good appearance."

34 Milne, p. 223.

35 Milne, p. 226. Hunter, p. 213, confirms the preference for pear wood due to "the evenness of its texture and fibre."

36 Ibid., pp. 227–8.

37 Ibid., p. 246.

38 Ibid., pp. 226 and 227.

39 Tsien, pp. 196–200, gives instructive details on the tools and ways to use them. Hunter, p. 214, mentions the use of "a delicate sharp pointed instrument of a triangular form." See also Eugene Cooper, *The Woodcarvers of Hong Kong, Craft Production in the World Capitalist Periphery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 36–41, which has interesting comments on carvers' tools. Unfortunately, no knife used for carving woodblocks in the Ming is known to be extant today, but recently made examples survive from Huizhou in Anhui Province and Yangzhou in Jiangsu Province (Miao Yonghe, *Mingdai chuban shi* [A history of Ming publishing] [Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin, 2000], p. 303).

40 William Henry Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects, with especial reference to the spread of the gospel* (London: John Snow, 1838), pp. 104–5.

41 The eighteenth-century Jesuit missionary P. du Halde's far more detailed comments on the printer's use of his brushes deserve mention here: "… they have two Brushes, one harder than the other, which are held in the Hand, and which may be used at both ends of the Handles; they dip one a little in the Ink, and rub the Plate with it, but so that it may not be too much nor too little moisten'd; if it was too much, the Letters would be blotch'd; if too little the characters would not print: when the Plate is once in order they can print three or four Sheets without dipping the Brush in the Ink.

The other Brush must pass gently over the Paper, pressing it down a little that it may take up the Ink; this is easily done, because not being dipt in Allum it quickly imbibes it: You must pass the Brush over the

Sheet more or fewer times and press upon it accordingly as there is more or less in upon the Plate; this Brush must be oblong and soft" (P. du Halde, *The General History of China* [London: J. Watts, 1741, 3rd ed.], v. 2, pp. 436–7). The firm brush, according to Hunter, p. 214, is "made of the fibre of cocoa-nut or other wood."

42 Milne, p. 228. Hunter, p. 214, has the printing finished by a specialist writer who brushes onto the foot of each bound volume its title and, if more than one volume, its number. Often, however, the title was written on the volume's cover.

43 Ibid., pp. 228–9. By the Song, all four stages of production and their specialist artisans were specifically identified (Zhang Xiumin, p. 731).

44 Su Ching, p. 108.

45 Yang Shengxin, "Cong *Jisha cang* keyin kan Song Yuan yinshua gongren de jige wenti (From the perspective of printing the *Jisha cang* Buddhist canon, looking at several issues related to Song and Yuan printing workers)," *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* (Collected essays on Chinese literature and history) 1984.1, pp. 41–58, esp. 45–7; and Zhang Xiumin, p. 734 (which also mentions that Buddhist monks were often the carvers of Buddhist sutra woodblocks).

46 Milne, pp. 123 and 252.

47 Ibid., p. 258.

48 The same problem, however, afflicted early nineteenth-century type fonts, as one 1833 advocate of moveable-type printing, Samuel Dyer, admitted: "But [as] successful as our late experiment has proved, there is one serious difficulty attending it; a font in continual use may last, say five or seven years, and then it must be recast; now the difficulty and expense of procuring a new font every seven years, is very great, unless we had the means of casting them in India" (*Chinese Repository*, v. 1 [1833], p. 417).

49 Milne, p. 241.

50 Ibid., pp. 241–2. Up until the end of 1819, Milne's own thirteen titles in Chinese had achieved woodblock runs of from 1,900 to 9,000; his earliest publication, of 1816, in its first print run, had 5,800 copies by 1820. Milne's figures for his publications show first impressions ranging between 700 and 6,000 (this largest run dealt with the evils of gambling) (ibid., pp. 269–71).

51 *Chinese Repository*, v. 14 (1845), p. 129. This piece seems to have been written by Medhurst.

52 The size of Western European imprint runs — estimated at 500 copies in the fifteenth century, 600 in the sixteenth century, and 1,200 to 1,800 for French language books in the seventeenth century — may thus have been considerably smaller than in China, where publishers had to balance harshly contending pressures: "The need to reduce unit costs obviously required a printing run large enough

to be able to spread the fixed expenses—in particular, those for the composition of the text and the engraving of the illustrations—over a large number of copies. Nevertheless, it was important not to print too many copies, thereby tying up for too long a time the capital needed for the purchase of paper, which represented an important expenditure" (Henri-Jean Martin, *The French Book, Religion, Absolutism, and Readership, 1585–1715* [Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996], p. 3). Quite likely, Chinese printing pressures, thanks to the reliance on woodblocks, were less risky.

53 On the basis of his short stays in Canton and Macao, Milne claims that Chinese "moveable types are commonly made of *wood.* The Canton daily paper called *Yuen-mun-pao* (i.e., A report from the outer gate of the palace,) containing about 500 words, or monosyllables, is printed with these wooden types; but in so clumsy a manner as to be scarcely legible" (Milne, p. 224). He also reports, "With respect to moveable type, the body of the type being prepared, the character is written *inverted,* on the top; this is more difficult work than to write for blocks. After this, the type is fixed in a mortise, by means of two small pieces of wood, joined together by a wedge, and then engraved; after which it is taken out, and the face lightly drawn across a whetstone, to take off any rough edge that the carving instrument may have left" (ibid., p. 226). For a more comprehensive account, including the very scant information on Bi Sheng, see Tsien, pp. 201–22.

54 Yuan Yi, "Qingdai de shuji jiaoyi ji shujia kao (On the book trade and book prices in the Qing dynasty)," *Sichuan tushuguan xuebao* (Journal of Sichuan Library) 1992.1, pp. 73–4. I am grateful to Cynthia J. Brokaw for this reference. Also, the early nineteenth-century American visitor to Canton, W. W. Wood, observed, "The price of books is low, and there are numerous book shops and stalls in all the principal streets" (*Sketches of China* [Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1830], p. 124).

55 Martin J. Heijdra, "Technology, Culture, and Economics: Moveable Type Versus Woodblock Printing in East Asia," pp. 223–40 (esp. 230–33 and 236), in Isobe Akira, ed., *Higashi Ajia shuppan bunka kenkyū, niwatazumi* (Research on the Publishing Culture of East Asia—A pool of water in the garden after rain) (Tokyo: Nigensha, 2004). Note that this cost analysis focuses only on different print technologies. Yet, Chinese commercial publishers, anxious to secure customers, would have been aware that their principal competitor in the book market for most if not all of the time we are discussing in this book was the venerable and very cheap "technology" of manuscript copying. Wooden moveable-type printing of very small runs would possibly then have lost much of its attraction to publishers whose customers bought and collected hand copies.

56 With the stereotyping technique, invented in the Netherlands before 1700, printers made a plaster mould of each frame of moveable type. By thus preserving a full face for every page in the book, all the heaviest costs of reprinting by moveable type (i.e., typesetting, editing, and proofreading) were eliminated. By 1839, thanks to technical improvements in France and England, each mould could provide more than 100,000 — and, with care, over 1,000,000 — impressions. For books in constantly high demand, like the Bible, this technique promised huge savings; but it presumed prior use of moveable type (William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004], pp. 183–5).

57 Milne's omission of lithography is understandable. In 1819–20, when Milne was writing in distant Malacca, lithography in Europe was an accepted practice in just one city, Munich. Moreover, until well into the latter half of the nineteenth century, it probably provided no more than half the daily output of the iron platen press of the letter-press printer (in speed it could not compete with the letter-press rotary machines used for mass newspapers throughout the nineteenth century) (Michael Twyman, *Breaking the Mould: the First Hundred Years of Lithography* [London: British Library, 2001], pp. 24 and 45–6).

58 Milne, p. 246.

59 Ibid., pp. 246–9 and 251.

60 Ibid., p. 253. Apt advice on the financing of moveable-type publishing comes from the founder of The Hogarth Press in London: "the road to bankruptcy is paved with overheads—and books which do not sell" (Leonard Woolf, *The Journey, Not the Arrival Matters, An Autobiography of the Years 1939–1969* [London: The Hogarth Press, 1969], p. 110).

61 Morrison, pp. 97–8, n. 8. Milne's stress on the multiplicity of Chinese characters (i.e., viewing them as distinct drawings) is confirmed by the views of a highly experienced expert on printing technology in general and that of lithography in particular: "From Gutenberg's time onwards relief printers have shown a predilection for verbal messages, while intaglio printers, even when working commercially, have tended to concentrate on pictorial and decorative work" (Twyman, p. 63).

62 Milne, pp. 259–60. The same was said, late in the nineteenth century, of blind printers in Beijing: "[The missionary] Mr [William H.] Murray has taught all along [blind] students to do everything for themselves in the preparation of their books, even to the stereotyping, which by a very ingenious contrivance of his own invention, they are able to do so rapidly, and with such accuracy, that anyone of these lads can with ease produce ten pages a day. A blind man in London working with a hand frame could only turn out four or five plates in a day, and the best blind stereotyper in the employment of the British and Foreign Blind

Association who now works with a machine, considers eight pages a good day's work. The Chinese lads work more accurately than their brethern in our own land, and at a far cheaper rate." Constance F. Gordon Cumming, *The Inventor of the Numeral-Type for China* (London: Downey and Co., 1899), p. 42; also, on p. 43, Mr Murray confirms this by saying, "The [blind] boy in Beijing can do with ease in one day double the amount of work which a blind man in England could do with a hand frame and the quality of the work is struck more perfectly."

63 Ricci, p. 21. The early nineteenth-century missionary Charles Gutzlaff even concluded, "For all common work, the Chinese mode of xylography or stereotyping appears to be the cheapest and much to be preferred" (*China Opened* [London: Smith Elder and Co., 1838], v. 2, p. 149). However, see Adriano de las Cortes, S. J., *Le Voyage en Chine d'Adriano de las Cortes, S. J.*, trans. Pascale Girard and Juliette Monbeig (Paris: Chandeigne, 2001), pp. 194–5, for disparaging comments on the "always" low-quality paper and carving of Chinese woodblock imprints that this Jesuit came across in the coastal areas of northeastern Guangdong Province.

64 Milne, p. 240. Hunter, p. 216, confirms this view: "the adroitness of the workmen, and their intelligence, enable them to get through a job with wonderful celerity and neatness."

65 Medhurst, p. 105; and, Wood, p. 214. These two estimates, Milne's "2, 000 copies a day" and Medhurst's 3,000, may well be the source for a British contemporary estimate that "from 2,000 to 3,000 [copies] may be taken off in a day by a single workman" (William B. Langdon, *Ten Thousand Things Relating to China and the Chinese* [London: 1842], p. 163). The arbitrariness of these figures is underlined by Matteo Ricci's late-sixteenth-century estimate for a skilled printer of "as many as fifteen hundred sheets in a single day" (Ricci, p. 21). Note, however, that actual production demands seem to have fallen so low that these ideal estimates, even when we disregard their variations, lose much of their claim to general validity and widespread applicability to past practice. For instance, a modern writer claims just thirty copies were printed for the first impression of an imprint (Tsien, p. 370); Drège (1994), p. 427, mentions 600 to 1,000 copies for a single impression. A very recent set of per-day figures in fact lowers the production level considerably: 100 characters a day (the workers' ancestors did 150 to 200 a day) and 500 sheets (in seven or eight hours), while the carving of a literary collection in 1377 was reportedly done by one man at the rate of 235 characters a day (Miao Yonghe, pp. 305 and 307). Obviously, picking a universally valid figure out of these numbers is at best a pig in a poke.

66 Medhurst, p. 113. Medhurst's carver is reportedly paid sixpence per 100 characters, a page generally containing 500 characters.

67 Ibid., p. 235. The Haechang Temple mentioned here is presumably what in modern Chinese is transcribed as *Haichuang si*, the Buddhist temple that printed so many of the Buddhist imprints in the Morrison Collection at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (Andrew C. West, comp., *Catalogue of the Morrison Collection of Chinese Books* [London: SOAS, University of London, 1998], e.g., pp. 168–208, *passim*). Hunter, p. 216, locates this temple as "opposite the old Factories at Canton" and comments favorably on its woodblock storerooms' "great system and neatness."

68 Milne, pp. 234–5.

69 Ibid., pp. 247–8; and Medhurst, p. 563. The Jesuits in Macao preferred type, since it was easier than woodblocks to conceal from the Chinese police (Drège [1992], p. 284). Medhurst, p. 562, also finds that "the typecutters are very troublesome men, very difficult to keep in order, and should they be prohibited from quitting their native land, our work must come a stand."

70 See the discussion by Samuel Dyer in *Chinese Repository,* v. 2 (Feb. 1834), pp. 477–8.

71 Li Zhizhong, *Jianpu ji* (Collection of essays shouldering the simple) (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1998), pp. 321–4.

72 Martinique, p. 38.

73 Miao Yonghe, pp. 310–1, notes that, for each printer, butterfly binding required five binders and stitched printing just three binders.

74 Christian Daniels, "Jūroku—jūnana seki Fukken no chikushi seizō gijutsu—*Tenkō kaibutsu* ni shōjutsu sareta seishi gijutsu no jidai koshō (Bamboo production techniques in sixteenth and seventeenth century Fujian—papermaking techniques as described in detail in the *Tiangong kaiwu*)," *Ajia Africa gengō bunka kenkyū* (Research on the languages and cultures of Asia and Africa) 48–9, bessatsu (1995), pp. 243–79. My discussion here concerns single-color ink printing. Multicolored prints, for which the late Ming is famed, would have required separate applications of a paper sheet to the blocks for each color; the complexity of the operation necessarily drove up the publishing cost.

75 Inoue Susumu, "Zōsho," pp. 424–5.

76 Ibid., p. 424. See also Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print, the History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 70–1, on the high expense and reputation of Chinese paper in Persia between the tenth and fifteenth centuries.

77 Pan Jixing, *Zhongguo zaozhi zhishu shi gao* (Draft history of the technology of papermaking in China) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1979), pp. 110–1, and 114–8.

78 Huang Zongxi, *Mingwen hai* (Great compendium of Ming Dynasty writings) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), v. 1, p. 1,034. For further

information on changes in paper use and prices, see my "The Ascendance of the Imprint in China," pp. 55–104, in Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-Wing Chow, eds., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

79 Inoue Susumu, *Chūgoku shuppan bunka shi* (A history of publishing culture in China) (Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku shuppankai, 2001), pp. 223–4; Milne, pp. 234 and 251; and Medhurst, pp. 559–60. See Appendix 1.1.

80 Yang Shengxin, p. 42; Zhang Xiumin, pp. 730 and 745; and Miao Yonghe, p. 302.

81 Milne, p. 226.

82 Ibid., p. 223.

83 Frederick W. Mote and Hung-lam Chu, *Calligraphy and the East Asian Book* (Boston, MA: Shambhala, 1989), p. 169. I wish to thank Dr Martin Heijdra for his instructive advice on this point.

84 The delayed shift away from the manuscript model of book was also evident in the West, more so than has often been acknowledged in recent decades. Thus, the comments of Curt Bühler on early Western printing takes on added significance when applied to this key aspect of Chinese woodblock printing: "The student of the earliest printing would be well advised if he viewed the new invention, as the first printers did, as simply another form of writing." As David McKitterick then goes on to say of early Western imprints and manuscripts, "Both were, simply, ways of making books. For the vast majority of printed books very significant changes are, in fact, immediately observable, in (for example, and at a quite basic level) the alignment of type and its more regular spatial organisation into columns. The design of the page had, of course, to be modified by the mechanical limitations of type and of the printing press; but the essential features remained those of books: commonly held properties, appearances and (to a great extent) materials" (McKitterick, pp. 35–7).

85 Takemura Shinichi, *Minchōtai no rekishi* (A history of Ming Dynasty calligraphy for carving) (Tokyo: Shibun kaku shuppansha, 1986), is far from comprehensive; a more recent introduction to the subject is Lin Kunfan, *Genchōtai to Minchōtai no keisei* (The formation of Yuan and Ming Dynasty calligraphy for carving) (Tokyo: Rōbundō, 2002; issued as the August 6, 2002 issue of the typography journal, *Vignette*). Despite their interesting illustrations, neither is a satisfactory treatment of this crucial change in the calligraphic script for printing. See also Miao Yonghe, p. 280; and Qian Yong, *Lüyuan conghua* (Comprehensive talk of Qian Yong) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), v. 1, 12, p. 323, about the use of a squarish brushstroke and its lamentable impact on the quality of the calligraphy used for imprints from the mid-Ming up to the nineteenth century.

86 Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit*, pp. 11, 39 and 197. This view is at odds with one presented by Wood, p. 123, on the basis of personal observation: "The cost of engraving depends entirely on the size and delicacy of the letter, the price increasing in proportion to the smallness of the type [i.e. carved character]."

87 Ren Zhongqi, "Gushu jiage mantan (Chat on the price of old books)," *Cangshujia* 2 (2000), p. 125.

88 Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things, Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 16–8, and 139–61 for moveable-type printing.

89 Lucille Chia's observation on the earlier simplification of script merits mention: "Actually, simplification of the writing and carving of characters for the printing block had occurred far earlier. Even in the Tang, printed ephemera such as cheap calendars used a stripped-down style of characters, and among Jianyang imprints, the characters in Yuan historical fiction in the running illustration format are extremely economical in their execution" (Lucille Chia, "*Mashaben*: Commercial Publishing from the Song Through the Ming," p. 202, in Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn, eds., *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003]). Yet, these Yuan scripts are not as standardized and homogenized as the artisanal characters of the late fifteenth century onwards.

90 Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai, 1850–1950* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004). In the seventeenth century, carvers' knives were said to differ according to region, such as Fujian, Jiangzhe, Nanjing, and Jingde-Huizhou (Zhang Xiumin, p. 534).

91 Miao Yonghe, p. 307.

92 Nagasawa Kikuya, "Kokkō to shuppansha to no kankei (The relation of carvers and publishers)," in *Nagasawa Kikuya chosaku shū* (Collection of the writings of Nagasawa Kikuya) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1984), v. 3, pp. 215–8.

93 According to Professor Cynthia J. Brokaw, the head of the She County Museum in Huizhou prefecture in southern Anhui Province in 1998 recalled for her that woodblock carvers there before 1950 practiced this kind of division of labor (personal communication from Cynthia J. Brokaw).

94 Sakuma Shigeo, "Mindai no tōki to rekishiteki haikei (Ming ceramics and its historical background)," pp. 145–6, in *Sekai tōki zenshū, Min* (Complete works on world ceramics, the Ming) (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1976), v. 14, ed. by Fujioka Ryoichi, et al.; and Sung Ying-hsing, pp. 146–54.

95 As can be seen in the knowledgeable comments of Harry Garner, *Chinese Lacquer* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), p. 134: "A feature of the sixteenth-century wares generally is the use of labour-saving devices in

the carving. The official fifteenth-century wares made great use of the knife in the carving of details … In the sixteenth century the knife was replaced by the gouge, in which only one stroke was needed, requiring far less skill. The use of the gouge is particularly noticeable in the imperial wares of the sixteenth century."

96 Francesca Bray, *Technology and Society in Ming China (1368–1644)* (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 2000), p. 65. Of course, some late Ming élite publications showed improved technical skills, but they represent a tiny fraction of the publications then.

97 Yang Shengxin, pp. 41–58; Zhang Xiumin, p. 747; and Inoue, *Chūgoku*, pp. 222–6.

98 As Sören Edgren has noted for the Song, these figures omit the known names of carvers for Buddhist canon editions and thus underestimate the number of knowable names (Sören Edgren, "Southern Song Printing at Hangzhou," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 61 [1989], p. 46).

99 Zhang Xiuming, p. 745.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid., pp. 735, 737–8, and 751–2; Zhang Shudong, pp. 113–7; and, for Hu Mao, n. 143 below.

102 Ming Sun Poon (Pan Mingshen), Books and Printing in Sung China (960–1279) (University of Chicago, Ph.D., 1979), p. 1.

103 Lin Kunfan, pp. 6–17.

104 Edgren, pp. 51–2; and Zhang Xiumin, pp. 733, 746. Some even migrated to Japan (ibid., pp. 742–3).

105 Ibid., p. 733.

106 Qu Mianliang, *Banke zhiyi* (Questions on doubtful points of some woodblock editions) (Ji'nan: Ji Lu shushe, 1987), p. 44; and, Miao Yonghe, p. 316.

107 Inoue, *Chūgoku*, p. 206.

108 Zhang Xiumin, pp. 732 and 742.

109 E.g., Qu Mianliang, *Banke*, p. 58; and Wang Shixing, *Guangzhi yi* (An extensive gazetteer) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 4, p. 80.

110 Zhang Xiumin, p. 744.

111 Ibid., p. 746.

112 Wang He, *Songdai tushu shilun* (An historical discussion of Song dynasty books) (Nanchang: Baihua zhou wenyi chubanshe, 1999), p. 77.

113 Kitamura Ko, "Gendai Kōshūzō no kakkō ni tsuite (On the carvers of the Hangzhou Buddhist canon in the Yuan dynasty)," *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* (Collected articles of Ryūkoku University) 438 (July 1991), pp. 120–36; and Lucille Chia, "Commercial Printing," pp. 319–25.

114 Miao Yonghe, p. 314. It goes without saying that the integration of this labor market and the carved woodblock supplies did not necessarily entail the harmonization of labor costs and book prices, since separate

market niches for different quality publications would have assured considerable variation in prices in these areas, even when they had editions of the same title.

115 Ren Jiyu, ed., *Zhongguo cangshulou* (Chinese libraries) (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin, 2000), v. 1, p. 928.

116 Shen Bang, *Wanshu zaji* (Miscellaneous notes on Beijing) (1593) (Beijing: Guji, 1983), 13, p. 108.

117 Duan Benluo and Zhang Qinfu, *Suzhou shougongye shi* (A history of handicrafts in Suzhou) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1986), p. 131.

118 Wang Zhaowen, *Guji Song Yuan kangong xingming suoyin* (An index of the names of the carvers of Song and Yuan old books) (Shanghai: Guji, 1990), p. 387; and Miao Yonghe, p. 130.

119 Nagasawa, pp. 215–6; and Michela Bussotti, *Gravures de Hui, Étude du livre illustré chinois (fin du XVIe siècle-première moitié du XVIIe siècle)* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2001), pp. 284–90, argues persuasively for the coexistence of the two arrangements in at least Changzhou in 1609, the older Song style no longer predominant. Another possibility that Bussotti mentions here is that a single artisan did several pages in succession.

120 Ibid., p. 286.

121 Wang He, p. 30; the daily figure fell to 2,000 in the peak of summer heat or winter cold. Unfortunately, no primary source is indicated here, but these figures, in light of Milne's and Medhurst's figures given above, suggest that, in one day, no fewer than thirteen and as many as twenty-five times more characters could be written than carved by one man over the course of a year.

122 Zhang Xiumin, p. 747. The best-known transcriber of Ming times, Xu Pu of Changzhou of Suzhou, was active from 1570 to 1626 in transcribing no fewer than 384 titles and 2,200-odd chapters. For forty of these fifty-six years, he worked at least part of the time on the Jiaxing edition of the Buddhist canon. These figures support the rough estimate that he wrote, on average, 600 sheets a year; the real figure must be higher, since the list of titles he worked on is incomplete (Li Guoqing, "Shugong Xu Pu shan xie shuban xiaolu [A short note on the transcriber Xu Pu]," *Wenxian* [Documents] 1992.4, p. 143).

123 Li Guoqing, ed., *Mingdai kangong xingming suoyin* (An index of the names of carvers in the Ming dynasty) (Shanghai: Guji, 1998), pp. 551–614, lists 1,300 by name from the late fifteenth to early nineteenth centuries; note that Zhou Wu, *Huipai banhua shi lunji* (Collected essays on the history of woodblock pictures of the Hui school) (Hefei: Anhui renmin, 1984), p. 7, had previously put their number at just 300. For a recent and informative account of Huizhou prints, see Bussotti, especially the discussion of the Huangs on pp. 275–79.

124 Liu Shangheng, *Huizhou keshu yu cangshu* (Book printing and collecting in Huizhou) (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2003), p. 176. Groups of three or five Huangs, after their harvest was in, made the rounds of Huizhou villages with boxes of moveable type, in order to compose and print up pages of genealogical information for the lineages in these villages. They reportedly owned 20,000 to 30,000 type, in three sizes.
125 Kobayashi Hiromitsu, "Min Shin jinbutsu hanga no tokushitsu to hatten shōkyō (The special features of portrait woodblock prints in the Ming and Qing and its development)," pp. 41–9 (esp. 41–3), in *Chūgoku kodai hanga ten* (An exhibition of ancient Chinese woodblock prints) (Machida: Machida shiritsu kokusai hanga bijutsukan, 1988); and Bussotti, p. 280.
126 Liu Shangheng, pp. 176–7.
127 Already in the Yuan, one carver reportedly came from a family of Confucian learning (Zhang Xiumin, p. 742). Also, for the Ming artisans, see Joseph P. McDermott, "The Art of Making a Living in Sixteenth Century China," *Kaikodo Journal V* (Autumn 1997), pp. 73–5.
128 Li Qiao, *Zhongguo hangye shen congbai* (Worship of guild gods in China) (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao chuban gongsi, 1990), pp. 146–7.
129 Zhang Xiumin, p. 749. In the Qing, two woodblock carvers who carved their own writings were Qu Jinsheng and Leang A-fa (aka Liang Afa), Milne's first convert to Christianity (ibid.).
130 Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji banke cidian* (A dictionary on the carving of old Chinese books) (Ji'nan: Ji Lu shushe, 1999), pp. 535 and 540.
131 Ibid., pp. 528–9; Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo*, p. 531; and Zhang Xiumin, p. 748.
132 Ibid., pp. 748–9; and Bussotti, p. 279.
133 Ibid., p. 280; Zhou Wu, p. 24; and Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji*, p. 528.
134 Zhou Wu, pp. 22–3; and Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji*, pp. 521–40, *passim*. One Huang carved books published in Beijing, Fujian, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang (Liu Shangheng, p. 161).
135 Zhou Wu, p. 24.
136 Qu Mianliang, *Zhongguo guji*, p. 529; Zhou Wu, p. 24; Zhang Xiumin, p. 748; and Zhang Shudong, p. 174.
137 Liu Shangheng, p. 184.
138 Kobayashi Hiromitsu, "Min Shin jinbutsu hanga," pp. 41–50 (esp. 41–3).
139 Inoue, *Chūgoku*, pp. 222–6.
140 Niida Noboru, *Chūgoku hōseishi kenkyū, dorei nōdo hō·kazoku sonraku hō* (Studies on the history of Chinese law: slave and serf law and family and village law) (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1962), pp. 780–2; and, Chen Jiru, comp., *Jieyong yunjian* (Numerous notes and forms for successful use) (SKWSSJK ed.), 6.16a.
141 Milne, p. 234; and Medhurst, p. 559.

142 Zhang Xiuming, p. 747.
143 Tang Shunzhi, *Jingquan xiansheng wenji* (Writings of Tang Shunzhi) (SBCK ed.), 12.40b–42a.
144 Hu Yinglin, *Shaoshi shanfang bicong* (Collection of notes by Hu Yinglin) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), 4, pp. 56 and 58.
145 The image of the carousing, drunken artisan, especially when a woodblock carver, was already evident in the twelfth century, in Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi* (The record of the listener) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), bing, 12, p. 464.
146 Suzhou lishi bowuguan, comp., *Ming Qing Suzhou gongshang ye beike ji* (Collected stone inscriptions on industry and commerce in Suzhou during the Ming and Qing) (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin, 1981), pp. 89 and 95.
147 McDermott, "The Art of Making a Living," pp. 73–4.
148 Zhang Xiumin, p. 751.
149 Miao Yonghe, pp. 129–30.
150 Zhou Zhaoxiang (1880–1954), *Liuli chang zaji* (Miscellaneous notes about Liuli chang) (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan chubanshe, 1995), p. 79, makes claims of a similar social divide between the calligraphers and stone carvers in post-Song times. He argues that, whereas carvers associated with scholar-officials and understood the principles of calligraphy in the Song and earlier, in later dynasties each group did their work with little interaction. As a consequence, carvers replaced their knives with awls and chisels, at considerable cost to the quality of their work. The carvers then came to occupy the place of clerks and artisans, and scholar officials no longer took them as their companions.
151 Li Guoqing, "Mantan gushu de kegong (Casual talk on carvers of old books)," *Cangshujia* 1 (2000), pp. 123–4. Book illustrators may have been better educated than other printing workers, but we lack the sources to make any reliable generalization on this point.
152 Kobayashi Hiromitsu, *Chūgoku no hanga* (Chinese woodblock illustrations) (Tokyo: Tōshindō, 1995), pp. 121–8; and, Robert E. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).
153 Li Guoqing, *Jianpu ji*, p. 614, stops the list in the early 1830s. Although this end was artificially imposed, undoubtedly, by Li's reliance on an 1826 genealogy of the Huangs, the destruction of much of Huizhou by the Taiping rebels in the 1850s and 1860s effectively signaled the end of this area's distinctive print culture.

Chapter 2

1 Ji Wenhui and Wang Damei, *Zhongyi guji* (Old books on Chinese medicine) (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 2000), p. 106.

92 Zhong Weixing, Wu Yongan and Ceng Kang, eds., *Tieqin tongqian lou yanjiu wenxian ji* (Collection of documents and research on the Tieqin tongqian library) (Shanghai: Guji, 1997), pp. 111–2. Note that the nineteenth-century gentry's efforts to open their collections to others could succumb to the old problems of poor management and theft (Li Xuemei, *Zhongguo jindai cangshu wenhua* [Book collecting culture in China in the modern period] [Beijing: Xiandai chubanshe, 1999], p. 38). Nonetheless, in some regions outside of the Yangzi delta, the sheer abundance of imprints seems to have eased matters greatly. For instance, about twenty families established a book-lending club in 1872 in the isolated Zhejiang county of Rui'an: "Since the county had few book collectors, it was not easy to borrow books unless you were an old friend of these collectors." Each of these readers thus contributed 15 cash to fund the purchase of books, which each member then could borrow. Later, the club purchased some two *mou* of land, which it used along with an adjoining temple to set up a school that would hold the library and make it public to the county. Further details of this arrangement seem unknown, but the club lasted over twenty years (ibid., p. 33).

93 Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology*, p. 104.

94 Guy, pp. 93–5.

95 Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology*, p. 159.

96 As adapted from Guy, p. 105. See also Ye Dehui, 8, p. 224.

97 Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology*, pp. 100–12.

98 Alexander Woodside, "State, Scholars, and Orthodoxy: The Ch'ing Academies, 1736–1839," pp. 158–84, esp. 175, in Kwang-ching Liu, ed., *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

99 Ren Jiyu, v. 1, p. 126.

100 Gu Jiegang, p. 186.

101 Chen Zhan, *Huang Peilie nianpu* (A chronology of the life of Huang Peilie) (Beijing: Xinhua shuju, 1988), *passim*.

102 Yao Boyue, *Huang Peilie pingzhuan* (An evaluative biography of Huang Peilie) (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1998), pp. 83–112, esp. 84–6.

103 Ren Jiyu, v. 1, pp. 133–4.

104 Ibid., v. 1, p. 130.

105 Philip Short, *Mao, A Life* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1999), pp. 83–4.

Chapter 6

1 Alexander Woodside and Benjamin A. Elman, "Afterward: The Expansion of Education in Ch'ing China," p. 530, in Elman and Woodside, eds., *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600–1900.*

2 Hayes, pp. 76 and 92–111; and Wilt Idema, review of Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), in *T'oung Pao* LXVI.4–5 (1980), pp. 314–24, esp. 323. In Hayes's experienced judgment, these men did much to transmit the written traditions of imperial China into the life of illiterate villagers, by providing them with services that they the literate had learned about from books.
3 *Songjiang fuzhi* (Gazetteer of Songjiang prefecture) (1629), 7.2b (quoting Xu Kechang, a mid-twelfth century native of the Shanghai area) and 5b.
4 John Henry Gray, *China, A History of the Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1878), v. 1, p. 167, notes a literacy divide along north-south lines among females in China, whereby female education was almost entirely neglected in the north but numerous boarding establishments and private tutors educated women in the south.
5 Zhang Shizai, *Kezi suibi* (Notes on instructing children) (Shanghai: Wenduanlou shuju, 1918; reprt. of 1873 ed. of an original 1745 publication), 6.8a. Yet, Edward Joshua Dukes, *Everyday in China, Scenes along River and Road in Fuh-kien* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1885), p. 164, claims "In the northern provinces … the proportion of readers is larger than in the south," a view that probably would not win the consent of most social historians of China today.
6 Idema, p. 322.
7 Zhang Zhitong, *Zhang Zhitong wenji, v. 4, Chuantong yuwen jiaoxue yanjiu* (The collected writings of Zhang Zhitong, v. 4, Studies of traditional language teaching) (Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 19–56; and, in contemporary China, Glen Peterson, *The Power of Words, Literacy and Revolution in South China, 1949–1965* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), pp. 50–1.
8 Alexander Woodside, "Real and Imagined Continuities in the Chinese Struggle for Literacy," pp. 22–45 (esp. 22 and 31), in Ruth Hayhoe, ed., *Education and Modernization, the Chinese Experience* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992).
9 Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy*, p. 23; Nakamura Tetsuo, "Kakyo taisei no hōkai (The collapse of the Chinese examination system)," pp. 115–43, in Nozawa Yutaka and Tanaka Masatoshi, eds., *Kōza Chūgoku kingendai shi* (Modern and contemporary Chinese history lectures), v. 3 (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1978); Medhurst, pp. 171 and 178; and *Chinese Repository* 2 (1833), p. 252, and 6.5 (Sept. 1837), pp. 229–44.
10 Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy*, p. 140; and Idema, p. 321.
11 Philip A. Kuhn, *Origins of the Modern Chinese State* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 14–5.

12 Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations*, p. 247: "Although the civil service competition was theoretically open to all, its content linguistically excluded over 90% of China's people from even the first step on the ladder to success." F.W. Mote, "China's Past in the Study of China Today — Some Comments on the Recent Work of Richard Solomon," *Journal of Asian Studies* 32.1 (1972), pp. 107–20, puts the minimal adult male figure at no less than ten percent, since roughly that percentage took the examinations in the nineteenth century. W. A. P. Martin, *Hanlin Papers, or Essays on the Intellectual Life of the Chinese* (London: Trübner and Co., 1880), p. 98, puts the classically literate at just five percent of adult males.

13 Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy*, p. 2.

14 Ibid., pp. 97–8.

15 Dukes, pp. 163–4 and 165–6, as in Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy*, pp. 2–3. In the twentieth century, confirmation of the difference between official estimates of literacy and the real book-reading literacy described by Martin and Dukes comes in an account of a Yunnan village in 1938 by Cornelius Osgood, *Village Life in Old China* (New York: Ronald Press, 1963), pp. 95–6. Of the 126 village people judged literate, only a few could read the average book, and most knew relatively few characters.

16 David Johnson, "Communication, Class, and Consciousness in Late Imperial China," pp. 34–72, in Johnson, Nathan, and Rawski. It is probably valid to say that Chinese, more aware of the difficulties of such an endeavor, traditionally tended to focus on the individual's level of literary ability and indeed preferred to judge learning and character by examining that individual's calligraphy, not the number of characters he could identify or reproduce.

17 De Bary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought," pp. 145–248 (esp. 168), in de Bary, ed., *Self and Society in Ming Thought.*

18 Patricia Buckley Ebrey, trans. and introd., *Family and Property in Sung China, Yuan Ts'ai's "Precepts for Social Life"* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 267–8.

19 Chen Que, *Chen Que ji* (Collected writings of Chen Que) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 5, pp. 158–9, and Yu Yingshi, *Shi yu Zhongguo wenhua* (Scholars and Chinese culture) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1987), pp. 521–79. Tang Zhen, *Qianshu* (A book to be hidden) (Beijing: Xinhua shuju, 1984, 4th printing), shangbian, xia, p. 91, tells of his working in Suzhou as a merchant and then as a broker despite others' criticism that these jobs were demeaning.

20 Ho Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China* (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1962), pp. 36–7 and 122–4.

21 Li Guojun, *Qingdai qianqi jiaoyu lunzhu xuan* (A selection of early Qing writings on education) (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990), v. 3,

p. 446, in a passage written by the Nanjing scholar Guan Tong (1780–1831). In response to complaints about such mispractice, the government, in 1793 and 1812, issued statutes that banned degree holders from working also as bookkeepers, irrigation project clerks, brokers, and even yamen runners (Ho Ping-ti, p. 37).

22 Ye Changchi, 4, pp. 742–4; and Luo Jizu, pp. 146–8.

23 Qu Zhongrong, *Qu Dafu xiansheng ziding nianpu* (A chronological autobiography of Qu Zhongrong) (Jiaye tang congshu ed. in the Republican era; reprt., Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 1999), 61a–b.

24 Huang Jin, 17.3b; and Lang Ying, 40, p. 584.

25 Fan Fengshu, p. 212.

26 As mentioned here, the existence of Huizhou merchant collectors in the Ming may represent an exception to this general statement. They usually came from large lineages with some degree holders.

27 Ye Changchi, 4, pp. 444–7; and Ye Ruibao, p. 346. The Yangzhou- and Hangzhou-based merchant collectors, like the Ma brothers, are other important representatives of this cultural change (Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, *A Bushel of Pearls, Painting for Sale in Eighteenth–Century Yangchow* [Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001], pp. 24–7).

28 My copy of this book is a one-volume (*ce*) imprint, published in 1941 in 3,000 copies (*bu*) for wide distribution by a Shanghai merchant identified merely as Wusheng (Aware of Sound). This book has a preface written in 1694 at Wencheng Academy in Henan; when and how it reached the lower Yangzi delta is not clear. The passages discussed and translated here are found on pages 8a–12a.

29 Daniel K. Gardner, *Chu Hsi, Learning to Be a Sage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 128–9.

30 Guan Huai, *Shilin huixun* (Collected instructions from scholars) (pref. 1789) (SKWSSJK ed.), 1, jingye, 10b.

31 Cynthia J. Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit, Social Change and Moral Order in Later Imperial China* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 157–228.

32 E.g., Philip Kuhn, "Chinese Conceptions of Social Stratification," pp. 16–28, in James E. Watson, ed., *Social Stratification and Socialism in Contemporary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

33 Gui Zhuang, v. 2, 10, p. 515, tells a remarkable story about an illiterate great-grandson of the deceased Grand Secretary Xu Jie, who was appointed to an office, thanks to holding a hereditary privilege. When his wife — who had handled all his official papers and correspondence — died, his servant told him to retire "now that you cannot work as an official." He followed the advice.

34 Donald Sutton, "Shamanism in the Eyes of the Ming and Qing Elites," p. 227, in Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek, eds., *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004). Apropos

of this, Woodside, "Real and Imagined Continuities," p. 32, writes of a famous Qing scholar who lamented the decline of student literacy level, from knowing over 10,000 words in the Tang to knowing about 2,000 words in the late eighteenth century: "The object of literacy theory for Sun [Xingyuan] and others like him was not to discover how many words peasant children could comfortably learn in season schools. It was how to regain for the elite the world-conquering esoteric literacy by which some sort of moral refeudalization of Chinese life might be attempted."

35 Zhang Xikong, *Jiaxun* (Family Instructions), 18.7b (in Tanji congshu ed.).

36 Zhang Shizai, 3.13a, quoting Zhu Yongjun.

37 Zhang Xuan, *Kuanyuan zashuo* (Miscellaneous talk), shang, 15a–b.

38 Guan Huai, 1, jingye, 11a.

39 Zhang Shizai, 5.2a.

40 Zhang Xikong, 18.7a.

41 Zhang Shizai, 5.10a.

42 Ibid., 5.10b, after saying that his family had continued their unbroken tradition of reading books right up to his passing of the exams and his admission into the Hanlin Academy.

43 Zhang Shizai, 4.11a.

44 Zhang Lixiang, v. 3, 48, p. 1,375.

45 Sun Qingceng, *Cangshu jiyao* (Essentials of notes on book collecting) (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue, 1957), pp. 33–4.

46 Ibid., p. 34.

47 Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China, Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984).

48 Kim Hongnam, *The Life of a Patron, Zhou Lianggong (1612–1672) and the Painters of Seventeenth-century China* (New York: China Institute in America, 1996), p. 71; and Qu Zhongrong, 16a.

49 Chen Zhan, pp. 116, 118, 122, 131, 141, and 145; Yuan Yixin, comp., *Suzhou gucheng Pingjiang lishi jiequ* (The historical neighborhood of Pingjiang within the old city wall of Suzhou) (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 2004), p. 179; and Ye Changchi, 5, pp. 574–5, for sources that date the rituals to annual occasions between 1801 and 1811 and then in 1816.

50 Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, pp. 340–1; and Ren Jiyu, v. 1, p. 242.

51 Liu Hecheng, et al., p. 284.

52 Tsien, p. 109, esp. n.d.

53 Liang Qizi (aka Angela Ki Che Leung), *Shishan yu jiaohua — Ming Qing de cishan zuzhi* (Good deeds and indoctrination — philanthropic organizations in the Ming and Qing) (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), pp. 172–203.

54 *Xuzuan Huaiguan tongzhi* (Continuation of the unified gazetteer of Huaiguan) (1816), 9.18b, mentions also the practice of burial of the ashes in pure earth; the origin of this option is unfortunately not dated.
55 Susan Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China, The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 20–1.
56 The dominance of the Confucian scholars in these organizations did not prevent many of their headquarters from remaining in Buddhist temples, Daoist shrines, or even cult shrines (e.g., *Wujin Yanghu xianzhi* [Gazetteer of Yanghu county in Wujin] [1879], 3.12b–13a).
57 Yu Zhi, *Deyi lu*, 12.1a–b. A local official even prevented the potters in Jingdezhen, at least for a while, from writing characters onto the base of their bowls.
58 E. H. Parker, *Chinese Customs* (Shanghai: Kelley and Walsh, Ltd., 1899), p. 35.
59 Liang, pp. 192–200; and Sakai Tadao, *Chūgoku zensho no kenkyū.* (Studies of Chinese morality books) (Tokyo: 1960), pp. 430–1.
60 Yuan Jinglan, *Wujun suihua jili* (Record of annual festivities in Suzhou) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1998), 2, p. 63. A slightly earlier description of the same festivities in Suzhou in the 1820s stresses the inclusion of the poor but not explicitly the commoners (Gu Lu, *Qingjia lu* [A clear and delightful record] [Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1986], 2, pp. 48–9; and Terry L. Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale, The Book of Transformations of Wenchang, the Divine of Zitong* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994], p. 81).
61 Li Qiao, *Zhongguo hangye shen chongbai* (Worship of occupation deities in China) (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao chubanshe, 1990), pp. 144–7.
62 Woodside, "Real and Imagined Continuities," pp. 32–8.
63 Angela Ki Che Leung, "Elementary Education in the Lower Yangtze Region in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," pp. 381–416, in Elman and Woodside, eds., *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600–1900.*
64 Rev. R. H. Cobbold, *Pictures of the Chinese, Drawn by Themselves* (London: John Murray, 1860), p. 191; and Gu Lu, *Tongqiao yizhao lu* (Record of leaning on an oar at Paulownia Tree Bridge) (Shanghai: Guji, 1981), 5, p. 73. In theory, the baseness of this job might be linked to its leatherwork, as Qian, like his foster parents, was labeled a leather worker (*gongpijia*). Yet, leather workers in China seem not to have suffered the institutionalized social discrimination or ostracism evident in much of the rest of East Asia (Anders Hansson, *Chinese Outcasts, Discrimination and Emancipation in Late Imperial China* [Brill: Leiden, 1996], pp. 51 and 176).
65 Rudolf P. Hummel, *China at Work* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969; reprt. of 1937 ed.), pp. 204–5, 212, 216, and 218 reports on the pre-industrial working conditions he observed in the Yangzi Valley and the rest of central China in the 1920s. See William Alexander and George Henry Mason, *Views of 18th Century China, Costumes: History: Customs*

(London: Studio Editions, 1988; reprt. of each author's separate *The Costume of China,* 1804 and 1805 respectively), pp. 78–9 for comments and a true-to-life portrait of a shoemaker in the suburbs of Canton that confirms Hummel's portrait of the shoe-repairman, even though the region they described is different.

66 Cobbold, pp. 196–7. The rain shoe is "made altogether of leather, and is raised at least half-an-inch from the ground by iron pegs, which look very like the large stud-nails on the doors of churches. The poorer classes, in wet weather, often use a shoe with an inch-thick-sole of wood, well deserving the name of our exploded clog. As only the sole is of wood, and the upper part of some soft material, this is greatly preferable to the wooden shoes of the Dutch sailors." (ibid., p. 195).

67 John Thomson, *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China, and China; or, Ten Years' Travels, Adventures, and Residence Abroad* (New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1875), p. 252.

68 Wang Jin, 10.5b.

69 *Wu xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Wu county) (1933), 68, shang. 24a–b.

70 In the one book from his collection that is known to survive, he merely embossed three seal legends, in the manner of Chinese artisan painters who adorned their paintings with seals but not with poems or any writing other than perhaps an occasional signature (Ye Ruibao, p. 362). It is tempting to think that Qian resorted to the seals partly because he was gifted at neither calligraphy nor composition.

71 *Suzhou fuzhi*, 89.14a.

72 Ye Ruibao, p. 362. This imprint ended up in the famous Jiaye tang collection formed in the late Qing and early Republican years by a silk merchant from Nancun town in Huzhou prefecture. As Ye Ruibao notes, Su Shi's writings were one of the most popular and frequent literati publications from the late eleventh to mid-sixteenth centuries. See also Zhu Shangshu, *Songren bieji xulu* (Appraisal and record of the collected writings of Song persons) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), v. 1, pp. 401–68, with a discussion of Qian's particular title on pp. 434–50 and specific imprint edition on pp. 446–8.

73 Wang Jin, 10.5b.

74 *Suzhou fuzhi* (1883), 89.14b. The binome *liulan* can also mean "widely look at," but examples in Luo Zhufeng, et al., eds., *Hanyu da cidian* (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 1990), v. 5, p. 1278, indicate the suitability of the translation given above. Either translation, however, implies that Qian was a shallow reader (the Chinese term for which, *liulan,* is a perfect homonym for the binome in this Suzhou gazetteer biography).

75 Leung, "Elementary Education" pp. 394–5, in Elman and Woodside, eds., *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600–1900.*

76 It is conceivable that he bought some of his books by Song writers, since the fall of Song learning from scholarly grace in the eighteenth century had made Song writings "extremely cheap" in Suzhou by the close of the century (Li Guojun, v. 3, p. 456).
77 Wang Jin, 10.5b; Gu Lu, *Tongqiao*, 5, p. 73; and *Suzhou fuzhi* (1883), 89.14a.
78 Wang Jin, 10.5b; and Bol, p. 28.
79 Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations*, p. 318; and Liang, pp. 180–1.
80 Peng Shaosheng, *Erlin ju ji* (Collected writings of the Two Groves) (XXSKQS ed.), 7.9b–10a.
81 Zhu'an, *Renwu fengsu zhidu congtan* (Collection of chats on historical figures, customs, and institutions) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1988), p. 250.
82 Ye Ruibao, pp. 355–6; and Guy, pp. 162–3.
83 E.g., Makita Teiryō, "Koji Bukkyō ni okeru Hō Saisei no chii (The place of Peng Jiqing [aka Peng Shaosheng] in lay Buddhism)," pp. 231–52, esp. 244–5, in his *Kinsei Chūgoku Bukkyō shi kenkyū* (Research on the history of Buddhism in early modern China) (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1957); and West, *Catalogue of the Morrison Collection of Chinese Books,* pp. 44 and 175.
84 Peng Shaosheng, 10.1a–2a.
85 Jiang Hong, Zhu Zinan, et al., *Suzhou cidian* (Dictionary of Suzhou) (Suzhou: Suzhou daxue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 1,142–3; and Makita, p. 241.
86 Wang Jin, 2.4a–5a.
87 Lu Baoqian, *Qingdai sixiang shi* (A history of Qing dynasty thought) (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1983), pp. 197–220, has much of interest on Peng and his circle's interest in Buddhism. Lu stresses the influence of Zhu Xi, rather than Wang Yangming, on the thought of Peng Shaosheng; by contrast, and in my view correctly, Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, pp. 617–8, draws a descent line of intellectual influence from Wang to the Peng family via Gao Panlong and Tang Pin (1627–87). See also Peng Shaosheng, 22.13b–14a, for Peng's own discussion of his and Wang Jin's efforts to continue the efforts to combine late Ming Buddhism and Confucianism.
88 Peng Shaosheng, 9.9b–10a, for views confirmed by Kleeman, pp. 51–6.
89 Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 67; and Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China, A Historical Survey* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 338; and Makita, pp. 244 and 249.
90 Ibid., p. 244.
91 Wang Jin, 6.15a; Peng Shaosheng, 22.14a–b; and *Suzhou fuzhi* (1883), 83.18a–b.

92 Peng Shaosheng, 22.15a.
93 Lu Baoqian, pp. 201 and 212.
94 Wang Jin, 2.3a–4a.
95 Xu Weixin, p. 96.
96 Peng Shaosheng, 22.14a–b and 16b.
97 Xu Weixin, p. 96.

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