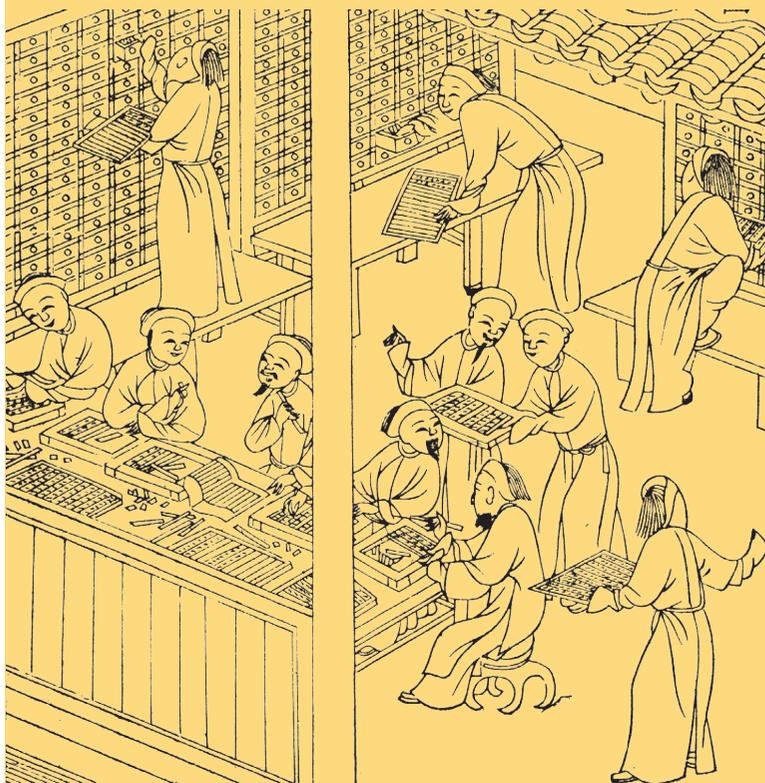


Imprimer sans profit ?

Le livre non commercial dans la Chine impériale



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Imprimer sans profit ?

Le livre non commercial
dans la Chine impériale

*Non commercial books
in Imperial China*

Textes édités par
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Household Publications in the Society of Ming Hangzhou

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Introduction

Although he did not invent the term “household publication” (*sizhai ben* 私宅本), bibliophile and book historian Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (1864–1927) used it alongside government (*guanke ben* 官刻本) and commercial counterparts (*fangxing ben* 坊行本).¹ His juxtaposition endowed household publishing with a significance commensurate with the other two types. Ye’s pattern of listing book titles to illustrate publishing achievement rather than describing their textual and physical features in the historical context has been followed, more or less, by subsequent historians of Chinese publishing.² Although it provides some hints for further explorations, a mere list of titles, authors, and publishers cannot reveal the stories behind the books cited. For this one must further turn to case studies of household publication’s physical appearance as artifact and its literary characteristics. Topics popular among book historians include the techniques of typography, multicolor printing, illustration, and the literary value of the family-produced edition, but these topics “[do] little to analyze the *culture* of books and the social history of print in China. . . . The *social, economic, intellectual, and cultural* aspects of book history

1. Ye Dehui 葉德輝, *xu* 敘, *Shulin qinghua* 書林清話, Changsha, Guangu tang 1920, p. 1a.
2. Ye Dehui, “Song sizhai jiashu keshu 宋私宅家塾刻書”, *ibid.*, 3, pp. 17b–24a; Wei Yinru 魏隱儒, *Zhongguo guji yinshua shi* 中國古籍印刷史, Beijing, Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1988; Ye Shusheng 葉樹聲, Yu Minhui 余敏慧, *Ming Qing Jiangnan siren keshu shilue* 明清江南私人刻書史略, Hefei, Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2000.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

still need to be fully explored”.³ From the perspective of social history, publications produced by a household must have functioned to support the family’s survival and development. The domestic use and effectiveness of the book went beyond, although were related with, its physical appearance and the literary text. We need to consider the social function of household publication, at least in the context of the family’s history.

Given the purported non-commercial nature of household publishing, the altruism of those who engaged in it has been emphasized.⁴ However, it is still unclear where this view originated and we can be assured that not all private publishers were aloof from profit seeking. Labeled private as opposed to government publications, most household-published books nonetheless entered the market just as commercial ones did.⁵ In the 940s–1010s, some household-published books were continuously reprinted and widely distributed in the market, and consequently the woodblocks prepared by the publisher brought much wealth to his descendants.⁶ In the twelfth century, household editions

3. Cynthia Brokaw, “On the History of the Book in China”, Cynthia Brokaw, Kai-wing Chow, eds., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005, p. 5; author’s italics. There is no general description of the study of the household publication in China published in English or in Chinese; interested students can consult the Bibliographies A and B in Tsien Tsuen-hsui 錢存訓, *Paper and Printing*, in J. Needham, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 5, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 389–430, and Appendix 5 in Zhang Xiumin 張秀民, *Zhongguo yinshua shi* 中國印刷史, Han Qi 韓琦, ed., Hangzhou, Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2006, pp. 794–827.
4. Tsien Tsuen-hsui, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 177–186.
5. In the 1910s Ye Dehui tended to juxtapose the household and the commercial publication; see, for example, “Ming ren sike fangke shu 明人私刻坊刻書”, *Shulin qinghua*, 5, pp. 10b–24b.
6. Jiao Hong 焦竑, “Diaoban yinshu 雕板印書”, *Jiao shi bicheng xu* 焦氏筆乘續 (1606) XXSK, vol. 1129, 4, pp. 21a–b; Jiao tells the story of Wu Zhaoyi 毋昭裔 (fl. 934–957), who with his own capital produced woodblocks in present-day Sichuan 四川 that eventually generated wealth for his sons and grandsons who printed and sold books until the early eleventh century; also cited in Ye Dehui, “Zonglun keshu zhi yi 總論刻書之益”, *Shulin qinghua*, 1, pp. 2a–b. Wu Zhaoyi was reportedly among the first to produce household publications (944–953) in imperial China; see Thomas Francis Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*, L. Carrington Goodrich, ed., 2nd edition, New York, Ronald Press, 1955, pp. 68–74, 75 n. 10, 84; Cheng Qianfan 程千帆, Xu Youfu 徐有富, *Jiaochou guangyi, Banben bian* 校讎廣義版本編, *Cheng Qianfan quanji* 程千帆全集, vol. 1, Shijiazhuang, Hebei

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

were produced for profit, and in the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644), the literati's involvement in commercial publishing, albeit in the guise of a household enterprise, became more common and widely recognized.⁷ Academic works, reference books for civil-service examinations, and manuals for daily life (especially those on government institutions, or *zhengshu* 政書) coexisted in both the household and commercial worlds of publishing. Claiming to show his reading public the “correct way” (C. *zhengtu* 正途; J. *seito*) to literary or political success, the literatus publisher tended to collaborate with his commercial colleagues, most commonly by forwarding his project to them or contracting with them to produce the work given his own lack of sufficient capital.⁸ In the Qing 清 period (1644–1911), bibliophile and publisher of household editions Huang Pilie 黃丕烈 (1763–1825) ran a bookstore in Suzhou to distribute his products.⁹ These examples cannot serve to prove how all Ming and Qing household publishers operated their projects, but they alert us to motivations for and uses of household publications that are much more diverse and complex than previously thought.

The social motivations for and uses of household publications are the subject of this chapter. I assume that the household-published book served as a “carrier of relationships”, a phrase borrowed from Natalie Davis. By this Davis means the context that a book's audiences can provide for its meanings and uses,¹⁰ whereas in this study I refer to the publisher-author relationship and the context in which the publisher used

jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000, pp. 84–85. See also, Paul Pelliot, *Les Débuts de l'imprimerie en Chine*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1953, pp. 61–81.

7. Inoue Susumu 井上進, *Chūgoku shuppan bunka shi: shomotsu sekai to chi no fukei* 中国出版文化史：書物世界と知の風景, Nagoya, Nagoya University Press, 2002, pp. 153–158, 250–254.
8. Tanii Toshihito 谷井俊仁, “Ō Shō no chojutsu shuppan katsudō 王樵の著述出版活動”, *Higashi Ajia shuppan bunka kenkyū, kohaku* 東アジア出版文化研究：こはく, Isobe Akira 磯部彰, ed., Tōkyō, Chisen shokan, 2004, provides a good case study of the household publication; the quotation is from p. 80.
9. Miao Quansun 繆荃孫, “*Shiliju cangshu tiba ji shuhou* 士禮居藏書題跋記書後”, *Yifengtang wen xujī* 藝風堂文續集 (1910), XXSK, vol. 1574, 6, pp. 23a–24a.
10. Natalie Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*, Stanford (CA), Stanford University Press, 1975, p. 192; for a detailed study of the book as a carrier of relationships, see Natalie Z. Davis, “Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: The Prothero Lecture”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 33, Fifth Series, 1983, pp. 69–88.

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his product. I will examine the historical development of such relationships and their types, and conclude by gauging how household publications produced in this context functioned in family history.

A specific publication may tell us the particular relationship between its publisher and author, but it does not suffice to support a general outline of the historical development and categories of these relationships, which can only become possible after a statistical survey of Ming publications. To assemble as much information as possible, the first sources we naturally think of are the rich bibliographies of Ming publications. Unfortunately, the surviving Ming bibliographies are not as helpful as might be expected for this kind of work. On the basis of holdings, both printed and hand-copied in imperial, government, and private libraries, compilers of those bibliographies provided detailed printing data only in a very few cases; most of their entries consist of the title of the book, the number of chapters, the author, and sometimes the edition. My survey will be based on Du Xinfu's 杜信孚 recent bibliography of Ming imprints. This bibliography is the only one to date that is arranged by publishers rather than by authors or the traditional fourfold classification of books.¹¹ In spite of some weaknesses, Du's bibliography provides much information useful for compiling publishing data (including publishers and place and date of publication). This data will facilitate the discerning of publisher-author relationships, with further reference to evidence both internal and external to the book. This historical survey will be covered in Part One.

The publisher's use of his household edition will be further examined in the case study found in Part Two. The works and publications of one Zhang 張 family of today's Hangzhou 杭州, whose cultural traditions were sustained from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, will be investigated in the social and familial contexts in which those imprints were produced. To describe as fully as possible how household publishing functioned in the history of the Zhang family, I will extend my account into the mid-nineteenth century rather than limit it to the Ming period. In my conclusion, I will briefly discuss the use of bibliographies for the study of book history.

11. Du Xinfu 杜信孚, Du Tongshu 杜同書, eds., *Quan Ming fen sheng fen xian keshu kao* 全明分省分縣刻書考, Beijing, Xianzhuang shuju, 2002.

I. Household Publication as a Carrier of Relationships: A Statistical Study

Du Xinfu's bibliography is appropriate for modern studies of Ming print culture because of its publisher-oriented arrangement and detailed bibliographical descriptions, but we still need to confirm its reliability before using the information in its entries. In this part, I will explain first how I have established its reliability and then set forth statistics about household publications in the Ming publishing industry and a typology of the publisher-author relationships implied in them.

The reliability of Du's bibliography

Although Du's bibliography will be the main source of my bibliographical survey, I have also looked at a few extant catalogues of household publications compiled in the Ming, Qing, and Republican periods. These catalogues, however, reveal less about the uses of publications by the families that made them. The Min 閔, Ling 凌, and Mao 毛 families of the Ming produced books for both economic profit and social fame, and their products were catalogued by themselves or by a few bibliophiles of later generations. Their book businesses operated for only two generations (less than thirty years) in their hey-day. Their simpler and less impressive traditions were not sufficiently rich to provide the wider context needed to investigate the uses by the family members of the publications listed.¹² A noticeable exception is the Qian 錢 family of Jinshan 金山 (in present-day Shanghai 上海), whose book business continued for four generations (from 1771 to the mid-nineteenth century). Their publications, mainly in the form of collectanea—among which the *Collectanea of the Mountain Watching Pavilion* (*Shoushange congshu* 守山閣叢書, 1844) was well-known—were catalogued in the third quarter of the nineteenth century with prefaces, postscripts, and colophons included for

12. Hyono Kazue 表野和江, "Minmatsu Kurekyō Ryōshi kokusho katsudō kanga: Ryō Mōsho to shuppan 明末吳興凌氏刻書活動考：凌濛初と出版", *Nippon chūgoku gakkai hō* 日本中国学会報, 50, 1998, pp. 169–183; Wu K. T. 吳光清, "Ming Printing and Printers", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 7, 3, 1943, pp. 244–246; Tao Xiang 陶湘, *Ming Mao shi Jiguge keshu mulu* 明毛氏汲古閣刻書目錄, *Wujin Tao shi shumu congkan* 武進陶氏書目叢刊, vol. 1, Wujin, Tao An; Tao Xiang, *Ming Wuxing Minban shumu* 明吳興閔板書目, *Wujin Tao shi shumu congkan*, vol. 1, Wujin, Tao An.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

each entry.¹³ That most of their publications are extant and accessible is also a plus. Unlike the majority of other upper-class families, who occasionally produced books in small quantities, the Qian family worked in a more professional manner: they distributed their products as luxuries, which in turn brought them wealth and fame. Most of their publishing projects were under the supervision of Qian Xizuo 錢熙祚 (d. 1844) of the second generation; neither the content of the book nor the relationship between its author and the Qians, if any, functioned within the family's social network.¹⁴ With their professional and commercial character, the collectanea produced in the name of household publication by the Qians were intended to serve elite scholars as media preserving old texts and academic studies. On the other hand, the works published by the Min, Ling, and Mao families during the Ming were exclusively commercial in nature.¹⁵ Thus among the publications that traditional bibliographers labeled as household, some were actually commercial in nature and so was the publisher-author relationship implied in them.

We should also not mistake lists of family members' writings and auto-bibliography for catalogues of household publication. Both the Ming and Qing periods witnessed the compilation of such catalogues and auto-bibliographies by authors themselves and their families.¹⁶ Texts listed in such compilations could exist in the form of imprint or manuscript. Not all printed titles listed in an auto-bibliography were necessarily published by the author or his family, and in the case of catalogues of family writings, some titles were included simply because their

13. Qian Peisun 錢培孫, [*Jinshan Qian shi*] *Jiake shumu* [金山錢氏] 家刻書目, Yangzhou, Jiangsu guangling guji keyin she, 1878.
14. Ye Shusheng, Yu Minhui, *Ming Qing Jiangnan siren keshu shilue*, pp. 96–97; Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshua shi*, p. 485.
15. Arthur W. Hummel, "Ts'ung Shu", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 51, 1, 1931, pp. 40–46; also cited in Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*, Cambridge, MA, Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984, pp. 151–152.
16. Yao Mingda 姚名達, *Zhongguo muluxue shi* 中國目錄學史, Taipei, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1971, pp. 404–405 and Nagasawa Kikuya 長澤規矩也, "Shina shoseki kaidai shomoku shoshi no bu 支那書籍解題書目書誌之部", *Kanseki kaidai ichi* 漢籍解題一, in Nagasawa Kikuya chosakushū 長澤規矩也著作集, vol. 9, Tōkyō, Kyūko Shoin, 1985, pp. 357–358 gives some examples of auto-bibliographies and the family member's writing lists.

authors shared a surname, not because they descended from a common ancestor.¹⁷ It would be misleading to refer to catalogues of this kind when identifying household publications and reconstructing their bibliographical information.

Let us return to Du's bibliography. Its attention to publishers and printers makes possible the complication of statistics concerning *banben* 版本 (lit. "editions") rather than titles only. The Chinese *banben* cannot be equated with the Anglo-American edition. In the Anglo-American tradition treating early printed books, the term "edition" refers to "the whole number of copies of a book printed at any time or times from one setting-up of type"; a new edition is the consequence of a fresh type-setting of the whole book. Therefore the edition is commensurate with the impression but should be distinguished from the issue.¹⁸ In modern Chinese bibliography, "edition" is defined as the material form of the book, printed or hand-copied, which is derived from editing, hand-copying, block carving (or type-setting), binding, and even circulation (e.g. the copies of a same issue commented and collated by different readers will be viewed as different editions [*pijiaoben* 批校本]).¹⁹ The traditional concept of *banben* as a result of xylography, however, focuses on books printed from woodblocks, but includes also those printed with moveable type, copies transcribed from a printed version, and copies printed or transcribed with collation notes and commentaries.²⁰ The Chinese bibliographical tradition thus considers editions of the early printed book in relation to the set of woodblocks for the whole work and its circulation. Any physical and

17. Yuan Chang 袁昶, *Yuan shi yiwenzhi* 袁氏藝文志, Tonglu, Yuan shi jianxi cunshu, 1897.
18. Ronald McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, Winchester, St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1994, pp. 175–176 provides the classical, although controversial, definitions of "edition", "impression", and "issue". In his theory, "impression" refers to the whole number of copies printed at one time without removing the type; since early printers normally distributed their type immediately after the print run concluded, the edition and the impression are the same thing. "Issue" means the special form of the book with original printed sheets bound but with a different arrangement and preliminary matter.
19. Cheng Qianfan, Xu Youfu, *Jiaochou guangyi*, *Banben bian*, p. 5.
20. Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, *Muluxue fawei* 目錄學發微, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2007, pp. 80–81; Huang Yongnian 黃永年, *Guji banbenxue* 古籍版本學, Nanjing, Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005, pp. 8–9.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

textual change in the reserved woodblocks (i.e., resulting from rot, supplementation, and repair) determines the bibliographical description of the copy printed from them. In practice, even early and late impressions from the same unchanged set of woodblocks are normally distinguished from each other as different *banben*, as are the issues resulting from a different arrangement of sheets printed from the same woodblocks. Other binding styles than the common stitched binding are often used to name a particular *banben*. In some cases, the reader could decide whether to include prefaces and postscripts and their sequence before having the printed sheets bound; such salient characteristics, together with the unintentional arrangement of printed sheets, if any, should be noted in the bibliographical description of a *banben*.²¹ Therefore, the traditional Chinese bibliographer is expected to differentiate the edition, impression, and issue when treating early books, and his description of *banben* should cover those three categories. Listing all the *banben* of the text—editions, impressions, and issues—is undoubtedly of use to outlining its publishing history, much fuller than the story told by a simple congregation of titles alone. Rather than assembling titles only under different classifications as did his predecessors, Du attempts to collect Ming editions, impressions, and issues of texts in his bibliography. (For the sake of convenience, hereafter I shall use the word “edition” as the equivalent of “*banben*” in the traditional Chinese sense, as referring to the whole number of copies of the text with physical and textual variants resulting from the procedures of book production.)

Du’s bibliography looks like a good inspiration and first step. The question now becomes how reliable his entries are for the purpose of reconstructing bibliographical information. Du collected information from other bibliographies and identified the printer/publisher of every edition, impression, and issue. But, even as a senior librarian and bibliographer, he personally saw only a very small portion of the books he lists and makes no reference to collections of Ming imprints outside mainland China. Not all of his entries include complete bibliographical elements from which to reconstruct the book’s life. The enumerations in

21. For the significance of binding for studies of editions, see Huang Yongnian, *Guji banben xue*, pp. 59–70, *passim*.

some entries are also open to question. For example, when dealing with an edition containing more than one work, Du in some cases records each title as an entry, but treats the whole publication as one single entry in other cases. Even more often he will include a single edition by several printers or publishers in different entries, or mistake the author of the preface or postscript to a book for its printer or publisher. Both the title of a collectanea and the titles of the works included in it are sometimes treated equally as entries; this becomes a serious problem when a huge collectanea was begun in the Ming but completed in the Qing. One example of this is the entry for the *Jiaxing zang* 嘉興藏 (Jiaying version of the Buddhist *Tripitaka*), a publication assembled over a period of nearly one hundred and twenty years (1589–1707).²² Du records this huge collection as a single entry in his bibliography, but also lists some of its included titles as separate entries. More serious still are errors in entries, caused either by Du himself or by a careless editor or proofreader. No less problematic are dates and names copied from other bibliographical descriptions with errors uncorrected.

It is not my purpose to produce either a review or list of errata for Du's bibliography, but only to suggest that it be seen as an incomplete collection of materials that, at present, furnishes clues for a history of Ming printed books. Before they are used to reconstruct bibliographical information, Du's entries must be cross-checked with other bibliographies and, where possible, with the actual copy of the edition listed therein. My investigations have revealed that a total of 9,670 editions of Ming printed books actually are listed in Du's bibliography, with 7,143 precisely dated and 2,527 dated to the reign periods only; among them are 5,229 household editions precisely dated and 1,387 dated to the reign periods only, totaling 6,616 household editions as traditionally defined. In terms of editions, household publications apparently overshadowed both commercial and government types in the society of Ming China. The statistical study that follows is based on those 6,616 household editions.

It is still difficult to assess how representative Du's 9,670 editions are of the entire Ming publishing industry. The first catalogue of the Ming

22. Dai Lianbin 戴聯斌, "The Economics of the Jiaying Edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka", *Toung Pao* 通報, 94, 4–5, 2008, pp. 312–325.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

imperial library, which was completed in 1441, listed only 7,297 titles, with around 30% imprints and the rest hand-copied.²³ Far fewer titles were contained in its second catalogue compiled in 1605.²⁴ As for Ming writings, 15,660 titles are collected in Huang Yuji's 黃虞稷 (1629–1691) supplemented bibliographical canon *Qianqingtang shumu* 千頃堂書目, and 29,000 titles in other extant catalogues (including 5033 titles in the bibliographical section of the *Ming History*).²⁵ It would be a dubious practice simply to compare the totals in these catalogues with that for Ming imprints calculated from Du's bibliography. Before we have more reliable statistics, however, the abovementioned 9,670 Ming editions, including the 6,616 household editions, are the richest body of data we have for the study of Ming print culture.

To date I have made numerous small but useful corrections to details in Du's entries, particularly in titles, dates, and places of publishing/printing, and names of authors, editors, publishers or printers. Bibliographies against which I have checked Du's entries include the bibliography of rare collections in mainland China, those of collections in the National Central Library and National Palace Museum (both in Taipei 臺北), and the online database of Chinese rare collections in Japan.²⁶ I have also referred to

23. Yang Shiqi 楊士奇, *Wenyuange shumu* 文淵閣書目, 1441 edition, reprint, Duhuzhai congshu 讀畫齋叢書, 1800; Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al, ed., *Ming shi* 明史, 96, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1974, p. 2343.
24. Sun Nengchuan 孫能傳, Zhang Xuan 張萱, *Neige cangshu mulu* 內閣藏書目錄, 1605 edition, reprint in Shiyuan congshu 適園叢書, Zhang Junheng 張鈞衡, ed., Wucheng, 1912; Kurata Junnosuke 倉田淳之助, "Mindai no shoshigaku 明代の書誌学", in *Kanda Hakushi kanreki kinen: shoshigaku ronshū* 神田博士還曆記念: 書誌學論集, Kanda Hakushi Kanreki Kinenkai 神田博士還曆記念會, ed., Kyōtō, Heibonsha, 1957, p. 57. In the late fifteenth century, Qian Pu 錢溥 (*jinsi* in 1439) compiled a catalogue of the imperial library after his retirement, based on notes compiled during his court librarianship, which included titles much fewer than found in the second catalogue; see Qian Pu, *Bige shumu* 祕閣書目, MS. SKCM, *shibu*, vol. 277, 1996; see also Yongrong 永瑢 and Ji Yun 紀昀, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, 87, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933, pp. 1812–1813.
25. Huang Yuji 黃虞稷, *Qianqing tang shumu* 千頃堂書目, Qu Fengqi 瞿鳳起, Pan Jingzheng 潘景鄭, eds., Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001; Anon., *Mingshi yiwenzhi, bubian, fubian* 明史藝文志•補編•附編, Beijing, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1959; Zhang Tingyu et al., ed., *Mingshi*, 96, pp. 2343–2399, 2502.
26. Weng Lianxi 翁連溪, ed., *Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu* 中國古籍善本總目, Beijing, Xianzhuang shuju, 2005; Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan 國立中央圖書館, *Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan shanben shumu* 國立中央圖書館善本書目, Taipei,

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the comprehensive descriptive bibliographies of the Chinese collections in the Library of Congress (Washington D.C.) and the Harvard-Yenching Library.²⁷ My procedure has been first to identify the title and author and then to investigate if its editions as listed in Du are described in other bibliographies. When other descriptions supplement and even correct Du's, the edition can be more precisely identified. In this way I have refined the database on which my statistical study is based.

Each of the 9,670 Ming editions (or records) contained in this database begins with its date of publishing/printing (either precise year or reign name) followed by its title and number of chapters; category according to the dominant fourfold classification scheme employed in the 1781 *Annotated Bibliography of the Emperor's Four Treasures* (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書叢目提要); author (and co-author, editor, and other contributors, if any); native province and county of the publisher/printer and his examination title, if any; publication type (i.e., commercial, government, or household). In the case of household publications, the relationship between publisher and author (or between bibliophile-publisher and book as a physical object, if any) is identified. As will become apparent later in this paper, the value of this last column lies in how it can be used to describe the historical trend of household publishing's social functions in the Ming.

A typology of Ming household publication

In his bibliography Du designates an edition as a commercial publication with the word “*shulin*” 書林 (bookshop), as a government one using the government agency's name, or as a household one using the individual publisher's or printer's name. He also assigns some other editions to special categories such as ecclesiastical (*Shi Dao* 釋道 [Buddhist and Daoist]) editions, editions of Principalities (*fanfu* 藩府), and editions

Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan, 1967; Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, *Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan shanben jiuji zongmu* 國立故宮博物院善本舊籍總目, Taipei, National Palace Museum, 1983; Zengoku Kanseki 全國漢籍 database, URL: <<http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/kanseki>>.

27. Yuan T. L. 袁同禮, ed., *A Descriptive Catalogue of Rare Chinese Books in the Library of Congress*, Washington D.C., Library of Congress, 1957; Shum Chun 沈津, *Meiguo Hafo daxue Hafo Yanjing tushuguan zhongwen shanben shuzhi* 美國哈佛大學哈佛燕京圖書館中文善本書志, Shanghai, Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1999.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

of imperial kinsmen (*zongshi* 宗室). Ming Principalities were special publishers positioned between government bodies and common individual enterprises. Their products, supported by the emperors' gifts and their own fiefs, were often outstanding in terms of quality, but occupied a very small part in the entire Ming book industry, far fewer than the identified household publications— only 130 Principalities editions are listed by Du. Additionally, according to Lucille Chia, a Principality's activity as a publisher did not have much effect on publishing in the area where it was located, nor did it correlate with the cultural or economic trends of the time.²⁸ Thus I have excluded Principalities editions from my accounts of both household and government publications, but included all fifty-five editions produced by other royal clansmen of ranks lower than that of prince into the category of the household publication. Du Xinfu distinguishes them from Principalities editions on the grounds that their publishers were not princes or did not take their principality ranks yet when producing their publications; in this sense royal clansmen's publishing was essentially the same as that of ordinary gentry.

The classification scheme of commercial, government, and household publications was created according to the publisher's identity. It is easy to distinguish government bodies and businessmen from other individual publishers, but the story behind household publications can be more complicated than might be thought. The first problem is to what extent an edition can be labeled as a household one and what is meant by the term "household publication". Du fails to provide any criteria for determining whether an edition is a household one or not. In a typical but questionable modern definition, the household publication refers to an author's work produced and published by other members of his family, without any commercial intention; sometimes an edition produced by a bibliophile is also treated as a household publication.²⁹ This definition, much narrower than Ye Dehui's, excludes those editions produced by non-commercial and non-professional private publishers outside the author's family or

28. Lucille Chia, "Publications of the Ming Principalities: A Distinct Example of Private Printing", *Ming Studies*, 54, 2006, pp. 29–30, 34.

29. Li Zhizhong 李致忠, *Guji banben zhishi 500 wen* 古籍版本知識 500 問, Beijing, Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2001, pp. 385–386; Cheng Qianfan, Xu Youfu, *Jiaochou guangyi, Banben bian*, p. 172.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

lineage. Those excluded editions, in Li Zhizhong's classification, are divided into *sizhai ben* (lit. "private-residence edition", a term adapted from Ye Dehui but endowed with a different meaning) and *zike ben* 自刻本 (lit. "self-produced edition"); the former term refers to any edition produced for the publisher's superior or his favorite author, while the latter term refers to any edition produced by the author him or herself.³⁰ Even this further distinction does not cover all types of private publications described by Ye Dehui. Du's bibliographical practice demonstrates a traditional and broad conception of household publication, which is derived from that of Ye Dehui. In Du's group of household editions, the publisher and author could belong to either the same or different families; the household edition and its woodblocks could be produced inside or outside the family and within or beyond the publisher's native place; its text could be whatever its publisher thought deserved to be published. It has been thought that Song household publishers preferred books of Philosophy and *Belles-lettres* over the Confucian Classics or standard histories.³¹ The record of Ming household publication in Du's bibliography, however, points to a diversity of contents. Therefore, neither identity of the author nor the text alone can be used to define a household publication at this time. It is also a fallacy to assume that a household publication was one that was financially sponsored by the publisher himself or his family. Financial resource required to cover publication costs, either from private individuals or government bodies, was not the determinant of whether an edition was a government or a household one, since these designations are given without reference to economic factors. The publisher's profile and relationship to the author suggest a social typology of household publication. The combination of publisher and author being from the same family or lineage remained typical. Among the household editions identified in Du's bibliography are the self-produced and private residence types in addition to editions produced by the author's family. Other noticeable types include editions produced by a local official at the end of his term, known as *shupa ben* 書帕本 (lit. "kerchiefed edition"). The kerchiefed edition, specific to and popular in the Ming period, was originally produced by a local official as a gift to

30. Li Zhizhong, *Guji banben zhishi 500 wen*, pp. 385–386.

31. Cheng Qianfan, Xu Youfu, *Jiaochou guangyi, Banben bian*, p. 94.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

his supervisors and colleagues, usually with money from his own salary. It was commonly sent wrapped in a kerchief as an elegant literary item, but often criticized for its numerous textual errors, so that this kind of publication was abandoned in the early Qing.³² However, other than as gifts, editions might still be published by a local official during his term of office, with the idea of extending his influence over the intellectual, moral, and social life and customs of the people within his territory.³³ It is hard to determine whether such editions were produced with money from the local official's private purse or from his local government's budget, but they were commonly attributed to him as an individual publisher. Therefore, a household publication can be essentially defined as a private edition produced for diverse reasons by a non-professional individual publisher, whose author could be either inside or outside the publisher's family or clan.

The idea of marking an edition as household simply by virtue of consanguinity between its publisher and author needlessly constrains the exploration of the uses that non-commercial amateur individuals made of their publications. In modern scholarship the term "household" (*jia* 家) is essentially sociological, and household publishing can demonstrate a social more than a literary or economic aspect of late imperial Chinese book culture. Therefore, rather than using such categories as authorship, text, or publishing costs to describe a publication's distinctiveness, I prefer to use the publisher-author relationship embodied in the production of the book (particularly in its text or material form) as the element determining the distinctiveness of a household publication. This strategy has the advantage of investigating publishers' activities from the perspective of social history while avoiding the simple listing of titles, which has been the practice of the majority of Chinese historians of publishing and the book.

32. Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, *Rizhi lu jishi* 日知錄集釋, 1834 edition, 18, Huang Rucheng 黃汝成, ed., Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985, pp. 5b–6a; Ye Dehui, *Shulin qinghua*, 7, pp. 9a–b.

33. Timothy Brook, "Communications and Commerce", *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*, Part 2, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8, Denis Twitchett, Frederick W. Mote, eds, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 654–657.

A statistical analysis of Ming household publications

A social typology of household publishing provides the model for my statistical study. In my database of 9,670 records created from Du's bibliography, Ming commercial (24.16%), government (4.53%), and household (68.42%) editions total 9,390 (with the remaining 280 being ecclesiastical editions, editions of principalities, and editions by academies), among them 6,920 editions precisely dated and 2,470 either dated to a reign period or undated. Of these 9,390 editions, 5,229 are household publications that can be precisely dated and there are another 1,384 that can be dated to a reign period. These statistics for household editions are calculated in terms of ten-year intervals, or reign period if they cannot be so precisely dated (see *Tables 1.1* and *1.2*, respectively).

Tables 1.1 and *1.2*, which supplement each other, indicate a continuous increase in the number of Ming household editions. Precisely dated editions found in *Table 1.1* and *Figure 1.1* began to dramatically increase around the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The increase reached its first peak in 1498–1507, a second one in 1548–1557, and then its apogee in 1608–1617. The number starts to decrease from 1618 onward and falls to its lowest point in the last several years of the Ming. Thus the one hundred and fifty years from 1488 to 1637 mark the flourishing of household publishing. Taking *Table 1.2* and *Figure 1.2* into consideration, the first sudden increase in the number of household editions occurred in the Jiajing 嘉靖 period (1522–1566, with around 1,800 editions produced) and reached its climax in the Wanli 萬曆 period (1573–1620, with around 2,400 editions produced). These statistics differ from those of Katsuyama Minoru 勝山稔, who analyzed 5251 *titles* (not editions) listed in Du's earlier bibliography of Ming imprints. According to Katsuyama, the percentage of household publications relative to the entire Ming publishing industry had been falling vis-à-vis commercial ones; household publishing's hey-day was in 1538–1547 (around 61.76% of the total editions produced), and decreased by around 30% in the late 1620s, such that far fewer household publications were produced in the Chongzhen 崇禎 period (1628–1644).³⁴ Katsuyama failed to include imprecisely dated

34. Du Xinfu 杜信孚, ed., *Mingdai banke zonglu* 明代版刻綜錄, Yangzhou, Jiangsu guangling guji keyin she, 1983; Katsuyama Minoru 勝山稔, "Mindai ni okeru bōkokuhoon

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

titles in his calculations and based his totals on the sum of titles rather than editions, as already noted. He used a different statistical method and an older bibliography, and his inference that there was a continuous decrease in household publishing from the Jiajing period onward is questionable. In *Tables 1.1* and *1.2*, commercial editions never outnumber household ones, although the former type was possibly distributed more widely than the latter. Household publishing flourished in the Wanli period with about forty-nine editions produced per year, as opposed to the Jiajing period with about forty produced per year; even in the Chongzhen period when household publishing appeared to be declining, about 740 editions were produced, or about forty-four per year. The most productive years of household publishing were the period 1598–1627, that is, the late Wanli and Tianqi 天啟 (1621–1627) reign periods. Generally, both household and commercial publishing increased in the Ming as the polynomial trendlines show, though the latter increased more modestly than the former. However, similar trends do not mean that the manner of the increase was identical; we cannot extrapolate the way in which commercial publications increased to the situation of household publishing. In 1478–1567, while household publishing abruptly increased, commercial publishing activity was almost stagnant and even decreased in some years. Not until the Wanli period did commercial publishing experience a leap in activity (about 1,400 editions produced, still fewer than the number of household editions), reaching its climax in 1598–1607. The temporal gap between the peak numbers of household and commercial editions alerts us to the possible different causes for their increase. More remains to be learned about those possible causes, and I am reluctant simply to correlate publishing peaks with economic fluctuations in the late Ming. The years 1598–1637 saw an increase in the production of household editions (and also commercial editions), despite the rapid economic deterioration that preceded the “seventeenth-century crisis”.³⁵

no shuppan jōkyō ni tsuite 明代における坊刻本出版状況について”, in *Higashi Ajia shuppan bunka kenkyū, niwatazumi*, Isobe Akira, ed., 2004, pp. 85–87.

35. William S. Atwell, “Some Observations on the ‘Seventeenth-Century Crisis’ in China and Japan”, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 45, 2, 1986, pp. 223–244; Frederic E. Wakeman, “China and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis”, *Late Imperial China*, 7, 1, 1986, pp. 1–26.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

This crisis in seventeenth-century China largely originated from the dislocation of war-financing, taxing, and spending associated with the last decades of the Ming, as well as from acute harvest failures.³⁶ As a consequence, rice prices began to increase rapidly after the first decade of the seventeenth century, as did the cost for transcribing and carving woodblocks that was the main part of the investment for a xylographical publication.³⁷ Thus the logic underlying the flourishing of household publishing could be social and cultural rather than economic, even although most household publications finally circulated in book market and the costs for publishing them were eventually determined by economic elements.

While his Yuan predecessors were required to get approval from their provincial education commissioners and the Ministry of Rites (*Libu* 禮部) before embarking on a project, the Ming publisher of a household edition was less constrained and could produce whatever he liked without seeking any permission from the local or central government in advance. This administrative latitude, together with the lower costs for transcribing and engraving woodblocks, encouraged Ming gentlemen to undertake private publications.³⁸ Publishers were exempted from taxation on their products,³⁹ and despite some censorship, the Ming bureaucracy lacked the capacity to control the entire printing industry and book trade. Ming censorship was not employed as an ideological intervention, nor was it as effective as in pre-Modern England where the secular government issued licenses to and secured collaboration from publishers.⁴⁰ Other causes for the prosperity of the Ming book industry included a well-developed transportation system, increasing commercialization and

36. Richard von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000–1700*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1996.

37. Kishimoto Mio 岸本美緒, *Shindai Chūgoku no bukka to keizai hendō* 清代中国の物価と経済変動, Tokyo, Kenbun shuppan, 1997, pp. 112–117; Dai Lianbin, “The Economics of the Jiaxing Edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka”, pp. 336–337.

38. Ye Dehui, “Ming shi keshu gongjia zhi lian 明時刻書工價之廉”, *Shulin qinghua*, 7, pp. 13b–15a.

39. Fu Fengxiang 傅鳳翔, “Chuyuan dashe tianxiao zhao 初元大赦天下詔”, *Huang Ming zhaoling* 皇明詔令 (1548), XXSK, vol. 457, 1, p. 10b.

40. Timothy Brook, “State Censorship and the Book Trade”, *The Chinese State in Ming Society*, London, Routledge Curzon, 2005, pp. 118–136.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

literacy, and technical innovations.⁴¹ But these causes are too general to explain household publishing's distinctiveness: why did the non-professional amateur individual produce his private edition as a household product? To answer this question, we should appeal to the relationship of the publisher with the author, the text, or the book as a material object. (For convenience, I will hereafter refer to these relationships as the “publisher-author relationship”.)

The publisher-author relationship

Du Xinfu notes the relationship between the publisher and author in some of his descriptions, but his work does not suffice to delineate the historical landscape of publisher-author relationships embodied in Ming household editions. Supplements (and even corrections) to his descriptions of the publisher-author relationship can be made by cross-checking other annotated bibliographies,⁴² but a more effective and precise reconstruction should be based on the text and paratext in the edition in question. In the study of Chinese print culture, paratexts have been used to identify the author's target reading public.⁴³ This term (paratext), coined by Genette for his theory of textual transaction, originally refers to those liminal devices, both within and outside the book, which function as mediators between author, book, publisher and reader. These include such things as front and back covers, jacket blurbs, indexes, footnotes, and tables of contents, all of which provide “a privileged place of pragmatics and a strategy of an influence on the public, an influence that—

41. Brook, “Communications and Commerce”; Ōki Yasushi 大木康, “Minmatsu Kōnan ni okeru shuppan bunka no kenkyū 明末江南における出版文化の研究”, *Hiroshima Daigaku bungakubu kiyō tokushūgō* 広島大学文学部紀要特集号, 50, 1, 1991, pp. 1–173; Inoue, *Chūgoku shuppan bunka shi*; Joseph P. McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2006, pp. 25–42.
42. For example Ding Bing 丁丙, *Shanbenshushi cangshuzhi* 善本書室藏書志, Qiantang, The Ding family, 1901; Lu Xinyuan 陸心源, *Bi Song lou cangshuzhi* 皕宋樓藏書志, Guian, Shiwan juan lou, 1882; Zhang Jinwu 張金吾, *Airijinglu cangshuzhi* 愛日精廬藏書志 (1887 [1820]), XXSK, vol. 925, 1887.
43. Chow Kai-wing 周啟榮, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 12–14, 109–123; Anne E. McLaren, “Constructing New Reading Publics in Late Ming China”, *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, Cynthia Brokaw, Kai-wing Chow, eds., 2005, pp. 152–183.

whether well or poorly understood and achieved—is at the service of a better reception of the text and a more pertinent reading”. In short, such devices are designed to ensure “for the text a destiny consistent with the author’s purpose”.⁴⁴ Genette’s concern is not bibliographical at all, and his literary utilization of these devices differs from the uses that the traditional bibliographer can make of them. Whereas the readers defined in the paratext are not necessarily the real readers of the book, the paratext in a common imprint is generally helpful in identifying the publisher and his relationship with the author, the text, or the book as an object. Thus the term “paratext” will be used here in the bibliographical sense rather than the literary one, to mean the devices in which the publisher-author relationship can be located, both within and outside the book.

Paratexts useful for identifying the publisher-author relationship include the preface, beginning of the first or introductory chapter (*juanshou* 卷首), postscript, colophon, bibliographical annotation, and descriptions of the book’s life in other texts. From them one can extract further detailed bibliographical information that can be used to reconstruct the story of a household edition’s publication. Reconstructing all such relationships, as represented in all the 6,616 household editions in my database, is not an easy task. Instead I will select household publications produced by the publishers of Hangzhou Prefecture as examples.

The city of Hangzhou had been a book center since it became the capital of the Southern Song 南宋 dynasty (1127–1279) in 1127. Economic prosperity and enormous book consumption by scholars and officials living within the city wall stimulated the publishing industry and book trade.⁴⁵ After a setback in the fourteenth century, book production and consumption in Hangzhou fell gradually, but the city’s importance for China’s imprint culture endured and it remained a book center in the Ming.⁴⁶ Ming Hangzhou was the seat of Hangzhou Prefecture and had jurisdiction over nine counties: Qiantang 錢塘, Renhe 仁和, Haining

44. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Jane E. Lewin, trans., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 2, 407.
45. Sören Edgren, “Southern Song Printing at Hangzhou”, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, 61, 1989, pp. 1–212.
46. Joseph P. McDermott, “The Ascendance of the Imprint in China”, *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, Cynthia Brokaw, Kai-wing Chow, eds., 2005, pp. 68–69; see also *A Social History of the Chinese Book*, pp. 55–57.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

海寧, Fuyang 富陽, Yuhang 餘杭, Lin'an 臨安, Yuqian 於潛, Xincheng 新城, and Changhua 昌化.⁴⁷ Qiantang and Renhe, which were located within the city of Hangzhou, enjoyed cultural and economic advantages; following them in importance was Haining. The prestige of Hangzhou as a Ming book center can be attributed largely to publishing activities in the counties of Qiantang and Renhe.

Du Xinfu lists a total of 411 editions from Hangzhou Prefecture, with commercial (36.74%), government (2.43%), and household (56.69%) publications totaling 394 editions. Because Hangzhou had been a commercial publishing center in the Song and Ming, it is not surprising that the percentage of its commercial editions is higher than that for commercial editions at the national level, and this higher percentage in turn led to lower percentages of government and household editions in this locality. In *Table 2.1*, the first noticeable increase in the number of household editions in Hangzhou Prefecture occurred in 1538–1547 and this number remained roughly the same for thirty years. This means that household editions became noticeable for their quantity in the Jiajing period. The number continued to increase in 1578–1587 and reached its zenith in 1618–1637. This temporal trend is also demonstrated in *Table 2.2*, that is, the flourishing of Ming household editions, as I have argued above, appeared in the late Wanli, Tianqi, and Chongzhen periods, rather than in the Jiajing.

I have identified the publisher-author relationships embodied in 188 precisely dated and 45 imprecisely dated household editions produced by the publishers of Hangzhou Prefecture, examining the paratexts inside or outside those editions when possible. The identified relationships can be categorized into fourteen groups (see *Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 4.1, 4.2*):

(1) Self-published (SELF): the author published his own work and that work was attributed to him as original author, collator, or editor.

(2) Companionate (CMPN): the publisher and his author shared a network that was not familial or lineal but rather literary, political, or social. In the paratext the publisher commonly refers to himself as the author's *youren* 友人 (friend), *tongnian* 同年 (fellow graduate of the same year), or *shedi* 社弟 (fellow member of a literary club).

47. Zhang Tingyu *et al.*, eds., *Ming shi*, 44, pp. 1101–1102.

(3) Connoisseur (CONN): the publisher, as a bibliophile, publicized his rare collection, or, as a connoisseur, published his favorite author's work or favorite text/genre.

(4) Family membership (FMBR): the publisher and author were from the same family. "Family" as used here follows the definition of Ebrey and Watson, as designating a property-holding group whose members normally "reside together and share a common budget for everyday expenses".⁴⁸ Any edition produced by the author's family member within four generations, either in the patriarchal or the matriarchal line, is included in this category in my statistics. In this category the publisher and author enjoyed a relationship closer than that in the next category.

(5) Lineal descendent (LDST): the publisher was the author's patriarchal lineal descendent beyond the fourth generation. Here both publisher and author, as members of the same "descent group," descended from a common ancestor but were not of a single family or a single line. The publisher was aware of his kinship connection with the author, which could be attested in the lineage genealogy.⁴⁹ He commonly refers to himself as the author's *yisun* 裔孫 (lineal progeny) or *shisun* 世孫 (descendant of late generation).

(6) Family friendship (FMFD): the publisher's family and that of the author enjoyed a friendship lasting more than two generations.

(7) Family learning (FMLG): the publisher and his family were experts in a certain field of knowledge that had been pursued for more than two generations. In particular the pursued knowledge pertained to orthodox scholarship—classical, historical, philosophical, and literary—undertaken by scholar-officials.

(8) Jurisdictional (JRSD): A local official was involved in publishing the work of an author under his jurisdiction. Said author was a native of, or had lived in, the locality, during the official's time in office or earlier. This category can also refer to publications by an official in the form of institutional guides or records of official duties.

(9) Local authorship (LCAU): the publisher printed an author's work out of local pride or sentiment. Publisher and author lived in the same

48. Patricia Ebrey, James L. Watson, eds., *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China, 1000–1940*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1986, pp. 4–5.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

locality but did not have blood ties. The publisher was of the author's age or younger, and in the paratext, commonly refers to himself as the author's *tongjun* 同郡 (native of the same prefecture), *tongyi* 同邑 (native of the same county), or *tongli* 同里 (native of the same canton or ward).

(10) Local officialdom (LCOF): the publisher published a local official's work out of local pride; the author was of the publisher's age or older.

(11) Professional (PRFS) or occupational: the publisher produced a professional or occupational work by either a family member or ancestor or by a fellow craftsman. Distinct from the category of family learning (FMLG), "professional" here refers to the publisher's occupation (e.g., medicine, painting, handicraft, military science, or martial arts), which did not originate from the Confucian Classics but was theorized in and supported by an occupational guidebook (e.g. *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經 [The Yellow Emperor's classic of internal medicine] for physicians). This category is also distinct from that of family membership (FMBR) in that the publisher succeeded to the occupation of his ancestors; thus the publication was important to him both as his ancestor's writing and as his own occupational bible.

(12) Protégé (PRTG): the publisher was the author's protégé. The publisher received academic or political patronage from the author and they did not have a blood tie. In the paratext, the publisher commonly refers to himself as *menren* 門人, *dizi* 弟子, or *mensheng* 門生, all meaning protégé.

(13) Religious belief (RLGB): the publisher produced a religious work simply because of his own beliefs, Buddhist, Daoist, or Christian.

(14) Unknown (UNKN): the publisher-author relationship cannot be known based on existing evidence.

These types of publisher-author relationships are not mutually exclusive. A publisher could be a connoisseur of his mentor's literary work; in some cases he could also be the protégé of a local official or local author; in other cases his author might also be his master. A publisher-official might publish as the protégé or connoisseur of an author within his jurisdiction. When the publisher-author relationship is of more than one kind, I will choose the type underscored in the paratext for the purposes of labeling.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

In *Tables 3.1* and *3.2*, in addition to those not known (around 15%), 198 household editions are identified by publisher-author relationship. Self-published editions (SELF, 75) comprise the largest portion, followed by editions published by bibliophiles and connoisseurs (CONN, 41) and by family members (FMBR, 22). Household editions produced by the publisher of a local author (LCAU, 14) and by a local official of the author within his territory (JRSD, 13) are also significant. Editions produced by a lineal descendent for his ancestor (LDST, 3) are least important, even less so than those by a publisher as his author's companion (CMPN, 10) or protégé (PRTG, 10). This sample survey indicates that it was hard to legitimize the cultural prestige of a publisher's family by publishing a distant lineal ancestor's work, even though it was common in Ming and Qing genealogies to trace familial or lineal origins back to the Tang (618–916) or even the legendary era. In order to establish his family's cultural status locally, publishers found it more practicable and acceptable to produce a household edition of the work via one of the above-mentioned networks, or else to reproduce his own collection of rare books if he did not have enough writings to publish.

The social characteristics of Hangzhou household editions can be illustrated further by comparison with those produced by the publishers of the adjacent Songjiang 松江 Prefecture (part of present-day Shanghai). *Tables 4.1* and *4.2* outline the relationships in 178 Songjiang household editions (the other 53 editions are not known). Types of publisher-author relationships can be sequenced by the number of editions in descending order: SELF (80 editions), FMBR (37), LCAU (14), PRTG (11), JRSD (10), CMPN (7), LDST (6), and CONN (5). Household editions produced by Hangzhou connoisseurs made up a much larger portion than those by their Songjiang counterparts; this perhaps resulted from the growth of private libraries in Ming Hangzhou, with collections much richer than those in Songjiang.⁵⁰ Hangzhou connoisseurs' editions began to increase in the third quarter of the sixteenth century and continued increasing in the last fifty years of the dynasty, a trend roughly

50. Wu Han 吳晗, *Jiang Zhe cangshujia shilüe* 江浙藏書家史略, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1981; Gu Zhixing 顧志興, *Zhejiang cangshu shi* 浙江藏書史, Hangzhou, Hangzhou chubanshe, 2006, pp. 167–182; Ding Shen 丁申, *Wulin cangshu lu* 武林藏書錄, Shanghai, Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

conterminous with the observed growth of private collections in the late Ming.⁵¹ Some native Hangzhou publishers who served as local officials outside their home prefecture also produced household editions while in office. They published the works of authors under their jurisdictions, as a sign of their administrative achievements and cultural tastes. Most of these products can be labeled as gifts (kerchiefed editions), to be sent to their supervisors and colleagues in government service. As the values of JRS in *Tables 3.1, 3.2, 4.1 and 4.2* show, this kind of edition was produced mainly in the Jiajing (1522–66) and Wanli (1573–1620) periods; from the late Wanli onward, such literary gifts fell into disfavor and were replaced with silver, gold, and even jewelry.⁵² Editions produced by a publisher of a native author (LCAU), according to these tables, were also significant in the mid-Jiajing (1538–1557), late Wanli, and Tianqi (1608–1627) periods.

The limited statistics for household editions produced by connoisseurs, local officials, and local publishers do not suffice to support further explorations of their imprints' social uses. Thus the concern of this study will turn to the use of the household edition by the author, his family members, protégés, and companions.

In both Hangzhou and Songjiang, household editions produced by authors' protégés appeared in 1528–1538, and those by their companions in 1548–1558. Although the early Ming witnessed the production of household editions edited and published in this way,⁵³ this type of edition, produced in the last century of the dynasty, was a consequence of the deteriorating political situation at court and the growth of literary clubs. Factional struggles among the emperor, eunuchs, and officials, together with the formation of cliques among officials, had degraded the political climate ever since the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The resulting struggles for power called for political alliances, in which friendship, loyalty, and trust became the crucial currency.⁵⁴ Hence some scholars

51. Brook, "Communications and Commerce", pp. 664–667.

52. Gu Yanwu, *Rizhi lu jishi*, 18, pp. 5b–6a; Xu Shupi 徐樹丕, *Shi xiao lu* 識小錄, cited in Ōki Yasushi, "Minmatsu Kōnan ni okeru shuppan bunka no kenkyū", p. 34.

53. Song Lian 宋濂, *Song xueshi wencui* 宋學士文粹, 1377, edited by his friend Liu Ji 劉基 (1311–1375) and published by his protégés.

54. James Geiss, "The Chia-ching Reign, 1522–1566", *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*, Part 1, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, Denis Twitchett, Frederick

who were involved in factions reinterpreted friendship, emphasizing its role in political life.⁵⁵ In addition to the factions at court there were literary clubs all over the country, whose members discussed the Classics and histories, practiced their writing skills for the examinations, and no less often criticized politics.⁵⁶ A member's publication, sponsored by fellow club members, might be used as an indispensable carrier of the club's reputation, or an individual member might publish an outstanding fellow member's work to secure his own fame, with the appearance of his name in the paratext.

Books produced by the authors' protégés, companions, and family members were already cited by Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664), who occasionally noted the publisher-author relationship in his annotated short bibliography of Ming poetry collections.⁵⁷ Although friendship played an important role in the literary and political club, protégés, friends, and companions had generally been less decisive than authors themselves and their family members when it came to publishing their works (as *Tables 3.1, 3.2, 4.1* and *4.2* indicate). In Ming Hangzhou and Songjiang, editions published by their authors became noticeable in 1528–1547 and reached their peak numbers in the 1610s–1630s; editions by family members came to light about two decades later but reached their peak in the 1610s–1630s too. Regarding the causes for the growth of these household editions, Ōki Yasushi 大木康 suggests that the author for his part wanted literary or academic prestige, while the family member who

W. Mote, eds., Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 440–510; John W. Dardess, *Blood and History in China: The Donglin Faction and Its Repression, 1620–1627*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.

55. Joseph P. McDermott, "Friendship and Its Friends in the Late Ming," in Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo 中央研究院近代史研究所, ed., *Jinshi Jiazhu yu zhengzhi bijiao lishi lunwen ji* 近世家族與政治比較歷史論文集, Taipei, Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1992, pp. 67–96.
56. Xie Guozhen 謝國楨, *Ming Qing zhiji dangshe yundong kao* 明清之際黨社運動考, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1982; Yokota Terutoshi 横田輝俊, "Mindai bunjin kessha no kenkyū 明代文人結社の研究", *Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyō Tokushūgō* 広島大学文学部紀要特集号, 3, 1975, pp. 1–115.
57. Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, *Liechao shiji xiaozhuan* 列朝詩集小傳, Shanghai, Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, cited in Ōki Yasushi 大木康, "Minmatsu Kōnan ni okeru shuppan bunka no kenkyū 明末江南における出版文化の研究", *Hiroshima Daigaku bungakubu kiyō tokushūgō* 広島大学文学部紀要特集号, 50, 1, 1991, pp. 18–22.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

published an ancestor's work needed to demonstrate filial devotion to that ancestor's authority in his lineage.⁵⁸ Ōki's interpretation applies to all publishing activities of authors and their families since the tenth century, but much remains unknown about such activities in the last century of the Ming.

The appearance in the 1520s–1540s of editions produced by the authors themselves was observed by Tang Shunzhi 唐順之 (1507–1560), who derided the growing number of publications of low literary quality produced by the authors and their families. Tang cautioned his friends not to publish any of his writings, even though he was one of the most popular authors of his time, whose work subsequently appeared in various commercial and household editions. Tang attributed the inundation of the self-published works to growing demand in the literary market and the increasing number of officials and degree-holders who sought prestige:

Every vulgar butcher and wine peddler, even if he had only a bowl of rice to eat, expected to have a tombstone inscription written when he died. Every high official and examination-title-winner who achieved even a minor reputation in the world anticipated leaving behind a published collection of his essays and poems. [The tombstone inscription and published collection] were as indispensable as food for the living and a coffin for the dead.⁵⁹

Tang thought it shameless to publish one's poetry and prose without any editorial care. In fact, any scholar of the Ming, whether successful or unsuccessful in examinations, expected to publish his writings in order to secure respect from the literary world or promotion in the government service. Since the Jiajing period, according to Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613–1682), writing had become the only criterion used by the patron to promote his protégé.⁶⁰ Consequently, publication had become the most commonly used means of pursuing a reputation, and some scholars even

58. Ōki Yasushi, *ibid.*, pp. 36–37.

59. Tang Shunzhi 唐順之, “Da Wang Zunyan 答王遵巖”, *Chongkan Jingchuan xiansheng wenji* 重刊荆川先生文集, SBCK, 6 (1573), pp. 35b–36a; also cited in Ōki Yasushi, “Minmatsu Kōnan ni okeru shuppan bunka no kenkyū”, pp. 17–18 and Inoue Susumu, *Chūgoku shuppan bunka shi*, pp. 327–328. For his attitude towards the self-publication, see also Tang Shunzhi, “Yu Bu Yiquan zhixian 與卜益泉知縣”, *Chongkan Jingchuan xiansheng wenji*, 7, pp. 21b–22a.

60. Gu Yanwu, *Rizhi lu jishi*, 19, p. 8b.

plagiarized the work of earlier authors to this end.⁶¹ The Ming author tended to assume that the more his writings were published, the more fame he could obtain in both the world of letters and the field of politics. Without published writings, he would not be regarded as successful even if he passed the highest examination as a metropolitan graduate. In such a print culture, the significance of the printed publication for Ming authors appeared to be similar to that for their counterparts in late eighteenth-century France, where “author” presupposed the printed circulation of one’s writings and “writer” referred to persons who composed texts only.⁶² This similarity is superficial, but a brief comparison will help to clarify the social aspect of the household editions produced by their Ming authors. Late eighteenth-century France, as Roger Chartier demonstrates, witnessed a determinant correlation between the figure of the author and literary ownership. The theoretical and practical affirmation of literary ownership, together with the commercialization of writing, according to Chartier, led to the view that literary work had *une valeur commerciale* (a commercial value), and with the professionalization of literary activity it became possible for an author to make a living by his pen.⁶³ Another result of the recognition of literary ownership was the visibility of the author in his printed book, with a physical representation in the form of a portrait and control over the form his published text took.⁶⁴

The full visibility of the author in the printed circulation of his work reversed the traditional view of literary activity that was strictly followed by gentlemen writers in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, where Gutenberg’s (1400–1468) innovation was widely employed but numerous manuscripts were still produced. In the old aristocratic literary system the writer, especially the poet, created as an amateur and preferred manuscript circulation of his work among his peers with his name concealed. When printed circulation became inevitable, he tended to carry out the courtly tradition of anonymity in various forms, a tradition

61. *Ibid.*, 19, pp. 4a–b, 1b; 18, pp. 32b–34a.

62. Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans., Cambridge, Polity, 1994, pp. 39–41.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 32–38.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 52–54.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

that endured into the eighteenth century.⁶⁵ Endowed with aristocratic antipathy, these gentlemen writers disdained print as untrustworthy.⁶⁶ A good example is Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586), who had none of his writings printed in his lifetime and circulated them in manuscript form only.⁶⁷ In his *An Apologie for Poetrie* he speaks contemptuously and openly of “basemen, with seruile wits vndertake it: who think it inough, if they can be rewarded of the Printer”, and elsewhere disparages the writer whose “name shal flourish in the printers shoppes”.⁶⁸

Both Sir Philip Sidney and Tang Shunzhi overlooked the usefulness of printing as a medium for authors. In Ming China, although his literary ownership had not been legally recognized or stipulated, the author’s full visibility was commonly represented with the use of his full name, native place, and examination and official titles in his printed work, excepting those that were erotic, morally or politically sensitive. The Ming gentleman author’s desire to have his name affixed to an edition to indicate his involvement in its publication was very strong,⁶⁹ stronger than that of his European counterpart in the sixteenth century, although both created as amateurs living not by pen or brush but by landholding and public service. Such explicit identification of Ming authors with their works also contrasts with the practice in Tokugawa Japan, where Chinese print culture, books, and texts dominated the elite intellectual life but any indication of authorship was rare in both manuscripts and printed books. It was in the Tokugawa period, however, that the author began to become visible in public as commercial publishers dominated book production and the author’s visibility being a selling power in the logic of commerce.⁷⁰

65. Thomas Gray (1716–1771) claimed so in his 1751 letter regarding the printing of his masterpiece “Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard”, cited in Alvin B. Kernan, *Printing Technology, Letters, & Samuel Johnson*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987, pp. 64–65.

66. Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993, pp. 145–147, 295–297 ff.

67. H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996.

68. Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie*, 1595, I.3, L.3; also cited in Kernan, *Printing Technology, Letters, & Samuel Johnson*, p. 41.

69. Brook, “Communications and Commerce”, p. 656 provides a good example.

70. Peter F. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, Leiden, Brill, 1998, pp. 224–225, 229.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

Such public visibility became common in eighteenth-century Japan; the professional author of popular literature represented himself in the forms of an authorial pseudonym in his preface and colophon, or of a portrait of the author at his desk within the book he was attributed with.⁷¹ The Ming author tended to print and circulate his writings by producing his own household edition. Such an “author’s edition” aimed not only to provide an authentic text but also to demonstrate literary achievement. The Ming gentleman writer had never shown any aristocratic antipathy to printing *per se*, as had the European noble amateur, but Tang Shunzhi and some others did scorn the printed literary text when it betrayed editorial carelessness, low literary quality, or moral taint.⁷² Whether the text would be transmitted in print or manuscript form, for Ming self-published authors, depended less on the literary system and social hierarchy than on their own financial conditions and individual requirements. As Tanii Toshihito 谷井俊仁 demonstrates, the main obstacle to producing a household edition was financial.⁷³ If he raised sufficient money, the Ming author could publish his writings by himself. The same financial limitation on producing a household edition was encountered by an author’s family and lineal descendants. In order to publish works by their ancestors to perpetuate the lineage, Zhang Shiwei 張世偉 of Suzhou 蘇州 and his older brother had to cut down their maintenance expenses considerably in the late 1620s.⁷⁴

71. Adam L. Kern, “The Writer at His Desk: Authorial Self-Fashioning in the Adult Comicbooks (kibyōshi) of Early Modern Japan”, *Books in Numbers: Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Harvard-Yenching Library: Conference Papers*, Wilt L. Idema, ed., Cambridge, MA, Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, 2007, pp. 267–307.
72. Tang Shunzhi’s antipathy appeared similar to Song literati’s towards the ubiquitous commercial edition of *Mashaben* 麻沙本, but Tang scorned authors pursuing literary prestiges through household publishing while criticism towards the *Mashaben* focused on their profit-seeking publishers. Historical attitudes towards printing and publishing deserve more explorations and are beyond my current topic; for Song criticism towards *Mashaben*, see Lucille Chia 賈晉珠, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Asia Center for Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2002, pp. 116–126.
73. Tanii Toshihito, *Ō Shō no chojutsu shuppan katsudō*, pp. 76–77.
74. Zhang Shiwei 張世偉, “Jiake shiji xu 家刻世集序”, *Ziguangzhai ji* 自廣齋集, SKJH, vol. 162 (1638), 4, p. 2b.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

Household editions produced by family members (the FMBR columns in *Tables 3.1, 3.2, 4.1* and *4.2*) began to increase strikingly in the mid-sixteenth century and had continued to flourish in both Hangzhou and Songjiang prefectures. This increase coincided with a transformation in the 1520s–1550s that led to the emergence of lineage society as the dominant mode of social organization in Ming and Qing China. In the 1520s–1550s, according to David Faure, Neo-Confucian ritual was adopted as orthodox and the *lijia* system (a community self-monitoring system) was re-formed into a registry based more on land than on population. As a consequence of this administrative change, land could be registered under the names of ancestors and households rather than individuals, making the upward mobility of some family members more possible.⁷⁵ Roughly at the same time, the lineage system was also well-developed in the Jiangnan area where both the ancestral hall and the ritual of ancestral sacrifice were widely established. In 1536, a memorial to the Jiajing emperor proposed allowing commoners to establish ancestral halls, in which they could worship and sacrifice to their own ancestors following the ritual formulated by Neo-Confucianist Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). This suggestion, subsequently adopted, led to a dramatic increase in the number of ancestral halls and the wide establishment of lineage organization in the Jiangnan 江南 area.⁷⁶

The coincidence noted above between the noticeable growth of editions produced by the author's family and lineage transformation in the 1520s–1550s suggests the feasibility of examining the household edition's social significance in the context of late imperial lineage society. Although the prevailing definition of lineage as a political, social, and economic organization has forestalled the exploration of cultural strategies pursued for the continuance of the family, a few scholars have attempted to undertake just such a study in the past decades.⁷⁷ The importance of editing and publishing genealogies for lineage construction has already

75. David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2007, pp. 92, 108, 218–219.

76. Chang Jianhua 常建華, *Mingdai zongzu yanjiu* 明代宗族研究, Shanghai, Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2005, pp. 12–22, 77–83.

77. Pan Guangdan 潘光旦, *Ming Qing liandai Jiaxing de wangzu* 明清兩代嘉興的望族, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1947; Timothy Brook, “Family Continuity and Cultural Hegemony: The Gentry of Ningbo, 1368–1911”, *Chinese Local Elites and*

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

come under the purview of historians of Chinese books,⁷⁸ but much remains unknown about the other publishing activities of the gentry family and its members in this context. For late imperial elites, as Timothy Brook argues in his study of Ningbo 寧波 gentry, culture was “one of the means most consistently (even though unconsciously) used to achieve a longevity of power” over local society; culture rendered wealth acceptable and the two functioned together to create gentry status. The gentry therefore were not merely wealth-supported but “culturally equipped”: in their interactions they invented a “common identity” and established their own “associational networks in gentry culture”, in which they exercised cultural skills that separated them from others who failed to master the “nuanced language of elite life”.⁷⁹ Brook’s theory is suggestive when gauging the social use of the household edition produced by the author and his family (and other types of household editions as well).

In sum, Ming household editions, which maintained their leading place in the entire Ming book industry, became noticeable roughly in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and reached their peak numbers in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Excepting those editions published by bibliophiles and literary connoisseurs, the editions published by the authors themselves, their family members, companions, and protégés, and also those published under the names of local officials, made up the largest portion of Ming household editions. The publisher, his author, and others involved in the publishing project formed an “associational network in gentry culture”. Thus we are directed to an investigation of the use of the household edition in the context of the publisher’s family and lineage history. This investigation will be undertaken in the following case study.

Patterns of Dominance, Joseph W. Esherick, Mary Backus Rankin, eds., Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1990, pp. 27–50.

78. Segawa Masahisa 瀬川昌久, “Chūgoku nanbu no zokufu: degaki zokufu to insatsu zokufu no shakaiteki kinō no hikaku o chūshin ni 中国南部の族譜：手書き族譜と印刷族譜の社会的機能の比較を中心に”, in *Higashi Ajia shuppan bunka kenkyū, niwatazumi*, Isobe Akira, ed., 2004, pp. 153–168; Xu Xiaoman 徐小蠻, “‘Preserving the Bonds of Kin’: Genealogy Masters and Genealogy Production in the Jiangsu-Zhejiang Area in the Qing and Republican Periods”, Cynthia Brokaw, Kai-wing Chow, eds., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, 2005, pp. 332–367.
79. Brook, “Family Continuity and Cultural Hegemony”, pp. 38–42.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

II. *Publications in the History of the Zhang Family of Hangzhou: 1368–1895*

The statistics presented in Part One suggest that the author and his family members, companions, and protégés, together with local officials, were the main producers of household editions. In this part, I will examine how they used their products as members who shared a common identity in their associational networks. One Zhang family of Hangzhou will be analyzed as an example. This family successfully maintained its gentry status in the Ming and Qing periods, and I happened to access a version of its detailed genealogy that was published in facsimile in 1995 by Ba Shu shushe 巴蜀書社 (Chengdu 成都). Dozens of its members earned high reputations for their political, literary, and academic achievements; some members also published books by authors outside the lineage. Their own writings and printed products were collected in the family library, which unfortunately was burnt down in the 1861 siege of Hangzhou by the Taiping 太平天國 rebels without any catalogue left of its collection.⁸⁰ However, some of the Zhangs' works are extant and paratexts from other works are still accessible, which makes possible a bibliographical reconstruction of portions of those works and imprints by its members.

The story of the Zhang family extends to the late nineteenth century. There was an observable “discontinuity” (*J. furenzoku* 不連続) in the commercial book industry from the Ming to the Qing, largely a consequence of the dynastic transition and the Manchu conqueror's political intervention.⁸¹ The Ming style of household publication, however, continued into the Qing and even nourished more editions, in part thanks to the growth of the private library, the emergence of evidential scholarship, and technical innovations (especially the wider utilization of move-

80. Wang Shizhen 王士禛, *Juyi lu* 居易錄, 29, Jinan, Wang shi, 1689, pp. 7b–8a, also cited in Ding Shen, *Wulin cangshu lu*, p. 43; Zhang Jingyun 張景雲, “Jimei ji 濟美集”, 2, Zhang Jingyun, ed., Appendix to Zhang Han 1895, 1895, p. 16.

81. Inoue Susumu 井上進, “Min matsu Shin sho no shuppan to shuppan tōsei (zenhen) 明末清初の出版と出版と統制 (前編)”, in Isobe Akira, ed., *Higashi Ajia shuppan bunka kenkyū, kohaku*, 2004, pp. 43–60.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

able types).⁸² Extending the survey into the late nineteenth century will provide a broader picture, from which we can more deeply explore the uses of household editions by the gentry family.

In what follows, I will first describe the genealogy of the Zhang family and the bibliographical reconstruction of the Zhangs' works and their publishing activities, and thereby sketch the rise and fall of this family and its cultural tradition in the Ming and Qing. Before concluding this part, the reconstructed publishing activities will be examined against the family history to illustrate how those household editions were used.

The genealogy of the Zhang family and the Zhangs' publications

The Zhang family examined in my study originated in Bianliang 汴梁 (today's Kaifeng 開封 in Henan 河南 Province), the capital of the Northern Song 北宋 dynasty (960–1127). In 1127, before the Jurchen occupation of the capital, one of the Zhang family members fled south to Hangzhou, where he and his descendents settled permanently. It was reported that a couple of editions of the Zhang genealogy were compiled in the Song and Yuan (1260–1368) periods but were already lost in the early Ming. It was not until 1578 that the first Ming edition was completed; subsequent editions were compiled in 1615, 1656, 1687, 1713, 1752, and 1766, respectively. The 1766 edition was updated and published in 1901 with the title *Qinghe jiacheng* 清河家乘.⁸³

Among those editions, only the 1766 and 1901 editions are extant. The 1766 edition was compiled by Zhang Zhenhe 張振河 (b. 1714) and Zhang Guo 張果 (1698–1782) and entitled *Zhangshi zupu* 張氏族譜 (Genealogy of the Zhang clan) in its manuscript form; it survives only in the Zhejiang Provincial Library 浙江省圖書館.⁸⁴ The 1901 printed edition was enlarged by Zhang Jingyun 張景雲 (b. 1830) from the 1766 edition. Copies of the later edition can be found in the National Library

82. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology*, pp. 151–155; Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshua shi*, pp. 575–614.

83. For the compilation of the genealogy in the Ming and Qing periods, see Zhang Jingyun 張景雲, *Qinghe jiacheng* 清河家乘, 1901 edition, reprint in *Zhangshi zupu* 張氏族譜卷, vol. 8, *Zhonghua zupu jicheng* 中華族譜集成, Chengdu, Ba Shu shu, 1995, “Shoujuan 首卷” and “Ba 跋”.

84. Cheng Xiaolan 程小瀾, ed., *Zhejiang jiapu zongmu tiyao* 浙江家譜總目提要, Hangzhou, Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 2005.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

of China 中國國家圖書館 (Beijing), the Zhejiang Provincial Library, the National Diet Library 国立国会図書館 (Tokyo), the Columbia University East Asian Library, and the University of Michigan Asian Library.⁸⁵ It was reprinted in 1995 and provides for this current study materials important for recovering the history of the Zhang family and identifying its members and their writings.

The 1901 edition begins with a collection of prefaces and editorial principles that sketch the history of compiling the genealogy of the Zhang family in the Ming and Qing periods. Following this collection is the genealogical tree of generations from the first to the eleventh. More useful information can be found in the section *Chengsi* 承祀 (genealogical succession) and those following, in which all biographical information is presented in prose. The *Chengsi* section covers generations from the first to the nineteenth and was supplemented by Zhang Jingyun with the genealogy of his own branch (from the eighth to the seventeenth generations). The section *Ming shou lu* 名壽錄 (list of the eminent and elders) contains the names of those who won examination titles, those who served the government, county/prefectural school and national university students, those given honorary official titles, and elders. The remaining sections concern chaste women, Buddhists, supervisors of the family, and anecdotes.

The 1578 edition was compiled when the family was both politically and economically powerful in Hangzhou. On the grounds that the pre-Ming generations were hard to attest, the first editors traced their family history back to the Yuan-Ming transition (rather than to the Song) and treated a national university student Zhang Bao 張寶 (1328–1410) as the founding ancestor.⁸⁶ This editorial principle, which was intended to identify all family members and to keep the record reliable, was reinforced and followed in the later editions. In the editorial principles revised for the

85. Guojia dang'an ju erchu 國家檔案局二處, Nankai daxue lishixi 南開大學歷史系, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan lishisuo tushuguan 中國社會科學院歷史所圖書館, eds., *Zhongguo jiapu zonghe mulu* 中國家譜綜合目錄, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1997; Ted A. Telford, P. Thatcher Melvin, Pei-nai Yang Basil, eds., *Chinese Genealogies at the Genealogical Society of Utah: An Annotated Bibliography*, Taipei, Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co., 1983.

86. Zhang Fu 張黻 (1506–1588), "Qinghe jiacheng xu 清河家乘序" (1575), in Zhang Jingyun, "Jimei ji", 2, p. 5a.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

1687 edition, the suggestion of incorporating their genealogy into those of other more powerful clans sharing the surname was seriously declined and the names of sons adopted from other clans were removed.⁸⁷ With these revised editorial principles, the descendants from Zhang Huan 張瓚 (1389–1455) of the third generation were grouped into the “senior first branch” (*lao dafang* 老大房), while those from Zhang Zhen 張珍 (later known as Zhang Ao 張翱, 1394–1475) were divided into four (from the first to the fourth) branches. Zhang Zhen’s descendants were more successful and prosperous than those of the senior first branch. Thus Zhang Zhen was worshiped as the founder of the family’s cultural tradition. In the genealogy, each family member is allocated one entry, which lists his given name, courtesy name, literary name, branch, father’s given name (and sometimes grandfather’s), dates of birth and death, marriage and wife’s dates of birth and death, son’s or sons’ names, tomb, examination title(s), and official title(s). A brief biography is provided in the entries for eminent members, describing their special skills, political and literary achievements, moral merit, or contributions to the lineage. These editorial principles were also employed in the 1901 genealogy, in which 1,478 male members who were born in the years ranging from 1328 to 1900 are listed.

A member’s collection of poems and essays, if any, is mentioned in the entry about him. Obviously the titles listed in the genealogy are incomplete. The destruction of the Zhang family library in 1861 makes it impossible to compile a complete bibliography of its members’ writings. With his thirty-year labor of collecting, the editor of the 1901 genealogy Zhang Jingyun recovered only a few more entries and published them in 1895.⁸⁸ His limited success suggests that most of his ancestors’ writings likely circulated in the forms of household imprint and manuscript, which were distributed much less widely than those produced commercially. Even after combining the records in the genealogy and Zhang Jingyun’s supplements, we must acknowledge that the resulting list of titles will be a bio-bibliography of Zhang writings, which will shed little light on the publication of those writings or the Zhangs’ publishing activities.

87. “Chongxiu Zhang shi jiacheng fanli shiliu ze 重修張氏家乘凡例十六則” (1687), in Zhang Jingyun, “Shoujuan”, *Qinghe jiacheng*, p. 8a.

88. Zhang Jingyun, “Jimei ji”.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

To resolve the dilemma, we should undertake some bibliographical reconstructions to recover works by the Zhang family members, both extant and lost, as well as evidence of their publishing activities that has been obscured for hundreds of years. To make the reconstruction, however, we must first identify who as a Zhang family member authored or published what title and when and where this took place. This turns out to be a complex undertaking.

In addition to the extant Ming and Qing universal bibliographies, a comprehensive regional bibliography of Hangzhou, catalogues of private collections, and the writings of those in relationships with the Zhang family members have been used in making this reconstruction. After collecting the titles and their authors from the genealogy and Zhang Jingyun's collection, I consulted the regional bibliography of Hangzhou (i.e., the bibliographical section of the *Gazetteer of Hangzhou Prefecture* compiled in 1898) and some universal bibliographies to supplement the list. In the *belle-lettres* category, biographies and prefaces provided more information about the Zhangs' writings. After the list of the Zhang's writings was completed, bibliographical information on them was partially recovered from annotated bibliographies of rare books, the books themselves if extant, and other descriptions elsewhere of those books that are lost. Besides publishing their ancestors' works and their own, the Zhang family members also published some works by those outside the family. Most of their publishing activities were recovered from annotated bibliographies, along with their biographies and writings. To evade confusion caused by the same name, any author found in the bibliographies and *belle-lettres* category was carefully investigated before being identified as the one listed in the genealogy; this caution should be kept in mind in the reconstruction of both the writing list and the publication list.

The bibliographical reconstruction is rewarding, as the Appendix shows. A total of 139 editions of works and printings by the Zhangs have been identified, ranging from the 1540s to 1895. Among those editions, only three were authored by those outside the lineage; fifty-four are precisely or roughly dated, eighty-two dated by the Ming or Qing reign periods, and only three are undated; eighty were printed, thirty-one were hand-copied or authors' manuscripts, and twenty-eight cannot be identified as either imprints or hand-copies. Among the printed editions, one

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

was commercial, three were government, and eleven were produced by individuals outside the lineage; thus at least sixty-five were produced by the Zhangs themselves. In order to investigate the uses of household editions by the Zhangs, we need to pay the same attention to each of those editions, in either print or scribal form, produced by either the Zhangs or other individuals as either government or household editions—any of which can illustrate the significance of the household edition to the Zhang lineage.

The first household edition in the Appendix, produced in 1569, was the collection of Hu Shining 胡世寧 (1469–1530), edited and published by its first eminent son Zhang Han 張瀚 (1511–1593). It is hard to identify what the Zhangs' last household edition was; if the tradition of self-publication had been maintained, their last household edition could have been produced before the Taiping rebels' vandalism in 1861. Nearly half of the lineage members died during the siege, and after that the Zhangs were unable to afford any publishing projects. In 1862 Zhang Yinju 張陰桀 (1829–1862), as a co-author, composed a collection of poems describing the siege; this collection circulated only in scribal form until it was published for the first time by the local entrepreneur and bibliophile Ding Bing 丁丙 (1832–1899) in 1895.⁸⁹ During these thirty years, lineage members could not afford to publish any of Zhang Han's works, which were also published by Ding in 1895–1896.⁹⁰ Even publication of the 1901 edition of the Zhang genealogy was sponsored by the Dings.⁹¹

From the mid-sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, the Zhangs had continued publishing their household editions. Categorized according to the embodied publisher-author relationship, most of those editions were published by the authors themselves (SELF) or their family members (FMBR). This observation is consistent with the statistical study of Ming household imprints in Part One, and also hints at a correlation of the Zhangs' household publications with the lineage history. As the Appendix shows, most of those editions were produced in the late six-

89. Zhang Yinju, Wu Gan 吳淦, "Hangcheng xinyou jishi shi 杭城辛酉紀事詩", *Gengshen qi Hang lu* 庚申泣杭錄, WLZG.

90. Zhang Han 張瀚, *Wulin Yilaohui shiji* 武林怡老會詩集, Zhang Han, ed., WLZG, s. 7, 1882; *Xi'nang duyü* 奚囊蠹餘, WLWZ, 1895; *Songchuang mengyu* 松窗夢語, WLWZ, 1896.

91. Zhang Jingyun, "Ba", *Qinghe jiacheng*, p. 2a.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

teenth and seventeenth centuries, a period that testified to the Ming publishing boom and its depression in the early Qing. It was also during this period that the Zhang lineage continued to flourish politically and culturally for over a century before beginning to decline. In spite of signs of its decline and the nadir of commercial publishing at the national level in the second half of the seventeenth century,⁹² the Zhang lineage, nurtured by its cultural traditions, continued its literary and cultural achievements.

The Zhang lineage and its cultural tradition

For socio-economic historians of Ming China, the Zhang lineage had been most known for its son Zhang Han, who was born into a commercial artisan family and whose activities reflected the increasing commercialization in the mid-Ming.⁹³ Rather than focusing on the Zhangs' commercial activities, I will examine their cultural traditions in this section.

As Zhang Han admits, his family rose through commercial artisan production of textiles, a family business founded by his ancestor Zhang Peng 張鵬 (1417–1490) of the fourth generation, the only son of Zhang Zhen.⁹⁴ Zhang Zhen's father Zhang Bin 張彬 (1358–1440) of the second generation was a successful merchant and landowner. After losing out in the competition of heritage to his older half-brother Huan, Zhang Zhen immigrated from Qiantang to Renhe, where most of his descendants were registered as natives.⁹⁵ Zhang Peng's four sons carried on the family business of producing and dyeing textiles, while his grandsons extended their business into the salt trade.⁹⁶

Of interest in the Zhang family of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was the blurred division between the classes of scholar and

92. Inoue Susumu, "Min matsu Shin sho no shuppan to shuppan tōsei (zenhen)", pp. 43–44.

93. Zhang Han, "Shanggu ji 商賈紀", *Songchuang mengyu*, ch. 4, which was translated and discussed in Timothy Brook, "The Merchant Network in 16th Century China: A Discussion and Translation of Zhang Han's 'On Merchants'", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 24, 2, 1981, pp. 165–214.

94. Zhang Han, *Songchuang mengyu*, 6, pp. 11a–b; Brook, "The Merchant Network in 16th Century China", pp. 173–174; Zhang Jingyun, "Ming shou lu 名壽錄", *Qinghe jiacheng*, p. 44a.

95. Zhang Jingyun, *ibid.*; Zhang Han, *ibid.*, p. 12b.

96. They were Yingyu 應裕 (1495–1580) and his brother Yingjian 應禰 (1498–1572); see Zhang Jingyun, *ibid.*, p. 45a.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

merchant. This traditional social division that had been long established began to break down in the mid-Ming and was retheorized by Wang Yangming's 王陽明 (1472–1529) Neo-Confucianism, which advocated social equality between scholars and merchants.⁹⁷ Zhang Han's family perfectly illustrated this social transformation; some of his brothers and first cousins changed their occupations between those of scholar and merchant without any hesitation.⁹⁸ For the Zhang family, however, the alternation in occupation ultimately served both cultural and social strategies for the continuance and promotion of family—commercial business was used to support the education of its members who would then have an opportunity to enter the officialdom, and the political capital they earned in turn nourished the family's cultural and economic capital, all of which were crucial to the maintenance of gentry status.⁹⁹ In this respect family members' involvement in commerce prepared the way for the Zhangs' rise into the gentry status in the early sixteenth century, with the first success in the metropolitan examination by Zhang Yingqi 張應祺 (1482–1520) in 1511.

In the biography of his first cousin Zhang Hong, Zhang Han described his family's cultural strategy. Zhang Hong was the oldest of Zhang Han's generation, and his father Yingzhen 應禎 (1480–1538), the oldest of the sixth generation in Renhe, was charged with supervising the entire family. Hong had studied for the civil examination before he turned his interest to martial arts and the art of war, but he was more successful as a merchant and had engaged in commerce for decades. Supported by Hong's profits, Yingzhen was able to enrich the family library, attract good tutors to the family school, and devote himself to the education of the family's sons. After retiring, Zhang Hong returned to the world of letters, practicing as a poet.¹⁰⁰ He was not the only family member to enjoy a gentry lifestyle. The desire to live like a well-educated gentleman

97. Yu Yingshi 余英時, *Zhongguo jinshi zongjiao lunli yu shangren jingshen* 中國近世宗教倫理與商人精神, Taipei, Lianjing chubun gongsi, 1987, pp. 104–121.

98. They were Hong 洪 (1499–1548), Yuan 源 (1510–1564), Ji 濟 (1523–1589), and Han 涵 (1525–1588); see Zhang Jingyun, *ibid.*, pp. 45b, 46a, 47b.

99. Another case study of the cultural strategy for family continuity may be found in Brook, "Family Continuity and Cultural Hegemony".

100. Zhang Han, "Congxiong Dongchuan gong xingzhuang 從兄東川公行狀", *Xi'nang duyü*, 17, pp. 1a–b.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

was strong, and Zhang Han's half-brother Yuan (1510–1564) abandoned his business immediately after he had enough cash to support a gentry lifestyle and social relations with local scholar-officials.¹⁰¹

Given this desire to obtain gentry status, the Zhang family's investment in the education of its sons, reportedly rare among local merchants, bore fruit.¹⁰² In the period 1510–1541, eight members won provincial and metropolitan degrees, and in 1561–1582 three more passed their provincial examinations. In his memoir, Zhang Han listed those successes with much pride and satisfaction, claiming that his family members' achievements overshadowed those of other local powerful families.¹⁰³ The sixteenth century was indeed the Zhang family's hey-day. In Zhang Han's last years, his family had become one of the largest in Hangzhou Prefecture, with about three hundred male members.¹⁰⁴ After Zhang Han's death in 1593, his family began to lose its advantage in the civil examinations: only two members of later generations, Zhang Maozhong 張懋忠 (1577–1650) and Zhang Maobing 張懋炳 (1749–1834), won metropolitan degrees, in 1634 and 1789 respectively. The family, however, had remained prosperous. The benefits of its earlier political and economic capital continued up to the fall of the Ming in 1644, and the family still enjoyed its leadership in local affairs. Zhang Weiran (1568–1630), once a county magistrate in Fujian 福建 and known for his literary and Neo-Confucian pursuits, together with other family members compiled the first gazetteer of Qiantang in 1609 under the magistrate's supervision.¹⁰⁵ He also possessed a vast property beside West Lake (Xi hu 西湖). Within the city wall, the Zhang family members owned substantial real estate in the best districts until the Manchu occupation in 1645.¹⁰⁶

101. Zhang Han, "Zhongxiong Shuangzhou gong muzhiming 仲兄雙洲公墓誌銘", *Xi'nang duyü*, 16, pp. 5b–6a.

102. Wu Ding 吳鼎, "Zhang Aishan muzhiming 張愛山墓誌銘", cited in Ding Bing 丁丙, *Wulin fangxiang zhi* 武林坊巷志, vol. 6, Hangzhou, Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1984–1990, p. 196.

103. Zhang Han, *Songchuang mengyu*, 6, pp. 8b–9a.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 11a.

105. Zhang Jingyun, "Jimei ji", 2, p. 18a; Nie Xintang 聶心湯, ed., [*Wanli*] *Qiantang xianzhi* [萬曆] 錢塘縣志, WLZG, s. 16, 1893.

106. Zhang Dan 張丹, "Gushan caotang ji 孤山草堂記" (1643), *Zhang Qinting xiansheng wenji* 張秦亭先生文集, Qiantang, Congyetang, 1670, ch. 5; "Nai leng tan 耐冷譚", cited in Ding Bing, *Wulin fangxiang zhi*, vol. 8, p. 445.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

The Zhang's prosperity was ruined with the Manchu conquest of Hangzhou, a place of strategic importance in East China. Some of its members remained loyal to the Ming, living as hermits, hiding themselves in local monasteries as monks, or even conspiring to fight against the conquerors; but most members chose to make their living under the new rule. What worsened the family's circumstances was the loss of their residences within the city wall to the Manchu army. In 1645, 1648, and 1651, more and more of Hangzhou people were forced to leave their residences, in which the Manchu conquerors first settled the new civil and military units and then housed their soldiers. A walled Manchu Town was finally established in 1648 and extended in 1658 to separate the Manchus from the conquered Han-Chinese.¹⁰⁷ The Zhangs' vast property was occupied, and as a consequence some members were forced to live in the suburbs and others to emigrate to adjacent regions or other provinces.¹⁰⁸ Zhang Weiran's sons and grandsons settled in the suburbs; they often recalled their former comfortable lives and occasionally wandered around their old residences, which had housed Manchu officials and soldiers since 1645.¹⁰⁹ A radical response towards the Manchu conquest appeared in Zhang Shishi's 張師栻 (1582–1659) preface to the 1656 edition of the genealogy. Shishi resigned his official position in Jiangxi 江西 in 1644 and lived as a hermit, teaching the family's sons and supervising its members in his final years. In his preface, he mentioned for the first time three instructions left by Zhang Zhen: not to serve as a clerk, not to study as a scholar, and not to take any official positions; these instructions were proposed to deter his family members from *chi* 侈 (extravagance or immorality). Shishi admitted that his family

107. Ding Bing, *Wulin fangxiang zhi*, vol. 8, pp. 430–431. For the historical description of the Banner Garrison in Hangzhou, see Im Kaye-soon, *The Rise and Decline of the Eight Banner Garrisons in the Ch'ing Period (1644–1911): A Study of the Kuang-Chou, Hang-Chou, and Ching-Chou Garrisons*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1981, pp. 15–18; Mark C. Elliott, *Resident Aliens: The Manchu Experience in China, 1644–1760*, Ph.D. dissertation, Berkeley, University of California, 1993, pp. 82–84, and *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2001, pp. 108, 109, Fig. 7, 115.

108. Zhang Jingyun, “Ba”, pp. 1a–b.

109. Zhang Xun 張洵, “Congyetang ganhuai 從野堂感懷”, Zhang Jingyun, “Jimei ji”, 2, p. 24b; Zhang Ben 張賁, “Wang gudi 望故第”, *Baiyun ji* 白雲集, 15, Hangzhou, Buhuotang, 1752, p. 9a.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

had benefited both from studying for civil examinations and serving the government in the sixteenth century, but he regarded study and service as expedient means and emphasized that Zhang Zhen's three instructions must be kept in mind, particularly during such turmoil as he and his family had witnessed.¹¹⁰ Zhang Han, who initiated the lineage construction in 1575 and who wrote a biography of Zhang Zhen, had never mentioned these three prohibitions.¹¹¹ Nor did Shishi's preface appear in the 1766 or 1901 editions of this work. Thus the three prohibitions perhaps were prepared by Shishi, who could have tried to attribute thereby his own Ming loyalism to other family members.

It is not practicable to assess the influence of Ming loyalism on the Zhang family, nor can we know how other members responded to Shishi's instructions. However, the family declined irretrievably in both political and economic terms in the early Qing. Both Zhang Ben 張賁 (also known as Bensun 賁孫, 1620–1676) and his first cousin Zhang Dan 張丹 (also known as Gangsun 綱孫, 1619–1687) experienced this decline, and in their poems both contrasted their happy lives prior to 1644 to the pitiful condition that set in after that year.¹¹² Parallel to this decline was a worsening social and economic division among lineage members, which led to the breakdown of order and ritual practices. During his supervision of the family in 1660–1674, Zhang Jingguang 張競光 (1610–1673), who proposed in 1656 the revision of the genealogy and removal of the names of those without consanguinity with the family, tried to reconstruct lineage organization by all means at his disposal. He reestablished the ancestral hall and lineage regulations,¹¹³ and also composed a long poem in praise of his Ming ancestors' achievements and merits. This poem was printed and circulated among the Hanzhou gentry, reminding the local society of the Zhang family's splendid past and tradition.¹¹⁴

110. Zhang Shishi 張師忒, "Chongding Zhang shi jiapu xu 重訂張氏家譜序", Zhang Jingyun, "Jimei ji", 2, pp. 16a–b.

111. Zhang Han, "Gaozu Jiran gong xinglüe 高祖介然公行畧", *Xi'nan duyu*, 17, pp. 7b–8b.

112. Zhang Ben, "Changge zeng si xiong 長歌贈四兄", *Baiyun ji*, 13, pp. 6a–7a.

113. Sun Zhi 孫治, "Zhang shi zongui xu 張氏宗規序", *Su Yutai ji* 孫宇台集 (1684), SKJH, vols. 148–149, 6, pp. 4a–b.

114. Zhang Jingguang 張競光, "Shu zude shi" 述祖德詩, *Chongshoutang shiji* 寵壽堂詩集 (1663), SKCM, *jibu*, vol. 238, 2, pp. 1a–5b; Chai Shaobing 柴紹炳, "Shu zude shi

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

Zhang Jingguang's attempts to restore his family's political and economic status were less fruitful than expected. In the period from 1644 to 1800, only one family member passed the metropolitan examination and six earned provincial degrees.¹¹⁵ In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Zhangs were unable to afford decent funerals for the dead of the previous four generations, and more than twenty deceased members remained unburied for many years. This indecent dilemma was sorted out by Zhang Guo. He had saved sufficient money as a tutor working for many years in a private school in Beijing before rebuilding the family graveyard. Even this refurbished graveyard was coveted by a wealthy merchant, and Zhang Guo and his family succeeded in retaining ownership only by winning a protracted lawsuit.¹¹⁶

Despite its political and economic decline in the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Zhang family maintained its cultural traditions well, as founded by Zhang Zhen in the fifteenth century and nourished by Zhang Han and his cousins in the sixteenth century. This cultural tradition was preserved in household publications by his family members.

Zhang Zhen was an encyclopedic scholar. He excelled in traditional Confucian philosophy and Confucian Classics, especially the *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經). He also knew well other schools of philosophy such as Daoism, and practiced various arts and techniques like medicine, divination, astronomy, astrology, and mathematics.¹¹⁷ Zhang

xiaoyin 述祖德詩小引”, *Chai Xingxuan xiansheng wenchao* 柴省軒先生文鈔 (1717), SKCM, *jibu*, vol. 210, 7, pp. 36a–b; Mao Xianshu 毛先舒, “Zhang shi Shu zude shi xu 張氏述祖德詩序”, *Sunshu* 撰書 (1661), SKCM, *jibu*, vol. 210, 1, pp. 15b–16b.

115. Zhang Tan 張壇 (1629–1667, *juren* 舉人 1660), Zhang Siwei 張四維 (1691–1721, *juren* 1720), Zhang Guangyue 張光岳 (1678–1764, *juren* 1723), Zhang Guo (*juren* 1741), Zhang Pengnan 張鵬南 (b. 1746, *juren* 1771), and Zhang Bing (*juren* 1779, the only member of the Zhang family who passed the metropolitan examination in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as already mentioned); see Zhang Jingyun, *Qinghe jiacheng*.

116. Quan Zuwang 全祖望, “Xihu Zhang shi zumu ji 西湖張氏祖墓記”, *Jieqiting ji waibian* 鮑琦亭集外編 (1811), XXSK, vol. 1429, 20, pp. 17b–20a; Hang Shijun 杭世駿, “Zeng Zhang Chengran xu 贈張誠然序”, *Daogutang wenji* 道古堂文集, 15, XXSK, vol. 1426, pp. 19a–20a.

117. Zhang Han, *Xi'nang duyu*, 17, pp. 7b–8b, and *Songchuang mengyu*, 6, pp. 12b–13a; Shen Chaouxuan 沈朝宣, *Jiaying Renhe xianzhi* 嘉靖仁和縣誌, 9, WLZG, s.16, 1893 (1549), pp. 33b–35a; Zhao Shian 趙世安, Gu Baowen 顧豹文, Shao Yuan-

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

Zhen's writings were lost after his death, but he left for his descendants the tradition of statecraft, Classical exegesis, and practical knowledge. The tradition of historiography had not been predominant in the family's cultural history. In the Appendix, the text of *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Legends of the Warring States) with earlier commentaries was published in 1587 by Zhang Wenguan 張文燿 (1564–1633), as the achievement of textual studies undertaken by his father and grandfather (Zhang Han's first cousin).¹¹⁸ But such historical study did not continue in the Zhang family. Its literary tradition began in the early sixteenth century when the family became wealthy enough to invest heavily in the education of its sons. Based on the survey of their household publications and biographical information about its members as writers and authors, the Zhang family's cultural tradition can be seen as fitting into the categories of statecraft, exegesis of the Classics, literature, natural studies, and Daoism.

The tradition of statecraft was represented by Zhang Han, who had served the Ming government, both local and central, for more than forty years.¹¹⁹ He was forced to retire in 1577 after a confrontation with his supervisor Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525–1582), the powerful Senior Grand Secretary in his age.¹²⁰ His first influential work on statecraft was *Huang Ming shuyi jilüe* 皇明疏議輯略 (A selection of memorials of the August Ming), first published in 1551.¹²¹ It was a pioneering work in the Ming and at least two later selections supplemented its editorial style.¹²² The tradition of statecraft was carried on by Zhang Qian 張謙 (1550–1595), Zhang Han's third cousin, in his *Guochao minggong jingji wenchao* 國

ping 邵遠平, *Renhe xianzhi* 仁和縣誌, 18, 1687 edition, reprint, Shanghai, Shanghai shudian, 1993, pp. 47b–48a.

118. Zhang Wenguan 張文燿, ed., *Zhanguo ce tansou* 戰國策譚樞 (1587), SKCM, *shibu*, vol. 44, esp. the prefaces.

119. Lienche Tu Fang (i.e. Du Lianzhe 杜聯喆), "Chang Han", L. Carrington Goodrich, ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368–1644*, vol. 1, New York, Columbia University Press, 1976, pp. 72–74; for a more comprehensive and detailed biography, see Liu Yusong 劉毓崧, *Tongyitang wenji* 通義堂文集 (1918), XXSK, vol. 1546, 6, pp. 18a–35a.

120. Ray Huang 黃仁宇, *1587, A Year of No Significance: The Ming Dynasty in Decline*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1981, pp. 21–23.

121. Zhang Han 張翰, *Huang Ming shuyi jilüe* 皇明疏議輯略 (1551), XXSK, vols. 462–463.

122. Yongrong and Ji Yun, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 56, p. 1251.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

朝名公經濟文鈔 (A selection of the essays on statecraft by eminent officials of our dynasty), self-published in 1587.¹²³ In the second half of the seventeenth century, the family's tradition of statecraft developed along more practical lines. No further collections of memorials were edited and published in the family, but at least three members became known as specialists in water control, especially of the Yellow River. Zhang Kun 張琨 (1646–1703) served as a low-ranking official in charge of the conservancy project for the Yellow River in Shandong.¹²⁴ Zhang Jingzeng 張景曾 (1640–1702) wrote *Zhi He ce* 治河策 (Strategies for regulating the Yellow River) and also produced an atlas of the Yellow River. An extant work written by Zhang Aisheng 張霽生 in 1698 documents his friend's ideas about water conservancy and illustrates them with a (self-produced) atlas of the Yellow River. His maps were appreciated by the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor, who in 1785 ordered that Aisheng's work be included in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (The Emperor's Four Treasures).¹²⁵

The Zhang family's tradition of exegesis, which had focused on the *Classic of Changes*, was extended to the *Four Books* (*Sishu* 四書) and *Spring and Autumn* (*Chun Qiu* 春秋) in the 1610s–1640s. Study of the *Classic of Changes* was inaugurated by Zhang Zhen, and almost all of the family's examination candidates selected this field as their specialization.¹²⁶ Its most successful scholar of this classic was Zhang Zhenyuan 張振淵 (1558–1611), whose exegesis was published in 1615 and supplemented in 1627 by his sons. Four years earlier in 1611, his exegesis of the *Four Books* was supplemented and published. Zhenyuan's exegesis was influential in Hangzhou, and his two sons both benefited academically from his work.¹²⁷ Zhang Weiran was another scholar of the *Classic of Changes* and the *Four Books*, whose lectures appeared perhaps before the 1620s when he took the post of lecturer in his own academy. Zhang

123. Mao Kun 茅坤, "Guochao mingchen jingji wenchao xu 國朝名臣經濟文鈔序", *Yuzhi shanfang gao* 玉芝山房稿 (1558), SKCM, *jibu*, vol. 106, 6, pp. 12b–14b.

124. Zhang Jingyun, "Jimei ji", 2, pp. 43a–b.

125. Qingdai shilu guan 清代實錄館, ed., *Gaozong chun huangdi shilu* 高宗純皇帝實錄, 1239, Qing shilu 清實錄, vols. 9–27, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1986, pp. 674b–75a.

126. Zhang Han himself, his nephews Kai 楷 and Lu 櫓, see "Zeng Zhuchuan Zhang xiansheng xu 贈竹川張先生序", "Zhongxiong Shuangzhou gong muzhiming", *Xi'nang duyu*, 11, p. 1a, and 16, p. 6a, respectively.

127. Zhang Jingguang, "Shuotong shi 說統詩", *Chongshoutang shiji*, 2, pp. 6a–7a.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

Qiran 張岐然 (1600–1664) extended the tradition into the study of the *Spring and Autumn*. He was viewed as an outstanding scholar of his age in this field because of his work.¹²⁸ The Zhang family's literary tradition began in the early sixteenth century. Zhang Hong's collection of poems is the earliest literary work that we can identify, and appeared in the form of a manuscript before his death in 1548. This poetry tradition continued together with the tradition of Classical exegesis until the beginning of the seventeenth century, but was less fruitful than Zhang Hong's. The second half of the seventeenth century witnessed more literary achievements by the Zhang family members, among whom Zhang Tan and his nephews Dan and Ben were outstanding.

The tradition of practicing natural studies was the longest in the family's history, lasting from the fifteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries without any break, but no material indicates that its members wrote anything within this tradition before the eighteenth century.¹²⁹ The most prolific practitioner was Zhang Yongzuo 張永祚 (1683–1756), who was recommended to the Qianlong emperor in 1738 as a talent in astronomy and mathematics, just one year after his special admission as an Erudite into the Directorate of Astronomy (*Qintianjian* 欽天監). He collated the sections on astronomy in the standard histories in Beijing before resigning from the position. His most important work, *Tianxiang yuanwei* 天象源委 (The origin of astronomy), was completed just before his death.¹³⁰ Most of his works circulated in hand-copied form.

The Daoist tradition was less prominent in the Zhang family's history. Only three Daoist works and one publication have been identified, all of which were commented upon or produced by Zhang Maolun 張懋倫 (1551–1599). In fact religion was largely neglected and Buddhism absent from the family's cultural traditions before the fall of the Ming in 1644. Zhang Zhen's prohibition concerning Buddhist service was adhered to by Zhang Han's generation and their ancestors,¹³¹ but was broken with

128. Zhang Qiran 張岐然, *Chunqiu sijia wuzhuan pingwen* 春秋四家五傳平文 (1641), SKCM, *jingbu*, vols. 128–130; Yongrong and Ji Yun, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 30, pp. 616–617, and 29, pp. 578–579.

129. Ding Shen, *Wulin cangshu lu*, p. 43.

130. Hang Shijun, "Qintianjian boshi Zhang jun mujie 欽天監博士張君墓碣", *Daogutang wenji*, 47, pp. 2a–3b.

131. Zhang Han, *Songchuang mengyu*, 7, p. 13a.

the fall of the Ming in 1644. A few members converted to Buddhism to express their loyalty to the Ming, and Zhang Qiran's conversion was well known.¹³² After hiding in a monastery for four years, he finally became a Buddhist monk in 1649. However, he remained essentially a Confucian scholar who excelled in classical exegeses rather than of Buddhist scriptures. As abbot, Qiran completed his study of the *Great Learning* (one of the *Four Books*) according to his prominent friend Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695).¹³³

This brief investigation of the Zhangs' writings within the family's cultural tradition illustrates the role of self-publishing. For family members, household editions connected them with the family's past and the tradition established by their ancestors. The family's political and economic status declined from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, but generally its cultural tradition was preserved and well developed. The circulation of household publications could help gentry society recognize the family's cultural tradition, and as will become clear below, the circulation of those editions operated mainly through the "associational network in gentry culture" proposed by Timothy Brook.

The use of the household publications by the Zhangs

The first identifiable associational network in the case of the Zhangs was established by Zhang Han. His collection of poems and essays was published by his colleagues in 1569 in Cangwu 蒼梧 (today's Wuzhou 梧州 in Guangxi 廣西), where he served as the military commander of Guangdong 廣東 and Guangxi.¹³⁴ Zhang Han was also the first member of his family who produced a household edition to maintain his association with another gentry family. It was a collection of poems and essays by Hu Shining, a native of Renhe and friend of Zhang Han's father, who had served as a local official in Guangxi dozens of years before Zhang

132. Zhang Jingyun, "Fangwai 方外", *Qinghe jiacheng*. Except Zhang Yang 張栻 (b. 1562) as the earliest convert in the family, Qiran, Suran 肅然 (b. 1595), Yaohua 堯化 (b. 1579), Pei 培 (1597–1657) and Yaoyong 堯雍 (b. 1609) became Buddhist monks clearly as Ming loyalists. Yuanfang 元坊 (1629–1699) converted under his father Qiran's influence.

133. Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲, "Zhang Ren'an guben Daxue shuo 張仁菴古本大學說", *Nanlei wen ding* 南雷文定 (1688), 1, SKCM, *jibu*, vol. 205, 1, pp. 26a–27a; "Zhang Ren'an xiansheng muzhiming 張仁菴先生墓誌銘", in *Nanlei wenyue* 南雷文約, 2:45a–48a.

134. Zhang Han, *Xi'nan duyu*, prefaces.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

Han took his position in Cangwu. Zhang Han admired this predecessor and had been collecting his writings for many years before he published them.¹³⁵ After his retirement in 1577, Zhang Han organized a poetry club, composed exclusively of a dozen retired officials seventy years old and older (including Zhang Han himself and his cousin Zhang Xun 張洵 [1515–1596]). A collection of their poems was published by Zhang Han in 1588, illustrated with portraits of some club members. This published collection of poems represented well the Zhang family's political status and local social relations.¹³⁶

The common identity nurtured by Zhang Han was developed in the last decades of the Ming, when literary clubs became involved in intellectual and political movements. The family's political and economic capital finally prompted the maturation of its cultural tradition and, as a result, both its academic and literary achievements began to peak. Those achievements, reflected in its household publications, circulated within the family's associational networks and were magnified by support and praise from these networks.

As with other gentry families in the Jiangnan area, some members of the Zhang family joined the *Fushe* 復社 (Restoration Society), the largest and most influential group of literati in late Ming China,¹³⁷ but their personal stories were more interesting than those of the society. Among these was one pertaining to Zhang Qiran. Before becoming a member of the Restoration Society, Qiran was the leading member of a reading club in Hangzhou. His study of the *Spring and Autumn* was the fruit of a collaboration with his fellow members. In this work, the commentaries and subcommentaries to the *Spring and Autumn* were juxtaposed under the relevant text of the classic, in an attempt to show readers the similarities and differences among these commentaries. Qiran was among the first Ming scholars who treated various commentaries to the classic equally. Since the compilation of the commentaries to the *Spring and*

135. Zhang Han, "Ke [Hu] (Wu) Qinghui gong shiwen xu 刻[胡](吳)清惠公詩文序", *ibid.*, 12, pp. 9b–10b, and "Shiren ji 士人紀", *Songchuang mengyu*, 4, pp. 4b–5a; Liu Yusong, "Ming libu shangshu Zhang Gongyi gong biezhuàn", *Tongyitang wenji*, 6, p. 32a.

136. Zhang Han, *Wulin Yilaohui shiji*, 1882 (1588).

137. Inoue Susumu 井上進, "Fukusha seishi kōroku fu Fukusha kiryaku 復社姓氏校録附復社紀略", *Tōhōgakuō* 東方學報, 65, 1993, pp. 570, 571.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

Autumn by Hu Guang 胡廣 (1369–1418) in the early fifteenth century, Hu Anguo's 胡安國 (1074–1138) work had been considered the standard one for understanding the text.¹³⁸ Hu Guang's compilation was seriously criticized by Gu Yanwu for its simplicity, plagiarism, and bias.¹³⁹ Even before Gu, Zhang Qiran had attempted in his writings to correct the dominant reading of the *Spring and Autumn*. In fact, his work represented the style of exegesis advocated by his reading club. Rather than practicing literary skills as other literary clubs did, Zhang Qiran's club encouraged rereading of the Confucian Classics: its members were expected to read the text of the Classic prior to reading the commentaries and subcommentaries, concentrating on its original argument, evidence, and phrasing. They placed more weight on evidential studies than interpretations.¹⁴⁰ Their methods preceded similar ones practiced in evidential scholarship, the dominant academic and intellectual movement in eighteenth-century China.¹⁴¹

Zhang Qiran's influence in the field of Classic exegesis in the Jiangnan area was fully assessed in the eighteenth century.¹⁴² For some members of the Restoration Society, his work exemplified the Zhang family's cultural status. In 1670, in a meeting with Zhang Dan, a former Fushe member described his meeting with Qiran and linked his cultural impression of the Zhangs to his reading of Qiran's studies.¹⁴³

Qiran's reading club existed in the early Qing local scholar's memories. His study of the *Spring and Autumn* was rarely mentioned in his family members' writings, partly because of his loyalism to the fallen Ming and his turn to Buddhism, which went against the family's tradition. Whatever the reasons, no descendant carried on his Classical exegeses. From 1644 onward, purely literary activities became more common among the Zhangs. What remained unchanged in the Qing was the circulation of their publications within associational networks.

138. Zhang Qiran, "Xu 序", *Chunqiu sijia wuzhuan pingwen*, pp. 1a–7a; see also Yongrong and Ji Yun, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 30, p. 616.

139. Gu Yanwu, *Rizhi lu jishi*, 18, pp. 11a–12b, 13b.

140. Ding Qiyu 丁奇遇, *Dushu she yue* 讀書社約, WLZG, s.10, 1886, pp. 1a–2a, 4a–5a; Zhu Peng 朱彭, *Wushan yishi shi* 吳山遺事詩, WLZG, 1881, p. 9b.

141. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology*.

142. Yongrong and Ji Yun, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 30, p. 616.

143. Zhang Fan, "Xu 序", in Zhang Dan, *Zhang Qinting xiansheng wenji*.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the most influential literary club in the Jiangnan area was the Xiling 西冷 Club of Hangzhou. The literary style practiced by its members was known as *Xiling ti* 西冷體 (the Xiling style). Zhang Dan was among the core members; his uncles and first and second cousins were also active in this club.¹⁴⁴ As Xiling members, the Zhangs created the most splendid literary landscape in the family's history. Among their extant published collections, Zhang Jingguang's exemplifies the social use of the household edition in gentry society.

As the clan supervisor, Jingguang naturally represented the Zhang family. Neither Zhang Dan nor Zhang Ben could afford to publish their works, but Jingguang's collection was first published in 1663, supplemented in the same year, and beautifully produced. Zhang Dan's publications were made possible only with the financial support of his pupils and patrons, and Zhang Ben's collection was not published until 1752, by his great-grandson.¹⁴⁵ Zhang Ben thought that he and Zhang Dan were the best poets in the family.¹⁴⁶

Jingguang had not been known as a poet until 1660, when he took up the supervision of the Zhang family. In the descriptions by his local colleagues, Jingguang lived as a hermit, reading and writing privately in his own room. With the printing of his long poem in praise of the Zhang ancestors' merits (*Shu zude shi* 述祖德詩) in 1660, he was discovered by his neighbor Chai Shaobing 柴紹炳 (1616–1670), Zhang Dan's fellow member of the Xiling Club. The appreciation of local poets encouraged him to publish his collection, in which can be found many pieces about his family members and family history. Contrary to his previous reclusiveness, in this publication Jingguang employed all possible devices to highlight his and other family member's cultural achievements. In the modern reproduced edition, in addition to his own preface five others praised him and his family; authors included the leading poet Mao Xianshu 毛先舒 (1620–1688) of Hangzhou, one poet from outside Hangzhou, one of his relatives, and two of his friends whose fathers had

144. Chen Zhuan 陳撰, *Yuji shanfang tingyu lu* 玉幾山房聽雨錄, *Guxue huikan* 古學彙刊, s. 9–10, Part 2, Shanghai, Shanghai Guocui xuebao she, 1914, pp. 16a–b.

145. Zhang Dan, *Zhang Qinting xiansheng wenji*, and Zhang Ben, *Baiyun ji*.

146. Zhang Ben, "Changge zeng si xiong", *Baiyun ji*, 13, pp. 6a–7a.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

known the Zhang family well. Two postscripts were written by Zhang Dan and another son of the family.¹⁴⁷

Another device for representing his achievement was the inclusion of comments by celebrities about his poems. Celebrities' comments were common in Ming and Qing literary collections. The author tended to use names of people of great reputation to promote his own fame in the literary world, so much so that comments were sometimes fabricated and names used without permission. As a leading poet Mao Xianshu had such an experience; he requested that an author, whom he had never known, remove his name and comments fabricated in his name from the author's newly published collection.¹⁴⁸ Zhang Jingguang used this device a lot in his own collection: nearly every poem was followed by a few comments from celebrities (including Mao), colleagues, and family members. This means that his manuscript must have circulated among those commentators before the woodblocks were engraved. Such a circulation was very rare before he took up the supervision of the family in 1660: even the learned members had known nothing of his literary skill until he completed the long poem in praise of the ancestors' merits. As for the comments, their lavish appearance in his collection was seriously criticized.¹⁴⁹ The editor Chai Shaobing suggested that Jingguang delete most of them,¹⁵⁰ but he obviously did not take this advice.

Zhang Jingguang was not the only one to use his literary collection for a non-literary purpose. Before his departure for Beijing to take a minor post, Zhang Kun, who had studied poetry under the direction of Mao Xianshu, printed a selection of his poems, which he could then use to demonstrate his literary skill.¹⁵¹ Whatever their specific uses, household editions demonstrated the cultural tradition in which the Zhang family members were trained and their writings produced. The correlation of self-produced edition and a family's cultural tradition was recognized in

147. All prefaces and postscripts were printed in Zhang Jingguang, *Chongshoutang shiji*.

148. Mao Xianshu, "Yu youren qiqu pingyu shu 與友人乞去評語書", in Mao, *Xiaokuang wenchao* 小匡文鈔, 1:20a–21a.

149. Yongrong and Ji Yun, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 183, p. 4043.

150. Chai Shaobing, "Yu Zhang Juecan shu 與張覺菴書", *Chai Xingxuan xiansheng wenchao*, 11, pp. 10a–11a.

151. Mao Xianshu 毛先舒, "Ti Zhang Kun shicao 題張琨詩草", *Sigutang ji* 思古堂集 (1685), SKCM, *jibu*, vol. 210, 3, pp. 10b–11a; "Yu Zhang Kun shu 與張琨書", in Mao, *Xiaokuang wenchao*, 1:13b–14a.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

the civil examination, where the candidate was required to write down his family pedigree on the sheet preceding his answer sheet. In their published answer sheets, Zhang Jingyun (b. 1830), Zhang Yinju, and Zhang Yinchun 張蔭椿 (b. 1869) all listed the collections of poems by Zhang Bing 張炳 (1749–1834) and Zhang Fengbao 張鳳苞 (1778–1853) to illustrate their cultural tradition and family background.¹⁵²

Thus writing and household publication were produced by the Zhang family from within its own cultural tradition. Its members used the imprint to re-secure their social and cultural status as they circulated it within their associational networks. Various physical devices were employed in the printed edition to represent the cultural and social identity that distinguished the author-publisher and his family from those who did not share the language of their associational networks. Thus we are prompted to rethink the earlier characterization of the household publication as an altruistic (and then a non-commercial) product and to investigate its actual use by its publisher in the historical context rather than in bibliographical descriptions of it alone.

Conclusion

In this study, I have explored the social use of household imprints in the Ming and extended the story into the Qing so that the landscape could be described more clearly and fully. I have assumed that the household publication was a “carrier of relationships” between its publisher and author. The various types of publisher-author relationships represented in household editions remind us of the diverse motivations behind individual publishing activities and hence of the manifold uses of printed products. Among Ming household imprints, the majority were produced by the authors themselves, their family members, protégés and companions. Both the transformation and wide establishment of lineages in the early sixteenth century and the demand for associational networks in gentry society prompted a striking increase in the number of household imprints. Since then this kind of household imprint continued and finally climaxed in roughly the last fifty years of the Ming (1590s–1640s).

152. Gu Tinglong 顧廷龍, ed., *Qingdai zhujuan jicheng* 清代硃卷集成, Taipei, Chengwen chubanshe, 1992, vol. 271, pp. 207–216 (esp. pp. 208, 209) for Zhang Jingyun; vol. 248, pp. 205–208 (esp. pp. 207, 208) for Zhang Yinju; vol. 89, pp. 259–266 (esp. pp. 260, 261) and vol. 276, pp. 329–336 (esp. pp. 330, 331) for Zhang Yinchun.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

The household edition by the author himself and his family, as the case study of the Zhang family of Hangzhou indicates, was closely correlated with the family's cultural tradition. From the sixteenth century on, household publications were tools found useful in the task of stabilizing and propagating the family's traditions. Those publications were circulated within the family's networks in gentry culture, and used to demonstrate the family's cultural achievements and status. Although its political and economic fortunes fluctuated, the Zhang family's cultural tradition was continuous from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The printing and circulation of the family members' writings helped to sustain this cultural continuity, which in turn could sustain the social and political continuance of the family.

Both my statistical and case studies of Ming household publications are based on the reconstruction of bibliographical information. Theoretically, each household edition should be identified in terms of its bibliographical information and publishing/printing data before its social use by its publisher is examined. The difficulty lies in the Chinese bibliographical tradition, whose norm is scholarship-oriented (and bibliophilic); the traditional description usually lists only the title, the number of chapters, and the authorship if possible, in the desire to illustrate the origin and development of a particular scholarship. As a consequence, most traditional Chinese bibliographies largely neglect bibliographical information of concern to modern historians of the book, especially data about publishing and printing. In practice, the traditional Chinese bibliographer tended to compile the library catalogue, orthodox dynastic bibliography, or scholarly bibliography, rather than the trade one. The late imperial publisher and bookseller did not play any part in the formation of the Chinese bibliographical tradition, which was dominated by the historian, scholar, and bibliophile. Although Ming and Qing bibliographies (in particular bibliophilic catalogues) witnessed some minor innovations in the description of physical features, which could be helpful to the modern book historian, those changes occurred only in a few entries and do not suffice to support comprehensive studies of late imperial books¹⁵³. The general absence of data on the physical

153. For a study of China's bibliographic tradition in comparison with the Anglo-American and French traditions, see Lianbin Dai, "China's Bibliographic Tradition and the History of the Book," *Book History*, 17, 2014, pp. 1-50.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

features and publishing of the imprint in extant bibliographies (except some bibliophilic catalogues) makes the reconstruction of bibliographical information indispensable to the statistical study of household publications. Without those materials, we cannot fully understand the life and social use of the book. Bibliographies provide the main foundation for further studies of the social and economic history of the book, but bibliographical descriptions should be checked and supplemented before being used. For lost books and those extant but inaccessible, the archaeological reconstruction of their physical and textual features becomes especially fundamental. Bibliographical reconstruction, however, means more than the use of extant bibliographies. In Ming and Qing culture, writing, publishing, and reading activities had become common, and the universal and retrospective bibliography was impracticable. Thus Ming and Qing bibliographies are essentially selective. Their sketch of contemporary writings and publications may be typical, but only favored writers, authors, and publishers were partially recorded. To restore the specific individual's real writing and publishing activities, we need to investigate other sources to supplement materials gathered from bibliographies. As I found in this case study of the Zhang family, paratexts and descriptions scattered in *belles-lettres*, genealogies, and local gazetteers tell stories about books that bibliographers have forgotten and neglected (see Appendix). My reconstruction of writings and imprints by the Zhang family members is based on both extant bibliographies and other materials such as paratexts. In the reconstruction of bibliographical information, the worlds both within and beyond the bibliography deserve equal consideration, and this will enable us to color and even redraw the narrow sketch produced by the bibliocentric tendency.

TABLE I. I. — Commercial, Government, and Household Editions in the Ming (1368–1644), Precisely Dated

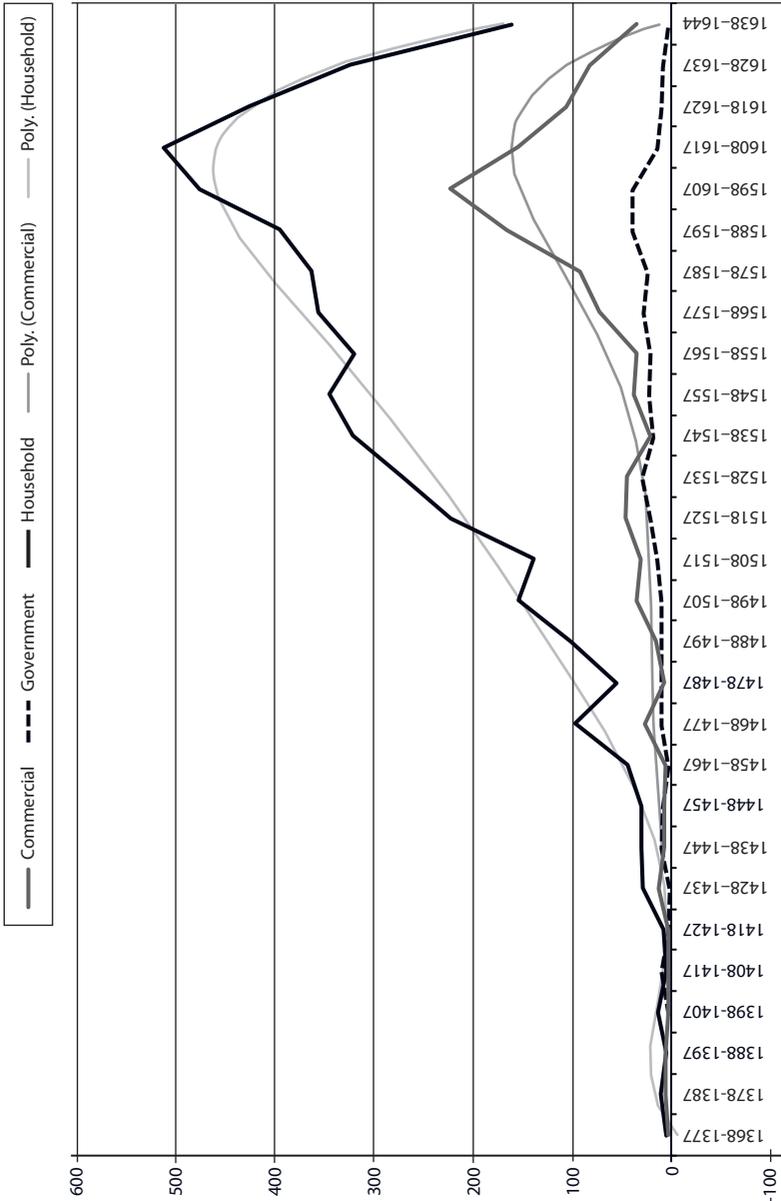
Year	Commercial	Government	Household	Grand Total
1368–1377	4	4	6	14
1378–1387	6	6	11	23
1388–1397	6		5	11
1398–1407	3	3	14	20
1408–1417	3	11	5	19
1418–1427	4	3	8	15
1428–1437	13	2	29	44
1438–1447	8	10	30	48
1448–1457	8	9	31	48
1458–1467	6	4	45	55
1468–1477	27	11	97	135
1478–1487	7	10	56	73
1488–1497	16	11	101	128
1498–1507	35	10	155	200
1508–1517	31	14	139	184
1518–1527	46	22	223	291
1528–1537	45	30	271	346
1538–1547	21	19	321	361
1548–1557	38	23	345	406
1558–1567	35	22	320	377
1568–1577	73	28	357	458
1578–1587	92	25	363	480
1588–1597	166	40	396	602
1598–1607	223	39	476	738
1608–1617	155	15	512	682
1618–1627	107	11	426	544
1628–1637	83	9	325	417
1638–1644	35	4	162	201
Grand Total	1 296	395	5 229	6 920

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

TABLE I.2. — Commercial, Government, and Household Editions in the Ming (1368–1644), Imprecisely Dated

Reign	Commercial	Government	Household	Grand Total
Hongwu (1368–1398)	2	4	2	8
Yongle (1403–1424)	1		6	7
Xuande (1426–1435)			6	6
Zhengtong (1436–1449)	2	3	11	16
Jingtai (1450–1456)	1		2	3
Tianshun (1457–1464)	2		11	13
Chenghua (1465–1487)	1		14	15
Hongzhi (1488–1505)	3		27	30
Zhengde (1506–1521)	5	4	47	56
Jiajing (1522–1566)	32	14	303	349
Longqing (1567–1572)	3	2	24	29
Wanli (1573–1620)	676	16	586	1278
Tianqi (1621–1627)	115		101	216
Chongzhen (1628–1644)	195		244	439
Undated	2		3	5
Grand Total	1 040	43	1 387	2 470

FIGURE I.1. — Commercial, Government, and Household Editions in Ming China (1368-1644), Precisely Dated



Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

FIGURE 1.2. — Commercial, Government, and Household Editions in Ming China (1368-1644), Imprecisely Dated

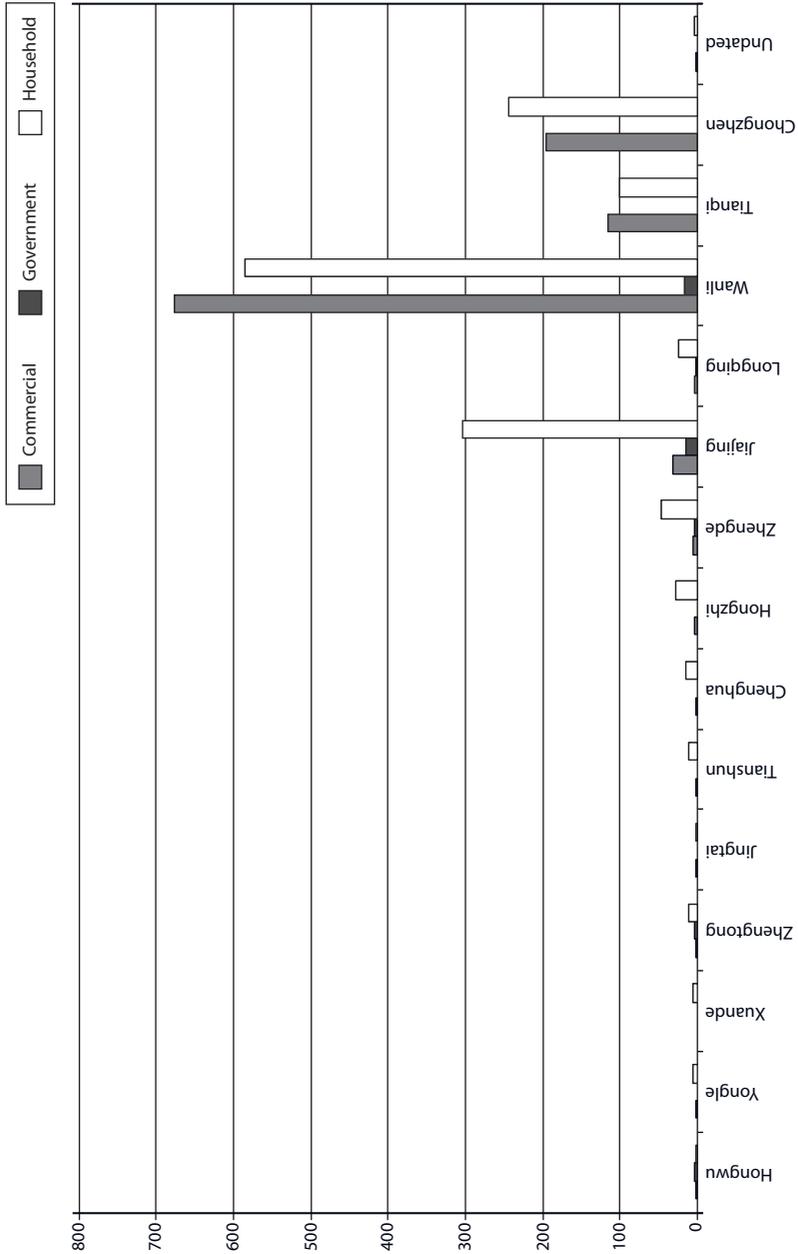


TABLE 2.1. — Commercial, Government, and Household Editions in Ming Hangzhou (1368–1644), Precisely Dated

Year	Commercial	Government	Household	Grand Total
1368–1377			1	1
1378–1387	2			2
1428–1437			4	4
1438–1447			3	3
1458–1467			1	1
1468–1477	1		2	3
1488–1497			1	1
1498–1507			2	2
1508–1517	1		1	2
1518–1527			2	2
1528–1537	1	1	3	5
1538–1547	1	2	11	14
1548–1557	3	1	10	14
1558–1567	1		11	12
1568–1577	4		5	9
1578–1587	5	1	18	24
1588–1597	6	1	9	16
1598–1607	20		13	33
1608–1617	15	1	15	31
1618–1627	19		38	57
1628–1637	7		28	35
1638–1644	2		10	12
Grand Total	88	7	188	283

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

TABLE 2.2. — Commercial, Household, and Government Editions in Ming Hangzhou (1368–1644), Imprecisely Dated

Reign	Commercial	Household	Government	Grand Total
Hongwu (1368–1398)	2		1	3
Jiajing (1522–1566)	2	8		10
Longqing (1567–1572)		1		1
Wanli (1573–1620)	31	15	2	48
Tianqi (1621–1627)	13	7		20
Chongzhen (1628–1644)	15	14		29
Grand Total	63	45	3	111

TABLE 3.1. — The Types of Publisher-Author Relationship in the Household Editions Produced by Hangzhou Publishers (1368–1644), Precisely Dated

Year	SELF	CMPN	CONN	LDST	FMBR	FMLG	JRSD	LCAU	LCOF	UNKN	PRFS	PRTG	RLGB	Grand Total
1368–1377				1										1
1428–1437	1		1					1					1	4
1438–1447			1				1			1				3
1458–1467					1									1
1468–1477							1	1						2
1488–1497					1									1
1498–1507			1		1									2
1508–1517			1											1
1518–1527								1		1				2
1528–1537	2		1											3
1538–1547	2		2	1			2	1		1		1	1	11
1548–1557		2	1			1	3			2		1		10
1558–1567	3		1	1	3		1			2				11
1568–1577	2									3				5
1578–1587	6	2	3		1		1	1		3		1		18
1588–1597	5				2		1		1					9
1598–1607	2	2	2		2					4		1		13
1608–1617	4	1	3		1			3		1		1	1	15
1618–1627	14	1	9		4		2	2		5	1			38
1628–1637	10	1	5		2			1	1	5		2	1	28
1638–1644	7		1							1		1		10
Grand Total	58	9	32	3	18	1	12	11	2	29	1	8	4	188

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

TABLE 3.2. — The Types of Publisher-Author Relationship in the Household Editions Produced by Hangzhou Publishers (1368–1644), Imprecisely Dated

Reign	SELF	CMPN	CONN	FMBR	FMLG	JRSD	LCAU	UNKN	PRFS	PRTG	Grand Total
Jiajing (1522–1566)	3		2				2		1		8
Longqing (1567–1572)	1										1
Wanli (1573–1620)	3		5	1		1	1	2		2	15
Tianqi (1621–1627)	4		2	1							7
Chongzhen (1628–1644)	6	1		2	1			4			14
Grand Total	17	1	9	4	1	1	3	6	1	2	45

TABLE 4.1. — The Types of Publisher-Author Relationship in the Household Editions Produced by Songjiang Publishers (1368–1644), Precisely Dated

Year	SELF	CMPN	CONN	LSDT	FMBR	JRSD	LCAU	UNKN	PRFS	PRTG	RLGB	Grand Total
1398–1407	1				1							2
1458–1467	1						1	1		1		4
1478–1487					1							1
1498–1507	1							1				2
1508–1517								2				2
1518–1527	1				1			1				3
1528–1537	2				1			2		2		7
1538–1547	5		1				3	3				12
1548–1557	5		1		3		3	6	1	1		20
1558–1567	3	1	1	4	3	3		2		1	1	19
1568–1577	7	1	1		5		1	6				21
1578–1587	3	1			3	4		7		2		20
1588–1597	10				2			2			1	15
1598–1607	7	2			3			3		1	1	17
1608–1617	5	1	1	1	3	1	3	4		1	1	21
1618–1627	6				2			1		1		11
1628–1637	4	1		1	2	1	1	1				11
1638–1644	4				1	1	1			1		8
Grand Total	65	7	5	6	31	10	13	42	1	11	5	196

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TABLE 4.2. — The Types of Publisher-Author Relationship in the Household Editions Produced by Songjiang Publishers (1368–1644), Imprecisely Dated

Reign	SELF	CMPN	FMBR	FMFD	LCAU	UNKN	Grand Total
Chenghua (1465–1487)						1	1
Jiaping (1522–1566)	3	1	1			3	8
Wanli (1573–1620)	1		3	1	1	4	10
Tianqi (1621–1627)	2					1	3
Chongzhen (1628–1644)	9		2			2	13
Grand Total	15	1	6	1	1	11	35

APPENDICES

Works and Household Publications by the Zhang Family of Ming and Qing Hangzhou (Part I)

Year	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
1551	Zhang Han 張瀚 (1511-93)	<i>Huang Ming shuyi jilüe</i> (37 chs) 皇明疏議輯略三十七卷	Prt	Wang Shugao 王叔杲, Gu Erxing 顧爾行	CMPN	Ding 1901:8:23a-b; Huang 2001:735; Anon 1959:117; Weng 2005:353A; Mo & Fu 1993:5A:16.
1569	Zhang Han	<i>Xi'nan'g duyü</i> (20 chs) 奚囊蠹餘二十卷	Prt	Zhang Jiayin 張佳胤	CMPN	Anon 1959:734, 1171; Wang 1983:615B; Weng 2005:1418B.
1569	Hu Shining 胡世寧 (1469-1530)	<i>Hu (Wu) Qinghui gong shiwen</i> 胡(吳)清惠公詩文	Prt	Zhang Han	LOAU	Zhang Han 1895:12:9b-10b.
1560s	Zhang Lian 張濂 (1512-1561)	<i>Buhotang wenji</i> 不惑堂文集	Prt	Zhang Lian	SELF	Zhang Jingyun 1901
1572	Zhang Han	<i>Xi'nan'g duyü</i> (20 chs)	Prt	Li Minde 李敏德	CMPN	Weng 2005:1418B.
1573	Zhang Han	<i>Xi'nan'g duyü</i> (20 chs)	Prt	Wu Daoming 吳道明	PRTG	Weng 2005:1418B; Ding 1901:37:17a-b; Mo & Fu 1993:15A:79.
1573	Zhang Han	<i>Tai sheng shugao</i> (8 chs) 臺省疏藁八卷	Prt	Wu Daoming	PRTG	Ding 1901:8:21a; Anon 1959:1100; Wu 1922:87:7b; Weng 2005:359A.
1574	Zhang Han	<i>Libu zhizhang</i> (8 chs) 吏部職掌八卷	Prt	Ministry of Personel	GOVT	Huang 2001:234; Anon 1959:45; Wu 1922:87:39a.
1576	Zhang Han	<i>Huang Ming shuyi jilüe</i> (37 chs)	Prt	Wang Ruxun 王汝訓, Wan Shide 萬世德	PRTG	Wang 1983:170B; Weng 2005:353B.
1583	Zhang Wenying 張文穎 (1566-1603)	<i>Guochao qi minggong chidu</i> (8 chs) 國朝七名公尺牘八卷	Prt	Zhang Wenying	SELF	Wang 1983:480b; Weng 2005:1784B.

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Year	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
1585	Zhang Lian, Zhang Jiongran 張炅然 (1560–1605)	<i>Hongwu yilai chengwen bian</i> 洪武以來程文編	Prt	Zhang Jiongran	FMBR	Mao Kun 1588:5:10b–12b.
1585	Sang Qiao 桑喬 (fl. 16 th cent.)	<i>Zhen quan</i> (3 chs) 真詮三卷	Prt	Zhang Maolun 張懋倫 (1551–1599)	RLGB	Weng 2005:3.1150A.
1587	Zhang Wenguan 張文燿 (1564–1633)	<i>Zhanguo ce tansou</i> 戰國策譚 檄十卷	Prt	Zhang Wenguan	SELF	Huang 2001:329; Wu 1922:87:6a; Deng 1911:3:4a; Wang 1983:114B; Weng 2005:306A.
1587	Zhang Qian 張謙 (1550–1595)	<i>Guochao minggong jingji wenchao</i> (10 chs), with the first supplement 國朝名公經濟文鈔十卷第一續不分卷	Prt	Zhang Qian	SELF	Mao Kun 1588:6:12b–14b; Weng 2005:1779B.
1588	Zhang Han	<i>Wulin Yilaohui shiji</i> 武林怡老會詩集	Prt	Zhang Han	SELF	Shi 1983:2.1552A; Wu 1922:95:2b.
1609	Zhang Weiran 張蔚然 (1568–1630)	<i>Qiantang xianzhi</i> 錢塘縣誌	Prt	Nie Xintang 聶心湯	GOVT	Weng 2005:579A; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:18a.
1600s	Zhang Han	<i>Xi'nan duyu</i> (20 chs), <i>xuji</i> (20 chs) 續集二十卷, <i>Song chuang mengyu</i> (8 chs) 松窗夢語八卷	Prt	Zhang Huai 張檉	FMBR	Huang 2001:579.
1600s	Zhang Han	<i>Song chuang mengyu</i> (8 chs)	Prt	/	/	Huang 2001:338; Wu 1922:89:22b.
1600s	Zhang Han	<i>Tai sheng shugao</i> (8 chs), <i>Dufu zouyi</i> (16 chs) 督撫奏議十六卷	Prt	Zhang Huai	FMBR	Huang 2001:744.

Year	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
1615	Zhang Zhenyuan 張振淵 (1558–1611)	<i>Shijing shanfang Zhouyi shuotong</i> (12 chs) 石鏡山房周易說統十二卷	Prt	Zhang Maozhong 張懋忠, Zhang Shishi 張師枏	FMBR	Zhang Zhenyuan 1615.
1618	Xie Ao 謝翱 (1249–1295)	<i>Xifa ji</i> (10 chs) 晞髮集十卷	Prt	Zhang Weiran	JRSD	Fu 1938:6:16b–17b.
1610s	Zhang Zhenyuan	<i>Sishu shuotong</i> (26 chs) 四書說統二十六卷	Prt	Zhang Maozhong, Zhang Shishi	FMBR	Wu 1922:86:34a.
1623	Zhang Zhenyuan	<i>Shijing shanfang Sishu shuotong</i> (37 chs) 石鏡山房四書說統三十七卷	Prt	Zhang Maozhong, Zhang Shishi	FMBR	Naikako bunko; Tōyō bunko.
1627	Zhang Zhenyuan	<i>Shijing shanfang zengding Zhouyi shuotong</i> (25 chs) 石鏡山房增訂周易說統二十五卷	Prt	Zhang Maozhong, Zhang Shishi	FMBR	Wu 1918: “jing” 經 1:49a; Wang 1983: 5A; Weng 2005:21B.
1620s	Zhang Zhenyuan	<i>Shitang wenji</i> (10 chs) 是堂文集十卷	Prt	Zhang Maozhong, Zhang Shishi	FMBR	Huang 2001:662; Wu 1922:90:26a.
1630s	Zhang Qiran 張岐然 (1600–1664)	<i>Chunqiu Zuozhuan gangmu Du Lin xiangzhu</i> (15 chs) 春秋左傳綱目杜林詳註十五卷	Prt	Zhang Qiran	SELF	Weng 2005:99A.
1641	Zhang Qiran	<i>Chunqiu sijia wuzhuan pingwen</i> (41 chs) 春秋四家五傳平文四十一卷	Prt	Zhang Qiran	SELF	Wu 1922:86:23a; Wang 1983:31A; Weng 2005:111A.
1650	Zhang Dan 張丹 (1619–1687), Zhang Ben 張賁 (1620–1676)	<i>Xiling shizi shixuan</i> (16 chs) 西陵十子詩選十六卷	Prt	Mao Xianshu 毛先舒	CMPN	Chai 1717:6:54a–56a; Weng 2005:1788A.

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Year	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
1659	Zhang Zhensun 張振孫 (1636–1680)	<i>Xihu zhuzhici xuji</i> 西湖竹枝詞續集	Prt	Zhang Zhensun	SELF	Mao Xianshu 1661:1:21a–b; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:41a; Weng 2005:1654B.
1660	Zhang Jingguang 張競光 (1610–1673)	<i>Shu zude shi</i> 述祖德詩	Prt	Zhang Jingguang	SELF	Mao 1661:1:15b–16b.
1663	Zhang Jingguang	<i>Chongshoutang shiji</i> (24 chs) 龍壽堂詩集二十四卷	Prt	Zhang Jingguang	SELF	Wang 2000:1592; Li & Yang 2000:1172; Weng 2005:1543A; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:20a.
1663	Zhang Jingguang	<i>Chongshoutang shiji</i> (30 chs)	Prt	Zhang Jingguang	SELF	Shen 1775:gui 2:44b; Wu 1922:91:4b; Wang 2000:1592; Li & Yang 2000:1172; Weng 2005:1543A.
1670	Zhang Dan	<i>Qinting wenji</i> (8 chs) 秦亭文集八卷	Prt	Zhang Dan	SELF	Wang 2000:618; Li & Yang 2000:1076; Weng 2005:1523B.
1677	Zhang Kun 張琨 (1646–1703)	<i>Zhang Kun shicao</i> 張琨詩草	Prt	Zhang Kun	SELF	Mao Xianshu 1685:3:10b–11a; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:43a–b.
1679	Zhang Qiran	<i>Guben Daxue shuo</i> (1 chs) 古本大學說一卷	Prt	Zheng Chunjian 鄭春薦	FMBR	Huang 1688:1:26a–27a; Wu 1922:86:34b.
1685	Zhang Dan	<i>Congyetang shiji</i> 從野堂詩集	Prt	Zhang Dan	SELF	Zhang Jingyun 1895: 2:32a.
1698	Zhang Aisheng 張霽生 (1651–1709)	<i>Hefang shuyan</i> (1 chs) 河防述言一卷	MS	/	/	Wu 1922:87:25b; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:31a; Zhongyang tushuguan.
1739	Zhang Sihong 張思閔 (1680–1763)	<i>Liangxian shuwu ji Tangshi</i> (1 chs) 兩閒書屋集唐詩一卷	Prt	Zhang Sihong	SELF	Pan 1891a:3:19b; Wu 1922:92:15b; Wang 1927:4:17b; Li & Yang 2000:1171; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:43b.

Year	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
1741	Zhang Yongzuo 張永祚 (1683–1756)	<i>Gujin sudu biao</i> (1 chs) 古今宿 度表一卷	MS	Xu 許	CONN	Shao 1959:454.
1741	Zhang Yongzuo	<i>Shiji, Qian Hou Han shu, Jin shu, Song shi Tianguan Luli zhi kaozheng</i> (13 chs) 史記前後漢書晉書宋史天官律曆志考正三統曆考正十三卷	MS	Xu	CONN	Shao 1959:454.
1744	Zhang Yongzuo	[<i>Qianlong 9 sanyue wang</i>] <i>Yueshi tu</i> (1 chs) [乾隆九年三月望] 月食圖一卷	Prt	Zhang Yongzuo	SELF	Wang 2000:1243; Shao 1959:454.
1748	Zhang Yongzuo	<i>Yuzhi lixiang kaocheng xinding suanli jiyao</i> (8 chs) 御製歷象考成新定算例集要八卷	MS	Zhang Yongzuo	/	Kyoto University
1752	Zhang Ben	<i>Baiyun ji</i> (17 chs) 白雲集十七卷	Prt	Zhang Dayou 張大有	FMBR	Ruan & Yang 1803:1:26b; Li & Yang 2000:1087.
1777	Zhang Bing 張炳 (1749–1834)	<i>Nanping baiyong</i> (1 chs) 南屏百詠一卷	Prt	Zhang Bing	SELF	Pan 1891a:15:28b; Wu 1922:95:11b; Shi 1983:2.599B; Wang 2000:569.
1794	Zhang Aisheng	<i>Hefang shuyan</i> (1 chs)	Prt	Bureau for Four Treasuries	GOVT	Wu 1922:87:25b; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:31a.
1807	Zhang Han	<i>Song chuang mengyu</i> (8 chs)	MS	Bao Tingbao 鮑廷博	CONN	Luo 1943:3:16b.
1835	Zhang Aisheng	<i>Zhang Liuye Hefang shuyan</i> (1 chs) 張留埜河防述言一卷	Prt	Liu Jiqing 劉際清	/	National Diet Library (Tokyo)
1862	Zhang Yinju 張蔭榘 (1829–1862)	<i>Hangcheng xinyou jishishi</i> (1 chs) 杭城辛酉紀事詩一卷	MS	/	/	Pan 1891a:45:29a; Wang 2000:307; Weng 2005:335B.
1867	Zhang Yinju	<i>Hangcheng xinyou jishishi</i> (1 chs)	MS	/	/	Weng 2005:335B.

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Year	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
1895	Zhang Han	<i>Xi'nang duyü</i> (20 chs)	Prt	Ding Bing 丁丙	LCAU	Shao 1959:854.
1895	Zhang Yinju	<i>Hangcheng xinyou jishishi</i> (1 chs)	Prt	Ding Bing	LCAU	Shi 1983:2.335A; Wang 2000:307.
1896	Zhang Han	<i>Song chuang mengyu</i> (8 chs)	Prt	Ding Bing	LCAU	Shao 1959:598.
1800s	Zhang Han	<i>Song chuang mengyu</i> (8 chs)	MS	Qu 瞿	CONN	Shao 1959:598.
1800s	Zhang Han	<i>Zhang Gongyi Song chuang mengyu</i> (8 chs) 張恭懿松窗夢 語八卷	MS	Wang Zongyan 王宗炎	CONN	Weng 2005:1015A.
1800s	Zhang Han	<i>Zhang Gongyi Song chuang mengyu</i> (8 chs)	MS	/	/	Weng 2005:1015A.

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Works and Household Publications by the Zhang Family of Ming and Qing Hangzhou (Part II)

Reign	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
Jiajing	Zhang Hong 張洪 (1499–1548)	<i>Dongchuan ji</i> 東川集	MS	/	/	Zhang Han 1895:17:2b; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:4a.
Wanli	Zhang Han	<i>Tai sheng zouyi</i> (? chs) 臺省奏 議? 卷	Prt	/	/	Weng 2005:359A.
	Zhang Wenying	<i>Juwu ji</i> 據梧集	Prt	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Wenying	<i>Qingyang xuan gao</i> 青羊軒稿	Prt	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Wenying	<i>Xihu caiqin qu</i> 西湖採芹曲	Prt	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Wenying	<i>Yantai wengao</i> 燕臺文稿	Prt	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Weiran	<i>Xiyuan shiji</i> 西園詩集	/	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:18a.
	Zhang Weiran	<i>Yueyou pu</i> (1 chs) 嶽 游譜一卷	Prt	/	/	Huang 2001:212.
	Zhang Weiran	<i>Pengju wenyi</i> (2 chs) 蓬居問疑二卷	Prt	/	/	Huang 2001:429; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:18a.
	Zhang Weiran	<i>Sanbaipian shengpu</i> (1 chs) 三百篇聲譜一卷	Prt	/	/	Shi 1983:2.937B.
	Zhang Weiran	<i>Qinglin wenji</i> 青林文集	/	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:18a.
	Zhang Weiran	<i>Xiyuan shizhu</i> 西園詩麈	Prt	/	/	Wu 1922:95:17b; Shi 1983:2.1580B.
	Zhang Weiran	<i>Wujing Sihus quanjie</i> 五經四書詮解	/	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:18a.
	Zhang Weiran	<i>Yijing jiangyi</i> 易經講義	/	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:18a.
	Zhang Wenhui 張 文輝 (1551– 1601)	<i>Renzhen lu</i> 證真錄	MS	/	/	Ding Bing 1984– 1990:7.91–93
	Zhang Wenhui	<i>Xiexing gao</i> 寫興稿	MS	/	/	Ding Bing 1984– 1990:7.91–93.
Zhang Wenhui	<i>Yanyou ji</i> 燕游集	MS	/	/	Ding Bing 1984– 1990:7.91–93.	

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Reign	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
Wanli	Zhang Qian	<i>Zuanxiu zi shi</i> 纂修子史	Prt	Zhang Qian	SELF	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Qian	<i>Mingchen shuohua</i> 名臣碩畫	Prt	Zhang Qian	SELF	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Maolun 張 懋倫 (1551– 1599)	<i>Cantong qi xinjing</i> 參同契心鏡	Prt	/	RLGB	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Maolun	<i>Yinfujing zhu</i> 陰符經注	Prt	/	RLGB	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Maolun	<i>Xinjing zhu</i> 心經注	Prt	/	RLGB	Zhang Jingyun 1901
Chongzhen	Zhang Maozhong 張懋忠 (1577–1650)	<i>Yi tong</i> 醫統	Prt	Zhang Maozhong	SELF	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:14a.
	Zhang Guangqiu 張 光球 (1600– 1642)	[<i>Mo cheng</i>] [墨程]	Prt	Commercial	COMM	Zhang Jingyun 1901
Shunzhi	Zhang Tan 張壇 (1629– 1667)	<i>Gushan caotang ji</i> 孤山草堂集	MS	/	/	Wu 1922:91:5b; Chai 1717:7:2a–b.
	Zhang Tan	<i>Dongjiao caotang ji</i> 東郊草堂集		/	/	Ruan 1801:4:41b; Wu 1922:91:5b.
	Zhang Tan	<i>Dongjiao caotang ji chao</i> (2 chs) 東郊草堂集鈔二卷	MS	/	/	Wang 1927:4:13a; Weng 2005:1523B; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:27b.
	Zhang Tan	<i>Sanzi xinshi hegao</i> 三子新詩合稿	Prt	Zhang Tan	SELF	Mao Xianshu 1661:1:19b–20b.
Kangxi	Zhang Jingguang 張 競光 (1610– 1673)	<i>Zhang Youjing shi</i> 張 又競詩	MS	Zhang Yunhui 張蘊輝	FMBR	Chai 1717:7:3a–b.
	Zhang Jingguang	<i>Chongshoutang shichao</i> 寵壽堂詩抄	Prt	/	/	Ruan & Yang 1803:1:34b.
	Zhang Yuanshi 張 元時 (1628– 1690)	<i>Heqing ji</i> 河清集	MS	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:27a.
	Zhang Yuanfang 張 元坊 (1629–1699)	<i>Meihua shi baishou</i> 梅花詩百首	Prt	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901

Reign	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
Kangxi	Zhang Tan	<i>Dongjiao caotang jichao</i> (9 chs) 東郊草堂集鈔九卷	Prt	Zhang Chengsun 張成孫	LDST	Wang 2000:1695; Weng 2005:1523B.
	Zhang Yuanfang	<i>Ruxiangtang ji</i> 乳香堂集		/	/	Wu 1922:92:5b.
	Zhang Zuansun 張纘孫 (1608–1677)	<i>Yueyou shicao</i> 粵游詩草	Prt	Zhang Zuansun	SELF	Ruan 1801:13:35a; Wu 1922:92:10b; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:31a.
	Zhang Zuansun	<i>Bingya shiji</i> 冰崖詩集	Prt	Zhang Zuansun	SELF	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:31a.
	Zhang Dan	<i>Zhang Qinting xiansheng shiji</i> (13 chs) 張秦亭先生詩集十三卷	Prt	Zhou Xian 周獻	PRTG	Li & Yang 2000:1076.
	Zhang Dan	<i>Zhang Qinting xiansheng shiji</i> (13 chs), <i>buyi</i> (1 chs) 張秦亭詩集十三卷補遺一卷	Prt	Shizeng shanfang 石甌山房	SELF	Li & Yang 2000:1076.
	Zhang Dan	<i>Zhang Qinting ji, shi</i> (14 chs), <i>fu</i> (1 chs) 張秦亭集詩十四卷賦一卷	Prt	/	/	Wang 1927:4:13a.
	Zhang Dan	<i>Qinting shanren ji</i> (13 chs) 秦亭山人集十三卷	/	/		Wu 1922:91:3a.
	Zhang Dan	<i>Zhang Qinting shiji</i> (12 chs) 張秦亭詩集十二卷	Prt	/	SELF	Ruan 1801:3:39b; Zhang & Wu 1982:240A; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:32a.
	Zhang Dan	<i>Qinting fengya</i> 秦亭風雅	Prt	/	/	Wu 1922:95:6a; Wang 1927:28a.
	Zhang Dan	<i>Shou jing</i> (1 chs) 獸經一卷	Prt	/	/	Zhang & Wu 1982:553A.
	Zhang Dan, Zhang Ben	<i>Xiling er zi shiji</i> 西陵二子詩集	Prt	Zhang Dan & Ben	SELF	Ruan 1801:13:34b.
	Zhang Dan, Zhang Ben	<i>Qiantang er zi shiji</i> 錢塘二子詩集	Prt	Zhang Dan & Ben	SELF	Wu 1922:91:11a.
	Ye 葉, Zhen Ben's concubine	<i>Wanxianglou ji</i> 晚香樓集	/	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901

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Reign	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
Kangxi	Zhang Zhensun 張 振孫 (1636– 1680)	<i>Liangfenglou ji</i> 兩峰樓集	/	/	/	Ruan & Yang 1803: 1:46a; Wu 1922:91:7b; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:41a.
	Zhang Zhensun	<i>Jiang xing cao</i> 江行草	/	/	/	Ruan & Yang 1803: 1:46a; Wu 1922:91:7b; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:41a.
	Zhang Zhensun	<i>Qiantang sizi shi</i> 錢 塘四子詩	Prt	Zhang Zhensun	SELF	Chai 1717:7:10a– b.
	Zhang Sunfeng 張 孫鳳 (1644– 1723)	<i>Zhang Danshan ji</i> 張 丹山集	/	/	/	Wu 1922:91:12a.
	Zhang Sunfeng	<i>Jianshantang shiji</i> 見山堂詩集	/	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:41b–42a.
	Zhang Sunfeng	<i>Yinyun lü</i> (5 chs) 音 韻律五卷	/	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:42a.
	Zhang Sunfeng	<i>Zhang zongzhai zhongcheng nianpu</i> 張冢宰中丞年譜	MS	/	/	Ding 1984– 1990:7.78–79.
	Zhang Xixuan 張 錫璿 (1684– 1733)	<i>Sishu zuanyan</i> 四書纂要	MS	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Xixuan	<i>Zhouyi zuanyao</i> 周易纂要	MS	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Xixuan	<i>Zuoshi tigang</i> 左史提綱	MS	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Xixuan	<i>Shicao cunghao</i> 試草存稿	MS	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Xixuan	<i>Feiyuan wenji</i> 飛園文集	MS	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Guoding 張 國鼎 (1686– 1735)	<i>Shijingtang shiji</i> 石 鏡堂詩集	/	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1901
	Zhang Jingzeng 張 景曾 (1640– 1702)	<i>Zhi He ce</i> 治河策	/	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:42b.
Zhang Jingzeng	<i>Huanghe tu</i> 黃河圖	/	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:42b.	
Zhang Jingzeng	<i>Linxi ji shiwen gao</i> 林溪集詩文稿	/	/	/	Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:42b.	

Reign	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
Kangxi	Zhang [Qian] Yuan 張[錢] 澐 (1681– 1712)	<i>Shoupingtang ji</i> 壽平堂集	/	/	/	Ruan & Yang 1803: 3:7b; Wu 1922:93:2a.
	Qiu Rongzhen 裘容貞(b. 1671), Zhang Yusun's 張 興孫(1665– 1721) wife	<i>Hanzhenge shichao</i> 函貞閣詩鈔	/	/	/	Wu 1922:94:28a; Hu 1957:527.
	Qiu Rongzhen	<i>Hanzhenge cichao</i> 函貞閣詞鈔	/	/	/	Wu 1922:95:30a; Hu 1957:527.
	Shen Yunshen 沈 允慎, Zheng Xiyuan's 張 錫元(1669– 1722) wife	<i>Jingyixuan shigao</i> 靜怡軒詩稿	/	/	/	Wu 1922:94:39b; Hu 1957:278.
	Shen Yunshen	<i>Xiexianglou ci</i> 寫香樓詞	/	/	/	Hu 1957:278.
	Shen Yunshen	<i>Yongyuexuan shici</i> 詠月軒詩詞	/	/	/	Hu 1957:278.
	Zhang Biao 張鏞 (1656– 1719)	<i>Weilu cichao</i> (4 chs) 薇露詞鈔四卷	/	/	/	Wu 1922:95:23b.
	Qianlong	Zhang Yongzuo	<i>Santongshu kaozeng</i> (1 chs) 三統術考正一卷	Prt	Zhang Yongzuo	SELF
Zhang Yongzuo		<i>Kaoding xipan</i> (1 chs) 考定星盤一卷	MS	Xu 許	CONN	Shao 1959:454.
Zhang Yongzuo		<i>Tianxiang yuanwei</i> 天象源委	MS	Zhang Yongzuo	/	Hang 1888:47:2a– 3b.
Zhang Yongzuo		<i>Lianghu shicao</i> 兩湖詩草	/	/	/	Wu 1922:92:29b; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:45a.
Zhang Bing		<i>Laique shanfang shiji</i> (2 chs) 來鵲山 房詩集二卷	Prt	/	/	Pan 1891a:15:28a; Li & Yang 2000:1088.
Zhang Guo 張果 (1698– 1782)		<i>Gaiweng shiji</i> 蓋翁 詩集	Prt	/	/	Ruan 1801:23:40b; Wu 1922:92:27b; Zhang Jingyun 1895:2:45b–46a.

Tiré à part adressé à Lianbin Dai.

Reign	Author	Title (of edition)	Form	Publisher	Relationship	Source
Daoguang	Zhang Fengbao 張鳳苞 (1778–1853)	<i>Yunsong wancui shigao</i> 雲松晚翠詩稿	Prt	/	/	Pan 1891b:5:10b; Wu 1922:93:38a.
	Zhang Fenshao 張鳳韶 (1786–1854)	<i>Emei shanzhuang yin gao</i> 峨眉山莊吟稿	Prt	/	/	Pan 1891a:41:21b.
Qing	Zhang Han	<i>Wulin Yilaohui shiji</i>	MS	/	/	Ding 1901:39:20b–21a; Weng 2005:1776B.
	Zhang Lian	<i>Buhuotang wenji</i>	MS	/	/	Wang 1927:2:14a.
	Zhang Qiran	<i>Chunqiu Zuozhuan gangmu Du Lin xiangzhu</i> (14 chs) 春秋左傳綱目杜林詳註十四卷	Prt	Shangdetang 尚德堂	/	Bodleian Library, Backhouse 104.
	Zhang Yongzuo	<i>Tianxiang yuanwei</i> (20 chs) 天象源委二十卷 fu <i>Tianxue jilue</i> (1 chs) 附天學記略一卷, <i>Tianwen shijuan</i> (1 fascicle) 天文試卷一本	MS	Xu 許, Han Xiaoting 韓小亭, Luo Jingquan 羅鏡泉	CONN	Shao 1959:465.
	Zhang Han	<i>Song chuang mengyu</i> (8 chs)	MS	/	/	Ding 1901:19:15b; Weng 2005:1015A.
	Zhang Sihong	<i>Liangxian shuwu ji Tangshi</i> (1 chs) 兩閒書屋集唐詩六十首一卷, <i>Yangyan shi</i> (1 chs) 洋煙詩一卷	MS	/	/	Li & Yang 2000:1171.
Undated	Zhang Han	<i>Xi nang duyü</i> (20 chs) 奚囊蠹餘二十卷, <i>xuji</i> (20 chs) 續集二十卷	Prt	/	/	Wu 1922:90:19a.
	Zhang Han	<i>Zhang Han shiwen ji</i> (40 chs) 張瀚詩文集四十卷	Prt	/	/	Anon 1959:108.
	Zhang Han	<i>Taige shugao</i> (8 chs) 臺閣疏稿八卷, <i>Shuyi jilue</i> (37 chs) 疏議輯略三十七卷	Prt	/	/	Anon 1959:603.

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