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The warder soon resigned his position in the jail on the pretext of illness, and lived in ease and comfort for the remainder of his life. But after his death his son squandered the property, at the same time divulging the secret of how it was acquired.

ON CERTAIN IMPERFECTIONS IN THE
SSU-K'U CH'UAN SHU

BY

L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH

From time to time there have appeared announcements* concerning the publication of the Ssu-k'u Ch'üan Shu (四庫全書), the monumental literary thesaurus of the reign of Ch'ien Lung, produced in manuscript during the years 1773-1782.† Meritorious as this undertaking would appear on the surface, not a few objectors have raised their voices against publication of the work as a whole.‡ It is the purpose of this paper to endeavor to explain and justify one of these objections.

The history of the Ssu-k'u need not be re-stated here. It has already been well treated in this and other journals, particularly by W. F. Meyers in the old *China Review* of 1877-78.§ One point, not mentioned by Meyers, nor indeed by D. F. Miao, who wrote recently for *The China Journal*,¶ is, however, of outstanding importance. Having so recently

**The China Journal*, XIX, 1, July 1933, pp. 11-12; *Book News from China*, Peiping, Sept. 1933, p. 1. An earlier announcement is that of Hollington K. Tong, "Printing of the Collection of Four Libraries," *Millard's Review*, Dec. 11, 1920, pp. 65-67.

†Actually all seven copies, together with the draft copy in the Hanlin Library, were not in final form until 1787. In that year the Emperor discovered that some of the writings of Li Ch'ing 李清 (1602-1683) contained disparaging comparisons between the last years of the Ming and the first of the Ch'ing, and that four of Li's works had been transcribed for the Ssu-k'u. He was infuriated, and peremptorily ordered them cut out forthwith, and the officials in charge punished. See his edict of May 6, 1787, quoted in full by Wang Chung-min (王重民), "On the Works of Li Ch'ing," *Library Science Quarterly* (Peiping), II, 3, Sept. 1928, pp. 339-340.

‡Cf. *Ta Kung Pao* (大公報), Tientsin, issue of Aug. 18, 1933.

§"Bibliography of the Chinese Imperial Collections of Literature," VI, 5, pp. 291-298.

¶"China's Encyclopaedic Collection of her Books," XVIII, 2, Feb. 1933, pp. 66-70.

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been brought into the open by some of the publications of the Palace Museum,* and by recent accounts of the Ssu-k'u,† it is worth recording here. I refer to the literary inquisition of the same Emperor, which went on *pari passu* with the production of the Ssu-k'u, and, indeed, seems to have been one of his main reasons for undertaking that work.‡

The work of selecting books for transcription into the "Four Treasuries" and for censorship either *in toto* or *in parte* fell in the main on one body of officials. It appears to have been their duty to classify the thousands of books sent to the capital from the provinces into three principal categories: those worthy of being copied and preserved; those too trifling to be included (which were generally returned to their owners; and those which deserved to be partly or wholly destroyed. Their way was prepared by the governors and governors-general, who were supposed to go over the collections to be sent to Peking and make recommendations on each item. Essentially, then, the work of the Ssu-k'u commissioners was one of review. But it was none the less arduous, and we find that they took their responsibilities with the utmost seriousness—as who would not under the all-seeing eye of Ch'ien Lung.

Hence we find entries such as the following, addressed to the Emperor, in the *Index Expurgatorius*§ of the day:

"We have examined the Ping Ching Pei K'ao (兵鏡備考)¶ by Teng T'ing-lo (鄧廷羅) of Feng-yang [Anhui]** As a general outline he has taken the most important rules of Sun-tzu's (孫子) 'Art of War,'†† and divided his work into several parts, under each heading placing an account of the strategy of the leading military commanders of various dynasties. Certain points have been questioned by officials in the provinces, but we have investigated and found that the book only contains

*There are several, the most important being Ch'ing Tai Wen Tzu Yü Tang (清代文字獄權).

†Cf. Jen Sung-ju (任松如), *Ssu-K'u Ch'uan Shu Ta Wen* (四庫全書答問), Shanghai, 1929, and Yang Chia-lo (楊家駱), *Ssu-K'u Ta Tz'u-Tien* (四庫大辭典), 2 vols., Nanking, 1932.

‡The writer read a paper on this subject before the meeting of the American Oriental Society held April 20, 1933, which is to appear as a chapter in his forthcoming book, "The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-Lung."

§There are several collections of lists forming the Index. The best known is that compiled by Yao Chin-yüan (姚觀元), a scholar of the last century, which forms a part of the Chih Chin Chai Ts'ung-shu (咫進齋叢書), and is entitled Chih Shu Tsung Mu (禁書總目). See I, p. 33.

¶Also known by the title Ping Ching.

**Teng became a senior licentiate in the Shun Chih period (1644-1661), and rose to be intendant of circuit of Ching-nan, Hupeh (then Hukuang). The Chinese Biographical Dictionary of the Commercial Press, Chung-kuo Jen Ming Ta Tz'u-tien (中國人名大辭典) (7th ed., Dec. 1930), p. 1549, probably relying on the authority of the Imperial Catalogue Ssu-k'u Ch'uan Shu Tsung Mu (四庫全書總目), Ta Tung (大東) Press, March 1930, *chuan* 100, p. 7, incorrectly makes Teng's native place Chiang-ning, Kiangsu. Actually he hailed from Hao-liang (濠梁), in Feng-yang Fu. See both title page and personal preface of Ping Ching Pei K'ao, a copy of which is in the Columbia University Library.

††See H. A. Giles, "A Chinese Biographical Dictionary," No. 1825, and A. Wylie, "Notes on Chinese Literature" (reprint of 1922), p. 90.

information on matters which took place before the reign of Chia-ching,* all of which is included in the 'History of the Ming' (明史), none of which is censorable. We recommend that the book be not suppressed."†

In the majority of cases, however, the officials at Peking found themselves in substantial agreement with those in the provinces, and issued recommendations to the Emperor which were carried into effect. Some of the works from which certain parts only were to be cut were also copied into the Ssu-k'u. The following books will serve as examples:

(a) Yang Wen-mei Chi (楊文敏集). The Ssu-k'u commissioners reported,‡ "This book is by Yang Jung (楊榮).§ The eighth *chuan* (卷), congratulating [someone] on the pacification of the Hu (胡) [Mongols], and the 12th *chuan*, containing a laudatory statement in praise of the major Yang Tsung-tao (楊宗道), both include assertions which are one-sided and false. We recommend that they be extracted and burned." Now the Yang Wen-mei Chi was copied into the Ssu-k'u,¶ but not, as one might expect, with complete fidelity to the original. Mr. T. L. Yuan (袁同禮) has had the copy of the Ssu-k'u Ch'üan Shu, deposited in the National Library of Peiping, examined at the writer's request, and has written** that the parts considered objectionable were omitted from the text. Fortunately, at least one original copy is extant, namely, that in the First Provincial Library of Kiangsu.††

(b) Mei-ts'un Chi (梅村集), by the poet and landscape painter Wu Wei-yeh (吳偉業).‡‡ San-pao (三寶), a Manchu who at the time§§ was governor-general of Fukien and Chekiang, was among those who found fault with this book. He sent it to the capital with the laconic message:¶¶ "It is of forty *chuan* and includes the preface and calligraphy of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (錢謙益)."*** Of the part containing the poetry alone, Mei-ts'un Shih (梅村詩), which forms half the contents of the book,

*1522-1566. The commissioners were especially concerned to rule out of all literature any unflattering reference to the Manchus and the ruling house. This reign ended before the time of Manchu stirrings, and the consequent anti-Manchu outpourings by Chinese writers.

†Although saved from destruction, this book was not copied into the Ssu-k'u. The editors, however, did find it worthy of a brief critique in the Imperial Catalogue (ch. 100, p. 7).

‡Chin Shu Tsung Mu, II, p. 18.

§1371-1440. See Giles, Biog. Dict., No. 2391.

¶See Imperial Catalogue, ch. 170, p. 5b.

**Letter dated Feb. 18, 1933.

††See its catalogue of rare books: 江蘇第一圖書館覆校善本書目.

‡‡Born in T'ai-ts'ang, Kiangsu, in 1609; *chin-shih* in 1631; died 1671. See Waley, "An Index of Chinese Artists," p. 103, and Hirth, "Scraps from a Collector's Note Book," No. 15.

§§He held this post in 1779-1780.

¶¶Wen Hsien Ts'ung Pien (文獻叢編), No. 8, p. 3b.

***Ch'ien Lung developed a special dislike for Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582-1664), and endeavoured to burn all that he had ever written. I have devoted considerable attention to his case in the above mentioned book.

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San-pao found two copies to despatch northwards, one complete and one incomplete, to which he attached the label, "This book is a work of twenty *chuan*; it contains the Ch'ang Ho Shih (倡和詩) of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i." A little later the Council of State reported to the throne, "The poetry of Wu Wei-yeh is excellent. His sole wrong-doing lay in his association with Ch'ien Ch'ien-i, to such a degree that they were two of the "Three Masters of the left bank of the river" (江左三大家).* We recommend that only the pages [of the Mei-ts'un Chi] containing the preface and calligraphy of Ch'ien be expunged."† This report was accepted, for Mr. Yuan informs me that the copy transcribed for the Ssu-k'u is devoid of any taint that might have been cast by the brush of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i. Original copies, however, have been preserved unblemished;§ furthermore, the book has been considered of sufficient importance for posterity to have been reprinted entire in the great collection of selected works brought out recently by the Commercial Press, the Ssu Pu Ts'ung K'an (四部叢刊).

(c) T'an Yüan Chi (檀園集) by the poet, painter, and calligraphist Li Liu-fang (李流芳). ¶ No comment on this book by the officials at the capital appears in the *Index Expurgatorius*, but the Ninth Bureau in Nanking (江南江寧局第九批) in sending it to Peking wrote, "The T'an Yüan Chi includes the biography of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i, together with the epitaph carved on his tomb. We recommend that these be eliminated. The balance of the book may stand."*** This judgment must have been accepted without question, for again all trace of Ch'ien's (supposedly) maleficent influence has been left out of the Ssu-k'u handwritten copy†† housed in the National Library of Peiping. †† But at least one original containing Ch'ien's biography and epitaph has been preserved and is now in the stacks of the same library.

Other works, the titles of which appear on the *Index Expurgatorius*, were likewise copied into the Ssu-k'u, and are given as a supplement to this paper. But it will be plain enough from the foregoing recital that by printing from the texts of the Ssu-k'u Ch'üan Shu the world at large would often be getting but imperfect reproductions of the original books. Add to this the obvious errors of scribes that undoubtedly slipped into

*The third star of this literary constellation was Kung Ting-tzu (龔鼎孳) (1615-1675).

†Chin Shu Tsung Mu, I, p. 30.

‡See Imperial Catalogue, ch. 173, p. 2b.

§For example, in the National Library of Peiping.

¶Li (1575-1629) was a native of Chia-ting, Kiangsu. Some of his poems may be found in the anthology Chia-ting Ssu Hsien-sheng Chi (嘉定四先生集), compiled after his death by the then district magistrate of Chia-ting, Hsieh San-pin (謝三賓) (*chin-shih* in 1625), a copy of which is in the National Library of Peiping. For further data on Li as a painter see Waley, *Index*, p. 58; and as an engraver of seals see Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1922, p. 348.

**Wei Ai Shu Chi Mu-lu (違碍書籍目錄), II, v. 96b.

††Consult Imperial Catalogue, ch. 172, p. 14b.

‡‡According to letter of T. L. Yuan referred to above.

a manuscript collection of such magnitude and we have further justification for the request that publication be limited only to those items which are unquestionably unique.* Reprinting of all other works should be made strictly from original texts which are known to have escaped excision by Ch'ien Lung's officials, and which in other respects have come through to the present unutilized. This, indeed, seems to be the policy about to be followed.

SUPPLEMENT

- Chang Huang (章潢) (1527-1608)
 T'u Shu Pien (圖書編)
 Ch'en Pang-chan (陳邦瞻) (d. ca. 1623)
 Yüan Shih Chi Shih Pen Mo (元史紀事本末)
 Ch'en Ting (陳鼎) (flourished 1711)
 Tung-lin Lieh-chuan (東林列傳)
 Ch'eng Min-cheng (程敏政) (*chin-shih* in 1466)
 Ming Wen Heng (明文衡)
 Chiao Hung (焦竑) (1541-1620)
 *Su Shu K'an Wu (俗書刊誤)
 *Lao-tzu I (老子翼)
 *Chuang-tzu I (莊子翼)
 Fang I-chih (方以智) (d. 1667)
 T'ung Ya (通雅)
 Wu Li Hsiao Chih (物理小識)
 Hsü Hsien (徐咸) (*chin-shih* in 1511)
 Ming Ming Ch'en Yen Hsing Lu (明名臣言行錄)
 Kao P'an-lung (高攀龍) (1562-1626)
 Kao-tzu I Shu (高子遺書)
 Ku Ch'i-yüan (顧起元) (1565-1628)
 Shu Lüeh (說略)
 Ku Yen-wu (顧炎武) (*ming*: Chiang 絳) (1613-1682)
 Jih Chih Lu (日知錄)
 Yin Hsüeh Wu Shu (音學五書)
 Kuei Yu-kuang (歸有光) (1506-1571)
 Chen-ch'uan Pieh Chi (震川別集)

*For example, the works no longer extant which were copied into the Yung-lo Ta Tien (永樂大典) (1403-1407), and then re-copied into the Ssu-k'u. Possibly too the works starred in the attached list, which the writer has not been able to locate in any library catalogue at his disposal. Obviously it would be better to have reproductions of imperfect copies than none at all, provided, of course, that these books have any claims whatever on the attention of posterity.

ON CERTAIN IMPERFECTIONS IN THE SSU-K'U CH'UAN SHU

Lu Chung-li (遂中立) (*chin-shih* in 1589)

*Liang Yüan Tsou-i (兩垣奏議)

Sung Lo (宋榮) (1634-1713)

*Hsi Pei Lei Kao (西陂類稿)

T'an Lun (譚綸) (1520-1577)

T'an Hsiang-min Tsou-i (譚襄敏奏議)

Wang Shih-chen (王世貞) (1526-1590)

Ku Pu Ku Lu (觚不觚錄)

Chia-ching I-lai Shou-fu Chuan (嘉靖以來首輔傳)

Yen Shan T'ang Pieh Chi (弇山堂別集)

Wu Ch'i (吳綺) (1619-1694)

*Lin Hui T'ang Chi (林蕙堂集)

Yang Shen (楊慎) (1488-1559)

*Tan Ch'ien Yü Lu (丹鉛餘錄)

THE SIXTY YEAR AND OTHER CYCLES

BY

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After the well-known annual changes of altitude of the Sun and the monthly changes of "phase" of the Moon, the most *regular* celestial phenomena of a comparable nature are the motions of Jupiter and Saturn and the mutual conjunctions of these two great planets. Jupiter moves round the "ecliptic" (the path of the Sun) once in twelve years (actually 11.862 tropical years) and Saturn once in thirty years (actually 29.457 tropical years) as seen from the Sun and not very differently as seen from the Earth. They thus come into conjunction, as seen from the Sun, every twenty years (actually 19.8593 tropical years is the true mean value, but, owing to the ellipticity of their orbits, the interval fluctuates by perhaps six months) at points successively two-thirds of the circle (true mean 242.7°) in advance, and in sixty years (actually 59.5779 tropical years is the mean value) they meet again in almost the same place in the sky (actually 8.1° in advance). The times of conjunction as seen from the Earth are approximately the same and this period of about sixty years is the famous "Soss" of the Chaldeans and is approximately equal to the Chia-tzu (甲子) of the Chinese.

The last conjunction was in 1921 and the next will be in 1941 (as seen from the Sun).