

NOTES ON THE COMPOSITION, TRANSMISSION, AND EDITIONS OF THE *JU-SHU CHI*

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Lu Yu's 陸游 (1125-1210) *Ju-Shu chi* 入蜀記 is his travel diaries of his long journey from Shan-yin 山陰 (modern Shao-hsing, Chekiang) to K'uei-chou 夔州 (modern Feng-chieh Hsien, Szechwan) through six modern provinces, totaling 5210 *li* (1812.38 miles), from July 3, 1170 to December 6, 1170. It also includes Lu Yu's diary for December 25, 1169, in which he mentioned receiving the notification of his appointment as Prefectural Vice-Administrator of K'uei-chou. Lu Yu's diaries covered all the 157 days of his journey, except for four days (5.27, 5.30, 6.21, 6.24) for which no diaries were written; and in one case he combined three days (5.22-5.24) into one entry. But the details of the composition of the diaries and the arrangement and formation of the diaries into the form of the book *Ju-Shu chi* were not recorded by Lu Yu, nor was the date of the book's completion. However, a few basic facts are revealed in the tone, the style, the quotations, and certain factual statements of the diaries. On the basis of all these, we may draw some conclusions about the writing and dating of the work.

It appears that Lu Yu wrote the bulk of the book in its final form after the trip, basing it on the notes he had compiled each day during the trip. The short entries and the entries without lengthy quotations or

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more detailed arguments were written during the trip, probably at the end of each day or during the days when Lu Yu and his party were delayed at a place because of adverse winds, paying official visits, change or repair of boats, illness, and so forth. Those entries which contain quotations from other poets and historical works or statements of a substantial nature were definitely written after his trip. In many cases, Lu Yu himself indicated that his views in the diaries were supported by further research which could be done only after the trip (e.g., Book One: 7.8; Book Four: 8.8); in other cases, such as his mention of the Volume Chü 駒 of the Buddhist *Tripitaka* (*Tsang-ching* 藏經) and his notes on the Ch'an Temple of Gratitude and Filial Piety of the Two Sages 二聖光孝報恩禪寺 in Book Five: 9.14, it is easy to ascertain that those pieces could not have been written during the trip.

Still, the precise date of the completion of *Ju-Shu chi* in its final form remains unknown. But it is highly probable that after his arrival at K'uei-chou Lu Yu began to edit the parts that he had already finished and to complete other parts for which he had already taken notes during the trip. The whole work that has passed down in the present form of *Ju-Shu chi* was probably finished sometime during the first three years of his long stay in Szechwan and Shensi from December 1170 to February 1178. His use of certain official titles for certain persons particularly lends support to this view.

Lu Yu died on January 26, 1210. Before his death, Lu Yu had edited his monumental prose writings and 130 lyrics into a collection entitled *Wei-nan wen-chi* 渭南文集 (Collected Writings of the Count of Wei-nan). Included in it was the *Ju-Shu chi*. But the collection was not printed until about eleven years after Lu's death, and as a complete collection in manuscript form it was available to few. In December 1220 the *Wei-nan wen-chi*, in fifty *chüan*, as arranged by Lu Yu, was first printed, from wood blocks, by Lu Yu's sixth son, Lu Tzu-yü 陸子遹 (1178-1250), in Li-yang 溧陽 (modern Li-yang Hsien, Kiangsu), of which Lu Tzu-yü was

the subprefectural administrator. The *Ju-shu chi* occupies *Chüan* 43-48 of the collection. This is the first time that the *Ju-shu chi* was available in a published form.¹

The *Wei-nan wen-chi* was reprinted in Yüan times (1280-1368), but by late Ming times, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, copies of the work had already become rare.² In 1502, Hua Ch'eng 華瑔 (1438-1514), a member of the famous Hua publishing house of Wu-hsi 無錫 (in Kiangsu), got hold of a Sung copy and quickly printed it with copper movable type.³

1. For the process of the compilation and printing of the *Wei-nan wen-chi*, see Lu Tzu-yü's postscript to Lu Yu, *Wei-nan wen-chi* (50 *chüan*, in 10 *ts'e*, movable-type printing by the Hua 華 family of Hsi-shan 錫山 (Wu-hsi 無錫), Kiangsu; prefaced by Wu K'uan 吳寬 (1435-1504) dated 1502; postscripts by Chu Yun-ming 祝允明 (1460-1526), and Hua Ch'eng 華瑔); Lu Tzu-yü's postscript to Lu Yu, *Wei-nan wen-chi* in *Lu Fang-weng ch'üan-chi* 陸放翁全集 (48 *ts'e*; printed by the Chi-ku ko 汲古閣 of the Mao 毛 family of Yü-shan 虞山 (in modern Ch'ang-shu 常熟, Kiangsu), ca. 1620's); *Sung-shih i-wen chih pu fu-pien* 宋史藝文志, 補, 附編 by T'o T'o 脫脫 (托托, 托克托, 1313-1355) *et al.*, ed. by Shang-wu yin-shu kuan (Shanghai, 1957), p. 214; Huang P'ei-lieh 黃丕烈 (1763-1825), *Shih-li-chü Ts'ang-shu t'i-pa chi hsü* 士禮居藏書題跋記續 (1883, 1896) in *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien*, pp. 40-42; Ku Kuang-ch'i 顧廣圻 (1776-1835), *Pai-Sung i-ch'an fu* 百宋一廬賦 (ca. 1802) annotated by Huang P'ei-lieh, in *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien*, p. 15; Wang Shih-chung 汪士鐘, *I-yun shu-she Sung-Yüan pen shu-mu* 藝芸書舍宋元本書目 (prefaced 1873), in *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien*, p. 21. Mo Yu-chih 莫友芝 (1811-1871), *Lü-t'ing chih-chien ch'uan-pen shu-mu* 邵亭知見傳本書目 (2 vols. Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1972 reprint of 1909 edition), p. 523. The Sung printing has ten lines on a page (a half Chinese leaf 葉), with each line containing seventeen characters. For a brief biographical sketch of Lu Tzu-yü, see Yü Pei-shan 于北山, *Lu Yu nien-p'u* 陸游年譜 (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961), pp. 189, 475-476. Lu Tzu-yü was the Subprefectural Administrator of Li-yang from 1218 to 1221.
2. P'eng Yüan-jui 彭元瑞 (1731-1803) *et al.*, *T'ien-lu lin-lang shu-mu hou-pien* 天祿琳瑯書目, 後編 (1797) in Yü Ming-chung 于敏中 (1714-1780) *et al.*, *Ch'in-ting t'ien-lu lin-lang shu-mu hou-p'ien* 欽定天祿琳瑯書目, 後編 (Changsha, 1884 ed.), *chüan* 10, pp. 26a-27a; Mao Chin's 毛晉 (1599-1659) postscript (pp. 2a-2b at the end of the book) to the Chi-ku ko edition of *Wei-nan wen-chi* (in 16 *ts'e*); Huang P'ei-lieh, *Shih-li chü ts'ang-shu t'i-pa chi hsü*, p. 40.
3. Hua Ch'eng's postscript to his movable-type edition of the *Wei-nan wen-chi*; K. T. Wu, "Ming Printing and Printers," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (February, 1943), p. 217; Yeh Te-hui 葉德輝 (1864-1927), *Shu-lin ch'ing-hua* 書林清話 (prefaced 1911) (Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1957 ed.), p. 207; Chang Hsiu-min 張秀民, "Ming-tai ti t'ung huo-tzu" 明代的銅活字, *T'u-shu-kuan* 圖書館, No. 4 of 1961, pp. 55-56, 60. The Hua edition of the *Wei-nan wen-chi* has been popularly known as the "Movable-type edition by the Hua family of Hsi-shan" 錫山華氏活字本. See also Ch'ien Ts'un-hsun 錢存訓, "Lun Ming-tai t'ung huo-tzu pan wen-t'i" 論明代銅活字板問題, in *Ch'ing-chu Chiang Wei-t'ang hsien-sheng ch'i-shih jung-ch'ing lun-wen chi* 慶祝蔣慰堂先生七十榮慶論文集 (Taipei, 1968), pp. 132, 134, 140.

The quality of the printing was bad; there were numerous typographical errors and some omissions. In the late 1620's, Mao Chin 毛晉 (1599-1659), of Ch'ang-shu 常熟, the most famous and enterprising printer in the seventeenth century, obtained a copy of the Hua edition, spent six months making collations, and printed it from wood blocks. This has been known as the edition of the Chi-ku ko 汲古閣 (Chi-ku Hall).⁴ This edition of the *Wei-nan wen-chi* was copied into the famous *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* 四庫全書 (The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries), compiled 1773-1782.⁵ In 1919-1920, the original Hua movable-type edition of the *Wei-nan wen-chi* was photomechanically reproduced by the Commercial Press 商務印書館 of Shanghai, as part of the celebrated modern collectanea *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊 (Collected Reprints of Works in Four Divisions).⁶ In 1927, the Chung-hua Book Company 中華書局 of Shanghai

4. Mao Chin's postscript (p. 2b) to the Chi-ku ko edition of the *Wei-nan wen-chi* in *Lu Fang-weng ch'üan-chi*. *Ju-Shu chi* is in Vols. 10-12. Mao Chin used the Chi-ku Hall both as a library and as a printing shop. Scholars have generally dated the publication of the Chi-ku ko edition of the *Wei-nan wen-chi* to the 1640's. But on the basis of the dating of Mao Chin's postscripts to the *Chien-nan shih-kao* 劍南詩稟 and *Nan-T'ang shu* 南唐書 and Mao I's 毛扆 (1640-after 1710) postscript to *Fang-weng i-kao hsü-t'ien* 放翁逸稟續添, I place the date of publication of the *Wei-nan wen-chi* in the 1620's. See these postscripts in *Lu Fang-wen ch'üan-chi*.

5. Chi Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) *et al.*, *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要 (1782) (4 vols. Taipei, 1971 reprint of Shanghai, 1934 ed.), pp. 3366-3367. Slightly earlier than the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*, a collectanea entitled *I-p'u sou-ch'i pu-ch'üeh* 藝圃蒐奇補闕 was compiled and contained the *Ju-Shu chi*. The collectanea was attributed to the famous collector and bibliophile Ts'ao Yin 曹寅 (1658-1712) but was in truth the work of someone else of a later date. The *Ju-Shu chi* was also listed in the collectanea *I-p'u sou-ch'i*, attributed to Hsü I-k'uei 徐一夔 (1318-ca. 1400) or Ch'en Shih-lung 陳世隆 (fl. late 14th century) but was in truth compiled in early Ch'ing times, and it was not contained in the collectanea at all. See Shen I-ch'ien 沈一乾, *Ts'ung-shu shu-mu hui-pien* 叢書書目彙編 (3 vols. Shanghai, 1929), pp. 570-571; Yang Chia-lo 楊家駱, *Ts'ung-shu ta tz'u-tien* 叢書大辭典 (Nanking, 1936; reprinted in Taipei, 1967), p. 851; Chi Yun *et al.*, *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao*, pp. 2765-2766; Chang Hsin-ch'eng 張心激, *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao* 偽書通考 (2 vols. Shanghai, 1954), pp. 858-859. Both the *I-p'u sou-ch'i* and *I-p'u sou-ch'i pu-ch'üeh* are works of the worst quality, full of mistakes and misprints.

6. *Wei-nan wen-chi* 渭南文集, 50 *chüan*, 12 *ts'e*, in *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*. *Ju-Shu chi* is in *ts'e* 11-12.

reprinted with movable type, after making collations, the Chi-ku ko edition of the *Wei-nan wen-chi* in another modern celebrated collectanea *Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要 (Collection of Essential Works in Four Divisions), as part of the *Lu Fang-weng ch'üan-chi* 陸放翁全集.⁷ In 1965-1966, the Chung-hua Book Company of Taipei again reprinted in hardback and modern binding the *Su-pu pei-yao* in 610 volumes; the *Lu Fang-weng ch'üan-chi* is in Volumes 550-555.

The Chi-ku ko edition of the *Wei-nan wen-chi* was reprinted from modern metal type, with punctuation of sentence stops and in modern binding, by the Commercial Press in 1931 as part of the *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* 國學基本叢書 (Basic Sinological Series).⁸ In 1936, the Kuo-hsüeh cheng-li she 國學整理社 in Shanghai issued *Lu Fang-weng ch'üan-chi*, which is identical with the *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* edition.⁹ The *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* edition was reissued by the Commercial Press at Taipei, Taiwan, in 1968;¹⁰ the Kuo-hsüeh cheng-li she edition was reissued by the World Book Company 世界書局 of Taipei in 1961,¹¹ and by the Kuang-chih Book Company 廣智書局 of Hong Kong in 1963.¹²

7. *Wei-nan wen-chi*, 50 *chüan*, 8 *ts'e*, in *Lu Fang-weng ch'üan-chi* in *Ssu-pu pei-yao*. The *Ju-Shu chi* is in *ts'e* 23-24 of the *Lu Fang-weng ch'üan-chi* (24 *ts'e*).

8. In *Lu Fang-weng chi* 陸放翁集 (24 *ts'e*; Shanghai, 1931), *ts'e* 1-5. The *Ju-Shu chi* is in *ts'e* 5.

9. Bound in modern style in two big volumes; the *Wei-nan wen-chi* is in Vol. I, pp. 1-319. The pagination of this edition is different from the *Lu Fang-weng chi* in the *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu*. *Ju-Shu chi* is on pages 264-298. It is of some significance to note that Lu Yi 陸意 in *Ju-Shu chi*, *Chüan* 1, 6.5, is written Lu Hsin-hsiang 陸歆香 in all the *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* and Kuo-hsüeh cheng-li she editions and their reprints. In all these editions and reprints Ch'ing-hsi 清溪 in *Chüan* 3, 7.24 is written 青溪. All these and other details of textual variations and corruptions and their implications have been discussed in my translation under their corresponding entries.

10. Bound in modern style in four big volumes, as Vols. 288-291 of *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ssu-pai chung* 國學基本叢書四百種; *Wei-nan wen-chi* in Vol. I.

11. Still in two volumes in modern binding, entitled *Lu Fang-weng ch'üan-chi* (as Vols. 11-12 of *Chung-kuo hsüeh-shu ming-chu wen-hsüeh ming-chu ti-san-chi* 中國學術名著文學名著第三輯). *Wei-nan wen-chi* is in Vol. I (pages 1-319); *Ju-Shu chi* on pages 264-298.

12. In four volumes in modern binding; date of publication is not clearly marked, but it was definitely published in 1963. *Wei-nan wen-chi* is in Vol. I (pages 1-319); *Ju-Shu chi* on pages 264-298.

The *Ju-Shu chi* (JSC) in the *Wei-nan wen-chi* (WNWC) was arranged in six *chüan*, from the 43rd to the 48th, and in the following order:¹³

WNWC	ISC	Dates Covered
(<i>chüan</i> order)	(<i>chüan</i> order)	
43rd	1st	Ch'ien-tao reign-period, 5th year, 12th month, 6th day (December 25, 1169).
		Ch'ien-tao reign-period, 6th year, intercalary 5th month, 18th day

13. Ch'en Chen-sun 陳振孫 (ca. 1190-d. after 1249) listed in his famous *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i* 直齋書錄解題 the *Wei-nan wen-chi* in 30 *chüan*. Following him, Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨 (ca. 1250-1325) also listed *Wei-nan wen-chi* in 30 *chüan* in his the *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考 completed in 1319. The Ming scholar Chiao Hung 焦竑 (1541-1620) then followed Ma Tuan-lin again to mark *Wei-nan wen-chi* in 30 *chüan* in his *Kuo-shih ching-chi chih* 國史經籍志 printed in 1602. Mao Chin accepted the fact that there was indeed a 30-*chüan* edition of the *Wei-nan wen-chi*, but by his time the work had already been lost. On the other hand, the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* compilers believed that there had never been a 30-*chüan* *Wei-nan wen-chi*; they held that the entry appearing in Ch'en Chen-sun's catalogue was a result of miscopying the Chinese character 五 (*wu*, five) as 三 (*san*, three) because the two characters are quite alike. It seems to me that this explanation is more plausible. Until further evidence to the contrary, I am inclined to accept this view. In his annotation of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i's 錢謙益 (1582-1664) *Chiang-yun lou shu-mu* 絳雲樓書目, Ch'en Ching-yun 陳景雲 (1661-1747) also marked the *Wei-nan wen-chi* in 30 *chüan*. This is Ch'en's oversight, because he never saw the *Wei-nan wen-chi* in the Chiang-yun lou collection. See Ch'en Chen-sun, *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i*, in *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien*, p. 511; Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* (*Shih-t'ung* ed.), p. 1903; Chiao Hung, *Kuo-shih ching-chi chih* in *Ming-shih i-wen-chih pu-pien fu-pien* 明史藝文志, 補編, 附編 ed. by Shang-wu yin-shu kuan (2 vols., Peking, 1959), p. 1145; Mao Chin's postscript to his Chi-ku ko edition of *Wei-nan wen-chi*; Chi Yun et al., *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao*, p. 3366; Ch'ien Ch'ien-i, *Chiang-yun lou shu-mu*, annotated by Ch'en Ching-yun, in *Yüeh-ya t'ang ts'ung-shu* 粵雅堂叢書 (Taipei, 1965 reprint), p. 3639; Ch'ien Tseng 錢曾 (1629-1701), *Yü-shan Ch'ien Tsun-wang ts'ang-shu mu-lu hui-pien* 虞山錢遵王藏書目錄彙編 ed. by Ch'ü Feng-ch'i 瞿鳳起 (Shanghai: Ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, 1958), p. 195. The modern scholar Wu Chih-ying 吳之英 also maintains that there was indeed a 30-*chüan* edition of the *Wei-nan wen-chi*, but he offers no new evidence. It seems that Wu has not examined the issue thoroughly, because he has not even looked into all the sources relevant to this problem. See Wu Chih-ying, "Lu Fang-weng so chu shu pan-pen k'ao" 陸放翁所著書版本考, *Kuo-chuan yüeh-k'an*, Vol. III, No. 1 (February 1936), p. 56.

		(July 3, 1170)— 6th month, 30th day (August 13).
44th	2nd	7th month, 1st day (August 14) —7th month, 16th day (August 29).
45th	3rd	7th month, 17th day (August 30) —8th month, 7th day (September 18).
46th	4th	8th month, 8th day (September 19)—8th month, 26th day (October 7).
47th	5th	8th month, 27th day (October 8) —10th month, 5th day (November 14).
48th	6th	10th month, 6th day (November 15)—10th month, 27th day (December 6, 1170).

In terms of its length, the *Ju-Shu chi* is clearly a separate work and should not be included as a part of the *Wei-nan wen-chi*. As recounted by Lu Tzu-yü in his postscript to the collection, Lu Yu himself recognized this point when he arranged the collection. However, Lu Yu still included the *Ju-Shu chi* as part of the collection because he feared that otherwise it had little chance of being printed in the future and would thus be lost. Perhaps for this reason, someone copied out the *Ju-Shu chi* from the *Wei-nan wen-chi* and made one separate edition of it at a later date. But exactly when this was done and who first did it remains unclear. Some aspects of the development, however, can still be plausibly traced.

In 1513 Wang Ta-chang 汪大章 of Hsin-an 新安 (modern She-hsien 歙縣, Anhui) printed the *Wei-nan wen-chi* in Shao-hsing 紹興 (modern Shao-hsing, Chekiang) in fifty-two *chüan*, but he excluded the *Ju-Shu chi* from

the collection and added, instead, nine *chüan* of Lu Yu's poems, along with making other changes.¹⁴ This is the earliest known record of the separation of the *Ju-Shu chi* from the *Wei-nan wen-chi*. But there is no record to indicate that the *Ju-Shu chi* was printed separately. In a catalogue of the library Hung-yü Tower 紅雨樓 of the Hsü 徐 family in Min-hsien 閩縣 (modern Min-hou Hsien 閩侯縣, Fukien) compiled by Hsü Po 徐渤 (1570-1642) in 1602, the *Ju-Shu chi* was listed as a separate entry and was said to have four *chüan*, not the usual six.¹⁵ There is no way of knowing the format of the *Ju-Shu chi* listed in this catalogue, but a

14. *Wei-nan wen-chi*, 52 *chüan*, printed by Wang Ta-chang in Shao-hsing in the eighth year of the Cheng-te 正德 period (1506-1521) of Ming Wu-tsung (r. 1506-1521). The first forty-two *chüan* of this edition are generally the same as those of the 50-*chüan* edition, but with minor omissions and occasionally different arrangement. *Chüan* 43-51 contain Lu Yu's verse in different forms (a total of over 600 poems), and the last *chüan* (52) has all Lu Yu's lyrics that were originally contained in *Chüan* 49-50 in the 50-*chüan* edition. Wang's 52-*chüan* version of the *Wei-nan wen-chi* was ill-conceived and badly edited and printed. It is much inferior to the other texts of the 50-*chüan* format. The Lu family 陸氏 of Shan-yin 山陰 re-edited the 52-*chüan* version, with corrections and additions, and reprinted it by movable type in 1612. Ch'en Pang-chan 陳邦瞻 (fl. 1590-1623), then Surveillance Commissioner of Fukien, also wrote a new preface to the new printing. Compare *Wei-nan wen-chi*, 52 *chüan* in 10 *ts'e*, printed in Shao-hsing in 1513; *Wei-nan wen-chi*, 52 *chüan* in 7 *ts'e*, printed in Shan-yin in 1612. Ch'ü Yung 瞿鏞 (fl. 1877-1898), *T'ieh-ch'in t'ung-chien lou ts'ang-shu mu-lu* 鐵琴銅劍樓藏書目錄 (1898) (5 vols. Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1967 reprint), pp. 1290-1291; Ting Ping 丁丙 (1832-1899), *Shan-pen shu-shih ts'ang-shu chih* 善本書室藏書志 (completed in 1899, printed in 1901) (6 vols. Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1967 reprint), pp. 1442-1443. See also Satō Tamotsu 佐藤保, "I-nan bunshū. Ken-nan shikō hampon kō" 渭南文集, 劍南詩稿版本考, in *Chūgoku bungaku kenkyū*, No. 2 (1961), pp. 106-110. Wu Chih-ying holds that there were two separate 52-*chüan* editions of *Wei-nan wen-chi*, one published in Hsin-an and one published in Shao-hsing. He has mistaken Wang Ta-chang's birthplace as a place of publication of a 52-*chüan* *Wei-nan wen-chi*. His view is based on information given in different bibliographical catalogues; he has not examined the real book. See Wu Chih-ying, "Lu Fang-weng so chu-shu pan-pen k'ao," p. 58.

15. Hsü Po, *Hsü-shih Hung-yü lou shu-mu* 徐氏紅雨樓書目, in *Ch'ao-shih Pao-wen t'ang shu-mu* 晁氏寶文堂書目, ed. by Ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she 古典文學出版社 (Shanghai, 1957), p. 292. The *Wei-nan wen-chi* is listed on p. 375 in *Hsü-shih Hung-yü lou shu-mu*. This catalogue had been only in hand-copied manuscript form, in four *chüan*, until it was printed in 1954. Although the book was completed in 1602, there were later additions.

four-*chüan Ju-Shu chi* was indeed printed by the celebrated Ming writer and bibliophile Ch'en Chi-ju 陳繼儒 (1558-1639) in 1615 in the collectanea *Pao-yen t'ang pi-chi* 寶顏堂秘笈 (Rare Books of the Pao-yen Hall). It is a complete *Ju-Shu chi*; only the arrangement of the books differs from the six-*chüan* version:¹⁶

Chüan 1: Dates covered: Ch'ien-tao Reign-period, 5th year, 12th month, 6th day (December 25, 1169).

Ch'ien-tao, 6th year, intercalary 5th month, 18th day (July 3, 1170)—7th month, 14th day (August 27).

Chüan 2: 7th month, 15th day (August 28)—8th month, 15th day (September 26).

Chüan 3: 8th month, 16th day (September 27)—9th month, 26th day (November 5).

Chüan 4: 9th month, 27th day (November 6)—10th month, 27th day (December 6, 1170).

The four-*chüan Ju-Shu chi* covers the total 158 days as does the six-*chüan* format in the *Wei-nan wen-chi*. As far as days covered in each *chüan* are concerned, neither format shows a particularly noticeable pattern:

6- <i>chüan</i> Version		4- <i>chüan</i> Version	
(Chüan/Days)		(Chüan/Days)	
1	43	1	57
2	16	2	30
3	20	3	41
4	19	4	30
5	38		
6	22		
Total		Total	
158 days		158 days	

16. The *Pao-yen t'ang pi-chi* contains 233 titles in 240 *ts'e*, in six series, printed by Shang-pai Chai 尚白齋 of the Shen 沈 Family of Hsiu-shui 繡水 in Hua-t'ing 華亭 (modern Sung-chiang 松江, Kiangsu) from 1606 to 1620. *Ju-Shu chi* is in Vols. 6-7 in the third series, printed in 1615.

But an analysis of the structure of each *chüan* in the two formats shows that the division into the four-*chüan* format makes more sense. It does not divide Lu Yu's continuous stay and activities in one place into two separate *chüan*. A *chüan* starts with Lu Yu's departure from a place and ends with his arrival at a new place. The six-*chüan* format does not observe this geographical transition. For example, in each of the transitions of *Chüan* 2 to 3, 3 to 4, and 4 to 5, Lu Yu actually was still staying in the same place (T'ai-p'ing Chou 太平州, Mount Lu 廬山, and O-chou 鄂州, respectively) and also continuing the same kind of activities.

In 1813, Chin Ch'ang-ch'un 金長春 printed a four-*chüan* edition of the *Ju-Shu chi* as part of his collectanea *I-ching t'ang ts'ang-shu* 詒經堂藏書 (Books of the I-ching Hall). Chin's text of the *Ju-Shu chi* has a format identical to the *Pao-yen t'ang pi-chi* version, but it is better than the latter in textual collations. Chin did not indicate the original text on which his printing was based; he only mentioned that the original text was in his family library and was not available elsewhere.¹⁷ In 1922, the four-*chüan Ju-Shu chi* of the *Pao-yen t'ang Pi-chi* was printed by a lithographic process and punctuated with sentence stops by the Wen-ming Book Company 文明書局 in Shanghai.¹⁸

A complete edition of the *Ju-Shu chi* in six *chüan*, separate from the *Wei-nan wen-chi*, appeared at the latest in the mid-seventeenth century. The famous bibliophile and collector Ch'ien Ts'eng 錢曾 (1629-1701) discussed the outstanding features of the *Ju-Shu chi* in his celebrated *Tu-shu min-ch'iu chi* 讀書敏求記 (Bibliographical Notes on Rare Books Read)

17. Printed in Tang-t'u 當塗 (modern Tang-t'u, Anhui), in six *ts'e*. The *Ju-Shu chi* is in Vols. 3-4. See Chin's preface to the series on pages 1a-1b in *ts'e* 1. Chin also reprinted the annotation of the *Ju-Shu chi* in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* at the beginning of the *Ju-Shu chi* (pp. 1a-5b).

18. *Pao-yen t'ang pi-chi*, 48 *ts'e*, printed by Wen-ming Shu-chü, Shanghai, 1922. The *Ju-Shu chi* is in the 17th *ts'e*. The Yee Wen (I-wen) Publishing Company 藝文印書館 of Taipei reproduced photographically the original *Pao-yen t'ang pi-chi* in 242 *ts'e* in 1965, but the *Ju-Shu chi* (along with fifty-four other titles) is not included.

and marked the *Ju-Shu chi* in his collection as having six *chüan*.¹⁹ He did not indicate whether the *Ju-Shu chi* in his library was a printed copy or a hand-written copy. But it must definitely have been a manuscript copy, because if it had been a printed copy he would have indicated this, according to his usual practice.

A printed edition of the *Ju-Shu chi* in six *chüan*, from an old hand-written copy, appeared in 1776, published by Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷博 (1728-1814) as part of his collectanea *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書 (Collectanea of the Chih-Pu-tsu Studio), which included the rarest editions and manuscripts of books in his possession.²⁰

During the period 1773-1782, a hand-written copy of the *Ju-Shu chi* from the private collection of Lu Hsi-hsiung 陸錫熊 (1734-1792), a native of Shanghai, was selected to be copied into the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*.²¹

Up to the nineteenth century it seems that the *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* edition of the *Ju-Shu chi* was the only good printed edition of the full six-*chüan* version in China.²² In 1882, the *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* was reprinted by the Yun-lin hsien-kuan 芸林仙館 of Ling-nan 嶺南 (Canton).²³ In 1914, the Chin-pu Book Company 進步書局 of Shanghai printed by lithographic process and with punctuation marks the six-*chüan*

19. Ch'ien Tseng, *Tu-shu min-ch'iu chi* (completed in about 1684, first printed 1726), in *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien*, p. 62. Ch'ien Tseng might have obtained his copy of the *Ju-shu chi* from Ch'ien Ch'ien-i's Chiang-yun lou since he became the recipient of some of the rare editions that escaped the catastrophic fire of the Chiang-yun lou in 1650. If this is the case, a separate 6-*chüan* hand-written copy of the *Ju-Shu chi* must have been in circulation in about 1643. Compare the entries of the *Ju-Shu chi* in the *Chiang-yun lou shu-mu* (p. 31) and the *Yü-shan Ch'ien Tsung-wang ts'ang-shu mu-lu hui-pien* (p. 87).

20. *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu*, 201 titles, in 240 *ts'e* in 30 cases, printed by Pao T'ing-po in She-hsien 歙縣 in 1776[2]-1814 [-1823]. *Ju-Shu chi* is in Vol. 17.

21. Chi Yun *et al.*, *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao*, p. 1292.

22. A reprint of the *Ju-Shu chi* in six *chüan* from the *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* also appeared in Japan as early as in the third year of the Tenmei 天明 era (1781-1788). See Katsura Isorō 桂五十郎, *Kanseki kaidai* 漢籍解題 (Tokyo, 1905), p. 625; Hara Shigeo 原茲郎, annot. and trans., *Nyū Shokki shōkai* 入蜀記詳解 (Tokyo, 1913), Preface, p. 1.

23. The Yun-lin hsien-kuan reprint of the *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* has 201 titles in 30 cases.

Ju-Shu chi in its monumental modern collectanea *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan* 筆記小說大觀 (Complete Collection of Desultory Notes and Writings).²⁴ The edition on which the reprinting was based was not specified, but it seems certain that it followed the *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* edition. In 1921, the *Chih-pu-tsu chai* edition of the six-*chüan* *Ju-Shu chi* was also photomechanically reproduced by the Ku-shu liu-t'ung ch'u 古書流通處 of Shanghai.²⁵ In 1936, the *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* edition was printed from modern metal type and punctuated with sentence stops by the Commercial Press in Shanghai as part of the largest modern collectanea *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien* 叢書集成初編 (Complete Collection of Collectanea, First Series).²⁶ Until recent times, the last three editions of the *Ju-Shu chi* were the only modern complete six-*chüan*, punctuated, and printed editions of the book that were not part of the *Wei-nan wen-chi*.

In 1960-1962, and again in 1973, the Hsin-hsing Book Company 新興書局 of Taipei photoreprinted *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan*, thus making the *Ju-Shu chi* available in another reprint.²⁷ In 1966, the original *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* was photoreprinted by the Yee Wen Publishing Company in Taipei, and the *Ju-shu chi* was reproduced as it was in the original

24. The *Pi-chi hsiao-sho ta-kuan* contains 232 titles in 280 *ts'e* of stitched binding, in eight series; the *Ju-Shu chi* is published in the fourth series. (In its pocket edition, the *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan* has 500 *ts'e*, in 48 cases. The *Ju-Shu chi* is in the 205th *ts'e*.) The original text on which this reprint is based is not indicated, but on the basis of its textual structure, such as Pa-ts'e 八測 instead of Pa-ch'ih 八尺 in 6.8, *Erh-ch'ih* 二尺 instead of *San-ch'ih* 三尺 in 7.28, and so forth, it is clear that its original text is the *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* edition.

25. *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu*, 240 *ts'e* in 30 cases, printed by Ku-shu liu-t'ung ch'u of Shanghai in 1921. The *Ju-shu chi* is in Vol. 17.

26. In Volume 3190 of the *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien* (4,100 vols.; Shanghai, 1935-1937), total 58 pages.

27. The Hsin-hsing reprint of the *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan* is in two series. The first series (*cheng-pien* 正編), containing 151 titles, was printed in 10 volumes in 1960, and the second series (*hsü-pien* 續編), containing 81 titles, was printed in 25 *ts'e* (paperback) in 1962. The order of titles of the original of 1914 was rearranged in the reprint. Both series were again reprinted in 1973. *Ju-Shu chi* is in Vol. 9 of the second series, pages 2179-2197 in the new pagination of the reprint.

set.²⁸

We have thus far traced the transmission of the text of *Ju-Shu chi* both as part of the *Wei-nan wen-chi* and as a separate book. The following chronology of the development sums up the basic details of our discussion (again JSC for *Ju-Shu chi* and WNWC for *Wei-nan wen-chi*):²⁹

1210 A. D.	Lu Yu died on January 26; compiled WNWC (50 <i>chüan</i>) before death.
1220	First printed edition of WNWC (50 <i>chüan</i>), JSC in <i>chüan</i> 43-48.
Yüan (1280-1368)	Reprint of WNWC, including JSC.
1502	Hua Movable-type edition of WNWC, JSC in <i>Chüan</i> 43-48.
1513	Wang Ta-chang edition of WNWC in 52 <i>chüan</i> , excluding JSC.
1602	4- <i>chüan</i> hand-copied text of JSC first recorded.
1615	First 4- <i>chüan</i> printed edition of JSC, in <i>Pao-yen t'ang pi-chi</i> .
1620's	Chi-ku ko block-print edition of WNWC, JSC in <i>chüan</i> 43-48.
17th century	6- <i>chüan</i> hand-copied JSC as a separate book first recorded by Ch'ien Ts'eng in the mid-1600s.
1776	First 6- <i>chüan</i> printed edition of JSC, in <i>Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu</i> .

28. *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu*, 280 vols., Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1966. *Ju-Shu chi* is in Vol. 21.

29. All excerpts from and incomplete editions of the *Ju-Shu chi* have been excluded from this analysis because they added nothing to our knowledge of the text of the *Ju-Shu chi* and were generally of inferior textual quality. But they are listed in the bibliography of *Ju-Shu chi* at the end of my book, *South China in the Twelfth Century*.

- 1773-1782 6-*chüan* edition of JSC copied into *Ssu-k'ü ch'üan-shu*.
- 1813 4-*chüan* JSC printed in *I-ching t'ang ts'ang-shu*.
- 1882 The 6-*chüan* JSC reprinted in the Yun-lin hsien-kuan reprint of *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu*.
- 1914 Lithographic reprint with punctuation marks of 6-*chüan* JSC from the *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* edition in *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan*.
- 1919-1920 Photoreprint of the Hua movable-type edition of WNWC in *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*, JSC in *Chüan* 43-48.
- 1921 Photoreprint of *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu*, including JSC.
- 1922 Photoreprint of *Pao-yen-t'ang pi-chi*, including JSC, with sentence stops.
- 1927 Reprint from modern metal type of the Chi-ku ko edition of WNWC in *Ssu-pu pei-yao*, JSC in *Chüan* 43-48.
- 1931 Reprint from modern type, with punctuation marks and in modern binding, of the Chi-ku ko edition of WNWC in *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu*, including JSC in Vol. 5.
- 1936 Reprint from modern type, with punctuation marks, and in modern binding, of the Chi-ku ko edition of WNWC by Kuo-hsüeh cheng-li she. New pagination. JSC in Vol. I, pp. 264-298.
- 1936 Reprint from modern type, with punctua-

- tion marks and in modern binding, of 6-
chüan JSC from *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu*
in *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien*.
- 1961 Kuo-hsüeh cheng-li she edition of WNWC
reprinted in Taipei; JSC, pp. 264-298.
- 1962 *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan* edition of JSC
photoreprinted in Taipei, in *Ta-kuan's*
Second Series, pp. 2179-2197.
- 1965-1966 Photoreprint of *Ssu-pu pei-yao* in modern
binding in Taipei, including WNWC and JSC.
- 1966 Photoreprint of *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu*
in Taipei, including JSC.
- 1968 Reprint of *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* in
Taipei, including WNWC and JSC.

In the evaluation of all the editions and reprints discussed above, several notable points have emerged. First, the *Ju-Shu chi* was originally included as part of the *Wei-nan wen-chi*, and all currently available copies of the book in this form came from two mother texts, the Hua Movable-type edition and the Chi-ku ko edition, with the majority following the latter. Second, among the editions of the *Ju-Shu chi* separate from the *Wei-nan wen-chi*, there are two formats, one in four *chüan* and one in six *chüan*. While the origin of the six-*chuan* format is quite clear, that of the four-*chüan* format is unknown. As a separate edition, the four-*chüan* format was recorded earlier than that of the six-*chüan* format, probably as early as 1602. Third, oddly enough, in China the *Ju-Shu chi* has never been printed in the format of a separate single book; it has always been included in the *Wei-nan wen-chi* or in a collectanea.³⁰ Fourth, all the

30. The *Ju-Shu chi* was printed in a single book format in Japan, however. Besides the one already mentioned above in note 22 and another one printed in 1794, two others are also available. They are Ōtsuki Tōyō 大瀧東陽, *Nyū Shokki chūshaku* 入蜀記註釋 (Tokyo, 1881; reprinted 1893); and Hara Shigeo, *Nyū Shokki shōkai* (Tokyo, 1913; reprinted later under the title *Nyū Shokki chūkai* 入蜀記註解 without giving the name of annotator-translator

currently available prints of the *Ju-Shu chi* can be divided into two broad categories: unpunctuated text in stitched bindings and punctuated in a stitched or modern binding. In terms of textual quality, the *Ssu-pu pei-yao* edition is the best of all; the *Chih-pu-tsu chai* edition is the second best among the unpunctuated texts, and the *T'sung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien* stands as best among the punctuated editions. The worst text in the unpunctuated category is the Hua movable-type edition (and its photoreprint, the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-kan* edition), and in the punctuated category, the *Pao-yen t'ang pi-chi* edition. Thus, on the whole, the textual quality of the unpunctuated texts in stitched binding is higher than that of the punctuated texts.³¹

POSTSCRIPT

A year after the completion of the present study, in 1976 (actually 1977) the Chung-hua Book Company of Peking printed, with types in simplified characters, a punctuated edition of Lu Yu's complete works, entitled *Lu Yu chi* 陸游集 (in five volumes in modern binding). The *Ju-Shu chi* is included in the *Wei-nan wen-chi* (Vol. 5, *Chüan* 43-48, pp. 2406-2459). The text of the *Wei-nan wen-chi* is based on the original Lu

or the date and place of publication). The former is a printed edition with punctuation marks and annotations on the upper margin of a page; the latter includes both complete Japanese translation of the *Ju-Shu chi*, with limited annotations, and the complete text of *Ju-shu chi* in printed, punctuated form. The *Ju-shu chi* in both volumes, however, is of much inferior textual quality, containing numerous and sometimes unthinkable errors.

31. Technical details of textual variations and corruptions are discussed in my translation of the *Ju-shu chi* under appropriate entries. In writing this chapter, I have consulted a large number of bibliographical studies and catalogues of rare books, but only a limited number of them can appropriately be cited in the footnotes; others are listed in the bibliography at the end of the book. If all of them were listed here, the writing would lose its balance and its main points of emphasis and significance. It must also be noted that one or two recent reprints of Lu Yu's complete works (*Ju-Shu chi* included) in Taiwan have been excluded from this textual discussion because they are careless reprints of the editions or reprints discussed above, issued for a quick profit; they add nothing to our textual knowledge of the *Ju-Shu chi*.

Tzu-yü edition, but it is also collated with the Hua movable-type and Chi-ku Ko editions.

A careful comparison shows that the *Ju-Shu chi* in this new collection is not at variance with the version I have followed in my translation. In fact, it actually confirms all the changes that I have suggested for my text.*

* A more detailed discussion of these points is presented in the Chinese abstract of the present essay.

陸游入蜀記之價值 與其成書、流傳、及版本之研究

(中 文 摘 要)

張 春 樹

陸游（西曆一一二五年至一二一〇年）之入蜀記共六卷（或作四卷），起自南宋高宗乾道六年閏五月十八日（西曆一一七〇年七月三日）至同年十月二十七日（西曆一一七〇年十二月六日），外加開頭之乾道五年十二月六日（西曆一一六九年十二月二十五日）一則說明他得報差爲夔州（治在今四川奉節）通判，但因方久病未堪遠行，乃改爲明年夏初赴任。全記包括一百五十七日（其中有四日〔五月二十七日與三十日，六月二十一日與二十四日〕未寫，另有三日〔五月二十二日至二十四日〕合爲一日），爲現存我國早期日記中最長者（亡佚與殘存者，非國人所寫者不計），也是最具特別風格與價值之日記之一。

陸放翁的行程是先從他的家鄉山陰（今浙江、紹興）至南宋首都臨安（今浙江杭州），再沿運河北上至鎮江，然後再沿長江西上至夔州，全程共歷約五千二百多里。陸氏爲南宋著名之文學家、史學家、歷史地理學家、與政治家，因此透過他銳敏之筆對所經之地詳作政治上的、文學上的、史學上的、歷史地理學上的、經濟上的、軍事上的、風俗上的、與山川景物方面上的種種的描述、觀察及評論。所記實爲十二世紀末葉南宋帝國之一幅素描，而帝國所有之種種問題與困難以及政治、經濟和軍事上之癥結所在，亦因陸氏之常以愛國詩人之感情而撫今懷昔作銳敏之觀察與評論而活現於紙上，故入蜀記除在文學上有其特殊價值外，實爲一研究南宋之最有價值之材料之一。

作者曾寫成十二世紀之南宋帝國一書，共二部，第一部爲入蜀記之英譯與詳細研究，第二部爲就入蜀記、有關陸游之資料、與其他相關之南宋資料對十二世紀末之南

宋帝國作一綜合研究。本文爲此書第一部之一小節，旨在討論入蜀記之成書年代，出版情形，自宋歷元、明、清以至民國間之最重要與關鍵性之版本及其特點，日記四卷本與六卷本之分別和長短，所論多爲考證一類，爲析明大問題之一小細節。

本文作成於一九七六年春，至一九七七年中華書局在一九七六年十一月所印之新刊陸游集（共五冊）始流布海外，故本文未能將此一新本列入研究。細察此一新本，入蜀記六卷仍在渭南文集之四十三卷至四十八卷中（第五冊，頁二四〇六至二四五九），全文已加標點，但無人名、地名號，亦無考證校勘記，在行文上此本與本人所定之英譯本所本行文無異。又據中華書局編輯部所寫之「出版說明」，陸游集中之渭南文集是據北京圖書館所藏之宋嘉定十三年（西曆一二二〇年）陸子適在溧陽縣（今江蘇、溧陽縣）之原刊本作底本，用明活字本和汲古閣刻本作了校補的，因將本人所論入蜀記各關鍵點之行文（請見英文原文之註九與二十四）在此新本中之寫法列表如下以爲比較：

<u>卷 數</u>			<u>日 子</u>	<u>行 文</u>	<u>頁 數</u>
<u>序次</u>	<u>渭南文集</u>				
1.	一	四 十 三	六 月 五 日	陸 意	二四〇八
2.	一	四 十 三	六 月 八 日	八 尺	二四〇九
3.	三	四 十 五	七月二十四日	青 溪	二四二八
4.	三	四 十 五	七月二十八日	三 尺	二四三〇

由此表觀之，「陸意、八尺、青溪、三尺」一系列應爲原刊本之行文，其他作「陸歆香、八測、清溪、二尺」者乃後世複刊時之衍異。這點可補證本人在文中所作之論斷，故特補述於此。