

“The Private Chinese Library as Contact Zone: The Little Mountain Hall Collection as Case Study”

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The late imperial Chinese private library, more often than not, was found within the walls of a secluded garden in one or other of the urban centres of Jiangnan. As part of a larger project on the history of the private library in China and through a reading of the available documentary evidence, this paper discusses the vicissitudes of one particular book collection, that of the Qi family of Shanyin, as items from this library made their way from Qi Biaoja's (1602-1645) Library of the Eight Principles of Book Acquisition in his Allegory Mountain into that of Zhao Yu (1689-1747) in Hangzhou, his Little Mountain Hall in the Garden of the Spring Grasses.

In doing so, I propose a reading of the private libraries and gardens of the Qing dynasty (1368-1644) as critical “contact zones” wherein the newly installed (and foreign) ruling Manchu elite sought to adopt and appropriate Han literary and artistic culture, and where, occasionally, as in this case, the Han Chinese elite resisted such processes. Methodologically, I will seek to bring into dialogue the disciplines of book history and garden history.

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Research into both the design features and the histories of the private gardens and libraries of late-imperial China faces a number of grave historiographical challenges.

Crucially, in terms of the object of this research, only a very small number of the many such cultural institutions that were once such a pronounced feature of the Jiangnan 江南 urban and rural landscape in particular have survived the ravages of time, none of which, in the case of gardens, have remained in continuous use as a garden space attached to a family residence, or, in the case of libraries, have maintained their book collections. Further, in physical terms, as has been pointed out by a number of scholars, such have been the transitions of style over time that the few remaining in use today as gardens (usually now both open to the public and in government ownership) have undergone that they are largely unreliable as the starting point for any detailed analysis of the gardens or library buildings of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), let alone earlier periods.¹ Thinking for the moment only about gardens and in contrast to traditions of garden making elsewhere, the vast bulk of the written or visual sources that we have available to us in the Chinese case upon which to base our understandings of these gardens are literary and artistic responses to particular occasions within those gardens on the part of owners and their invited (and occasionally, uninvited) guests. Such representations observe particular and changing conventions, whilst being also enmeshed in well-established and timeless networks of reference and allusion. Sadly, in the Chinese instance, the designers of these gardens, even more so those who built and cared for the rocks, the buildings, and the plants that they contained, maintain an almost absolute silence.² In order to learn to ‘read’ ‘correctly’ the conceits of contrast and harmony, of depth and variation, of movement and stillness, of metaphorical condensation (the extent to which the garden was a miniaturised cosmos) and metonymical extension (the extent to which the garden itself partook of the grandeur of that cosmos), found embodied in particular gardens at specific moments of time, we have recourse largely only to these texts, paintings, and woodblock illustrations.

¹ See, in English, for example, Alison Hardie, “The Transition in Garden Style in Late-Ming China”, in Tanaka Tan, ed., *Report of International Symposium: Landscape Architecture and Living Space in the Chinese Tradition* (Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 2013), pp. 41-58; in Chinese, see Gu Kai 顧凱, “Chongxin renshi jiangnan yuanlin: zaoqi chayi yu wan ming zhuanzhe” 重新認識江南園林：早期差異與晚明轉折 [New Understandings of Jiangnan Gardens: Early Difference and Late-Ming Transitions], *Jianzhu xuebao* 建築學報 [Architectural Journal], S1, 2009: 106-110. In very general terms, the gardens that one can visit today in Suzhou, for instance, are 1980s-90s restorations of 1880 versions of the gardens of the 1780s.

² The single and critical exception to this circumstance is Ji Cheng’s 計成 (1582-ca. 1642) *The Craft of Gardens* (*Yuanye* 園治), completed sometime between 1631-34 and published soon thereafter. Perhaps as a result of the unsavoury reputation of the author of one of its prefaces (Ruan Dacheng 阮大鍼; ca. 1587-1646), a close associate of one of China’s most hated eunuchs and on whom, see A.W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period, 1644-1912* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943) [hereafter, *ECCP*], pp. 398-99), the text quickly sank into total obscurity until it was rediscovered in Japan in the early 1900s. It was republished in China in 1931, since which time it has acquired iconic status.

Equally, attempts to reconstruct the cultural, artistic, intellectual, and social role of the private garden (*yuanlin* 園林) in late imperial China, and the libraries (*cangshulou* 藏書樓) that they inevitably enclosed, are also dependent largely on this same set of texts or pictorial representations. In this paper and on the basis of a reading of a number of such texts, I argue that far from constituting sites for “idle retreat” (*xianju* 閑居) in the case of gardens or places where books were simply “hoarded” (*cang* 藏), the late-imperial garden and library should in fact best be understood as vital institutions of scholarship and learning, and as critical sites for artistic endeavours of all kinds. The quintessential embodiments of the cultural prestige of their owners, their collections (of both plants, and of writings both printed and in manuscript, paintings, calligraphy, rubbings, antiques of every kind) served to attract within their gates scholars needing access to specific texts or objects or specimens unavailable to them elsewhere. As sites, they enabled various forms of intellectual and artistic or cultural work, and facilitated the sharing and discussion of ideas.³

The intersecting histories of these gardens and libraries need always to be very precisely situated in the particular trajectories of localized social history. They need also to be understood in relation to specifically Chinese conceptions of knowledge that, traditionally, embodied an abiding reluctance to disaggregate thought from action, the literary from the scholarly, the beautiful from the practical and morally useful. As epistemological communities, it was these libraries and gardens that, in the words of Peter Burke, “...facilitated interaction between men of affairs and men of learning, between gentlemen and craftsmen, between the field and the study.” Such “forms of sociability” (to quote Burke again) had profound influence over both the distribution of knowledge and its production. (p. 56) In the historical ecology of knowledge in the Chinese world, then, the library in the garden provided the favourable circumstances for

³ In particular, the nexus between the library and the garden, the book and nature, in China is a large if largely under-researched topic. For present purposes, I would simply remark that no major traditional library in China, private, imperial, or institutional, was without some element of garden landscaping, large or small, particularly (and only partly for practical fire-fighting purposes) a water feature. When a scholar was too poor to have an actual garden surround his study with its collection of books, he would nonetheless seek to bring the garden into that study, metaphorically by means of the objects placed on his desk, such as a brush-rest in the shape of a mountain, inksticks decorated with garden scenes or sprays of *prunus* blossom, and so on, or in physical form through the use of display stones and potted plants. In his *A Mirror of Flowers*, Chen Haozi 陳漢子 (fl. 1688) deals with this last feature of a Chinese study in a section entitled “The Method of Borrowing Scenery by Means of Plants Cultivated in Pots” (“Zhong pen qu jing fa” 種盆取景法). In a section entitled “The Gifts of a Flower Garden” (“Huayuan zigong” 花園自供) of the same work, Chen lists “Natural Utensils” (天然具), “Spontaneous Music” (自來音), “The Voices of the Myriad Birds” (百禽言), “The Brew of the Myriad Flowers” (百花釀), and “Natural Letter Writing Paper” (天然牋), as being the products of a garden that serve the purpose of the scholar in his library. For which, see *Hua jing* 花鏡 (1688; rpt. Beijing: Nongye chubanshe, 1962), pp. 68-69, and 85-88, respectively.

the collection, production, analysis, and dissemination of particular forms of knowledge, both new and old.⁴

Peter Burke also speaks of the frontiers between disciplines as a “cultural ‘contact zone’ rather than as some kind of Great Wall.”⁵ Mary Louise Pratt’s coinage of the term in her 1991 essay refers to “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power.” In responding to these insights and challenges, I focus my attention in this paper upon one library within one particular garden: that assembled by Zhao Yu 趙昱 (1689-1747) in Hangzhou over the course of the thirty years between the first decade of the eighteenth century until his death in 1747 and housed in his Little Mountain Hall (Xiaoshan tang 小山堂) in the Garden of the Spring Grasses (Chuncao yuan 春草園). In what remains the best English-language discussion of the workings of private libraries in China, Nancy Lee Swann’s “Seven Intimate Library Owners”, we are given the following description of this and a number of associated and interconnected Hangzhou libraries:

⁴ On the development of traditional Chinese botanical knowledge, in particular, one can think of the assembling of libraries within gardens as constituting something by way of what Pamela Long has labelled “trading zones”, sites where “the unskilled learned and skilled practitioners exchanged substantive knowledge”. Pamela O. Long, *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400-1600* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2011), p. 8. Ji Cheng implies as much in the opening lines of his *The Craft of Gardens*: “Whenever construction is undertaken in this age and attention is paid only to the assembling of the artisans required for the task, such a procedure ignores the wisdom of the old saying that: ‘Three-tenths of the work is down to the artisan, seven-tenths to the master’, the master referred to here not being necessarily the owner of the property but rather the one who can master the project at hand” (世之興造專主鳩匠獨不聞三分匠七分主人之諺乎非主人也能主之人), for which, see *Yuanye zhubi* 園冶注釋 [*The Craft of Gardens: Annotated*] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1981), p. 41. For a recent magisterial treatment of pre-modern Chinese botanical exploration, see Georges Métaillé (translated by Janet Lloyd), *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 6: Biology and Biological Technology: Part IV: Traditional Botany: An Ethnobotanical Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). The extent to which the siting of libraries within gardens served as a constant reminder to scholars sitting at their desks of the eternal rhythms of nature and the passage of the seasons can be gained from the “Method for the Correct Positioning of the Plants Cultivated in One’s Garden” (“Zhong zhi weizhi fa” 種植位置法) section of Chen Haozi’s *A Mirror of Flowers*, the final sentences of which read: “In general terms, then, and extrapolating from these specific examples, one may say that all the multifarious and ingenious methods for combining plants in their appropriate places respond to the size of the plants concerned, are in keeping with the different blooming times of the various flowers, and seek to match the shades of their colours. Although medicinal shoots and wild herbs, too, can certainly serve to adorn a garden, and enhance whatever inadequacies it may have, nonetheless, it is only a garden within which flowers are in bloom throughout all four seasons of the year that may deserve the accolade “famous”, and thus lend great lustre to the reputation of its owner” (總由此而推廣之因其質之高下隨其花之時候配其色之淺深多方巧搭雖藥苗野卉皆可點綴姿容以補園林之不足使四時有不謝之花方不愧名園二字大為主人生色), for which, *Hua jing*, p. 45.

⁵ Peter Burke, “A Social History of Knowledge Revisited,” *Modern Intellectual History*, 4.3 (2007): 521-525 (quotation, p. 523).

Within reasonably short distances of each other...seven bibliophiles were contemporaneously building up their private libraries. Without any known formal organisation, they were carrying on a private practice of inter-library loan. They were discussing methods of preservation of their books from the ravages of insects and under existing atmospheric conditions. They were vying one with another in poetical compositions as well as in scholarly research. They were borrowing from each other rare books, whether in manuscript or in print, which they as individuals did not possess. They had the privilege of exchanging their textual criticisms as well as copying for their own libraries such of these rare books as they desired to add to their holdings. Some of them edited and published in their libraries not only their own compositions, studies, and researches, but also reprints of rare texts which otherwise would probably not have been made accessible to scholars of their own and perhaps later generations.⁶

Both the Little Mountain Hall itself (many of the books from which eventually found their way into China's earliest public library, the Jiangnan Library (Jiangsu tushuguan 江蘇圖書館) established by the eminent Manchu official and reformer Duanfang 端方 (1861-1911) in 1907, and thereafter, into Nanjing Library) and the Garden of the Spring Grasses are of great intrinsic interest. The garden, for instance, is a supreme example of what can be considered a "writerly" garden, where the texts inscribed within the garden itself, and those generated by the garden over time, seem to outweigh completely the design features of the garden itself; Zhao Yu's own account of the garden, for instance, provides almost no visual description of it and a sense of the "feel" of the garden can only be gained through a "reading" of the various allusions conjured into existence by the names of the various parts of the garden as it once was. Little Mountain Hall, for its part, has a role in the story of the afterlife of one extraordinary book collection. And what lends both library and garden an especial level of interest is the particular moment of both the breakup of the library and the disappearance of the garden. By 1773, and the initiation of the Qianlong emperor's extravagant Four Treasuries (Siku quanshu 四庫

⁶ Nancy Lee Swan, "Seven Intimate Library Owners," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1936): 366.

全書) bibliographical project,⁷ neither the library nor the garden existed any longer. In historiographical terms, just as we cannot think about the history of the book in China without recognising that this history reached a point of development with this project that served both as a summation of previous trends and a determinate of trends and understanding ever since, so too can we not think about the design and meaning of the gardens of China without paying particular attention to the impact of this emperor's Southern Tours on the gardens of China (both south and north) as they are now either restored or recreated. After the conquest of the Ming dynasty by the Qing, a process that lasted for some 50 years but which is conventionally dated to the occupation of the capital of Beijing by the Manchu army in 1644, it was in the gardens and libraries of Jiangnan in particular that the Manchus ruling elite engaged intensively with Chinese scholarly and artistic traditions, where they became so well acculturated that, as contact zones, these sites allowed for such levels of the appropriation of high culture on their part that the Manchu are now held to have become the quintessential embodiments of Chineseness.⁸ But this particular Age of Great Prosperity (*shengshi* 盛世), as the half-century of the late years of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736-1795) and of the Jiaqing emperor (1796-1820) have come to be regarded, has evoked widely conflicting opinions; does it represent a blossoming of scholarly and literary traditions, as the result of prolonged peace and prosperity, or is it a dark age of repression that precedes a final decline of the traditions of the past in China? Speaking of the late years of the long reign of the Qianlong emperor in particular, R. Kent Guy asks "...whether they should be viewed as the last years of Qing greatness, or the first years of imperial decline. Was this the 'glorious Indian summer of Qing rule in China', a time when the Manchu's careful and on the whole successful governance of the Middle Kingdom brought forth fruit in the form of wealth and harmony? Or was it an era of crumbling facades, when surface prosperity barely concealed the realities of corruption and decline?" (p. 3). Guy characterises the Qianlong emperor himself as "pompous, posturing, and peripatetic". Shang Wei, for his part, has argued that: "The Qianlong reign has long been seen as both

⁷ R. Kent Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries: Scholars and the State in the Late Ch'ien-lung Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987).

⁸ For related aspects of this process, see especially Chapter Seven ("The Poetics & Politics of Qianlong's Encounter with Jiangnan") of Michael G. Chang, *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring & the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680-1785* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2007); Stephen H. Whiteman, "From Upper Camp to Mountain Estate: Recovering Historical Narratives in Qing Imperial Landscapes", *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 33.4 (2013): 249-279; and Chen Dandan, "The Drifting of the 'South' to Beijing: The Southern Factor in Beijing Culture of the Early Qing", *Journal of Chinese Humanities*, 2 (2016): 120-139.

the apex of accumulated prosperity and the beginning of the decline of the Qing dynasty—a superabundant age and one fraught with contradictions. From 1750 onward, literature itself became an endeavour of gigantic proportions that mirrored the empire in all its fertile and fateful complexity”.⁹ It is in this particular and complex context that we are best able to understand the extent to which the book collection that was housed in Little Mountain Hall was both a “contact zone” which at once enabled and symbolised the splendours of the age, whilst at the same time serving as a site of resistance to the prevailing asymmetries of power and authority.

We need now to visit the garden. Here, below, are extracts from Zhao Yu’s “A Short Account of the Garden of the Spring Grasses” (“Chuncao yuan xiao ji” 春草園小記):¹⁰

My brother and I inherited from our father a humble dwelling, situated to the northeast of the Chu Family Embankment (褚家塘); that is, the property is to be found along what in ancient times was the Street of the Jasper Flower (瓊花街). Here we lived together caring for our elderly mother and surrounded by sons and daughters-in-law, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, as we cleaved to the family vocation of scholarship. Standing off to the western side of the dwelling is a small garden, approximately five or so *mu* in size,¹¹ designed many years ago by our father. This had been where he lived as he sought to recover from his illness. Later on, my brother and I had minor renovations made to the garden, naming it the Garden of the Spring Grasses. The name alludes to the filial connotations of a couplet from the Tang poet Meng Jiao’s 孟郊 (751-814) poem “Wanderer’s Song” (“Youzi yin” 游子吟) that goes: “Who will say that the inch of grass in his heart,/ Is gratitude enough for all the sunshine

⁹ “The Literati era and its demise (1723-1840)”, Kang-I Sun Chang and Stephen Owen, *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature: Volume II: From 1375* (2010), pp. 245-342, this quotation p. 247.

¹⁰ For which, see Chen Zhi 陳植 and Zhang Gongchi 張公弛, *Zhongguo lidai mingyuan ji xuanzhu* 中國歷代名園記選注 [Accounts of Famous Chinese Garden: Selected and Annotated] (Hefei: Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 1983), pp. 340-358.

¹¹ Under the Qing, 1 *mu* equated to 614 square metres, this small garden was slightly over three quarters of an acre in size.

of spring?”¹² but hopes also to imply the brotherly love that is embodied in Xie Lingyun’s 謝靈運 (385-433) poem “Climbing an Upper Story by the Pool” (“Deng chishang lou” 登池上樓).¹³ The various ponds, studios, terraces, and gazebos of the garden, the bamboo screens and medicinal herb garden that it contains, were all sited in accordance the configurations of the land, their meanings thus finding instantiation in the material world (因地位置即物寄意), as is recorded below in a manner that can be perused at a single sitting. Although the garden stands in close proximity to the town, nonetheless, with its morning mists and moonlit evenings, its gatherings of friends with cup and lute, it seems as if it inheres the afflatus of a realm quite beyond the dust of the human world. Here indeed one may loosen one’s belt and fold one’s arms, wandering alone its confines whenever the wish arises, relaxed and at ease, caring not a jot for what lies beyond. With a smile on my face I share with both family and friends the pleasures this garden offers; ignoring my own

¹² A.C. Graham, trans., *Poems of the Late T’ang* (Penguin, 1965), p. 63. The full poem reads: “The thread in the hand of a kind mother/ Is the coat on the wanderer’s back./ Before he left she stitched it close/ In secret fear that he would be slow to return./ Who will say that the inch of grass in his heart/ Is gratitude enough for all the sunshine of spring?”

¹³ For which, see Stephen Owen, ed. & trans., *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1996), p. 321. The full poem reads: “A dragon, submerged, enhances sequestered charms,/ the swan in flight sends its voice echoing far./ Chagrined by one reaching the drifting cloud-wisps,/ shamed by the other, settled in stream’s deepest chasm./ My wisdom too awkward to rise by virtue;/ my strength that cannot bear retiring to plow./ Now to sea’s very edge in pursuit of income,/ I lie here ailing, facing barren woods./ Quilt and pillow have blinded me to seasons,/ now lifting the curtain, I briefly peer out?/ I turn my ear to hearken to waves,/ lift my eyes to catch sight of towering cliffs./ In this new scene are altered the lingering winds,/ fresh sunlight transfigures the shadows that were./ Pond and pool grow with grasses of spring,/ garden willows vary the birds that there sing./ Such bounty brings pain at the songs of Bin,/ lush growth touches thoughts of Ch’u’s lays./ Dwelling solitary easily to last long,/ apart from others, hard to steady the heart./ Holding fast to standards is not only of old—/ ‘Being free from distress’ is confirmed right now.” As Owen points out in his comments on this poem, the couplet in this poem (“Pond and pool...” 池塘生春草園柳變鳴禽) that provides the specific allusion for this garden is one that “...caught the imagination of many traditional critics as being particularly beautiful.” In his *An Evaluation of Poetry* (*Shipin* 詩品), Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (ca. 465-518) tells us that the couplet came to the poet in a dream of his cousin Xie Huilian 謝惠連 (407-433) and that he believed it to have been “divinely inspired” (此語有神助).

insignificance,¹⁴ Heaven blesses me with its beneficence and here I
make record of my daily visits to the gardens, as below.

Poetry Room of the Zhao Brothers (二林吟屋)

This structure is in fact the South Tower (南樓), and is also known as
Tower for Selecting Paintings (畫選樓); it is where I and my brother

¹⁴ Here, surely, is an echo of some lines towards the end of Li Qingzhao's 李清照 (1084-ca. 1151) extraordinary and moving account of the loss, as they fled from the warfare that marked the end of the Northern Song dynasty in 1132, of the collection (of books and antiques) that she and her husband had painstakingly put together, her "Epilogue" to the *Records on Metal and Stone* (*Jinshi lu: Houxu* 金石錄後序), a timeless warning of the dangers of becoming too attached to material things: "It must be that the passions of human nature cannot be forgotten, even standing between life and death. Or perhaps it is Heaven's will that beings as insignificant as ourselves are not fit to enjoy such superb creatures. Or perhaps the dead too have consciousness, and they still treasure such things and give them their devoted attention, unwilling to leave them in the world of the living. How hard they are to obtain and how easy to lose!" For a complete translation of this "Epilogue," see Stephen Owen, ed. & trans., *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, pp. 591-96 (this passage, p. 596). Owen adds the footnote: "'Superb creatures,' *yowwu* 尤物, here figuratively applied to books and antiques, usually refers to dangerously beautiful women, who inspire destructive passion in those attracted to them" (p. 596, Romanisation altered, Chinese characters added). Reflecting more generally upon the melancholy fate of collections, the Fujianese scholar Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛 (1567-1624; *DMB*, 1: 546-50), wrote: "It is generally the case that when objects of extraordinary beauty (*yowwu* 尤物) are gathered together in large numbers, such objects must then be dispersed. This law applies not just to commodities and wealth, for, in the end, even books and paintings and other *objet d'art*, however difficult they may have been to collect, will fall prey to the perils of flooding or of fire, or they will be caught up in the ravages of warfare or destroyed in the hands of unfilial sons or grandsons, or they will be seized by rich and powerful tyrants. The books of the Jiaye Library of the Sui dynasty [581-618], the antiquities of the Xuanhe Palace of the Song, the trees and the rocks of Li Deyu's 李德裕 [787-849] Peaceful Springs garden, and the engravings and epitaphs examined by Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠 [1081-1129], all of which collections required the wherewithal of the entire empire and the energy and spirit of a lifetime to assemble, to disappeared completely in the course of a single morning, leaving not a single object behind. How could the formation and destruction of collections not be a matter of fate, and are not such things those which the Creator of All Things (*zowwu* 造物) hates above all else! A thousand years later one is still consumed by regret at the loss of these collections; how much worse the suffering of those involved at the time!", *Wenhai pichao* 文海披抄, as cited in Xu Yan 徐雁 and Wang Yanjun 王燕均, eds., *Zhongguo lishi cangshu lunzhu duben* 中國歷史藏書論著讀本 [A Reader of Historical Materials on Chinese Book Collecting] (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1990), Vol. 1, p. 63. The *locus classicus* for the expression "object of extraordinary beauty" (*yowwu*) is a passage in the *Zuo zhuàn* 左傳 [Zuo Commentary] (28th Year of the reign of Duke Zhao 昭公) wherein a minister is warned off marrying a woman who has already "proved the death of three husbands, one ruler, and her son, and ruined a state, and two of its ministers" by his mother. In accordance with the traditional gloss of the expression as referring to a woman of great beauty, James Legge translates the relevant passage thus: "Those Strange Beings are sufficient to move men [from their principles]; and if virtue and righteousness are not maintained, calamity is sure to come" (夫有尤物足以移人苟非德義則必有禍), for which, see his *The Chinese Classics: Volume V: The Ch'un Ts'ew with The Tso Chuen* (1872; rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), Vol. 5, p. 727. For a discussion of the most celebrated later occurrence of this expression in Chinese literature, in Yuan Zhen's 元稹 (779-831) "Yingying zhuan" 鶯鶯傳 [Biography of Yingying], see Wai-ye Li, "Mixture of Genres and Motives for Fiction in 'Yingying's Story'", in Pauline Yu, Peter Bol, Stephen Owen, and Willard Peterson, eds., *Ways with Words: Writing about Reading Texts from Early China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 185-92. Zhao Yu's celebration of the splendour of both his garden and his library, then, is marked by a profound melancholy, in large part deriving, in my view, from his clear-sighted recognition of the likely fate of both once he was no longer alive to maintain them.

Xin 信 studied. In the past, Shen Jiache 沈嘉轍, Fu Ceng 符曾, and Yuan Nancha 袁南垞 all once taught here. During the *Guimao* and *Jiachen* years of the reign of the Yongzheng emperor (1723 and 1724), together we composed a collection of verses entitled *Miscellaneous Poems on Events During the Southern Song Dynasty* (*Nan Song zashì shì* 南宋雜事詩), with friends rallying around, to drink and to sing. Our book collection was stored upstairs, the name board having been written by Master Zha Shenxing 查慎行 (1650-1727).¹⁵ The library is also graced with a couplet by my late friend Wu Zhuo 吳焯 (d. 1733) that reads: “Spring grasses growing by pond and pool inspire fine lines,/ Brothers sitting amidst books and rubbings realise their unique talents.”

Little Mountain Hall (小山堂)

The calligraphy of the name board of this hall is respectfully modeled on the hand of the Song dynasty Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200). Several ancient sweet olive trees grow here in the courtyard, all of which are over a hundred years old; their bowed shapes cast the whole courtyard into dappled shadow. Master Fang Pushan 方樸山 of Chun'an wrote an account of the hall.

Pavilion of Carefreeness (曠亭)

The name board reading “Pavilion for Solitude” is an old one retrieved from the Carefree Garden (Kuangyuan 曠園) once owned by Qi family of Shanyin, and had been written by Wang Zhideng 王穉登

¹⁵ On the complicated life of this eminent poet and (occasional) official, see the biography of him by Fang Chao-ying in A.W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (hereafter, *ECCP*) (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 21-22.

(1535-1612) for the Prefect Qi Chenghan.¹⁶ Qi Chenghan was the father of the Censor Qi Biaojia, my mother's maternal grandfather. My mother once reminisced: "Long ago many were the famous people who peopled the gardens of Mei's Village, and the book collection of Tranquility Hall (澹生堂) numbered in the several tens of thousands of volumes, all of which were mysterious tomes only rarely seen in the world of men. The garden also contained the Eastern Book Hall (東書堂) where my Sixth and Seventh Uncles would host gatherings of their poetry and drinking societies, to which men famous throughout the empire would repair occasionally, sometimes bringing with them their sons and relatives to join in the merrymaking with the relatives and young daughters of the Qi, Shang, and Zhu clans. These events proved so famous that their reputation lingers on." Alas! The vicissitudes of extravagant robes, of hairpins, and of embroidered insignia are beyond prediction, and thinking about the past from the standpoint of the present makes it seem that one hardly inhabits the same world, however much one became accustomed to hearing tales of former days. I remember that when I first visited the Garden for Solitude, this pavilion stood resplendent, newly restored. On the occasion of my second visit there, the vines had begun to encroach upon the steps and daily the garden seems to be slipping into a state of dilapidation. When I visited the garden for a third time, the pavilion itself had disappeared completely. This name board I came across, discarded behind a wall. Fortunately, the effects of wind and rain had not yet served to efface it completely. Immediately I arranged with the old gardener for its purchase and removal here, with the intension of building a pavilion amidst the bamboo wherein it could again be hung.

¹⁶ On whom, see the biography by Lienche Tu Fang in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644* (New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1976) (hereafter, *DMB*), Vol. 1, pp. 216-220. For a biography of Qi Biaojia, see *ECCP*, p. 126. See also Joanna Handlin Smith, *The Art of Doing Good: Charity in Late Ming China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2009); Joanna F. Handlin Smith, "Gardens in Ch'i Piao-chia's Social World: Wealth and Values in Late-Ming Kiang nan", *Journal of Asian Studies*, 51.1 (1992): 55-81; Duncan Campbell, "Qi Biaojia's 'Footnotes to Allegory Mountain': Introduction and Translation", *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 19.3-4 (1999): 239-271; Duncan Campbell, "The Cultivation of Exile: Qi Biaojia and his Allegory Mountain", in Michael Hanne, ed., *Creativity in Exile* Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2004), pp. 255-269; and Duncan M. Campbell, "The Moral Value of the Book: Huang Zongxi in the Private Libraries of Late-Imperial China", *East Asian History*, 32/33 (Dec 2006/June 2007): 1-24.

When my mother saw it, again she wept bitterly, and said: "...It has been sixty years now since I quit my home and it has been many years also since I last heard news of the Qi family. The books that once formed part of their collection have been scattered, like the clouds and the mists driven by the wind; one hesitates even more to inquire of the fate of the garden itself. To see again this name board today is like seeing my uncles once more. How very fortunate that you came across it and brought it back here with you. Have a pavilion built to house it so that we may revere the fine example of our ancestors. This would bring the greatest satisfaction to my heart." I thereupon had my son draft this note, and asked the scholar Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705-1755)¹⁷ to write a record of the event.

Studio of Taking Pleasure in Idleness (樂無事齋)

An inscription on an ancient bronze mirror reads: "Taking pleasure in idleness, with daily delight, time for feasting and drinking."

Berthed Amidst the Flowers (泊花)

A small hut overlooking the river, surrounded by lotus flowers. The name board here was written by the painter Li Liufang 李流芳 (1575-1629).¹⁸

To educated contemporary readers of Zhao Yu's account, the expressions of resistance to Qing rule in China at the moment of their greatest power, by way of nostalgic and loyalist references to the Ming dynasty that the Qing had replaced in the 1640s, would have been unmistakable. For one thing, the book of poetry that Zhao Yu tells us that he and his friends worked on in the garden, *Miscellaneous Poems on Events During the Southern Song Dynasty*, mourns the loss of the Southern Song dynasty capital of Hangzhou to the Mongols as they occupied (with extreme violence) southern China and established the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368); by obvious historical analogy, Zhao Yu and his friends are also mourning southern China's loss once again, a short forty years or so before his

¹⁷ On whom, see Fang Chao-ying's biography of him in *ECCP*, pp. 203-205.

¹⁸ For his biography, see *DMB*, Vol. 1, pp. 838-839.

birth, to yet another group of “barbarian” invaders.¹⁹ For another, the story of the name board of the Pavilion for Solitude connects this garden and its library with the library assembled by a prominent late-Ming official (and his father), a man who in 1645 had chosen to commit suicide rather than accept the enticements of the new Manchu rulers.

Of all the private libraries established during the late imperial period, that assembled by Qi Chenghan 祁承燭 (1568-1628) in his Tranquility Hall *Tranquility Hall* (澹生堂) within his Carefree Garden (Kuangyuan 曠園) just out of Shanyin 山陰 in Zhejiang Province was perhaps the largest, comprising some 9000 titles in approximately 100,000 fascicles (*juan* 卷).²⁰ It proved a somewhat eclectic library with distinct strengths in the less highly regarded categories of fiction and drama. Remarkably, the Tranquility Hall collection, largely in place by 1613, replaced an earlier and, by all accounts, equally large collection housed in Qi’s Carried on a Wing Hall (Zaiyutang 載羽堂) that had been completely lost in a fire during the winter of 1597.²¹

Understandably, then, as a collector, Qi Chenghan seems to have been particularly obsessed with the issue of acquisition, his love for books, by his own account, predating even his ability to understand them.²² The building that his son Qi Biao 祁彪佳 (1602-45)²³ built in the mid-1630s to house the collection as part of his famous garden was very deliberately named to reflect this preoccupation—Tower of the

¹⁹ On this aspect of the garden and its library, see Yan Dichang 嚴迪昌 “Shei fan jiu shi zuo xinwen—Hangzhou Xiaoshantang Zhaoshi de ‘Kuangting’ qingjie yu *Nan Song zashu shi?*” 誰翻舊時作新聞—杭州小山堂趙氏的曠亭情結與《南宋雜事詩》 [Who is it that turns past events into news: The Zhao clan’s Pavilion of Carefreeness Complex of the Little Mountain Hall in Hangzhou and the *Miscellaneous Poems on Events During the Southern Song Dynasty*], *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產, 6 (2000): 48-59.

²⁰ On Qi Chenghan’s book collections and writings about book collecting, see Huang Shang 黃裳 (Rong Dingchang 容鼎昌), “Guanyu Qi Chenghan” 關於祁承燭, [On Qi Chenghan], *Yuxia zashuo* 榆下雜說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), pp. 1-9; and Xu Xin 徐昕, “Shilun Qi Chenghan de cangshu lilun yu shijian” 試論祁承燭的藏書理論與實踐 [A Preliminary Discussion of Qi Chenghan’s Theory and Practice of Book Collecting], in Huang Jianguo 黃建國 and Gao Yuexin 高躍新, eds., *Zhongguo gudai cangshulun yanjiu* 中國古代藏書樓研究 [Research into Ancient Chinese Private Libraries] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), pp. 246-57.

²¹ Qi Chenghan speaks of this catastrophe in his “Danshengtang cangshu yue” 澹生堂藏書約 [Covenant Governing the Usage of the Tranquility Hall Book Collection]: “One winter’s evening during the *Dingyou* year [1597], a young servant was careless with fire and not a single page remained of the books that I had both inherited from my father and those that I had devoted half a lifetime to buying. I sighed at the creator’s (*zao wuzhe* 造物者) apparently insatiable liking for trickery and illusion and the extent that such circumstances are designed simply to temper our characters”, in *Jingji huitong wai sizhong* 經籍會同外四種 (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe, 1999), p. 65.

²² *Jingji huitong wai sizhong*, p. 65.

²³ On this eminent figure, also himself a noted bibliophile, see both *DMB*, Vol. 1, pp. 216-20 and *ECCP*, p. 126.

Eight Principles of Book Acquisition (Baqiulou 八求樓)—and of the two sections of Qi Chenghan’s “Cangshu xunlue” 藏書訓略 [Summary Injunctions on the Collecting of Books], one (entitled “Goushu” 購書 [Buying Books]) is devoted entirely to the attributes necessary to this task: “...a broad outlook, a focused spirit, and a quick intelligence” (眼界欲寬精神欲注而心思欲巧).²⁴ In his celebrated “Danshengtang cangshu yue” 澹生堂藏書約 [Covenant Governing the Usage of the Tranquility Hall Book Collection], written in his Studio for Joyful Reading (Kuaiduzhai 快讀齋) and wherein he labels his books his “Ink Soldiers” (*mobing* 墨兵), after discussing his own lifetime’s obsession with books, he turns to his expectations for his descendants:²⁵

And so, I make this covenant with you all, in the following terms: In my lifetime, I will add to this collection on a monthly basis; your generation should add to it annually. Any son or grandson who shows himself able to read should be given sole possession of the collection; if none such can be found, then it should be transmitted and safeguarded collectively. No book that has been added to the shelves should ever again leave the library, and those that have been damaged by mice or bookworms should be repaired immediately. Any book that is picked up by a son or a grandson must be consulted and browsed (*jianyue* 檢閱) within the Hall itself and then returned promptly to the shelves. No book may be taken away to private quarters. Requests from friends or relatives to borrow books to look through can only be satisfied if a duplicate of the book exists, refused if not. In no circumstances are original volumes to leave the confines of Secret Garden. Depending upon the rate of increase in the size of the collection, the catalogue needs to be revised (*bianci* 編次) once every five years, if the rate has been rapid, every ten years if the rate of increase has been slow. The collection is never to be divided and never

²⁴ *Jingji huitong wai sizhong*, p. 76.

²⁵ According to Xu Yan, this covenant (some versions of which are dated 1613) was first appended to the “Danshengtang cangshu mu” 澹生堂藏書目 [Catalogue of the Tranquility Hall Book Collection] but was issued separately in 1616 and was later combined with Qi Chenghan’s “Gengshen zhengshu xiaoji” 庚申整書小紀 [A Brief Record of the Rearrangement of My Books in the Year 1620], for which see Wang Yuguang 王余光, ed., *Cangshu siji* 藏書四記 [Four Records of Book Collecting] (Wuhan: Hubei chubanshe, 1998), p. 359.

to be used to cover sauce jars,²⁶ never to revert to the clutches of a merchant—this is all that I wish.²⁷

By his own account, the famous Ming-loyalist scholar Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) made use of this library both before and after the dynasty's fall, as he makes clear in his discussion of it in his “Record of the Book Collection of the Pavilion of Heaven's Oneness” (“Tianyige cangshu ji” 天一閣藏書記):

Initially, the books that formed part of Master Qi Chenghan's Carefree Garden collection were stored (*ji* 度) at his home and were not often opened up for others to view (*fashi* 發視). Whenever I borrowed a book to look through, it would only be Master Qi's son Fengjia 鳳佳 who would know where to find all the scattered volumes of the work in question (*zhi qi shouwei* 知其首尾), seeking them out through reference to the catalogue (*mulu* 目錄) and producing what was needed in a moment's time. After the chaos, the collection was removed to the Monastery of the Deer Avatar (Hualusi 化鹿寺) but items from the collection were forever turning up in the marketplace. In the *Bingwu* year [1666] I entered the temple in the company of a book merchant

²⁶ An allusion to a remark that the Han dynasty librarian Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BC-23) made about the *Taixuan jing* 太玄經, as recorded in the *Han shu* 漢書 [History of the Han Dynasty]: “You torture yourself in vain! Present scholars have salary and profit but still do not understand the *Book of Changes*. What about the *Xuan*? I am afraid that later people will use it to cover sauce jars”, for which, see David R. Knechtges, “Uncovering the Sauce Jar: A Literary Interpretation of Yang Hsiung's ‘Chu Ch'in mei Hsin’”, in David T. Roy and Tsuen-hsui Tsien, eds., *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978), p. 252, Romanisation altered.

²⁷ *Jingji huitong wai sizhong*, p. 66. Towards the end of his covenant, Qi responds to a comment once made by the eminent literary figure Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-90; *DMB*, Vol. 2, pp.1399-1405) (“The book collections of those in the world who are assiduous in collecting but sparing in their reading seem pointless, even when they have collected all the books under heaven, just as does the reading of those in the world who are extravagant with their reading but sparing of the text they produce, even when they have read all the books under heaven”) in the following manner: “How could I possibly insist that you all become good at reading, and that this reading will in turn enrich your writing?” (pp. 66-67). A sense of the extent to which it was the collection itself that obsessed Qi, rather than the use to which the books it contained could be put, is also suggested by his “Book Collecting Motto” (*cangshuming* 藏書銘) which, according to a colophon provided by Miao Quansun 繆荃孫 (1844-1919), read: “The books here stored within Tranquility Hall will have all been examined and collated by the Master himself, as he labors day and night. So delighted do I become when reading them that I forget entirely the need to eat and drink, and even pawning my clothes in order to buy yet more books never satisfies my needs. Those who follow me will do well to remember this obsession of mine, and my sons and grandsons should strive to add to the collection, and certainly never allow it to suffer loss” (澹生堂中儲經籍主人手校無朝夕讀之欣然忘飲食典衣市書恆不給後人但念阿翁癖子孫益之永弗失) (pp. 90-91).

(*shugu* 書賈) and browsed through (*fanyue* 翻閱) the collection for three days and three nights continuously. I departed with ten bundles (*kun* 捆) of books, including almost 100 examples (*zhong* 種) of canonical exegesis (*jingxue* 經學) and 100 books (*ce* 冊) of fiction (*baiguan* 稗官) for none of the Song and Yuan dynasty collections once in the collection remained. On my way home, moreover, I was robbed by the book merchant of both Wei Shi's 衛湜 *Collected Explanations of the Book of Rites* (*Li ji jishuo* 禮記集說) and Wang Cheng's 王偁 *Digest of Events of the Eastern Capital* (*Dongdu shiliu* 東都事略). All that remains of the collection now are two large book cabinets (*chu* 櫥) full of examination related material (*juye jiangzhang* 舉業講章) and various provincial gazetteers.²⁸

What is not readily understood from Huang Zongxi's "Record" is the fact that after Qi Chenghan's death in 1628 but before the "chaos", this book collection had formed the core of the library assembled by his son Qi Biaoja. In his "Footnotes to Allegory Mountain" ("Yushan zhu" 寓山注), Qi Biaoja provides us with this description of (and justification for) his library:

Tower of the Eight Principles of Book Acquisition (Baqiu lou 八求樓)

Long ago, the great Song dynasty bibliophile Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 stipulated that there were eight principles to the Way of book collecting.²⁹ Firstly, one sought books according to category; secondly, by related category; thirdly, by region and fourthly by family; fifthly one sought books from collections in the public domain; sixthly, books in private hands; seventhly, one acquired books in terms of their authorship; and lastly, by dynastic provenance.

My esteemed father cleaved true to these precepts throughout his life and through exhaustive searching and comprehensive

²⁸ *Huang Zongxi quanji* 黄宗羲全集 [Complete Works of Huang Zongxi] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2005), Vol. 10, p. 118.

²⁹ On Zheng Qiao (1104-1162) and his contributions to Chinese bibliographical methods, see K.T. Wu, "Chêng Ch'iao, A Pioneer in Library Methods", *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 10.2 (1940): 129-41. More recently, see Glen Dudbridge, *Lost Books of Medieval China* (London: The British Library, 2000), pp. 9-12.

acquisition he eventually assembled a library of over 100,000 volumes. For the edification of his sons and grandsons, he composed a covenant in which he gave a complete account of the methods of book buying, book collecting, book connoisseurship and the art of reading. In so doing, he approximated the achievements of Cao Zeng 曹曾 and his Stone Vault, Ren Mo 任末 and his Garden of the Classics³⁰ and Shentu Zhiyuan 申屠致遠 with his Ink Village.³¹

Although I too, for my part, harbor a love of books, most regrettably I happen also to be plagued by an atrocious memory. I cannot pretend to be like Wang Chong 王充 of the Han who could remember everything he ever read, even if he had done so leaning against a doorpost in the middle of the marketplace, nor can I ever hope to emulate that Flourishing Talent of the Northern Wei, Zhen Chen 甄深, who attacked his studies with such a vengeance and who took such copious notes of what he had read.³² When I took leave of my post in Suzhou to return here, I calculated that I had accumulated 31,500 volumes. These I had placed within the hindmost tower of my Farm of Abundance and there I would fondle them all day long. But even this collection is a mere semblance of that bought and assembled by my esteemed father.

I have heard it said that Li Mi 李泌, Duke of Ye during the Tang, collected on his shelves more than 30,000 scrolls and that later his son Fan 繁 too was given a hereditary fiefdom in Ye and served as censor of Suizhou. It is also said that Ouyang Xiu, who owned a book collection of over ten thousand volumes, had a son named Fei 斐 who was a fluent writer and who became an official famed for his incorruptibility. Somewhat inferior to this was Zhao Kuo 趙括 who people made fun of for only reading books written by his father, and

³⁰ Fearing the possible loss of his many rare books, Cao Zeng of the Han constructed a stone vault to ensure their survival. Ren Mo, also of the Han, carved into the trunks of the trees of his garden the texts of rare commentaries to the Confucian Canon. For anecdotes about both men, see Wang Jia's 王嘉 (d. ca. 324) *Shiji ji* 拾遺記 [A Gathering of Lost Records], in Cheng Rong 程榮, *Han Wei congshu* 漢魏叢書 (Changchun: Jilin daxue chubanshe, 1992), p. 723.

³¹ Shentu Zhiyuan, an official during the Yuan dynasty, collected a library of over 10,000 volumes.

³² Having wasted his time playing chess, Zhen Chen turned back to his books when laughed at by his servants.

yet he at least knew how to read.³³ How much superior were the men of old to those of this present age! Ding Yi 丁顛 of the Song once said: “So many are the books that I have collected that my sons and grandsons are bound to be good scholars!” My father toiled painstakingly all his life and the scholarly efforts of the one generation ought to be continued by the next. As I dare not believe that the future will see me able to much improve my efforts in this respect, I can only hope that my descendants will make up for my own neglect!³⁴

We know that Huang Zongxi visited Qi Biaojia in his new library building from a note on the man in Huang’s *Record of My Thoughts of Friends of Former Years* (*Sijiu lu* 思舊錄) where he provides the following description of the interior of this library:

I once paid Qi Biaojia a visit at Mei’s Market, accompanied by Feng Yuanyang 馮元颺 and Feng Yuanbiao 馮元飆. We entered the Master’s bookroom to find arrayed there ten small vermilion couches upon which a variety of books had been laid out. Each volume had been given an ivory bookmark and the slightest draught would set these bookmarks jangling away delightfully. The Master, knowing of my love for books, asked me my opinion of his collection, to which I responded: “You could find all these books in the stalls of Suzhou, and with a purse of 100 *taels* one could become a great collector overnight. Only those books collected by your father are at all rare and precious”. Once the Feng brothers had departed, Biaojia had me stay behind and we proceeded to converse deep into the night.³⁵

If Huang Zongxi’s “Record”, as cited above, tells of the melancholy fate of this collection, he is somewhat less than explicit about his own role in its demise, for he only alludes to one of the most celebrated book disputes of the age; that between himself

³³ This anecdote is found in the “Biography of Lian Po and Lin Xiangru” in Sima Qian’s 司馬遷 *Shi ji* 史記 [Records of the Grand Historian]. When the King of Zhao made Zhao Kuo commander, Li Xiangru said: “Your Majesty is sending Kuo because of his reputation; this is like gluing the tuning bridges to strum a zither. Kuo can only recite his father’s writings and instructions; he knows nothing about adapting to the changes of battle”. (See William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Grand Scribe’s Records* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 7: 269; Romanisation altered).

³⁴ Qi Biaojia, “Yushan zhu”, *Qi Biaojia ji* 祁彪佳集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), pp. 169-70.

³⁵ *Huang Zongxi quanji*, Vol. 1, pp. 347-48.

and one of his closest friends, Lü Liuliang 呂留良 (1629-83).³⁶ In his highly partisan account of this incident, the historian Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705-55), Huang's self-appointed follower and close friend of Zhao Yu, claims that the two books mentioned by Huang were stolen from him at the explicit instructions of Lü Liuliang and that in any case the funds used to buy the collection had not been provided by Lü but by Wu Zhizhen 吳之振 (1640-1717) with whom Lü had also fallen out over the transaction.³⁷ As has been noted by Tom Fisher in his biography of Lü Liuliang however, Quan somewhat contradicts himself on this point in another account he wrote of the Little Mountain Hall book collection, where he states that:

Alas! The real treasures (*jinghua* 精華) from the Carefree Garden Collection reverted to Huang Zongxi, the dregs (*qiling* 奇零) to Lü Liuliang. Later on, Huang's books endured a fire and a flood (*yi huo yi shui* 一火一水) and the remaining volumes reverted to Zheng Xing 鄭性 [1666-1743], whereas those once owned by Lü suffered a total biblioclasm (*cuibui dai jin* 摧毀殆盡). Whenever I find myself passing through Mei's Village I never fail to mourn the passing of this age of splendour (*fengliu* 風流)³⁸

What of Qi Biaoja and his attempt to maintain his father's library? Having retired to Shanyin to care for his mother, to build his garden and to devote himself to his books, Qi soon found that the circumstances of the times conspired against him, as events elsewhere soon breached the walls of his garden. In 1644, he took up office again, briefly, and, after the fall of Beijing and the suicide of the Chongzhen Emperor, news of which reached Qi as he made his way to the Southern Capital, he was appointed

³⁶ For a biography of him, see *ECCP*, 551-52; for a discussion of the dispute over the disposition of the books from this collection, see Tom Fisher, "Loyalist Alternatives in the Early Ch'ing", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 44.1 (1984): 83-122.

³⁷ Quan Zuwang, "Xiaoshantang Qishi yishu ji" 小山堂祁氏遺書記 [Record of the Books from the Qi family Library Found in the Small Mountain Hall], in Zhu Zhuyi 朱鑄禹, ed., *Quan Zuwang ji huijiao jizhu* 全祖望集彙校集注 [Complete Works of Quan Zuwang: Collated and Annotated] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), Vol. 2, pp. 1074-75.

³⁸ Quan Zuwang, "Xiaoshantang cangshu ji" 小山堂藏書記 [A Record of the Book Collection of the Small Mountain Hall], *Quan Zuwang ji huijiao jizhu*, Vol. 2, p. 1066. The biblioclasm referred to above was associated with the posthumous persecution of Lü Liuliang's family at the hands of the Qianlong emperor in 1773, for which see Tom Fisher, "Accommodation and Loyalism: The Life of Lü Liuliang (1629-1683): Part 1: Dissident Intellectuals and the Early Ch'ing State", *Papers on Far Eastern History* 15 (1977): 102-103; and Jonathan D. Spence, *Treason by the Book* (Penguin, 2001).

Governor of Suzhou.³⁹ Recognising the hopelessness of the circumstances, however, he soon returned home to his garden and his books. Believing himself to be under duress to accept office under the new dynasty, Qi Biaoja decided that he would prefer to end his life as a martyr to the Ming. The official history of the period provides this record of his suicide:

In the 5th month of the next year [1645] the Southern Capital was lost, and by the 6th month, Hangzhou too, in turn, had fallen. [Qi] Biaoja thereupon began his fast. On the 4th day of the succeeding intercalary month, having told his family that he was going to repair early to his bedchamber, he proceeded to his lake wherein he sat bolt upright and awaited his death. He was in his forty-fourth year.⁴⁰

Qi was buried within his garden. Sadly, family circumstances were such that the provision in his will wherein he in turn enjoined his sons to care for the family book collection proved quite beyond them.⁴¹ Both his sons, Lisun 理孫 (b. 1627) and Bansun 班孫 (b. 1632), were arrested shortly after Qi Biaoja's suicide and in connection with their own loyalist activities; although Lisun was quickly released, he died soon after his return home, whereas Bansun was exiled to Liaodong, escaping home to become a monk only in the late 1660s. The library itself was quickly broken up, its many volumes scattered.⁴² After the arrest of her sons, Qi Biaoja's widow Shang Jinglan 商景蘭 (1604-

³⁹ On the important role that Qi Biaoja played in attempting to pacify the countryside around the Southern Capital, see Jerry Dennerline, "Hsü Tu and the Lesson of Nanking: Political Integration and the Local Defense in Chiang-nan, 1634-1645", in Jonathan D. Spence and John E. Wills, Jr., eds., *From Ming to Ch'ing: Conquest, Region, and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 89-132.

⁴⁰ *Ming shi* 明史 [History of the Ming], *juan* 275 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), Vol. 23, p. 7054.

⁴¹ For which, see the "Appendix" 付錄, *Yushan zhu* 寓山注 [Footnotes to Allegory Mountain], Anyuetang 安越堂 edition (Guangxu [1875]), 5b.

⁴² In a moving series of colophons, Huang Shang notes his own acquisition of a number of books that had once formed part of the Qi collection, for which see *Laiyanxie dushu ji* 來燕榭讀書記 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), Vol. 1, pp. 181-252. In an earlier work, *Qingdai banke yi yu* 清代版刻一隅 [A Glimpse of Qing Dynasty Printing] (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1992), Huang Shang reproduces a page from a work entitled *Wu Yue shixuan* 吳越詩選 [A Selection of the Poetry of the Wu and Yue Regions] and dated 1654 that contains some poems by Bansun and which, Huang believes, was printed within Qi Biaoja's garden (pp. 16-17). The books that found their way into Huang Shang's collection were said to have been hidden behind a false wall in one or other of the family's houses, for which, most recently, see Wei Li's account of his failure to acquire a book from Huang Shang's collection that had once belonged to Qi Chenghan, *Books Lost to Me* (*Shi shu ji* 失書記) (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2015), pp. 103-109.

ca. 1680),⁴³ Zhao Yu's mother's maternal grandmother, seems to have paid the garden a final visit, on occasion of which she wrote this poem of lament:

A scene of desolation now this garden of old,
My sense of loss redoubled as I visit it again.
Throughout the garden, *prunus* buds burst into whiteness,
Along both banks the willows unfurl their greenness.
In clumps the fragrant grasses grow anew,
And here and there gushing springs begin to sing.
When the nightjar's call hastens on the fall of day,
I linger still beside the bright moon's rays.

⁴³ “Yuyuan” 寓園, “Shang furen Jinnang ji” 商夫人錦囊集 [Shang Jinglan's Embroidered Bag Collection], in *Qi Biaojia ji*, p. 268.