

ON DATING THE EDITION OF THE *CHÜ LU* AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

TSUEN-HSUIN TSIEN

The edition of the *Chü-lu* 橘錄 (Record of Oranges) now in the East Asian History of Science Library at Cambridge University is a controversial item in bibliographical history. While the date of printing of this edition has been attributed to the beginning of the Southern Sung as noted in the collectors' colophons and elsewhere, it was probably printed in the Ming but labeled a Sung printing with forged attributions. The Sung printing of this book as a separate monograph is not known to exist, but one included in the *Pai-ch'uan hsüeh-hai*, printed from 1273, does survive.⁽¹⁾ The format of the original Sung printing of this collection is closely similar to that of a Ming facsimile reproduction of 1501, which resulted in confusion and sometimes forged identification. This article is intended to establish the correct dating of the edition at Cambridge and also to show how a forgery could have been made.

The monograph written by Han Yen-chih 韓彥直, a *chin-shih* of 1148 and magistrate of Wen-chou, is the earliest known scientific treatise on citrus fruit and is one of the oldest works on pomology.⁽²⁾ It consists of three chapters with a preface by the author dated 1178. The first chapter describes eight varieties of *kan* oranges, including the genuine, fresh branch, red, Tungt'ing, vermilion, kumquat, woody, and sweet *kan*, and one *ch'eng* 橙 orange, or *Citrus aurantium* L. The second chapter deals with eighteen varieties of *chü* 橘 oranges, including the yellow, flat-formed, clustered, soft, sandy oil, litchi, tender branch, oily, green, golden, natural-grown, early ripening, late ripening, and spiny *chü*; the vermilion and fragrant *luan* 欖; and the fragrant *yüan* 圓. The third chapter discusses the culture, planting, cultivation, cure of diseases, irrigation, gathering, storage, preservation, and medical uses of the oranges. The different varieties are carefully described as to their forms, special characters, taste, and cultivation, with occasional documentation from history or literature.

The book is printed on thin yellow paper with 24 vertical columns on each double leaf and 20 characters in each column, double lines on both the right and left edges of the block, and running titles on the central line for folding. The label on the cover bears a seal reading: "A unicum approved by the Soochow Literary Resources Exhibition". A brief inscription on the cover says: "This is a fine printing of the Southern Sung dynasty and nicely done on thin sheets of paper, successively possessed by Ho Ch'o and Huang P'i-lieh with a postscript by

each in their own handwriting for their own collections. Not being recorded in any catalog, it is certainly an extraordinary item of Sung printing. Restored and rebound in the seventh moon of the year *chia-hsü* (1934)" A seal reading "Yün-chou" 芸洲 follows. As Dr. Joseph Needham noted on the book wrapper, the book was acquired by him in Shanghai on December 3, 1946. It was later displayed in the Sung Art Exhibition of the Arts Council of Great Britain in July 1960.

The colophon attributed to Ho Ch'o 何焯 (H. I-men 義門, 1661-1722) says: "All the Sung printing possessed by Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh 徐乾學 (H. Tung-hai ssu-k'ou 東海司寇, 1631-1694) was acquired by Hsiang Ching-yüan, a merchant from Yangchow. This volume was obtained by the dealer Chu, who later sold it to my uncle Lu Wei-yüeh 陸維岳 (H. Ch'i-hsien-t'ang 憇閑堂, b. 1579). He knew that I had tried to get this book and therefore presented it to me as a gift. Noted by Ho Ch'o at the Lai-yen-chai in the winter of the year *Jen-ch'en* (1712)." Both Hsü and Ho were noted collectors of rare books in the K'ang-hsi period. The postscript written in red ink and attributed to Huang P'i-lieh 黃丕烈 (H. Jao-p'u 堯圃, 1763-1825), another bibliophile, says:

On the occasion of my fiftieth birthday, the 11th day of the fifth moon of the year *Jen-shen* (1812), I respectfully declined many gifts from relatives and friends, except for those literary and artistic articles presented to me by the intimate ones. This book was a gift from Chou Hsi-tsan 周錫瓚 (T. Hsiang-yen 香嚴, 1741-1819), who has been a book lover with many rare editions in his collection for several decades before the start of my book-collecting. He is now over seventy and shares the same interest with me so we have met each other quite often. When I got a rare item, I always brought it over to show him for discussion, and I borrowed his rare editions for reference. For some twenty years, we have been intimate friends with similar interests. There were two others, Ku Chih-k'uei 顧之遠 (T. Pao Ch'ung 抱冲, 1753-1799) and Yüan T'ing-t'ao 袁廷濤 (T. Shou-chieh 壽階, 1764-1810), who successively passed away. The only survivors are the venerable Chou and myself, one old and one young, continuing to work diligently in the old paper stocks. It is delightful and yet worrisome. This new acquisition adds another item of Sung printing to my collection. It is true that those who love books wish that a book will find an appropriate place to stay and not just to possess it in secret. I made this postscript not only to express my deep gratitude to my friend for the gift but also to record the difficulties of book-collecting. I wish those who later obtain this book will not neglect my remarks. Noted by Huang P'i-lieh, the Master of Pai-Sung I-ch'an, on the 18th day of the sixth moon of the year *Jen-shen* (1812).

This is followed by a seal that reads "Jao-p'u."

Although this edition is rare, whether it was printed in Southern Sung is doubtful on three accounts:

1. The title *Chü-lu* does not appear in any of the rare book catalogs of Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh, Ho Ch'o, or Huang P'i-lieh, who are said in the purported colophons to have possessed this work. If they had owned it, it would be impossible that this important item should not have been included in their catalogs.

2. The general format and calligraphic style of this edition (Illus. II), if compared carefully, are different from those of the one printed in 1279 (see Illus. III), but are identical with those of the one printed in 1501 (Illus. IV). The Sung edition is carefully cut, sharp and clear, in the style of Ou-yang Hsün popularly followed in Southern Sung printing, while the Ming edition is generally corrupted, with strokes not clear, and certain characters differ from those of the Sung edition.

3. The two colophons attributed to Ho Ch'o and Huang P'i-lieh in the Cambridge item (Illus. V, VI) are found in Sung editions of two other works owned by Ho and Huang (Illus. VII, VIII), reproduced in the *T'ieh ch'in t'ung chien lou shu ying* (Facsimiles of the Iron Guitar and Bronze Sword Studio), published by the Kiangsu Provincial Sinological Library in 1922. Not only is the style of calligraphy of the two colophons identical almost stroke for stroke in the two different works, but the versions of the two are also the same except for the omission of certain sentences and passages which are not applicable to the *Chü-lu*.

From the above evidence, we may assume that the edition under discussion is a part separated from the Ming edition of the *Pai ch'uan hsüeh hai*, printed by Hua Ch'eng of Wu-hsi in 1501, and that the two colophons by Ho Ch'o and Huang P'i-lieh were copied from facsimiles of originals written by the two bibliophiles respectively in other works which they owned. The seals of both bibliophiles are apparently imitated from genuine originals on some other books. In conclusion: This edition is a Ming printing, but has been made to appear a Sung by the addition of postscripts of two noted collectors which have been copied from other works. All this may serve as an interesting example for the study of facsimile reproduction by woodcut, and of a forgery which may have been made by a clever book dealer or by the last collector, Yün-chou, in 1934.

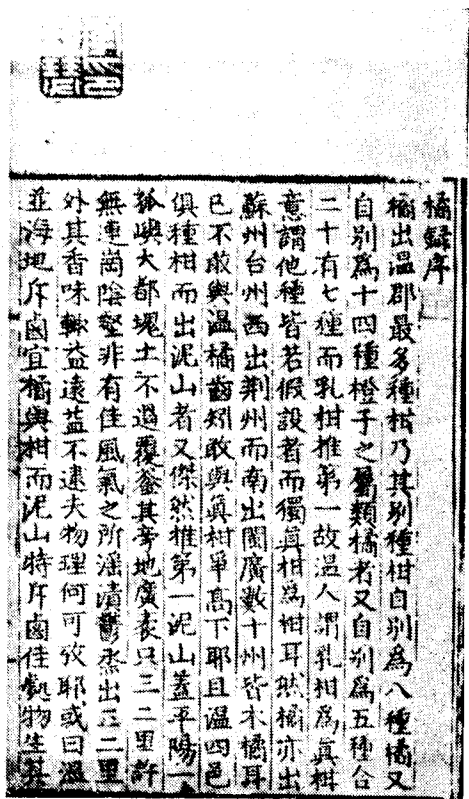
NOTES

- (1) *Pai-ch'uan hsüeh-hai*, compiled by Tso Kuei 左圭 in 1273, is the first large collectanea containing 100 titles of scientific, literary, and other monographs written by Sung authors. A complete set of this collectanea is known to be in the National Peking Library in Peking and the Shoryobu in Japan. An incomplete set is in the National Central Library in Taiwan, in which the *Chü-lu* is missing.
- (2) The full text is translated into English, "Han Yen-chih's *Chü Lu* (Monograph on the oranges of Wen-chou, Chekiang)", by Michael J. Hagerty with a French introduction by Paul Pelliot in *T'oung pao*, 20 (1923), 63-96.

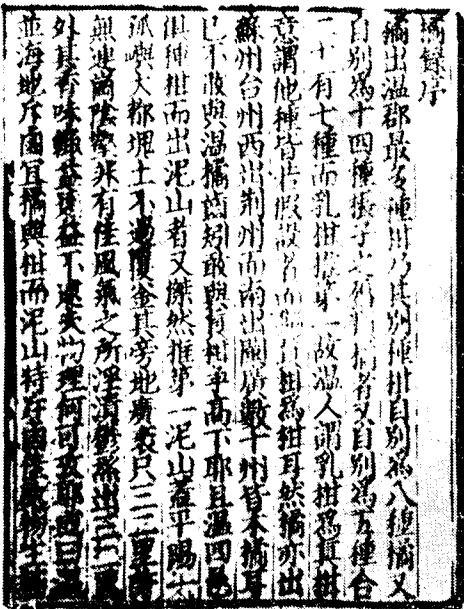
APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CHÜ LU



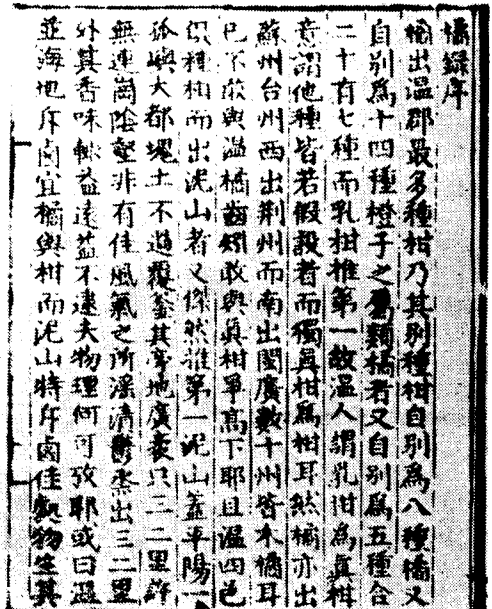
一、劍橋藏本題簽
Label of Cambridge copy



二、劍橋藏本序
The edition of Cambridge



三、宋刊本
A Sung edition



四、明弘治覆宋刊本
A Ming facsimile of Sung edition

東海司假所有宋徽宗為揚州大寶項景原
所得此冊經手人某生乞以香潤後歸德閣
堂主人于之未嘗也知予嘗觀之因而無聊
至辰各日何焯記於香研齋

壬申五月十日有日為宋五... 此書嘗感陸西屏家為水月亭周文香嚴所涉多曾借
鈔其刻壬申五月十日為宋五... 跋及之以此物相
遺者宋徽宗故拜嘉而相和... 又有以字墨文玩諸物為贈
則弗致固拜矣是書贈自香嚴者北云魏武功墨雖未全而
是宋版宋印且有元官印可寶奉送聊以當祝幸晤存
之蓋香嚴喜藏書家多秘本先宋數十年而此版為丁
年已七十外矣知宋有同嗜故雖託喜香年每購一書必購
以相贈有須今考者必注借所藏秘本論之二十年來可謂
同志之反矣向時尚有北冲壽階今西屏皆先凌下
世唯周文與余一老一艾學于故命唯中尋活計可
喜亦可愛也今人得此宋刻又多一種可見好書之心
在書得其新不論獨自為秘也余之跋此非第感
用友贈道之真且以誌書藉彙聚之難後之得
是書者幸勿忽也

壬申六月十日有八日百宋一歷主人黃丕烈識

五、劍橋本黃丕烈跋

Colophone attributed to Huang Pi-lieh

六、劍橋本何焯跋

Colophone attributed to Ho Ch'o

東海司假所有宋徽宗人詩集五十餘
家悉為揚州大寶項景原所得此冊經
手人未生乞以香潤後歸德閣堂主
人于之未嘗也知予嘗觀之因而無聊
跋是王伯穀先生所題或至辰各日何焯
記於香研齋

儀琴銅劍樓宋本香影集部字五

周賀詩集

此書嘗感陸西屏家為水月亭周文香嚴所涉多曾借
鈔其刻壬申五月十日為宋五... 跋及之以此物相
遺者宋徽宗故拜嘉而相和... 又有以字墨文玩諸物為贈
則弗致固拜矣是書贈自香嚴者北云魏武功墨雖未全而
是宋版宋印且有元官印可寶奉送聊以當祝幸晤存
之蓋香嚴喜藏書家多秘本先宋數十年而此版為丁
年已七十外矣知宋有同嗜故雖託喜香年每購一書必購
以相贈有須今考者必注借所藏秘本論之二十年來可謂
同志之反矣向時尚有北冲壽階今西屏皆先凌下
世唯周文與余一老一艾學于故命唯中尋活計可
喜亦可愛也今人得此宋刻又多一種可見好書之心
在書得其新不論獨自為秘也余之跋此非第感
用友贈道之真且以誌書藉彙聚之難後之得
是書者幸勿忽也

壬申六月十日有八日百宋一歷主人黃丕烈識

七、黃丕烈跋姚少監集

Colophone of Huang Pi-lieh

八、何焯跋周賀詩集

Colophone of Ho Ch'o

英國劍橋藏本橘錄題記

海外觀書札記之一

錢 存 訓

年前遊歐，在英國劍橋大學李約瑟 (Dr. Joseph Needham) 教授書齋中見其所藏罕本橘錄三卷，半頁十二行，行二十字，左右雙欄，白口，板心有字，黃紙，金鑲玉裝一冊。書簽題“宋淳熙本橘錄”，下端有“吳郡文獻展覽會審定孤本之一”方記(見附錄書影一)。書套簽題“宋樂橘錄”，有小字注云：“南宋初佳刻，薄紙精印，何義門，黃篋圃遞藏，並手跋自藏，目罕見，誠宋刊中之逸品也。甲戌七月重裝”。後有“芸洲”圖記。據李氏在書套內所記，此書係一九四六年十二月三日購自上海，為其所藏東亞科學史書庫中鎮庫之一寶⁽¹⁾，一九六〇年七月間曾參加英國美術協會舉辦之“宋代美術展覽”，為其中展出惟一之宋代印刷品云云。

此書分上、中、下三卷，書前有淳熙五年(一一七八)十月延安韓彥直自序。彥直字子溫，蕲忠武王韓世忠(一〇八九～一一五一)長子，登紹興十八年(一一四八)進士，官至龍圖閣學士，事蹟附宋史卷三六四韓世忠傳。此書蓋係彥直知溫州太守時所記當地土產，並加考證，自序謂：

“橘出溫郡最多種，柑乃其別種，柑自別為八種，橘又自別為十四種，橙子之屬類橘者，又自別為五種，合計二十有七種。”

上卷記真柑、生枝柑、海紅柑、洞庭柑、朱柑、金柑、木柑、甜柑、橙子九種；中卷述黃橘、塌橘、包橘、綿橘、沙橘、荔枝橘、軟條穿橘、油橘、綠橘、乳橘、金橘、自然橘、早黃橘、凍橘、朱欒、香欒、香圓、枸橘十八種；下卷則分論種治、始栽、培植、去病、澆灌、採摘、收藏、製治、入藥等方法。對於各類品種、形狀、品質、特性、色味，以及藝文、紀事等，俱有記載；雖篇幅不多，實為我國專論橘類品種及栽培、藏製的一部最早的科學著作。若論果樹之栽培，亦僅次於宋嘉佑四年(一〇五九)蔡襄所作之荔枝譜而已。

此本序首有原藏記三方，計“宋本”、“甲”、“士禮居藏”，又“李印約瑟”一方。(見書影二)。正文前有“何焯之印”，書後有何焯及黃丕烈題記。(見書影五、六)。何氏跋云：

“東海司寇所有宋槧悉為揚州大賈項景原所得。此冊經手人朱生乞以分潤，後歸憩閑堂主人，予之表舅也。知予嘗購之，因而輟贈。壬辰（一七一二）冬日何焯記於齋研齋”。下有“何焯之印”方記。

按何焯（一六六一～一七二二），字岷瞻，號茶仙，學者稱義門先生，長洲人，藏宋元舊鈔甚夥。跋中之東海司寇即徐乾學（一六三一～一六九四），字原一，號健庵，又稱玉峯先生，崑山人，康熙進士，有傳是樓書目，惟此書未見著錄。至憩閑堂主人當為何氏表舅陸維岳（一五九七年生），惟其生平不詳。⁽²⁾

何氏跋後有黃氏題記云：

“壬申五月十有一日為余五十賤辰，諸親友之以禮物相遺者，余敬謝弗敢拜嘉。而相知中又有以筆墨文玩諸物為贈，則弗敢固辭矣。是書贈自香巖，蓋香巖喜藏書，家多秘本，先余數十年而收藏者，今年已七十外矣。知余有同嗜，故蹤跡甚密。余每購一書，必攜以相質，有須參考者，必往借所藏秘本證之，二十年來，可謂同志之友矣。向時尚有抱冲、壽階，今兩君皆先後下世；唯周丈與余，一老一艾，孳孳於故紙堆中尋活計，可喜亦可愛也。今又得此宋刻，又多一種，可見好書之心，在書得其所，不論獨有為秘也。余之跋此，非第朋友贈遺之厚，且以誌書籍彙聚之難。後之得是書者，幸勿忽之。壬申（一八一二）六月十有八日，百宋一廬主人黃丕烈識”。

後有“菟園”小記

黃丕烈（一七六三～一八二五），字紹武，號菟園，又號復翁、百宋一廬主人、佞宋主人、求古居主人，為乾嘉間大藏書家。跋中所稱之香巖即周錫鑽（一七四一～一八一九），漪塘，號香巖居士；抱冲即顧之遠（一七五三～一七九九），藏書處名小讀書堆；壽階即袁廷檣（一七六四～一八一〇），字又凱，號綬階，齊名紅蕙山房，均吳縣藏書家，與黃丕烈合稱“藏書四友”。

按此書直齋書錄解題及四庫總目提要均作三卷，宋史藝文志及焦竑國史經籍志均題永嘉橋錄，亦三卷。文獻通考、世善堂書目，則均作一卷。至宋刊單刻本橋錄，不見現存公私目錄。惟百宋樓藏書志卷五十四著錄宋刊本橋錄三卷，抄錄韓序。據書林清話卷十云：陸心源氏將宋本百川學海之各種析開分列，強以單本名之，實非單刻本。故橋錄之最早刊本，現所知者似即宋咸淳本百川學海中所收之本。其後各種叢書及類書所收，皆據此本翻刻而來。

故李氏藏本橋錄，雖屬罕見，但是否為“南宋初刻”之“淳熙”本，則尚待商榷。茲就著錄、題跋、板式三點分論之：

（一）此書橋錄不見何義門跋中所稱原主東海司寇徐乾學之傳是樓書目，亦不見

黃丕烈之士禮居藏書題跋及篁圃藏書題識。如此書確經徐、何、黃諸家鑒定收藏，則諸目中不應缺列，而題跋亦不應未加著錄。

(二)書後何黃二跋，似自何氏所跋周賀詩集（見書影八）及黃氏所跋姚少監文集（見書影七）抄錄而來。不僅詞句幾完全相同，即每字筆畫亦甚少差別，僅何跋中缺二句十八字，黃跋中缺十餘句計一百三十八字（見附錄書影七、八加點各句），均係與本書無關字句，似有意加以刪除。按何氏原跋見鐵琴銅劍樓宋本書影集部二十五，黃氏原跋見集部十七。如劍橋本兩跋均係何黃手蹟，則詞句及筆蹟均不應與所跋他書所錄者如此雷同。

(三)橘錄一書，無單行刻本存世，現存者多見百川學海叢書，據所知有：(甲)宋刊本，橘錄在壬集（見書影三）。現藏日本書陵部及北京圖書館。民國十七年（一九二八）武進陶湘影印者即此本，缺卷據華理本補。民國五十八年（一九六九）臺灣新興書局覆印陶本。(乙)弘治九年（一四九六）華燧會通館銅活字本。罕見。(丙)弘治十四年（一五〇一）無錫華理覆宋刊本，橘錄在癸集（見書影四），現藏中央圖書館及日本靜嘉堂（即前述碩宋樓舊物，誤稱宋本，實即此刻，長澤規矩也亦謂此本實為明板），民國十年（一九二一）上海博古齋影印者即此本。(丁)明人重編明末刊本，橘錄在辛集，中央圖書館藏。(戊)明嘉靖以前，蘇州府、常州府、及福建書坊皆有翻刻。又橘錄亦有收入其他叢書者，見說郛、山居雜志、農蒼、農學叢書、叢書集成等；亦有各種單行抄本。⁽³⁾若以李氏藏本與上述宋本比勘，雖行格款式相同，但字體刀法各異。宋本書法做歐陽詢，清勁挺秀，而此本筆劃模糊，不若宋刊刀法之清楚銳利。且有數字更易，如以橙代振等，當知此本並非宋刻。

李氏藏本雖非宋刻，然與弘治十四年（一五〇一）無錫華理覆宋刊本極似（見書影四）。不僅板式、行格與靜嘉堂、中央圖書館及博古齋影印諸本相同，即字體、空格、缺字、殘筆，亦皆完全相符，可定為明覆宋刊本。至書後兩跋，當係抄臨其他二書，刪去與此書無關字句，以為適合本書之用。按鐵琴銅劍樓書影係民國十一年（一九二二）江蘇省立國學圖書館影印出版，則橘錄兩跋之影摹，當係在書影問世之後，可能為書賈或即簽題“芸洲”之藏家所偽作。至本書前後圖記，想係偽刻，而何黃兩章似出一人之手。吳郡文獻展覽會係民國二十六年（一九三七）二月在蘇州舉行，此書雖有該會審定孤本方記，但是否經該會審定展覽，因無目錄可核，不得而知。故此本雖非宋刻，亦極罕見。不僅可供研究明代影宋刊本者之參考，亦可用作鑒別真偽者之一例也。

註

- (1) 李氏所藏其他珍本，尚有金泰和四年（一二〇四）刊本，重脩政和經史證類備用本草，三〇卷一種。
- (2) 跋文中之東海司寇、香嚴、壽階、及抱冲之考訂，均見傅樂煥君致李約瑟及王鈴（靜寧）先生討論本書之函件，附於原書之後，惟未及憩閑堂主人。據芝大同學馬泰來君查考，何義門文集卷一有“憩閑堂八十壽讌詩序”，知憩閑堂即何氏表舅陸維岳。按陳德芸古今人物別名索引及陳乃乾室名別號索引皆謂憩閑老人為何焯，未知何據。又何黃兩跋，其真蹟書影亦由馬君查得，經比勘斷為偽鼎，並此中謝。
- (3) 李氏藏書中另有橘錄照相複印本兩種，均自美國農業圖書館藏本複印，一係一九二一年六月據東京帝大影宋抄本複印，後附牡丹志，宋丘濬（字道源）撰。前有美國農業部圖書委員會施永格（Walter T. Swingle）之英文序言，另一部為據日本明治十六年田中農業植物學書庫所藏水戶藩公潛龍閣重抄本複印，前有織田完之題識及農書編纂掛記圖章，後附柑橘傳。又附錄田中長三郎英譯織田完之校勘記及Michael J. Hagerty與王君（Glastone T. Wang）跋織田完之校記。按橘錄有Michael J. Hagerty英譯，刊於通報（T'oung Pao）第二十二卷（一九二三），前有伯利和（Paul Pelliot）法文序言。可知此書之科學價值，早已引起國際間之密切注意矣。