YA ZUO

# Counting Books by the *Juan*:

# Material and Conceptual Aspects of the Chinese Book

#### ABSTRACT:

Counting books by the <code>juan</code> 管 was one of the most fundamental practices in premodern Chinese book culture. The <code>juan</code> remained the standard bibliographical measure-word for over two millennia and persisted into the early-twentieth century. In this study, I explore the history of the <code>juan</code> and the ways in which its longevity coordinated with structural transformations in the Chinese book. Specifically, I highlight the way material and conceptual factors contributed to the sustained presence of the <code>juan</code>, and how the enduring <code>juan</code>, in turn, caused the central feature of book management to alternate between the material and the conceptual. I argue that the <code>juan</code>, first as a "roll," initiated a material turn, which resulted in a new way of perceiving and organizing books as material objects. It made a physical transition from the book-roll into a stack of pages in a codex. Subsequently, the <code>juan</code> achieved a conceptual comeback by the way it served to highlight the internal intellectual order of a book's contents.

#### KEYWORDS:

juan, roll, codex, bibliographical measure, binding, book management, material, conceptual

#### INTRODUCTION

Counting books by the *juan*  $\stackrel{\text{de}}{\approx}$  was one of the most fundamental practices in Chinese book culture. Scholars have long noted that the *juan* is the most-used unit of division when it comes to describing a pre-twentieth-century text. This almost unexamined convention can appear intriguing to a modern reader accustomed to the codex, because to count by *juan* is akin to enumerating books by chapters. Why "chapters of books," rather than a classifier of more material immediacy, such as copies or volumes of books?

The call for a systematic examination of the *juan* does not come merely from modern curiosity; more important, the *juan* remained a

> Ya Zuo, Dept. History, University of California, Santa Barbara

I WOULD like to thank Shi Rui 史睿 for his invaluable comments on this project and the simulating conversations we have had over the years. I am indebted to Dorothy Ko, who has encouraged me to integrate the history of the book with insights from material culture studies. I have also greatly benefited from the constructive comments offered by the two anonymous readers.

<sup>1</sup> For instance, see Joseph P. McDermott, A Social History of the Chinese Book (Hong Kong: Hong Kong U.P., 2010), p. 49.

basic component, a definitive aspect of the Chinese book for the majority of premodern history. From antiquity through the early-twentieth century, the *juan* remained the standard book measure for almost 2,000 years; it relegated all possible alternatives to secondary importance. The consistency of the *juan* is particularly impressive when we examine it against the vast changes that occurred during its reign – transformations affecting almost every aspect of the Chinese book in terms of organization, binding, production methods, and publishing practices.

In this study, I highlight how material and conceptual factors contributed to the durability of the concept of a juan. My narrative consists of three historical stages. In the first stage, the *juan*, originally a "roll," became a standard measure because of its material immediacy: it ushered in a new way of perceiving and organizing books as material objects. The second phase witnessed the transformation of the juan from a book roll into a chapter in a codex. While books continued to exist as material objects (i.e., codices), the juan no longer would represent the physical form of the book and became instead a conceptual unit relative to its internal contents. Nevertheless, the juan held steadfast to its status as the dominant bibliometric measure due to developments in the third stage, namely, the increasing intellectual heft it gained from embodying the conceptual labor monopolized by elite bibliophiles and by becoming embedded in the broader cultural discourse. The entrenchment of the new idea of juan required that meaningful book organization pivoted on a solid understanding of a conceptual order innate to the book. In short, the juan first steered a material turn and then signaled a conceptual comeback; by doing so, it opened a window onto the complex interplay between material and intellectual factors in the history of the Chinese book.

In addition to examining the *juan* in depth, I intend two broader methodological contributions in this article. First, the study of the *juan* highlights the significance of forms of binding, a line of inquiry that invites readers to explore beyond the dichotomy of manuscript and imprint, the central topic that has dominated book historians' attention in the past few decades.<sup>2</sup> I focus here on another binary – that of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The historical significance of printing remains the most prominent theme in modern scholarship on the history of the book in China, a point reiterated by a number of state-of-the-field reviews. For instance, see Cynthia Brokaw, "On the History of the Book in China," in Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-Wing Chow, eds., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: U. California P., 2005), esp. pp. 5–11; and Brokaw, "Book History in Premodern China: The State of the Discipline I," *Book History* 10 (2007), pp. 266–74; Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerdt, "Introduction," in Chia and De Weerdt, eds., *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China*, 900–1400 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), especially pp. 1–13; J. S. Edgren, "The History of the Book in China," in Michael F. Suarez, S. J. and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds.,

scroll and codex, namely, the transition in China from the book roll to the codex, a topic that is familiar to book historians in other regions of the world.<sup>3</sup> The second of these methodological avenues is the material form of the book. I attempt to explore the rich possibilities in the intersection between material-culture studies and book history. This essay treats the book as a thing with material presence – a feature as important as its textual contents.<sup>4</sup>

## EMERGENCE OF THE JUAN

The *juan* as an ordering tool made an appearance as early as the first century ad. It can be seen in the earliest extant bibliographic treatise named "Treatise on Arts and Literature" ("Yiwen zhi" 藝文志) that

The Book: A Global History (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2013), pp. 573–92; Cynthia Brokaw and Peter Kornicki, "Introduction," in Brokaw and Kornicki, eds., The History of the Book in East Asia (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. xiii–xxxv; and Joseph McDermott and Peter Burke, "Introduction," in McDermott and Peter Burke, eds., The Book Worlds of East Asia and Europe 1450–1850 (Hong Kong U.P., 2015), especially pp. 10–32. The discussions revolve around, on the one hand, the effects stemming from a precocious development of printing technology in China, and, on the other, the presumed universal validity of claims for the revolutionary influence of printing in the West (e.g., Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe, 2d edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2012).

The scroll-codex dyad is essentially an issue independent from the imprint-manuscript binary, although the two do have some overlap. A scroll in middle-period China was more likely to be a hand-copied text, and a codex, a xylograph. But there was no rigorous match between the means of book production and the binding form. Some imprints appeared as scrolls due to the genre (e.g., Buddhist scriptures) or intended antiquarian aesthetics, and many extant codices were manuscripts. The famous Kaibao 開寶 sutras (971), e.g., were printed scrolls. See Li Fuhua, He Mei, and Jiang Wu, "A Brief Survey of the Printed Editions of the Chinese Buddhist Canon," in Jiang Wu and Lucille Chia, eds., Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia: The Formation and Transformation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon (New York: Columbia U.P., 2015), p. 311.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The transition from the scroll to the codex in China, as this article shows, has its unique meanings embedded in East Asian culture. It is important not to conflate this narrative with the counterparts in Mediterranean and European traditions without a sound understanding of context. Specifically, the long tradition of using the scroll in China should not be teleologically read as "backwardness," a compelling point made by Charlotte Eubanks, "Circumambulatory Reading: Revolving Sutra Libraries and Buddhist Scrolls," *Book History* 13 (2010), pp. 1–24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I am particularly inspired by two methodological directions suggested by book historians. First, Nicolas Barker and Thomas R. Adams dispute anthropocentrism and put the book as an object back at the center of their organization of history. See Barker and Adams, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," in Barker, ed., A Potencie of Life: Books in Society; The Clark Lectures, 1986–1987 (London: British Library, 2001), pp. 5–43. And second, Roger Chartier argues that texts are "deposited" in books as objects, and that reading is an embodied practice. See Chartier, "Frenchness in the History of the Book: From the History of Publishing to the History of Reading," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 97 (1988), p. 307. For methodological reflections on bringing together the studies of material culture and book history in East Asia, see Ann Sherif, "Book Histories, Material Culture, and East Asian Studies," Verge: Studies in Global Asias 3.1 (2017): pp. 35–53, esp. 40–47.

was included in the *History of the Han* (*Han shu* 漢書).<sup>5</sup> At its debut, the *juan* became the unit of book organization precisely because of its signification of a book roll, a material object that was simultaneously convenient for both perception and management. The rise of the *juan* set out a new paradigm for conceiving the book, which, on the one hand, was an object recognized by its distinctive material form, and on the other, a repository of increasingly multitudinous textual contents.

At the time when the word and concept of *juan* first emerged, the dominant bibliographic unit was *pian* \$\overline{\overline

The rise of the *juan* implied a new perception of the book as a material object and directed attention to the physical form as a factor in textual management. Most scholars agree that *juan* as "roll" concurred with the newly emerged book form — a roll made of a long strip of silk; some also entertain the possibility that it initially designated rolled-up strips. Either way, the *juan* was conspicuously material and diluted the exclusive focus on content-division in text management. With the rise of the *juan*, the organizing of books became a perception-based business that boiled down to identifying and defining by numbers of rolls.

When the *juan* made its first official appearance in the "Record of Arts and Letters," it coexisted with the *pian* and held a secondary status. The dominance of the *pian* was clear in numerical terms, as three times as many texts were analyzed by *pian* as by *juan*. Also, the *juan* seemed to be associated with some specific genres, such as "dia-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ban Gu 班固 (32-92), Han shu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962) 30, pp. 1701-84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions, 2d edn. (Chicago: U. Chicago P., 2004), p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, p. 109.

<sup>8</sup> See Li Zhizhong 李致忠, "Zhongguo gudai shuji de zhuangzhen xingshi yu xingzhi" 中國古代書籍的裝幀形式与形制, *Wenxian* 文獻 3 (2008), pp. 6-7.

<sup>9</sup> See Lao Gan 勞幹, Juyan Han jian kaoshi: kaozheng 居延漢簡考釋, 考證 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshi guan, 1949), j. 1, p. 74b. Cited in Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, p. 109.

grams" (tu 圖) and "calendars" (li 曆), many of which were illustrations or a mix of visual and textual elements and thus did not support a pian division.10 At this moment, the juan had already extended into many other non-visual genres beyond these associations, but its expanded use had not yet reached the point of exceeding that of the pian. Such mixed usage might have reflected the empirical circumstances that the Han shu author Ban Gu 班固 (32-02) faced. As he was cataloging, Ban was almost certainly looking at a mix of bamboo slips and silk rolls. He might have also inherited earlier bibliographical records that were already organized by the pian and cited them as such, even though these texts might have been materially updated onto silk rolls in his times. The concluding statistics Ban offered at the end of the Record were calculated by the juan. As he stated, the total number of books recorded in this bibliography amounted to 13,260 juan. 11 This number was supposed to be the sum of all titles organized under six bibliographical categories, namely:

- 1. "Six Arts" (liu yi 六藝): 3,123 pian
- 2. "Various Masters" (zhu zi 諸子): 4,324 pian
- 3. "Poetry and Prose" (shifu 詩賦): 1,318 pian
- 4. "Military Treatises" (bing shu 兵書): 790 pian, diagrams 43 juan
- 5. "Numbers and Techniques" (shushu 數術): 2,528 juan
- 6. "Recipes and Techniques" (fangji 方技): 868 juan<sup>12</sup>

The above, however, add up to 12,994, not 13,269. It is difficult to identify where the discrepancy happened because some categories were measured by the *pian*, and others by the *juan*. But the numbers are close enough so that the final tally may indeed have been the undifferentiated aggregate of *pian* and *juan* units, albeit with some inaccuracies.

Based on this phenomenon, the modern scholar Gu Shi 顧實 inferred that "juan and pian had become equivalents 卷即篇也."<sup>13</sup> The extant classical texts do not afford sufficient evidence to establish a literal equivalence, nor establish that a scribe would transcribe one passage onto one silk roll.<sup>14</sup> But it is highly plausible that a conceptual alikeness had developed, that is, the juan had joined the ranks of the pian and shared the same authoritative status as an official bibliometric gauge.

<sup>10</sup> For example, see Ban Gu, Han shu 30, pp. 1760 and 1776, among others.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 1781.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> For the data above, ibid., pp. 1723, 1745, 1755, 1762, 1775, and 1780.

<sup>13</sup> Gu Shi, Han shu Yiwen zhi jiangshu 漢書藝文志講疏 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929), p. 260.

<sup>14</sup> There is positive evidence, as discussed by Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, Gu shu tongli 古書通例 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), p. 102. But some evidence suggests otherwise, as I will discuss later in the main text.

In presenting the sum total, Ban Gu invoked one unit only because the *juan* and *pian* were exchangeable in terms of their conceptual status. For the *juan*, such an equivalence was already proof of its ascendance, and Ban's choice of it over the *pian* as the final totaling unit undoubtedly further confirmed its fast-growing significance.

The "Record of Arts and Letters" was the last bibliography in which the *juan* was not the primary unit for book management. To judge by the existing evidence, the *juan* established its dominance after Ban Gu's work, for example, as seen in such bibliographical milestones of early-medieval times as *Seven Records* (*Qi lu* 七錄) by Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479–536),<sup>15</sup> and the "Bibliographic Treatise" ("Jing ji zhi" 經籍志) in the *History of the Sui* (*Sui shu* 隋書).<sup>16</sup> These documents counted texts primarily – if not exclusively – by the *juan*, a practice followed by all subsequent major bibliographies through the early-twentieth century.<sup>17</sup> Some prominent examples from late-imperial and modern times include the *General Bibliography of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, 1781),<sup>18</sup> and *Dialogues on Bibliographies* (*Shumu dawen* 書目答問), an overview by Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909).<sup>19</sup>

The *juan*'s replacement of the *pian* was nothing short of a paradigm shift. In addition to the move away from the conceptual and towards the material, the rise of the *juan* also ushered in a new model of the book as a multitudinous entity, a single object bearing manifold contents. This change directly pertained to the *juan*'s incorporation of the *pian*. Instead of eliminating the old unit, the *juan* absorbed the *pian* into the new system as a subsidiary component. That is, a silk roll might be recognized by its physical form as a *juan*, but the text inside could still be organized as passages. The material and conceptual divisions were not, after all, contradictory in function. This arrangement was made possible by the expanding physical capacity of the book object.

<sup>15</sup> The original text was long lost. For some restored parts see Ruan Xiaoxu, *Qi lu ji zheng* 七錄輯證, comp. Ren Lili 任莉莉 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> Zhangsun wuji 長孫無忌 (594-695) et al., Sui shu jingji zhi 隋書經籍志 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1955).

<sup>17</sup> The "Bibliographic Treatise" in the *History of the Sui* employed the *juan* exclusively, and *Seven Records* included the number of *zhi* 帙 (wraps) in addition to that of *juan. Zhi* was part of the *juan* system, as it was a convention to wrap ten *juan* into a *zhi*. For more details on the *juan-zhi* relation, see n. 24, below. None of the two bibliographies used the *pian* as an official unit anymore.

<sup>18</sup> Yongrong 永瑢 (1744—1790), Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四庫全書總目提要 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1978).

<sup>19</sup> Zhang Zhidong, *Shumu dawen buzheng* 書目答問補正, ed. Fan Xizeng 范希曾 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001).

Much evidence exists to indicate the new relationship between the *juan* and *pian* as well as the proliferating forms of content.<sup>20</sup> For example, the *Classic of Go* (*Qi jing* 春经), a Northern Zhou (557–581) manuscript, was copied into a paper roll and designated as one *juan* and several *pian*.<sup>21</sup> The following images (figures 1 and 2) demonstrate the third *pian* ("Passage of Dispositions and Implementations" 勢用篇) and the final segment where the marker *juan* appeared, respectively.

In the middle period, the majority of books contained multiple *juan*, which, together with the further *pian* divisions, demonstrated a marked growth in multiplicity. For example, *Lushan ji* 廬山記 (*Record of Mount Lü*) by Chen Shunyu 陳舜命 (1026–76) was a long text organized into five *juan* and eight *pian*.<sup>22</sup> Like the foregoing example, one *juan* was capacious enough to contain multiple *pian* when needed. For instance, the first *juan* included two *pian*, "General Introduction to the Mountain: First Passage" ("Zong xu shan pian diyi" 偬敘山篇第一) and "Introduction to the Northern Part of the Mountain: Second Passage" ("Xu shan bei pian di'er" 敘山北篇第二).

In sum, the emergence of the *juan* ushered in not only a new bibliographic unit, but also a new way of conceiving the book. The book was a physical object whose material existence afforded easy identification and management. The new book-object also became the host of increasingly expansive contents, reflecting the multiplication of the basic unit of the passage.

<sup>20</sup> The following examples I present are from post-classical periods, and I choose them because the texts clearly bore the designations of pian and juan, thus effective evidence. Some classical texts had similar arrangements albeit without including the marker pian. A good example is the first of the two manuscripts of the Daode jing 道德經 excavated from the Mawangdui Tomb. The text was copied on a silk roll, hence a juan, and divided into two parts "Dao jing" 道經 and "De jing" 德經, which later bibliophiles conventionally identify as two pian. The original text, however, did not bear pian or juan as explicit markers, which makes it less clear than the medieval examples. For the material conditions of the Daode jing at the time of excavation, see Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物館 and Hunan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖南省交物考古研究所, Changsha Mawangdui er san hao Han mu, di yi juan: Tianye kaogu fajue baogao 長沙馬王堆三三號漢墓,第一卷,田野考古發掘報告(Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004), p. 88. For the text inside, see Mawangdui Han mu boshu zhengli xiaozu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組,Mawangdui Han mu boshu: Laozi 馬王堆漢墓帛書, 老子 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1976), pp. 1—35.

 $<sup>^{21}</sup>$  For the images of the text, see the International Dunhuang Project, accessed January 29, 2021 <a href="http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo\_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8210/S.5574">http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo\_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8210/S.5574</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The edition was printed in the 1100s and now is preserved at the National Archives of Japan. See <a href="https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/F10000000000000007507">https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/F10000000000000007507</a>, accessed January 29, 2021.

多年在外皆上押二子入過证之而无以乃 為四者万有數篇數於身名尋之 書補生補充主好解者便須 為劫而有劫年 之自由之行服者便須 為劫而有劫年 之自由之行服者便須 為劫而有劫年 之自由之行服者便須 為劫而有劫年 人為固者方有數篇數於身名尋之難 模成於外幾二行之甚果之服或劫或持 便我於外幾二行之甚果之服或劫或持 連難名不死直征及撥畫可錄之元而為相 有不離于有陽曲局。竟乃亡而為相 有不離于有陽曲局。竟乃亡而為相 有不離于有陽曲局。竟乃亡而為相

Figure 1. Middle Segment of the Classic of Go (Qi jing 碁經)

Third pian. Or. 8210/S.5574 Recto; International Dunhuang Project, accessed January 21, 2022 <a href="http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo\_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8210/S.5574">http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo\_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8210/S.5574</a>.

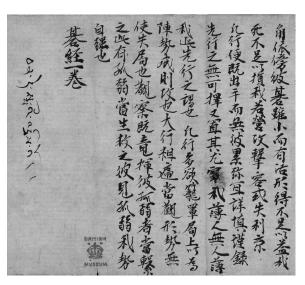


Figure 2. Final Segment of the Classic of Go

Or. 8210/S. 5574 Recto; International Dunhuang Project, accessed January 21, 2022 <a href="http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo\_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8210/S.5574">http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo\_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8210/S.5574</a>.

# TRANSITION OF THE JUAN

In this section, I discuss the *juan* against the background of the next major book revolution, namely, the transition from roll to codex. In this process, the *juan* morphed from a stand-alone object (a roll) into a constitutive part of another object (a codex). The change resembled that from the *pian* to *juan* and represented a new developmental stage of the same paradigm. The book continued to be defined by a distinctive material object (albeit a codex rather than a roll) and multitudinous contents (organized by the *juan* or/in addition to *pian*). This episode, however, was by no means a mere repeat of history. The physical makeover provided the material background for the persistence, rather than the waning of the *juan* in book management.

The *juan* as a paper roll has a clear material identity embodied in well-defined physical forms, which can be best observed from the perspective of a maker. To make a scroll, one first glued sheets of paper onto a long panel, and then wound it on a roll attached to the end of the panel. A piece of paper or silk was attached to the roll for protection, and a cord was fixed on this piece of paper/silk to hold the roll tight.<sup>23</sup> A tag was attached to one end of the roll to indicate the book title and the numerical sequence of the current scroll in the whole book. It was conventional for ten scrolls to be bundled in a cloth "wrap" (*zhi* 帙) and then placed on shelves in a certain order.<sup>24</sup>

The physical length of the book roll was a vital aspect of its material identity. That is, a proper size was critical to the appearance of the scroll and its text-bearing functionality. The horizontal stretch of a scroll was closely correlated with the order of book-making procedures. In most cases, a producer first had text inscribed on individual sheets of paper and then had a mounter apply these sheets to paper/silk backing. This arrangement allowed him to tailor the length of the scroll to match the chosen segment of text.

In less usual cases, the roll maker could first make a blank panel of paper and then apply content.<sup>25</sup> The fact that some extant rolls bear texts on both sides lends circumstantial evidence for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Edward Martinique, Chinese Traditional Bookbinding: A Study of Its Evolution and Techniques (Champaign, Ill.: U. Illinois, 1972), p. 12.

<sup>24</sup> For a detailed discussion of *zhi* in the age of scrolls, see Zhang Guye 張固也 and Yi Jilin 易吉林, "Lun juanzhou shidai de tushu he zhi fangfa" 論卷軸時代的圖書合帙方法, *Tushuguan zazhi* 283.11 (2014), pp. 87–92, 112.

<sup>25</sup> Ch'ang Pi-te 昌彼得 mentions the latter possibility, and Li Zhizhong mentions both. See Ch'ang, Zhongguo tushu shi lue 中國圖書史略 (Taipei: Zhongguo chuban gongsi, 1974), p. 2, and Li, "Zhongguo gudai shuji," p. 8.

this practice.<sup>26</sup> Presumably, the copyist would resort to the back of the roll when the face side ran out of space. Another related phenomenon is the existence of pre-made blank scrolls, something suggested in various sources. It seems that at some point civil service examination candidates used pre-made scrolls, presumably of a uniform size. When Zheng Yifu 鄭毅夫 (fl. late-11th c.) was taking the examinations, he "wrote non-stop and let his juan spread in front of him, without fear that people might peek 筆不停綴, 而試卷展其前, 不畏人竊窺."27 In this case, the object that lay open and might expose Zheng's writing would have been a scroll (an open codex would reveal only two pages' content at one time). Another example, recorded by Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1208), suggests that the scrolls used for examinations had a standard length. At the examination compound, a scholar named Fang Zhu 方翥 (fl. 1100s) found on the ground a juan in which only two essays were written and the rest left blank. It turned out that it belonged to an examinee who felt sick and quit the test in the middle.<sup>28</sup> The story indicates that test takers received a pre-made scroll which provided space for all required writings.

It was undoubtedly an economical idea to have the scroll precisely tailored to fit the text, hence the prevalence of the first practice. Thus, a scroll should be as long as the chosen section of text. But this does not mean that the text could be of any length, as the "thingness" of the scroll would get in the way. The scroll had a certain physical shape which required a relatively stable size; too much or too little paper would lead to a book roll inappropriately hefty, or slim. Scholars indeed commented on inconveniently-sized book rolls, such as one "as slim as a chopstick 如箸粗," implying that most scrolls had regular sizes for readers' comfort. Thus, to make a book roll, one had to coordinate the material capacity of a juan-length panel of paper with a portion of the text isolatable from the rest. To accomplish this task he had to have a good sense of both the material object and the textual content.

The *juan* remained prevalent as a paper roll for several centuries until the codex gained popularity as the new book format. It is com-

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of writing on both sides, see Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, p. 172. 27 Zhu Bian 朱弁 (?—1144), Qu Wei jiuwen 曲洧舊聞, in Zhu Yi'an 朱易安, Fu Xuanqiong 傅璇瓊 et al., eds., Quan Song biji 全宋筆記, ser. 3, vol. 7 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2008) 3, p. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298), *Qi dong yeyu* 齊東野語, annot. Zhang Maopeng 張茂鵬 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997) 5, p. 86.

<sup>29</sup> Chen You 陈槱 (ca. 1200s), Fu xuan ye lu 負暄野錄, SKQS edn. (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983) 2, p. 2b.

monly believed that a massive transition from scroll to codex occurred around the time of the Song dynasty.<sup>30</sup> In this transition, the *juan* morphed from a roll into a portion of a codex. Henceforth, the *juan* lost its material autonomy as one object and became a subordinate component of a different object.

The change from the scroll to the codex was gradual and slow, a process in which contemporaneous people experienced not as a simple binary but chaotic, multifarious material shifts. First, what we lump into the modern term "codex" encompassed a number of different book formats, such as "butterfly binding" (hudie zhuang 蝴蝶装), "folded sutra binding" (jing zhe zhuang 經折裝), "Sanskrit clipped binding" (Fan jia zhuang 梵夾裝), and "whirlwind binding" (xuanfeng zhuang 旋風裝). Among them, the butterfly binding had the most semblance with a conventional Western codex, while others appeared as disparate material objects. The commonality that binds them together under the rubric of the codex is foliation. A codex, in short, is a "book with pages," or, a collection of individuated sheets bound together. The various post-roll bindings aimed to break up the long stretch of paper into individuated sheets so that the reader could make quick consultations without having to go through the clumsy process of unrolling a scroll.

The second material complexity involved the long time it required for the gradual turn away from scrolls.<sup>35</sup> A variety of evidence demonstrates that paper rolls were a common sight in imperial and private libraries in the Song. A considerable number of early Northern Song texts discovered in Dunhuang were indeed scrolls, so were many

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  Susan Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China,"  $HJ\!\!\!/AS$   $_{54}._{\rm I}$   $(_{1994}),$  p.  $_{37}.$ 

 $<sup>^{31}</sup>$  For descriptions of these forms, see Li, "Zhongguo gudai shuji," pp.  $_9-13$ ; and Colin Chinnery and Li Yi, "Bookbinding," the International Dunhuang Project, accessed February 18, 2021 <http://idp.bl.uk/education/bookbinding/bookbinding.a4d>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, "Introduction," in Cavallo and Chartier, eds., A History of Reading in the West, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Amherst: U. Massachusetts P., 1999), p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat's definition of the codex in the Western context, *The Birth of the Codex* (London and Oxford: The British Academy and Oxford U.P., 1983), p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Many historians of the Chinese book discuss this convenience of the codex. For instance, see Cherniack, "Book Culture," p. 39; Jean-Pierre Drége, "La lecture et l'écriture en Chine et la xylographie," Études Chinoises (1991), pp. 90–91; and Anne Burkus-Chasson, "Visual Hermeneutics and the Act of Turning the Leaf: A Genealogy of Liu Yuan's Lingyan ge," in Brokaw and Chow, eds., Printing and Book Culture, p. 373.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> So was the case in Europe, where the transition from roll to codex took at least a century and a half. See Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard U.P., 2006), pp. 10–11.

still-extant Northern Song Buddhist sutras.<sup>36</sup> According to Yue Ke's 岳珂(1183-1243)records, during Song emperor Zhenzong's reign (997-1022), the Longtu Pavilion held "5,115 scrolls and volumes of collected writings imperially commissioned or written by emperor Taizong 太宗御制御書文集總五千一百一十五卷軸冊."<sup>37</sup> Yue spelled *juan* out as *juanzhou* 卷軸, which demonstrated with no ambiguity that these *juan* referred to scrolls. Thus, a visible part of the imperial documents early in the Song were paper rolls. Song paintings also provide rich visual evidence that readers possessed books of both formats.<sup>38</sup> Although the codex was certainly the coveted new trend, the material presence of scrolls should not be underestimated.

Against such transitional vicissitudes, the *juan* in the Song experience could possibly appear in a variety of material forms, such as a stack of pages in a butterfly binding, a portion of an expandable accordion in a folded-sutra binding, or occasionally, an old-fashioned paper roll. A Song reader's conceptual grasp of experiencing the *juan* would inevitably oscillate between different physical configurations. In other words, they could no longer identify a *juan* through an exclusive association with a scroll.

In all likelihood, what sustained the common identity of the *juan* among varied material formats was the continuity of the texts that were actually inscribed *juan*. It has been a common hypothesis among scholars that the codex-*juan* (particularly in its early days, ca. 1000s-1100s) was a transposition of the scroll-*juan*.<sup>39</sup> That is, the average textual segment contained in a Song codex-*juan* did not deviate drastically from its counterpart in a Tang scroll-*juan*.<sup>40</sup> It was the reasonable outcome of a most plausible scenario, that a book-maker transcribed the same content from one material base to another.

<sup>36</sup> For information on Dunhuang scrolls, see Yao Fushen 姚福申, Zhongguo bianji shi 中國編輯史 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2004), p. 172; for Buddhist sutras, see Zhang Xiumin 張秀民, Zhongguo yinshua shi 中國印刷史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), p. 215.

<sup>37</sup> Yue Ke 岳珂, Kui tan lu 愧郯錄, in Quan Song biji, ser. 7, vol. 4 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2015) 14, p. 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> See, e.g., Cherniack, "Book Culture," p. 37, n. 75; and Maggie Bickford, "*Tu* and *Shu*: Illustrated Manuscripts in the Great Age of Song Printing," in Ming Wilson and Stacey Pierson, eds., *The Art of the Book in China*, Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia 23 (London: Percival David Foundation, 2006), p. 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> E.g., Xiaofei Tian, Tao Yuanming and Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table (Seattle: U. Washington P., 2005), p. 10; and McDermott, Social History of the Chinese Book, p. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> It is difficult to attain perfect statistical proof for this comparison given the scarcity of extant Tang and Song texts. My examination based on twenty-eight Dunhuang scrolls and thirty-five Song codices, however, indeed supports the consistency between Tang scroll-*juan* and Song codex-*juan*.

In this sense, the *juan* sustained its existence as a textual entity with much reduced material distinctiveness. During the transitional period, it was detached from the paper roll, which used to exclusively define its material identity, and transplanted into varied codex formats. Even though the post-scroll *juan* acquired a new material form, for example, the stack of pages that comprised a butterfly binding, such an existence clearly lacked the kind of autonomy a book roll had. The new *juan* was no longer capable of standing alone, and thus offered no more perceptual immediacy for text management. Just like the *pian*, the *juan* now appeared more conceptual than material, and if materiality prevailed again, the *juan* would concede to a new bibliometric unit that accounted for the physicality of the codex. But the reality was the opposite. The *juan* maintained its dominant status well after the transition into the age of the codex, a point I will address next.

# DOMINANCE OF THE JUAN

In this section, I elaborate on the dominant status the *juan* held as the official bibliometric unit. First, I introduce the systematic embeddedness of the *juan* in book culture, a theme which persisted in variations for two millennia. To follow, I compare the *juan* to the *ce*  $\boxplus$  (volume), a new bibliographical marker which emerged after the scroll-codex transition and in accord with the physical existence of a codex-volume. The *ce*, however, was never able to prevail over the *juan*, a fact which sheds comparative light on the endurance of the latter through the end of the premodern history of the Chinese book.

The dominance of the *juan* is first and foremost evidenced by its structural presence, from the bibliographic system and into the general book culture. The various phenomena I discuss, below, largely had origins in the early-middle period (ca. 500s), but I choose primarily Song examples to demonstrate that these well-aged practices remained steadfastly entrenched in the face of the codex's popularity.

To start with, *juan* served as the official marker to measure the size of book collections, whether a personal library or the imperial archives. For instance, by 1041 the size of the Imperial Library collection had reached 30,669 *juan*.<sup>41</sup> Chao Gongwu 晃公武 (1105–1180), the compiler of the famous bibliography *Junzhai Records of Books (Junzhai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志, hereafter *Junzhai Records*), claimed to possess

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Joseph McDermott, "The Ascendance of the Imprint in China," in Brokaw and Chow, eds., *Printing and Book Culture*, p. 63.

roughly 24,500 juan of books.<sup>42</sup> Also, bibliographies compiled by and intended for the educated elite consistently counted books by the juan. As a matter of fact, the juan maintained a central component of a book's bibliographical profile. That is, the number of juan constituted a suffix of the book title in a standard bibliographical entry, For instance, in Junzhai Records, the standard format which consistently applied to all entries looks as follows:

Tang shi yao lun <u>shi</u> juan 唐史要論十卷 (Essential Discussions on the History of the Tang in <u>ten</u> juan)<sup>43</sup>

The mandatory presence of the juan in bibliographical accounts preceded another phenomenon, in other words, when the information on a book's number of juan was unknown, the bibliographer would mark the record as incomplete with a special note. This often happened when the text was lost, the book title – the only extant component in many cases – would be followed with the phrase "[information on] the juan missing EL." The fact that the absence of juan data demanded a formal acknowledgment lends strong evidence to its indispensable use.

It was not until late-imperial times that bibliographies started to apply designations such as "the number for juan unavailable 無卷數," or "not divided into juan 不分卷," to codices divided into "volume ce" only. 45 Such phrases appeared predominantly in bibliographies composed in the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1912) eras. Indeed, it was no longer an absolute, universal requirement that books bear juan divisions already several centuries after the emergence of the codex. The bibliographical annotations that marked a lack of juan, nevertheless, evinced that bibliophiles still regarded texts without juan divisions as being somewhat flawed and belonging to a less desirable minority.

One more testimonial to the indispensability of the *juan* was the wide presence of single-*juan* books. Song bibliographies documented numerous books with only one *juan*. For example, the opening chapter of the *Junzhai Records*, for instance, consisted of twenty-seven titles (including eighteen dated to the Song) that were identified as single-*juan* works. A survey of them suggests that the majority comprised materials amounting to less than those comprising regular books, and/or that

<sup>42</sup> Chao Gongwu, Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng 郡齋讀書志校證, annot. Sun Meng 孫猛 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), p. 15.

<sup>43</sup> Chao, Junzhai zhi 7, p. 300.

 $<sup>^{44}</sup>$  For a few examples, see Ouyang Xiu et al., Xin Tang shu 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975) 57, p. 1450, and 58, p. 1461.

<sup>45</sup> E.g., see Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724—1805) et al., *Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu* 欽定四庫全書總目 1, p. 4a.

they were unorganized. In other words, they appeared as incomplete books — if at all as books — at the time of its being recorded in a catalogue. For example, according to the *Junzhai Records*, a *Commentary on the Change* ( $\Upsilon$  zhuan 易傳) by Guan Lang 關朗 (ca. 4th c.) was "half lost 亡半" and consisted of "eleven passages only 才十一篇而已"; <sup>46</sup> and Remarks on the Change ( $\Upsilon$  shuo 易說) by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019—1086) was "without order nor a complete book 無詮次, 未成書."

Apparently, it was at the discretion of the bibliophile to include such non-book texts as these in the bibliography as books, an upgrade done by framing them as single-juan. The working philosophy of the bibliophile was clear: the assignment of "juan" justified the establishment of a title to represent an actual book. A bibliographical profile of something seen as a book, per se, had to have its juan metrics.

The juan-centered format permeated beyond bibliographies and became known within the general discourse about books. When presenting specific works by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), Wu Chong 吳充 (1021–1080) introduced the books as a combination of title and number of juan, for example, Yi tongzi wen san juan 易童子問三卷 (Questions from a Youth about the Change in three juan), Shi benyi shisi juan 詩本義十四卷 (The Original Meanings of the Odes in fourteen juan), and Jushi ji wushi juan 居士集五十卷 (Collection of the Retired Scholar in fifty juan).48

The same combination also appeared in more elaborate contexts. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130—1200) referred to the writings of He Shujing 何叔 京 (fl. 12th c.) as "Remarks on the Change and Analects, discussions on history, poetry and essays, a few tens of juan 易論語說, 史論, 詩文數十卷,"49 a motley collection including a book and other writings. Zhu started by stating the titles and genres, and ended by describing the quantity, "a few tens of juan." The last bit of information was partly just to report the existence of an extant book on the Change and Analects, but also partly to estimate the volume of unorganized writings. The immediate purpose, however, was to inform others of the size of He's oeuvre, and, a more latent meaning — a component integral to a courteous introduction — was to indicate that the remaining materials would merit the status of books after receiving editorial treatment. All

<sup>46</sup> Chao, Junzhai zhi 1, p. 17.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>48</sup> Ouyang Xiu, *Ouyang Xiu quanji* 歐陽修全集, fulu 附錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001) 3, p. 2698.

<sup>49</sup> Zhu Xi, Hui'an xiansheng Zhu Wengong wenji 晦庵先生朱文公文集, in Zhu Zi quanshu 朱子全書 (Shanghai and Hefei: Shanghai guji chubanshe, Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), vol. 20, j. 91, p. 4204.

these examples demonstrate a conventional practice that treated the number of juan as the second-most essential information about a book, immediately following the title.

The entrenched status of the *juan* is also manifested in its dominance over the *ce*, the unit based on the material form of a codex. As I mentioned previously, the *ce* emerged as a new bibliometric unit as books increasingly appeared in the form of bound paper pages. The material convenience, however, did not automatically transform into a recognized indexical device in the bibliographical system. The *ce* barely earned a presence in Song bibliographies. While it became more commonly seen in Ming and Qing bibliographies, it remained subordinate to the *juan* and served as a secondary marker.

The most salient evidence for the lesser status of the *ce* is that certain bibliographies that replaced *juan* with *ce* were not thought well of. The first example of this kind appeared in the Ming, and the exclusive use of the *ce* was a choice *faute de mieux* rather than a deliberate innovation. The so-called *Bibliography of the Wenyuan Hall (Wenyuan ge shumu* 文淵閣書目) was commissioned by the Ming state in the mid-1400s. The imperial government summoned Yang Shiqi 楊士奇(1365-1444) and a small group of scholars to complete the work within five years. The compilers made no explanation for the absence of the data on numbers of *juan*, but the circumstances suggest that a shortage of time and/or human resources might be the reason. The book remained an object of scorn for elite bibliophiles for centuries. Zhu Yizun 朱季等(1629-1709) specifically criticized it for leaving out the information on the *juan*:

The bibliography does not record authors' names in detail, nor does it mention the division of *juan*. It gives readers no clue for examination and verification. This is extremely careless indeed. 其目不詳撰人姓氏, 又不分卷, 俾觀者漫無考稽, 此牽率之甚者.<sup>52</sup>

Zhu's point was that the lack of *juan* divisions indicated shoddy scholarship, and his criticism represented an enduring sentiment among

<sup>50</sup> See Dai Changjiang 戴長江, "Yang Shiqi yu Wenyuange shumu" 楊士奇與文淵閣書目, Chongqing shiyuan xuebao: zheshe ban 重慶師院學報, 哲社版 2 (1996): pp. 69-72, and Lianbin Dai, "China's Bibliographic Tradition and the History of the Book," Book History 17 (2014), pp. 17-18.

<sup>51</sup> It is clear that subsequent Ming official bibliographies viewed the choice of *ce* as a problem to fix rather than a new model to follow. E.g., *Neige cangshu mulu* 內閣藏書目錄, compiled by Zhang Xuan 張萱 (fl. 1580s), made deliberate efforts to restore the *juan* numbers in some (though not all) cases; Zhang Xuan, *Neige cangshu mulu*, Shiyuan congshu 適園叢書 edn. (1913).

 $<sup>^{52}</sup>$  Zhu Yizun, Pu shu ting ji 曝書亭集, SBCK edn. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1931) 44, p. 14a.

mainstream bibliophiles. Similar critiques kept emerging well into in the twentieth century. For example, Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 (1884–1955), a scholar who wrote a critical history of the book in the 1930s, bemoaned the same concern:

[The Bibliography of the Wenyuan Hall] recorded book titles and numbers of ce only, and carried no author names nor the numbers of juan. How could it enter [the class of] historical bibliographies? 但錄書名冊數, 而無撰人卷數, 此何可入史志?53

Yu's comment was a corollary of a phenomenon we already saw, that the <code>juan</code> indeed persisted as an indispensable component of the "historical bibliographies," the authoritative bibliographical work ranging from the "Record of Arts and Letters" through the <code>Four Treasures</code>. The replacement of the <code>juan</code> with the <code>ce</code> would immediately exclude a bibliography from the most prestigious class of its genre. The time stamp of Yu's claim well evinced that the secondary status of the <code>ce</code> remained unchanged through the end of pre-modern China.

The *ce*'s failure to take over is also manifest in the ambiguous status of the page (in the Chinese book, a half-leaf). In a codex, the page and its sequential notation served as a system for referencing locations in a book, but this system, just like the ce, claimed significance secondary to the *juan*. The page came into being through foliation in the codex, and it broke away from the model of the sheet. A sheet was a constituent of a long scroll, and the boundary between one sheet and another remained indistinguishable to readers. The existence of the sheet rarely had a perceptible impact on the reading experience. In contrast, the page asserted a material distinctiveness and served a clear function of marking locations in the book. As early as in the Song when the codex was still relatively new, readers were already well aware of the locating utility of the page and appreciated its convenience. Anecdotes of people with extraordinary memories often described them as able to memorize the page numbers for specific information. For instance, Zhao Yuankao 趙元考 (fl. 11th century) once impressed an audience by locating one medicinal herb from memory in a medical text in terms of "the juan number," "the page number," and "the column number 第 幾卷,第幾頁,第幾行."54

But citing page numbers never became standard in scholarly praxis in premodern China. The number of *juan* remained the dominant (and often only) reference point when locating information in a book. Like

<sup>53</sup> Yu, Gu shu tongli, p. 12.

<sup>54</sup> Zhu, Qu Wei jiuwen 2, p. 16.

their treatment of the *ce*, scholars enjoyed the practical convenience of the page yet did not embrace it in intellectual discourse. In fact, citing the number of *juan* remained the convention of contemporary scholarly practice in pre-modern China, and references to page numbers did not become popular until late in the twentieth century. The change was presumably a response to the increasingly complete adoption of Western scholarly praxis in Chinese academy, the cause and effect of perceiving page numbers as a marker of referential accuracy and academic integrity. The eventual triumph of the page and the volume is a thoroughly modern (and Western) story.

A further investigation into the failure of the ce to take over sheds light on reasons why the juan persisted. Most important, the ce was limited to an instrumental, material role and had not developed much connection with the interior of the book. With its uncomplicated material presentation, the ce primarily appeared in contexts where the focus was on the physical existence of a codex. For instance, Zhang Shinan 張世南 (fl. late 1100s and early 1200s) described the residence of Su Yunqing 蘇雲卿 (ca. fl. 1100s) as follows:

There is not a single speck of dust on the floor. A *ce* (volume) of the *History of the Western Han* lies on the table. 地無纖塵, 案上留西漢書一冊.<sup>55</sup>

The reference of the book was a straight description of its existence as part of the house decor.

In Records of One Who Wields the Chowry (Huizhu lu 揮塵錄), Wang Mingqing 王明清 (1127–1215) invoked the ce in the following line:

At [the residence of] Wang Qigong's grandson, Wang Xiao (courtesy name Junming), Mingqing (I) saw over ten ce (volumes) of complete sets of parallel prose that Qigong asked his students to write while he was in the Hanlin academy. [I] bitterly regretted that [these] were not in circulation at that time. 明清於王岐公孫曉浚明處,見岐公在翰苑時令門生輩供經史對偶全句十餘冊,(恨)當時不曾傳之也.56

The focus of the narrative was Wang Mingqing's personal witness of Wang Gui's 王珪 (1019–1085) writings, a testimonial to the existence of "over ten volumes" of books. Again, it was an account of perception primarily involving the physical presence of those codices.

<sup>55</sup> Zhang Shinan, You huan ji wen 遊宦紀聞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980) 3, p. 25.

<sup>56</sup> Wang Mingqing, Hui zhu hou lu 揮麈後錄, in Hui zhu lu (Shanghai: Shiji chuban jituan and Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001) 7, p. 134.

In addition to signifying the physical being of codices, the ce also had a few rare, specialized uses that differentiated the term from the mainstream presence of the juan. The first was associated with some antiquarian book-objects used in quasi-religious court rituals. Ce was an old term with an ancient pedigree. Before becoming a "volume" in the age of the codex, it referred to a bundle of bound slips, a form vividly depicted by the pictogram  $\mathbb{H}^{.57}$  Although wooden and bamboo strips were long gone by the middle period, the form of strung slips per se was occasionally transposed into new uses, thus generating the specialized book-objects – the so-called yu ce  $\mathbb{H}$  (jade slips). Both Tang and Song emperors inscribed sacrificial texts on jade slips and employed them as ritual paraphernalia.  $^{.58}$ 

Another specific context where we see the use of ce involved particular functional texts that had the form of documents bound as paper codices. For example, in an anecdote in Record of the Listener (Yijian zhi 夷堅志), Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202) referred to ce to characterize the ledger of life and death kept by the King of the Dead. The protagonist of the story, Wang Tianchang 王天常 (ca. fl. 1070s), had a dream wherein he stumbled upon the underground world governed by the King of the Dead. Wang noticed that one of the attending officials, who carried "a big ce 一大冊," was an old friend who had died years ago. Out of curiosity, Wang spoke to this person in regard to the ce.

[Wang] asked what was in the *ce*, and [his old friend] said: "It records life and death in the world." Tianchang repeatedly asked to see his own record. The official could not refuse so he opened to one leaf. [Wang] briefly saw that [he] would be killed by a knife stab on some day, some month, and some year, before [the official] hastily closed the book and asked someone to see Wang out. Wang then woke up. 問冊中何事, 曰: "記世間生死者."天常再三慾視己事, 吏辭不獲, 遂開一葉, 但見某年月日以一刀死, 急掩卷, 令人送出. 既寤.59

In this story, the ce under discussion was clearly a volume of a codex that contained a manual devoted to specialized information.

Indeed, the various uses of the ce caused it to diverge from the basic intellectual identity of the book. It either highlighted the material

<sup>57</sup> See Tsien's discussion, Written on Bamboo and Silk, p. 117. For the history of ce, or the so-called jiance zhuang 簡策/冊裝, see Li, "Zhongguo gudai shuji," pp. 3-6.

<sup>58</sup> For rituals where jade slips were employed, see Ren Jiang 任江, "Lue lun Tang Song yu ce guan zhidu: yi beizhi ziliao wei zhongxin" 略論唐宋玉冊官制度, 以碑誌資料爲中心, Sichuan wenwu 四川文物 6 (2007), pp. 45—60.

 $<sup>^{59}</sup>$  Hong Mai, Yijian jia zhi 夷堅甲志, CSJC chubian edn. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935) 1, p. 7.

existence of codex-books, or signified special functions that were not normally considered intellectual reading matter. The ce inhabited an enclave removed from the world of the type of "historical bibliographies" that we already examined, where books were screened, counted, and valued as products of cerebral work. The focus on material instrumentality seems justified by the way in which a codex-volume was made. In making a book comprising multiple codices, one did not need much understanding of the contents to divide the volumes. Instead, he primarily followed considerations external to the text, such as the feasibility of binding, cost per volume, or shelf space. From creation to consumption, the ce was defined by a crude material instrumentality.

But didn't the *juan* rise precisely because of the same instrumentality? The beginnings of the histories of the *juan* and *ce* indeed shared clear parallels, but at the time when the *ce* ascended, the *juan* had undergone a development for several centuries and became increasingly defined by intellectual designs. I will analyze this evolution next.

#### MANUFACTURE OF THE JUAN

In this section I discuss how the making of the *juan* involved elaborate conceptual work, a factor which became increasingly central to the identity of the *juan*. A critical period for this "conceptual turn" was again the Song, when the *juan* transitioned from the roll to a stack of pages in the codex. During this transformation, the bibliographical unit ceased having a fixed association with one particular physical form and thus lost the correspondent material instrumentality that had enabled its ascendence. The *juan* persisted, nevertheless, because the intellectual design became a more important aspect of the *juan*, and its material identity became obscured. I demonstrate that the manufacture of the *juan* depended on varied and intensive conceptual labor, a task handled and owned by the educated elite.

To start with, the division of *juan* was correlated primarily with the proper distribution of content, the most critical part of its conceptual design. The relationship between the *juan* and content differentiation was a natural outcome of the multitudinous paradigm concurrent with the rise of the *juan*, as a post-*pian* book was supposed to have manifold contents that required some formal organization. At first, the *pian* served as the organizational unit inside a scroll; as the scroll snowballed into an even more multitudinous codex (that is, a codex might contain contents that spread across multiple rolls), the *juan* joined the *pian* in becoming an internal structural unit.

In Song times the *juan* division was correlated with highly varied standards for content organization. A switch in topic or theme was the most common reason to end one *juan* and start another. Take a particular Song text for example. The *Correct Meanings of the* Book of Documents (*Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義) was the official commentary by Kong Yingda 孔類達 (574–648) on the *Book of Documents*, one of the Five Confucian classics. The first three *juan* of this text had titles as follows:

```
Juan 1: Preface (Juan yi: xu 卷一: 序)
Juan 2: The Canon of Yao: First (Juan er: Yao dian diyi 卷二: 堯典第一)
Juan 3: The Canon of Shun: Second (Juan san: Shun dian disan 卷三: 舜
典第二)
```

The preface presented Kong's remarks to readers, hence a standalone unit that earned its own *juan*. "The Canon of Yao" and "The Canon of Shun" were the opening passages of the classic, and the second and third *juan* contained commentaries on them in exactly the same order.

In a book where the central subject was a thing, the *juan* divisions might reflect the different aspects of the thing. For instance, in the *Records of Mount Lü*, the author Chen Shunyu, discussed above, included references to major locations of interest, the best touring routes, and travel writings by famous visitors. The *juan*-arrangement of the text corresponded with these same categorical divisions.

For a text centering on philosophical discourse, the book-maker might organize the *juan* in regard to concepts. Zhu Xi was known for his systematic reinterpretations of terms which became building blocks of Neo-Confucian discourse. The *Recorded Words by Hui'an (Hui'an yulu* 晦 庵語錄), the book preserving his remarks, was structured around philosophical concepts. In a thirteenth-century version of the text, the first *juan* was titled "Heart-Mind, Nature, Emotions, and Capacity" ("Xin xing qing cai" 心性情才) and presented Zhu's elaborations of the concepts. The next *juan*, titled "Destiny-Decree, *Qi*-Constitution, and *Qi*" ("Ming, qizhi, qi" 命氣質氣) included fifteen comments by Zhu on these terms.

One type of text popular since the Tang aimed to "broadly explore things 博物," and these texts tended to bear *juan* divisions based on cultural taxonomies. The most prominent genres of this type were "collectanea of categorized knowledge" (*leishu* 類書, hereafter "collectanea")

<sup>60</sup> The edition under discussion was produced in the reign of Emperor Xiaozong (1127−94) in the Song. The text is housed at the Imperial Household Agency of Japan, and the digital version is at <a href="http://db.sido.keio.ac.jp/kanseki/T\_bib\_body.php?no=006659">http://db.sido.keio.ac.jp/kanseki/T\_bib\_body.php?no=006659</a>, accessed February 18, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> This edition was printed ca. 1216 and is preserved at the National Library of China.

tanea") and "notebooks" (biji 筆記). Take one notebook for example. Scrambled Notes from the Nenggai Study (Nenggai zhai manlu 能改齋漫錄) was a collection of jottings assembled by Wu Zeng 吳曾 (fl. 1140s). The juan division reflected his thematic management of a broad range of things. The ninth juan, "Geography" ("Dili" 地理), discussed issues regarding changes in geography from antiquity to Wu's times, and the eleventh juan, "Records on Poetry" ("Jishi" 記詩), introduced a collection of poems in their social contexts. The fifteenth juan, "Regional Things" ("Fangwu" 方物), presented intriguing creatures found in different localities, such as fist-sized chestnuts in the prefect of Yue (in modern Zhejiang). And in the eighteenth juan, "Spirits and Ghosts" ("Shenxian guiguai" 神仙鬼怪), Wu recorded paranormal phenomena such as a man who uprooted a pillar with his bare hands.

Geography, poetry, regional products, and fantastical beings were important components of the world that Wu and other scholar-officials inhabited, and this taxonomy was the result of their efforts to make sense of it. The four examples I cited above were conventional categories widely seen in similar notebooks as well as in collectanea. It is thus not surprising that many Song texts in these genres adopted comparable designations as *juan* titles.

In a multi-author text, differentiation of authorship might provide a principle for establishing divisions. The Expanded and Classified Writings of the Three Su (Chong guang fenmen san Su xiansheng wencui 重廣分門 三蘇先生文粹) was a collection of writings by Su Xun 蘇洵 (1009—1066), Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037—1101), and Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039—1112). 65 The second and third juan of the book were identically titled "Commentaries on the Five Classics" ("Wu jing lun" 五經論). Yet the second juan was penned by Su Shi, and the third by Su Zhe, hence the juan division.

It is worth noting that while content distribution was a primary shaping factor of the *juan*, it was not the sole cause. Another less explicit rule that a *juan*-maker followed was that of normative size, which was derived from the capacity of a book roll. As I discussed in the section "Emergence of the *juan*," above, a paper scroll was supposed to have some appropriate physical dimensions so that it could be comfortably

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> I use a modern, annotated version of the *Scrambled Notes*, with the knowledge that the current arrangement of *juan* remained consistent with that in 1190. See the annotator's notes in Wu Zeng, *Nenggai zhai man lu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Wu, Nenggai zhai man lu 15, p. 439.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 18, p. 514.

<sup>65</sup> The edition I use was produced in the Southern Song (1127−1279), and it is currently held at the Imperial Household Agency of Japan. For the digitized full version, see <a href="http://db.sido.keio.ac.jp/kanseki/T\_bib\_body.php?no=047922">http://db.sido.keio.ac.jp/kanseki/T\_bib\_body.php?no=047922</a>, accessed February 18, 2021.

held in hand and easy to fold and unfold. The size limit of a *juan* was the material legacy of the scroll, and it had been passed down to the new *juan* nested in the codex. The codex-*juan* remained largely consistent in size with the scroll-*juan* at the time of transition (see the same section), and in some cases in the latter half of the Song, it moved into a measured growth which fell within a continuum with the scroll-*juan* (see next section). The normative size of the *juan* lingered as an implicit structure internal to the codex, a "habit of mind" a *juan*-maker would take as a tacit guide in his textual labor.

The size limit complicated the *juan*'s role in structuring a book, particularly given the fact that content division in the Chinese book came at different levels. An exemplary small unit was the *pian*, and those of an expansive size included *men* 門 and *bu* 部, both translated as "section." The *juan* fell somewhere in the middle of the spectrum and worked in coordination with other content divisions. One *juan* could contain multiple shorter content-units, such as *pian*, a phenomenon I already discussed in Section I. One *juan* could also become a subdivision of a larger content division. The third, fourth, and fifth *juan* of Wu's *Scrambled Notes*, for instance, belonged to the same content-unit, "identification of errors 辯誤." The *juan*'s subordinance to broader taxonomic units was particularly obvious in big-scale compendia. The "section of official titles" ("Zhiguan bu" 職官部) in the *Imperial Collectanea of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽), for example, encompassed as many as sixty-seven *juan*. 67

The size limit was indeed a lingering material factor, but its impact should not discount the importance of content division in *juan*-making. It is evident from the foregoing examples that the book-maker was familiar with the content and strove to coordinate transitions of topic with the *juan*. It could be that some content-divisions – small or big – were already in place and presented to the book-maker, and he further divided the *juan* based on a good understanding of the content-units. It was also likely that the same person took charge of both tasks, first sorting out the passages/sections and then organizing the *juan*. In either case, *juan*-making involved intensive intellectual work. Especially for book-makers who had to supervise both procedures, diligent thinking and a comprehensive view were de rigueur. For example, a *biji* or collectanea compiler needed substantial knowledge of the taxonomic

<sup>66</sup> Wu, Nenggai zhai man lu, p. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) et al., Taiping yulan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), p. 1.

themes conventional to the genres and a good judgment to incorporate new materials into existing categories.

An inquiry into procedural details will further illuminate the kind of cerebral labor involved in making the *juan*. Let me proceed by way of answering two relevant questions: how did a book-maker make the *juan*, and who were the book-makers? To start with, the making of the *juan* was a distinctive act often mentioned by scholars in their writings. They characterized it as "dividing  $\mathcal{D}$ ," "compiling  $\mathcal{A}$ ," "separating  $\mathcal{H}$ ," or "organizing  $\mathcal{H}$ " into *juan*. It was essentially a procedure of organization, isolating a portion of text from the whole book and establishing a new unit.

So when exactly did the *juan* come into being during the process of producing a book? The manufacture of a book occurred in roughly five steps; the first two applied to manuscripts and imprints in the same way, while the latter three worked differently depending on the context. First, one composed and assembled the contents. Second, he organized the contents in a series of editorial procedures addressed as "fixing 定." Third, he transcribed the contents onto sheets of paper. For a manuscript, these sheets would be the components of the final book. For a xylograph, one copied the text on extra thin paper and produced the so-called "patterns for carving 寫樣," which was pasted face down onto wood blocks to provide guidance for character carving. The fourth step applied to the imprint only, in which process carvers prepared blocks and printed pages off the blocks. The fifth procedure was to finalize the material form of the book. In the case of a manuscript-scroll, a mounter glued sheets of writing on paper or silk backing; for a xylographic codex, binders joined pages together at the back or spine.<sup>72</sup>

The division of the *juan* happened in steps one or two. It was most likely part of "fixing," that is, stage two. Supporting evidence is abun-

<sup>68</sup> Shen Gua 沈括 (1031-1095), Xin jiaozheng Mengxi bitan 新校正夢溪筆談, annot. Hu Daojing 胡道靜 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2011) 15, p. 111.

<sup>69</sup> Hong Zun 洪遵 (1120—1174), Hanyuan yishi 翰院遗事, in Quan Song biji, ser. 4, vol. 8, p. 109.

<sup>70</sup> Wang Pizhi 王闢之 (js. 1067), Mianshui yantan lu 澠水燕談錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981) 4, p. 45.

<sup>71</sup> Kong Pingzhong 孔平仲 (js. 1065), Xu shishuo 續世說, in Quan Song biji, ser. 2, vol. 5 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006) 2, p. 37.

<sup>72</sup> For systematic introductions to the procedures of making a Chinese book, see Denis Twitchett, Printing and Publishing in Medieval China (New York: Frederic C. Beil Publisher, 1983), p. 70; and McDermott, Social History of the Chinese Book, pp. 9–39. While these scholars mostly focus on the making of imprints, R. H. Van Gulik provides a comprehensive account of the mounting technology from a scroll-maker's point of view. See Van Gulik, Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), pp. 57–335.

dant. For instance, Cheng Ju 程俱 (1078-1144) in his *History of Imperial Libraries* (*Lintai gushi* 麟臺故事) placed the *juan*-making procedure in the sequence as follows:

Thus [I] have collected personal observations, records in old texts, as well as what governmental regulations include, and put them in order and made a book.

The total twelve *pian* (passages) are divided into five *juan*. [The book] is entitled the *History of Imperial Libraries*, which was then copied into two *ce* (volumes) and submitted to the Memorial-Forwarding Office. 輒采摭見聞及方冊所載、法令所該, 比次爲書. 凡十有二篇, 列爲五卷, 名曰《麟臺故事》, 繕寫成二冊, 詣通進司投進.73

The book Cheng produced was clearly a codex – a set of two codices, to be precise. As Cheng indicated, the first procedure was to assemble contents (twelve *pian*) and the next was to allocate these passages into *juan*. To conclude, the properly organized text would be transcribed onto two sets of bound pages. The assignment of the *juan* in this way "fixed" the contents by means of an intermediate layer of structure straddling passages and volumes.

Ouyang Xiu provided a similar account in the description of his compiling the collected writings of Hanlin Academicians:

Today your servant pleas to organize into sections writings by all [Hanlin] academicians since the beginning of our dynasty and arrange them in the chronological order. [Then I will] compile them into *juan* and wraps, titling the book *Draft Records of the Academy*. 臣今欲乞將國朝以來學士所撰文書,各以門類,依其年次,編成卷帙,號爲《學士院草錄》.74

The division of the *juan* came after three procedures; collecting the contents (writings by academicians), dividing all writings into *men/lei* sections (a broad content division), and ordering everything chronologically. The *juan* came into being as the final step of organization, supplying a new framework in which the thematically and chronologically sorted contents would be well-paced in their final delivery. But also, the making of a *juan* could occur in stage one, concurrent with the book-maker's effort to collect and write contents. As one was accumulating materials, he simultaneously organized them into the *juan*. This compares to how a modern author composes her work: as she writes,

<sup>73</sup> Cheng Ju, *Lintai gushi jiaozheng* 麟臺故事校證, annot. Zhang Fuxiang 張富祥 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), p. 5.

<sup>74</sup> Hong, Hanyuan yishi, p. 109.

she constantly keeps in mind a structure and punctuates information into reasonable segments.

There is also plenty of evidence to support the second possibility. For example, Wu Fang 吳枋 (ca. 1100s) described how he wrote a book as follows:

Everything [I] heard with my ears, saw with my eyes, recited through my mouth, and gained via my mind, I noted down and titled it *Wild History*. [It] has thus far accumulated to over ten *juan*. 凡耳之所聞, 目之所見, 口之所誦, 心之所得, 随手鈔記, 目曰《野乘》, 已 積成十余卷.75

The text Wu Fang composed was a so-called notebook, and it was conventional for an author to compose a notebook that accumulated over a long period. Wu synchronized the procedures of *juan*-making and material-collection. It was likely a structured process of accumulation guided by attention to both content and size: Wu might have several thematic divisions ready and would assign new materials into their relevant categories; as one content-unit grew to exceed the conventional size of a *juan*, he would divide it into multiple *juan*. To divide *juan* was integral to the process of composition, as it provided direction for the selection and allocation of contents.

Of course, writing and organizing are never mutually exclusive procedures, and the dividing of the *juan* could reasonably shift between stages one and two. The most important takeaway from the investigation above is that *juan*-making was intellectual work carried out by bookmakers familiar with a book's contents. To fully unpack this point, some further exploration of the identity of the book-maker is in order.

From the middle through late-imperial times, book-makers were elite men participating in the publishing industry. I choose the term "book-maker" to accommodate what I count as three fluidities in the Chinese book world. In the first place, not all book-makers might be considered "professional" publishers in the modern sense. Some book-makers were indeed committed to making books under the purview of certain establishments, as a specialized career. For example, those who served as editors in state-commissioned publication projects, or who facilitated the production of Buddhist and Daoist canons, or who op-

<sup>75</sup> Wu Fang, Yì zhai yecheng 宜齋野乘, in Quan Song biji, ser. 7, vol. 2 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2015), p. 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Many scholars have noticed this. For a recent discussion, see Daiwie Fu, "The Flourishing of *Biji* or Pen-Notes Texts and its Relations to History of Knowledge in Song China (960–1279)," in Florence Bretelle-Establet and Karine Chemla, eds., *Qu'était-ce qu'écrire une encyclopédie en Chine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2007), p. 108.

erated privately-owned workshops.<sup>77</sup> Others were ad hoc participants in the publishing industry. Instead of making books for a living, these people organized the publication of particular texts, often on a one-time basis.<sup>78</sup> Motivated primarily by cultural interests to publish writings by self, family, friends, or venerable writers, book-makers of this kind often did not own publishing facilities but would invest in locating the resources needed for each step of the procedure.<sup>79</sup>

The second fluidity resided in the division of labor. All book-makers, whether working at an establishment or casually on their own, assumed a gamut of responsibilities significantly wider than those of a modern counterpart. That is, a book-maker could possibly be in charge of the whole range of tasks involved in producing a book: writing, editing, collating, copying, financing, and marketing. So A number of scholars have discussed this multi-faceted role from the middle through late imperial times. The only procedures the book-maker would likely outsource to non-elite practitioners were block-carving and binding or

77 For overviews of publishing in the Song, including the state, religious institutions, and private sectors, see Zhang, Zhongguo yinshua shi, pp. 53-94 and pp. 152-55; and Twitchett, Printing and Publishing in Medieval China, pp. 34-63.

<sup>78</sup> Even this long-term versus one-time difference should be understood with a caveat because it is not always clear whether a particular establishment (e.g., an academy) was a committed book publisher or a location for ad hoc projects. See Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), p. 76.

79 This model is what McDermott calls "non-commercial private publishing." The phenomenon became prominent in the Song and continued to grow in the Ming. See McDermott, "Noncommercial Private Publishing in Late Imperial China," in McDermott and Burke, eds., Book Worlds of East Asia and Europe, esp. p. 108. Hilde De Weerdt presents a compelling case study of Song scholar-officials' non-commercial private publishing activities within a small network of friends and acquaintances; De Weerdt, "Continuities between Scribal and Print Publishing in Twelfth-Century Song China—The Case of Wang Mingqing's Serialized Notebooks," East Asian Publishing and Society 6 (2016), pp. 54–83.

so Note that copying was a slightly different case. The book-maker could either transcribe on his own, or outsource it to other people, such as a friend, famous calligrapher, or professional copyist. One common credential shared by copyists of diverse backgrounds was their fine command of calligraphy, a quality of the educated elite. Extant records of identifiable Song copyists suggest that some of them were well known for expertise in certain scripts, and others held prestigious academic degrees or official ranks. See Zhang, Zhongguo yinshua shi, pp. 160–61 and p. 731. Thus, although copying could be an outsourced job, it remained an elite practice in the Song, associated with the book-maker rather than the artisan class. This was a situation different from the Ming period, when a low-status, poorly-paid community of scribes came into being. See McDermott, Social History of the Chinese Book, p. 26. For other details of copyists in the Song, such as those who practiced for religious piety, see De Weerdt, "Continuities between Scribal and Print Publishing," p. 69.

81 See, for example, Chia, Printing for Profit, p. 321, n. 6; Joe Dennis, Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers in Imperial China, 1100–1700 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), p. 167; McDermott, "Noncommercial Private Publishing," p. 109; and Cynthia Brokaw, "Empire of Texts: Book Production, Book Distribution, and Book Culture in Late Imperial China," in McDermott and Burke, eds., Book Worlds of East Asia and Europe, p. 188.

mounting, which required professional artisanal skills.<sup>82</sup> Some hands-on book-makers were even well versed in these manual activities.<sup>83</sup> Thus, book-makers were authors, editors, compilers, transcribers, and organizers of all necessary activities in making books.

The third fluidity lies in the unfixed nature of Chinese books. In the circulation of books, no one – neither the author nor the editor of a first edition – could claim fundamental fixity, as the contents of books were constantly subject to the editorial hands of readers, editors, or transcribers.<sup>84</sup> The division of *juan* was not exempt from such changes. Thus, I use the term "book-maker" in an egalitarian and inclusive sense, namely, that any individual who participated in the aforementioned spectrum of activities constituted a book-maker. He could be a publisher with encompassing responsibilities, or an editor hired by such a publisher to do proofreading only.

One last point regarding the book-maker concerns his elite status, which I define broadly as encompassing all the social and cultural credentials that distinguished him from the artisan class. The mainstream social elite of the middle and late-imperial times were the so-called scholar-officials, educated men with degrees from the civil-service examinations and/or appointments in the government. Many book-makers were indeed scholar-officials. But one did not need a degree nor a title to become a book-maker. Some commercial publishers held no official credentials and yet received the same examination-oriented education; in their capacity as book-makers, they read, punctuated, and taught texts in the same sphere with the scholar-officials. The elite

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> The artisans, especially the block carvers, played an important role and yet left skimpy sources in the Tang and Song periods. For some discussions, see Ming-sun Poon, "Books and Printing in Sung China (960–1279)," Ph.D. diss. (The University of Chicago, 1979), pp. 200–2, 208–10; and Chia, *Printing for Profit*, pp. 34–39. Scholarship on block cutters in the late imperial period provides valuable inspiration for our understanding of this community. For example, see McDermott, *Social History of the Chinese Book*, pp. 31–39, and Brokaw, "Empire of Texts," pp. 188–89.

<sup>83</sup> Yang Shengxin 楊繩信, Zhongguo banke zonglu 中國版刻綜錄 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1987), p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> A point many scholars establish with elaborate evidence from the Tang and Song periods. For example, see Cherniack, "Book Culture," pp. 5–125; and Christopher Nugent, *Manifest in Words, Written on Paper: Producing and Circulating Poetry in Tang Dynasty China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), pp. 221–35.

 $<sup>^{85}</sup>$  For the cultural credentials of commercial publishers and their contested relationships with scholar-officials, see Chia,  $Printing\ for\ Profit$ , pp. 75-99, especially pp. 98-99. My claim of the elite status also extends to book-makers in Buddhist and Daoist establishments, who belonged to the elite stratum in Chinese society. They often maintained close relationships with the scholar-officials and received state sponsorship for big projects. Jiang Wu touches upon these points in his "The Chinese Buddhist Canon Through the Ages: Essential Categories and Critical Issues in the Study of a Textual Tradition," in Wu and Chia, eds.,  $Spreading\ Buddha's\ Word\ in\ East\ Asia$ , esp. pp. 18, 22–23.

status of the book-makers also illuminates another matter. It means that scholars were by no means in charge of *writing* books only. They participated in almost every step of making the book as a thing, an object which bore texts, carried designs, and possessed material properties.

Returning to the topic of *juan*-making, I would argue that the dividing of *juan* was primarily intellectual work performed by elite bookmakers, a procedure distinguished from the manual labor undertaken by artisans. Proper division of the *juan* required an engaging understanding of the contents as well as an extensive knowledge regarding the writing and reading experiences, such as prevalent cultural taxonomies, genrespecific analytical categories, and a good sense of the cognitive habits of the reader. Comparing to the work of dividing volumes, making the juan required a much deeper knowledge of texts and the textual world, and the product, the juan division, was thus more embedded in the interiority of the book and the cultural tradition. The nature of this work kept the formulation of the *juan* in the hands of the educated elite and made it a more exclusive business than the division of the ce. In turn, the cerebral designs book-makers invested in shaping the *juan* became emblematic of an expertise, a cultural privilege the scholar-officials and their ilk felt entitled to own.

Let me conclude this section by adding a caveat. Book-makers did not have to arrange the juan from scratch in every case, a point which yet does not detract from the intellectual heft of the juan. Some famous old texts were transmitted with well-established structures that remained unchanged by the work of generations of book-makers. For instance, the Han-era text Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji 史記) consistently had 130 juan in all extant bibliographies from its own day through the twentieth century. The republication of the classic thus did not require any effort to divide the juan. However, each new book-maker had to make an editorial decision; even if it was to make no change, he certainly was well informed of the history of the text, the kind of knowledge afforded by elite education. Besides, maintaining the same numerical division of the *juan* did not necessarily indicate the absence of changes inside the *juan*. As I will demonstrate in the following section, the Records of the Grand Historian provided a telling example of new creative work that book-makers produced within the bounds of the juan.

Figure 3. Half-leaf from Correct Meanings of the Change (Zhouyi zhengyi 周易正義) Annot. Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648), 1st edn. 988; rpt. ca. 12th-13th c.

## EVOLVEMENT OF THE JUAN

In the final section, I discuss a few other conceptual phenomena associated with the *juan* and how they fortified its intellectual identity in ways beyond the ordinary work of *juan* division. First, I introduce some new designs that book-makers created on the basis of the *juan*. Second, I examine the role of the *juan* as a motif in the discourse on learning. In both cases, the *juan* evolved from an empirical measure of textual length to an epistemological unit, an elevation of status that was both cause and effect of its deep entrenchment in cultural discourse.

It is no exaggeration to say that the evolving juan in the age of the codex gave rise to new books in unprecedented forms. One form on which I focus here is the variorum commentary. For readers of late-imperial and modern times, the presentation of the Confucian classics and some other ancient texts conventionally consisted of the original text (the classic, or jing  $\Re$ ) and some authoritative commentaries (for example, the commentary (zhu  $\grave{\pm}$ ) and subcommentary (shu  $\grave{\kappa}$ ). One critical condition of this invention was the transition from the scroll to the codex, and specifically, the augmented space the juan enjoyed in a codex. The expanding juan afforded a new platform where bookmakers developed the variorum commentatorial model.

In the following I discuss two cases, first of which is the  $\mathfrak{N}$   $\mathbb{R}$  (Change), a key text in the Confucian canon. It serves as an example to show how the standard practice of presenting Confucian classics as the combination of classic, commentary, and subcommentary came into existence. I include two texts for comparison: Correct Meanings of the Change (Zhouyi zhengyi 周易正義, hereafter Correct Meanings) and Commentary and Subcommentary on the Change (Zhouyi zhushu 周易註疏, hereafter Commentary and Subcommentary). By the time of the Song, the commentaries by Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249) and Han Kangbo 韓康伯 (332-380), and the subcommentary by Kong Yingda (see figure 3, left), had become indispensable support materials for serious students of the Change. But it was not until Commentary and Subcommentary, the latter of the two texts, that the original classic and the two orders of commentary came to integrate with one another in one coherent book.

The *Correct Meanings* was first published in the late-tenth century and reproduced during the Southern Song (1127–1279) as a state-commissioned edition, conventionally known as the "directorate edition" (*jianben* 監本).<sup>86</sup> It was a so-called "subcommentary-only edition 單疏本,"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Attached to the end of the book is a list of compilers, which signed the date of submission as the first year of the Duangong reign (988); see *Zhouyi zhengyi* 14, pp. 10a—b. For opin-

in which the subcommentary by Kong constituted the core content. The classic and commentary were briefly referenced only for assisting the flow of the subcommentary. For example, the book cited the original classic in the following truncated form (see figure 4, right):

Nine in the second place: [from] "emerging dragon" to "great man." 九二, 見龍至大人.87

The line was an abbreviation of the following full text:

Nine in the second place: dragon emerges in the field; it is beneficial to see a great man. 九二, 見龍在田, 利見大人.88

Similarly, in places where Kong referenced the commentary in his subcommentary, the commentary also appeared in abridgement. This text was an example of the old model, in which merely one component – whether the classic, the commentary, or the subcommentary – remained in the spotlight.

The second text, the *Commentary and Subcommentary*, was a late-twelfth-century product commissioned by the Supervisorate of Tea and Salt in Zhedong circuit (*Zhe dong yancha si* 浙東鹽茶司). It was the first existing edition of the *Change* that included all three components in entirety, thus longer and richer than the *Correct Meanings*.<sup>89</sup>

A comparison between the two books reveals interesting changes. To start with, the most visible transformation happened to the layout of the page. The Commentary and Subcommentary broke the uniformity of Correct Meanings and adopted different sizes of the column and the font. In the Correct Meanings, a page (half-leaf) is 23.8 cm in height and 16.5 cm in width; each page features 15 columns, and each column contains 26 characters, which appears in the same font size and in a single line. A page in the Commentary and Subcommentary is slightly smaller, 21.0 cm in height and 15.3 cm in width, and each has eight columns. A column either contains a line of the classic (19 characters), or splits into double lanes for the commentary/subcommentary (38 characters in two lanes combined). The font size for the latter is also significantly smaller. These changes made it possible to place the commentary adjacent to

ions on the date of the text, see Pan Zhongwei 潘忠偉, "Zhouyi zhengyi Tang Song chuanben lue kao ji Ruan Yuan ben zhi wenti" 周易正義唐宋傳本略考及阮元本之問題, Chengdu daxue xuebao 成都大學學報 4 (2011), pp. 29—30.

<sup>87</sup> Zhouyi zhengyi 2, p. 3a.

ss Zhouyi zhengyi, in Shisanjing zhushu 十三经注疏, comp. Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982) 1, p. 2.

<sup>89</sup> For a systematic introduction to the arrangement and layout of this book, see Zhang Lijuan 張麗娟, "Yue ke bahang ben de zhushu heke tili" 越刻八行本的註疏合刻體例, *Handan shizhuan xuebao* 邯鄲師專學報 23.2 (2013): pp. 40–45.

Figure 4. Half-leaf from Commentary and Subcommentary on the Change (Zhouyi zhushu 周易註疏)

Annot. Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249), Han Kangbo 韓康伯 (332–380), and Kong Yingda, ca. late 12th c.

the classical passage they were supposed to annotate even though the commentary tended to run longer than the classic.

The second change has to do with the *juan*: in both cases, the size of the juan – in terms of page count – increase by nearly 100%. To make the comparison, I choose a chapter from each text covering exactly the same sections in the classic: the ninth juan of the Correct Meanings and the eighth juan of the Commentary and Subcommentary, both containing the hexagrams that ranged from ding  $\mathbb{H}$  (Cauldron) to feng  $\mathbb{H}$  (Abundance). The Correct Meanings included only the subcommentary on these hexagrams, which amount to 9,710 characters and 13 leaves. In the Commentary and Subcommentary, the original text (1,346 characters), the commentary (3,068 characters), and the subcommentary (8,974 characters) add up to a total of 13,469 characters and 27 leaves.

Thus, in addition to remodeling the page, the editor of the Commentary and Subcommentary doubled the leaf count of a juan so that he could present the classic, the commentary, and the subcommentary in the same place. Apparently the book-maker was not anxious about the increase. In the Commentary and Subcommentary, the character count of a half-leaf ranges from 220 to 310, and most pages feature 250 to 290 characters. That is 30% less than the average page capacity of the Correct Meanings, where a full page with no section breaks presents 390 characters. Clearly, the editor of the Commentary and Subcommentary did not try to contain the enlargement of the juan by packing more information onto each page.

The enlarged *juan* afforded similar changes in genres beyond the classics. *Records of the Grand Historian*, the seminal text in the tradition of official histories, experienced a similar development. My analysis involves two editions. One is an eleventh-century version conventionally known as the Renshou edition (*renshou ben* 仁壽本) (see figure 5) and a twelfth-century version compiled by Huang Shanfu 黃善夫 (fl. 1100s, hereafter Huang edition). Like the ancient classics, *Records of the Grand Historian* generated a number of commentaries over time, and by the Song, all three major historical commentaries to it were in circulation. These were Pei Yin's 裴駰 (ca. mid-5th c.) *Collected Annotations on the Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji jijie* 史記集解), Sima Zhen's 司馬貞 (679-732) *Seeking the Hidden from Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji suoyin* 史記素隱), and Zhang Shoujie's 張守節 (fl. 725-735) *Correct Meanings of the Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義). Prior to the twelfth century, however, readers might have had access to these



Figure 5. Half-Leaf from Sima Qian 司馬遷 (fl. ca. 1st c. BC), Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji 史記)

Including Pei Yin's 裴駰 (ca. mid 5th c.) Collected Annotations on the Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji jijie 史記集解), Renshou edn., ca. 11th c.

commentaries as separate treatises but rarely as one complete, collated book.

The Renshou edition was commissioned by the Song state during the Jingyou reign (1034–1038). Tt contained the Records of the Grand Historian and only one commentary, Pei's Collected Annotations. The Huang edition was a so-called masha 麻沙 book made in Fujian in the 1190s. It was the first extant variorum edition to encompass all three commentaries in addition to the original text. (See figure 6.)

Similar to the case of the *Change*, the editors of these two texts adopted a more varied page design to integrate the original text with commentaries. Both texts feature ten columns on a half-leaf, and both present the original text in a bigger font size and the commentaries in a significantly smaller size. The original text occupies a column in a single alignment, and the small-font commentary lines up in double sub-columns. In the Renshou edition, each column has the capacity to contain 19 big characters (if big font only) or 56 small characters (if small font only). A column in the Huang edition contains 18 big characters (in one line) or 46 small characters (in two lines).

Between the single commentary and the three-commentary collection, the page count of a *juan* also doubles. Take the second *juan* of *Records of the Grand Historian*, namely, "Basic Chronicle of the Xia" ("Xia benji" 夏本紀). Both books presented the original chapter from *Records of the Grand Historian*, which was a fixed length. The *juan* in the Renshou edition, containing a single commentary of 4,870 characters, has 14 leaves. Its counterpart in the Huang edition distributes all three commentaries of 14,394 characters into 26 leaves.

<sup>90</sup> Among the total 130 *juan* of this text, 115 were made in the Jingyou reign, and the rest came from a Southern Song state-commissioned edition. For comprehensive introductions to this edition and its variations, see Zhang Yuchun 張玉春, *Shiji banben yanjiu* 史記版本研究 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2001), pp. 109–25, and Wang Yongji 王永吉, "Dianjiao ben Shiji xiuding gongzuo suoyong Beisong Jingyou jianben kaoshu" 點校本史記修訂工作所用北宋景祐監本考述, *Weinan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 渭南師範學院學報 31.21 (2016), p. 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Su Peng 蘇芃, "Nan Song Huang Shanfu ben Shiji jiaokan yanjiu" 南宋黃善夫本史記校 勘研究, Ph.D. diss. (Nanjing Normal University, 2010), p. 13. For a brief introduction to the characteristics of the Masha books in the Song, see Lucille Chia, "Mashaben: Commercial Publishing in Jianyang from the Song to the Ming," in Paul Smith and Richard Von Glahn, eds., *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), pp. 119–29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Note that between these two editions also existed versions including two commentaries, for instance, a 1171 imprint. See Zhang, *Shiji banben yanjiu*, p. 219. The *Records of the Grand Historian* and its commentaries witnessed a gradual process of integration and growth in size; ibid., pp. 206–35.

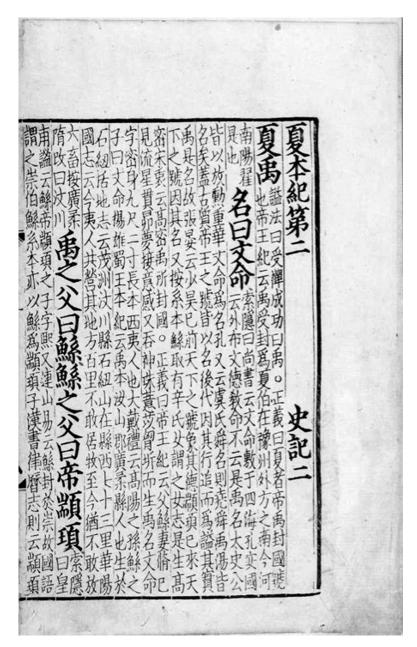


Figure 6. Half-Leaf from Sima Qian, Records of the Grand Historian

Including Pei Yin, Collected Annotations; Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (679–732), Seeking the Hidden from the Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji suoyin 史記索隱); and Zhang Shoujie 張守節 (fl. 725–735), Correct Meanings of the Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji zhengyi 史記正義), comp. Huang Shanfu 黃善夫, ca. 12th c.

The enlargement of the *juan* may look like a simple and natural change at first sight. More textual content required more space, hence the book-makers' efforts to make bigger *juan*. It was particularly doable since the fluctuation of the size of a chapter would barely inconvenience a reader's physical reading experience, at least not so much as a scroll would do.

What is worth notice in this general process is the book-makers' persistent attachment to the *juan* as the structure for their innovations. Whatever change they made, they did within the framework of the *juan*. They chose to blend new content into a more complex and spacious *juan* instead of adding more *juan*. They created new mise-en-page by alternating between columns and sub-columns, big and small characters, all within the scope of the same *juan* assignment. In other words, the *juan* persisted at the foundation of the book-makers' imagination of books and continued to structure their new projects.

The book-makers' attachment to the *juan* bespoke their appreciation of its conceptual significance, and the *juan*-based designs further perpetuated the perceived status of the *juan* by imputing new intellectual values. In the aforementioned examples, the prior *juan* stood for a segment of the classic, and the latter *juan* morphed into a completely new epistemological unit. To make the new juan, the book-maker literarily had to lift texts from separate physical locations and combined them into a more expansive and multitudinous unit of knowledge. The new juan hosted an order of meaning which pertained to and yet differed from the original classic. While a commentary often conspicuously served to clarify the meaning of a given original, any exegetical "clarification" was to uphold an interpretation which emerged from different historical circumstances and projected invented meanings. This happened as much with a commentator intent on a faithful interpretation as one invested in innovative reading. In the new juan, the physical proximity between the original and the commentary permanently redefined the original by paring its infinite hermeneutic possibilities down to one specific, authoritative exposition (or a few of them stipulated respectively in the commentary and subcommentary). In this sense, the reinvented juan was a new coherent unit of meaning rather than aggregation of the old, and it held up as the conceptual and physical locale where the reader could find and ground this new meaning. The intellectual identity of the *juan* thus became further entrenched, as any effort to dissolve the current boundary of the juan was a de facto challenge to the authoritative reading of the text.

The distinctive identity of the *juan* as an epistemological unit was well recognized not only in the technical world of book-making, but also in the general discourse on learning. The *juan* was a popular motif in scholar-officials' discussions on diligence and industry in reading and writing. One *juan* of content was a small and yet measurable amount of knowledge, which, if thoughtfully processed, constituted a basic dose of engaged learning. For instance, Ye Mengde 葉夢得(1077-1148), a renowned bibliophile, followed a routine of reading one *juan* per day, aspiring to finish 3,000 *juan* of what he perceived as the most important books.<sup>93</sup> To him, a pace of one *juan* a day seemed to demonstrate a commendable diligence and a realistic pace of learning.

Some others discussed the epistemic role of the *juan* more symbolically, which lends an even stronger testimonial to its elevated status as a cultural trope. For example, Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210) made the following argument:

A single *juan* of writing may at first seem quite limited. But [if you] compare the earlier and latter sections, examine this in light of that, [distinguish] the origin and the branches as well as the refined and the coarse, and let [different sections] illuminate one another, the [issues] it (one *juan*) involves are indeed innumerable. ... One has to be extremely broadly read to thoroughly understand one *juan* of a book. 一卷之書,初視之若甚約也. 先後相參,彼是相稽,本末精粗,相爲發明,其所關涉,已不勝其眾矣. ... 非博極群書,則一卷之書,殆不可遽通.94

The pivot of Lu's argument was the interdependent nature of knowledge. That is, one bit of information was always interlocked with another, and innumerable connections and comparisons could be drawn between any two items of knowledge. Lu thus exhorted readers not to overlook a small amount of learning, which he reified as "a single *juan* of writing." Comprehension of one *juan* required an erudition based on extensive reading, because one must be able to place this one *juan* amid the global interconnectedness to achieve a thorough understanding of it.

Lu's invocation of the *juan* was clearly tropic, because the term primarily served to illustrate a small epistemic scope rather than to

<sup>93</sup> Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (ca. 1254-ca. 1323), Wenxian tongkao 文獻通考, SKQS edn. (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983) 174, p. 49b. Cited and discussed by Ronald Egan, "On the Circulation of Books during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR) 30 (2008), p. 13.

<sup>94</sup> Lu You, Lu You ji 陸游集, Wei nan wenji 渭南文集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976) 21, p. 2179. The full passage is translated and discussed by Egan, "On the Circulation of Books," p. 60.

denote one's literal experience of reading a *juan*. Lu also employed the *juan* to discuss the ultimate sagacity of a learner, a choice that well evinced the symbolic heft of the *juan* in cultural discourse.

In sum, the *juan* had acquired distinctive intellectual values in addition to the ordinary conceptual work embodied in its making. It served as a new conceptual space where book-makers reconfigured some critical genres of the Chinese book and articulated new meanings out of the old texts. It permeated into boarder cultural discourse as an epistemological vocabulary, a gauge of learning, and a symbol of erudition. The cultural privileges the *juan* enjoyed were indeed extensive and deep.

In this sense, the status of the *juan* as the bibliometric unit was but one aspect of a systematic embeddedness of the concept sustained in the intellectual identity of the book. Any attempt to replace the *juan* would be equivalent to mounting a challenge to the entire system, from the infrastructure of book-making procedures to the superstructure of cultural renderings of the book. It is by all means too big a battle for the *ce* to win with mere material instrumentality. In addition, the longer the *juan* sustained after its conceptual turn, the more entrenched was the idea that book management relied on a synthesis of material and conceptual orders. That is, one should certainly count books as material objects; but counting books without a discernment of their internal structures would never qualify as meaningful bibliographical work.

### CONCLUSION

The *juan* opened an extraordinary window onto the history of the Chinese book. In its long history as the most enduring bibliometric measure, the *juan* played multiple vital roles in a sequence of structural changes. Originally denoting a roll, the *juan* became the official unit of book management and introduced the revolutionary idea of counting books as material objects. The ascendence of the *juan* concurred with the new model of conceiving bookness, that a book should be defined by a distinctive material form (such as a scroll) and multitudinous contents (divided by *pian*). In this sense, the *juan* ushered in a material turn of the book.

This model persisted to define the Chinese book in the rest of pre-modern history and incorporated a number of changes into its continued dominance. One most salient change was again associated with the *juan*, which transformed from a book roll to a codex. After this reform, the book acquired the codex as its new material identity

and turned the *juan* into a conceptual unit responsible for organizing its internal multiplicity.

But, intriguingly, the *juan* did not concede to measures associated with the codex and continued as the official bibliographical measure well into the twentieth century. This was primarily because of the distinctive intellectual heft the *juan* had acquired during its long entrenchment and the continued embrace of it by elite book-makers. To a great extent, the juan became the embodiment of serious scholarship devoted to making and reading books, and it occupied a privileged position in the publication world. The making of juan divisions demanded considerable intellectual labor and bibliographical expertise not required in the making of a codex-volume. The juan had further asserted a presence in the general cultural discourse as a more abstract vocabulary, an epistemological unit, a concept that structured not only the empirical reading experience but also the imagination of learning and erudition. The systematic embeddedness of the juan in the publication and cultural worlds fortified its perceived legitimacy as the standard measure of the book.

In a way, the post-roll *juan* flipped the material turn in text management back to a focus on the conceptual. Indeed, although the book had a material identity, it was never just a physical object. As a seasoned bibliophile counted books, he handled material book-objects constantly alert to their internal orders. The history of the *juan* illuminated the complex interplay between material and intellectual factors in the making of the book.