Xiamen, Guangzhou, Vancouver, Singapore, and Taiwan—encompassing sending communities, communities of settlement, and places of transit. The temporal and chronological scope is remarkable, particularly for a first project, moving from Qing China to the Republican period and finally the post-1949 period. Moreover, the fact that each chapter is different in subject matter and methodology, from a study of scholarly production to an against-the-grain reading of bureaucratic records, shows Chan's versatility and breadth as a historian. It will stand as both a challenge and an encouragement to subsequent scholarship to emulate the same scope and breadth. Indeed, Chan's remarkable work—the "flashes of insight" (p. 196) into the workings of diaspora and transnational history that she has found—seems to invite more work into the relationship between the diaspora and the homeland (or homelands, as Chan has also suggested Hong Kong and Taiwan as alternatives). Are there innumerable diaspora moments of tension and rupture? And what might it look like if a diaspora was not undergoing such a rupture?

In sum Shelly Chan's memorable work will be required reading for scholars of modern Chinese history and historians of the Chinese diaspora, and will have great appeal beyond these broad fields. Written in a clear and accessible way, it also would be a book well suited for advanced undergraduate history and Asian-American studies courses.

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***Writing for Print: Publishing and the Making of Textual Authority in Late Imperial China***. By Suyoung Son. Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 112. Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Asia Center, 2018. Pp. xiii + 249. $39.95/£28.95.

In *Writing for Print*, Suyoung Son (Cornell University) develops an original approach to interpreting the role played by printing in the affirmation of textual authority in the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). She relies on two case studies, the first longer than the second, on the books produced by Zhang Chao 張潮 (1650–1707) of Yangzhou, and Wang Zhuo 王晫 (1636–1707) of Hangzhou. The author introduces her readers to the intellectual milieus and practices of Chinese authors and/or publishers in the Jiangnan region in the seventeenth century, and of the censorship mechanisms in both China and Korea in the following century.

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The book's many ambitious criteria are announced in the introductory pages (pp. 1–13). They include a description of editorial and publishing practices, notably in private editorial milieus, with a view not only to understanding their influence on the production and distribution of texts, but also the notion of authorship and textual authority; a combination of several different fields of study and research practices, encompassing the history of books and literary history, bibliography, textual and critical studies; a reconsideration of the nature of (and the dynamic interrelation between) the author and the reader, of the text and textual practices in seventeenth-century China, and of Chinese and Korean censorship in the eighteenth century. The objective, restated in a concise conclusion ("Publishing and the Making of Textual Authority," pp. 196–200), is to address the "intricate interplay between peer patronage and market value in shaping textual authority" through printing and "the eighteenth-century state's attempts," in China and Korea, "to reinstate its authority in determining textual value" (p. 200).

Suyoung Son eschews the normal dynastic chronology based on a break between the Ming (1368–1644) and the Qing periods. In fact, although the narrative focuses on the second of the two dynasties, it is nevertheless true that certain personalities, books, and literary genres mentioned in *Writing for Print* represent a link between the two dynasties and that the author does not accept that "anti-Manchurian" discourse is a characteristic element of the all texts targeted by censorship. What she does focus on are two individuals, active in the two cities of the Yangzi Delta, who made the distribution and publication of their own works an important part of their careers. The human and intellectual trajectories of Zhang and Wang did not encompass the two dynastic periods, but many of their peers and the authors they published lived in both periods. Furthermore, through their publishing activities, both men established another link, one between two theoretically irreconcilable situations—on the one hand, by benefiting from the advantages of printing in terms of a broader readership and an expanding book market, and, on the other, by using their writings to gain recognition among the elite (p. 5). This is the contradiction at the heart of the editorial practice of the seventeenth century, when self-publication became increasingly popular, a phenomenon that occurred in a context in which, due to its technical characteristics, woodblock printing maintained close links with the practices of manuscript edition, especially in that the use of manuscripts had not disappeared. Indeed, it only declined with the increase in the number of printed books due to the introduction of Western mechanized technology in the mid-nineteenth century.

The author's analysis of so many ideas within such a specific framework could have made for a somewhat dry and theoretical book. But Suyoung Son has chosen to base every one of her chapters on a single work or on a few titles. Examples include the *Youmengying* 幽夢影 (Faint dream shadows) and the *Yu Chu xinzhi* 虞初新志

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(The magician's new records) by Zhang Chao, treated in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4 respectively; the *Lanyan ji* 蘭言集 (Collection of fragrant words) and the *Jin Shishuo* 今世説 (Contemporary *Tales of the World*) by Wang Zhuo, dealt with in Chapter 2; and the *Tanji congshu* 檀几叢書 (Collectanea of a sandalwood desk) and the *Zhaodai congshu* 昭代叢書 (Collectanea of a glorious age) both analysed in Chapters 3 and 5. At the end of the book, there is a detailed appendix entitled "Bibliographical Notes on Extant Editions of Zhang Chao" (pp. 201–22),[1] in which eleven books he either wrote or compiled (first editions and re-editions) are presented, along with five by other authors. Some of the collectanea and collections studied by Suyoung Son were compiled over the course of a few years, others were assembled over a period of twenty years or more in the Kangxi reign (1661–1722), between the 1680s and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Some were, over the course of time, enlarged to a greater degree than originally intended. These books continued to be published in the form of the anthologies and collectanea that had begun to appear in the late Ming period (1368–1644). Studies of the personalities and careers of the two publishers are combined with an analysis of textual practices applied to specific works, and of reactions to those works, including the censorship that marked the following century. These "case studies" are presented in two separate parts, which, although complementary, stand alone in the sense that they can be read independently. I shall attempt to provide an overview of them here.

The first part of the book is entitled "Publishing Practices of Writers in the Seventeenth Century." Including three chapters, it focuses on the activities of Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo at the beginning of the Qing period. Chapter 1, "The Making of the Printed Text,"[2] opens with the example of *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 (The plum in the golden vase) and its circulation in manuscript form in the exclusive circle of the literati of Suzhou and the surrounding area. These people considered themselves to be the only ones capable of appreciating the true value of the work, in spite of its descriptions of the sexual act, before it was printed, a process that transformed the *Jin Ping Mei* into a commodity available to a wider reading public, and into an object whose distribution was "uncontrolled." This case, which is not entirely anodyne due, effectively, to the erotic content of the book, is used by Suyoung Son to highlight the attitude of literati who decided to appropriate the techniques of publishing (including their own works) in order to reinforce their place among the empire's elites. This attitude was shared by Zhang Chao from Huizhou, whose forebears were

[1] The bibliography (pp. 223–38) and the index (pp. 239–49) are to be found at the end of *Writing for Print.*

[2] The first version of Chapter 1 was published as an article in *Late Imperial China* (2010); see p. xiii.

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involved in publishing activities at the end of the Ming period. After having failed his exams, Zhang Chao approached his father, Zhang Xikong 張習孔, *jinshi* and "young retired," who was already a publisher of scholarly books. In Yangzhou, the son became a leading figure in the city's intellectual life, an attentive host to visiting literati, and a tireless publisher,[3] producing more than forty titles, including *miscellanea* of contemporary works, sometimes printing books for friends, sometimes printing books thanks to friends. In this circle, there were many people from Huizhou, as well as members of families from Huizhou who had emigrated definitively to Yangzhou, and literati from other cities, including Hangzhou. Among them was Wang Zhuo, who, older and already involved in publishing activities, was useful to Zhang Chao because of his experience and contacts. We should also mention, in this regard, Zhang Daoshen 張道深 (1670–1698), known as a commentator of the *Jin Ping Mei*, as well as of the writings of his friends, and as a contributor to the annotations to the *Youmengying*. The *Youmengying* is probably Zhang Chao's best-known work. It is a collection of annotated aphorisms covering all the typical themes of the world of the literati (calligraphy, poetry, landscapes, flowers, meditation, friendships, etc.). After a presentation of the various phases of the publishing process, from selecting texts in consultation with peers to the distribution of printed copies, which she also describes as "the collective process of publishing" (p. 32), Suyoung Son explains that an undated edition—which is probably not the first—and two later editions of *Youmengying* are still extant. In an analysis of those copies, she describes a "stratified" publishing process: first the maxims composed by Zhang Chao, then the annotations of his friends and guests (among them, Zhang Daoshen), which Zhang added subsequently in the empty spaces of the pages. Suyoung Son focuses on these additions, creating the impression that the *Youmengying* is a compilation elaborated by a kind of community; the texts for which Zhang Chao is responsible are not really presented in the examples selected by the author. Unfortunately, only

[3] According to Pierre-Henri Durand, Zhang Chao had been a salt merchant, a profession "characteristic" of wealthy émigrés from Huizhou to Yangzhou. This would explain the funds he had at his disposal for his publishing activities (see his brief article, "Zhang Chao ou l'amour bien compris des belles-lettres. Un lettré éditeur de Yangzhou à la fin du XVIIe siècle," in Michela Bussotti and Jean-Pierre Drège, eds., *Imprimer sans profit? Le livre non commercial dans la Chine impériale* [Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2015], pp. 415 and 419). Moreover, again according to Durand, it was the father who, after living for many years in his native province, ended up joining his son in Yangzhou, where Zhang Chao published his works and those of other individuals, "sometimes merely for the glory of literature, sometimes for clearly commercial reasons, doubtless most often for a mixture of well understood interests." See Pierre-Henri Durand, "Zhang Chao et les *Ombres de Rêves* ou les amitiés d'un éditeur au temps de l'empereur Kangxi," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 95–96 (2008–2009), p. 365.

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one picture, of mediocre quality (fig. 1.1, p. 49), is used to back up Suyoung Son's observations on the original books, and it is legitimate to ask whether the annotations following and above Zhang Chao's text, and at the top of the page, are necessarily additions to different publications which appeared in the order described here or whether other configurations were possible.[4] Whatever the case, these editions of the *Youmengying* reveal that Zhang Chao and his coterie used printing to popularize a text representative of their group, in the same way as manuscripts were used, as seen from both that text's heterogeneous contents and the (low) number of known copies, which would suggest a limited distribution.

Chapter 2, "Publishing for Reputation," opens with examples of the widespread practice of "buying a reputation by publishing [collections]" (*maiming keji* 買名刻集, p. 56; indeed, most of the books from the Qing period studied here were just like that). This approach, common in the seventeenth century, once again confronted publishers with the contradiction of how to make a reputation for oneself via publishing, while at the same time making sure not to be disqualified on account of becoming too well known for one's supposedly exclusive circles. In spite of his modest origins, Wang Zhuo succeeded in becoming a member of those circles by establishing a considerable library and acting as an "animator" of cultural life in Hangzhou, similarly to Zhang Chao in Yangzhou. He worked intensely with numerous publishing houses in Zhejiang and Fujian, which suggests a good deal of activities. However, Suyoung Son does not describe things just in that way. On the contrary, she explains that he was "modest" (p. 66), devoted to the cause of his books, and a kind of "cultural operator" in his milieu. In spite of that, there was no shortage of criticism for his *Jin Shishuo*, a collection of anecdotes about the personalities of the times, due to the excessive number of entries about the author himself, his family members, and his friends, as well as numerous quotations from their writings. The *Lanyan ji* was also an anthology of texts written by friends, in which Wang Zhuo's praises were sung. Promotion was thus a two-way street, a popular way of "existing" as a recognized author in a milieu of literati. Among these notes of mutual recognition, an interesting case is presented by the Ming loyalist, Huang Zhouxing 黃周星 (1611–1680). His northern drama, *Xihua bao* 惜花報 (Recompense for cherishing flowers), was included in the *Lanyan ji* by Wang Zhuo; the play was based on a composition ("Kanhua shuyi ji" 看花述異記 [Record of the watching of flowers and the telling of the odd]), also by Wang Zhuo, who ended up playing the lead role in Huang's play. This dynamic literary procedure potentially gained Wang the recognition of a broader public, the kind of public that watched and read plays. It was another way of standing

[4] A different order of appearance of the "comments" in later editions is suggested in ibid., see figs. 5, 8, 10.

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out and surviving in a context in which seeking and offering support within the peer group became increasingly common, thereby inevitably undermining the system of "alliances" upon which that practice was based.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to "The Economics of Print": the alternation between financial capital and symbolic capital is explicitly mentioned (p. 90). Suyoung Son describes Zhang and Wang's different family backgrounds, the former being wealthier of the two and therefore able to help Wang financially from 1695 with the publication of *Tanji congshu*. That compilation was followed by various additions and by the appearance, with only Zhang Chao's name mentioned, of the *Zhaodai congshu*, which contained the same contents as the first compilation, but with larger paratexts. For Suyoung Son, this represents an opportunity to discuss the (commercial) practices of the two publishers, covering subjects such as where their names should be placed on the title pages of books, and the production of blocks in specialized workshops and their rent or purchase to reprint publications in other places. Zhang Chao himself succeeded in justifying payment for his books: "If you have a penchant for this trivial book, you may send me some contribution toward expenses" (p. 109). The ambiguity of Suyoung Son's heroes is thus revealed. Zhang Chao's books sold well in a number of cities; copies even reached Korea. But unlike ordinary commercially sold books, for which publishers attempted to reduce costs, simplify the contents, and focus on well-known titles to attract the public, these books were of a high quality, written by contemporary authors, and rich in information. In other words, they were aimed at a well-informed, up-to-date readership.

The last two chapters make up the second part of the book, which is entitled "Transregional Impact in the Eighteenth Century." Here, the author deals with decisions made and approaches applied far from Yangzhou and Hangzhou, and long after Wang and Zhang's compilations saw the light of day. But it is only in the title of Chapter 4, "Censorship of Installment Publication in Qing China," that the real theme of the section emerges, namely the censorship that applied to compilations. The case of the collection, *Nanshan ji ouchao* 南山集偶鈔 (Casual manuscripts of *Collected Works of Nanshan*, 1701) by Dai Mingshi 戴名世 (1653–1713), censored in 1711, is presented not only as an example of the censorship of anti-Manchurian content, but also as a form of expression of an authority concerned by the potential impact of compilations produced by author-publishers and their coteries, compilations that were characterized by heterogeneous and "moving" contents, uncontrolled by either the administration or the simple "laws" of the market. Suyoung Son provides an analysis of the *Yu Chu xinzhi*, whose editorial project changed over the course of time. Initially designed as a two-volume publication, it ended up appearing in four instalments. Here, too, the initial editorial approach, which only included stories written by contemporaries—stories that were "authentic, in the sense that they ought to be rooted in

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actual lived experience" (p. 142)—was modified, in that Zhang Chao bowed to the pressure of his peers, who asked him to publish their works even when they did not correspond to his criteria; this was also true of Wang Zhuo and his "Kanhua shuyi ji" (already presented in Chapter 2). Lastly, the author furnishes a description of reprints. Censors eventually noticed these copies, excising a number of sections from them. Thanks to those passages, we understand how censorship worked in a practical sense. For example, "the Qianlong emperor suggested in 1780 that blackened or blank spaces caused by censorship be replaced with texts that were acceptable" (p. 151). Pages from various versions of the *Yu Chu xinzhi* appear in this section of the chapter (Censoring *Yu Chu xinzhi*, figs. 4.4–4.7). In the following section, "Censorship of the installment publication," Suyoung Son explains that what troubled the imperial censors were the writings of Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664), considered in the reign of Qianlong (1736–1795) as an example of an opportunist who had been overly keen in rallying to the Qing cause. Therefore, according to Suyoung Son, we should be particularly careful to avoid making the general assumption that the *Yu Chu xinzhi* and its author were anti-Manchurian, and eschew the idea that Qing censorship was interested only in that issue. In this case, it was a publication by Zhang Chao, but, in general, censors focused on the compilations of his contemporaries, self-published books, texts proposed by authors for publication, and their sources, as well as anything that did not provide "information which could be verified" in the classical tradition. Suyong Son's narrative gradually reveals the mechanisms of censorship in the Qianlong period and its application in the framework of the imperial project of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete library of the four branches of literature). For example, she quotes the edict of 1774 on categories of books in the imperial catalogue that was to be realized, including the various degrees of censorship to apply to them (p. 146). She also quotes the publications by Zhang Chao excluded from the *Siku quanshu*, or censored, sometimes, after a few years, with a new type of sanction: for example, the category of *Zhaodai congshu* was changed from "books whose table of contents alone should be preserved" to "books to be banned in part" (p. 149).

A list of books also drawn up for the compilation of *Siku quanshu*, the *Zhejiang caiji yishu zonglu* 浙江採集遺書總錄 (A comprehensive list of books omitted from collecting in Zhejiang province) reached Korea in 1778 and was used by King Chŏngjo 正祖 (r. 1776–1800) to establish his *Naegak pangsŏrok* 內閣訪書錄 (List of books for which the court searches). This is how the book's fifth and last chapter, "Transnational Circulation of *Tanji congshu* and Censorship in Chosŏn Korea," begins. We learn that the *Tanji congshu* was on the list of books sought by the king. Moreover, the collectanea must have already been known in Korea, because in the *Naegak pangsŏrok* we find, as well as the title, a transcription from its "editorial principles" (*fanli* 凡例), which includes praise for the contents. The *Tanji congshu*

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rapidly reached the court, as we know from the fact that it is quoted in the catalogue of the royal library (*Yŏlgogwan sŏmok* 閱古館書目) of 1781; but, a dozen years later, its classification had changed, because of the inclusion of "trivial and superfluous" texts (p. 164), during the "Rectification of Literati Style" (Munch'e panchŏng 文體反正) censorship campaign in 1792. After a description of the compilation's possible journey to Korea—the *Tanji congshu* was probably purchased during a Korean mission to pay tribute to Qianlong in 1778 by a member of this mission for his personal use—we learn how Zhang Chao's books circulated in the peninsular. In this section, Suyoung Son describes the practices of Korean missions to Beijing and the Beijing book market, where they either bought books for themselves or on the instruction of the king. We also learn of the activities of Korean book brokers and the private networks in which members of the Korean elite bought, borrowed, and copied Chinese books. Among the growing number of Chinese titles and genres available to Korean readers, the compilations of the late Ming and the early Qing were especially popular among the elite, so popular, in fact, that they contributed to the development of a local literary style and form that differed from the classics. Their contents were inspired by practical knowledge and ordinary things ("Broad Learning," *pakhak* 博學), and subjects that were uncommon in China. A final point to consider: traditionally, the Korean state enjoyed a "monopoly" of publications and provided literati with a steady supply of books. But in the eighteenth century, the state was challenged by private circuits, promoting Chinese books, and circuits open to foreign, heterodox ideas some of them Christian). Suyoung Son explains how, in this context, the modern "casual short prose" (p. 187), of which Zhang Chao was one of the leading practitioners, was eventually perceived as being opposed to classical orthodoxy and, as such, was subject to censorship, even though the application and effects of that censorship seem to have been very mitigated.

*Writing for Print* contains a wealth of information and offers an original approach: the ambitions described in the introduction have been met. However, we could point out that the author did not try to broaden her spectrum of readers. Suyoung Son writes about a period in the Qing dynasty and certain milieus of publishing in Jiangnan, which, although important, are not representative of the empire as a whole, especially at a time when the capital, Beijing, was beginning to attract publishers to the north of the country. She analyses a particular category of books, focusing on textual authorship, essentially addressing her research to specialists in the subject and historians of the Qing dynasty. She does not mention elements that could have been used to develop additional arguments or to link them to different aspects of the question, and does not draw comparisons with comparable editorial phenomena in other contexts and times (for example, private publishers in Huizhou around 1600, who were capable of generating concrete, material profit from their books without

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losing symbolic capital, and who used high-quality publications to promote themselves).[5] However, it would be fair to say that this may have rendered her book less compact and, perhaps, less coherent.

Indeed, she offers little in the way of social and economic information, such as the fact that Zhang Chao was a member of a circle of Huizhou salt merchants in Yangzhou, even though he was not among the wealthiest of them.[6] There are issues about which we would like to have learned more. Some of them are highly specific: for example, a decrease in the price of paper in the sixteenth century (p. 3) was considered a factor that encouraged the development of printing. Other, more general questions reflect trends in the disciplines of book history and cultural history, for example those associated with the role of manuscripts and the fact that author-publishers may have maintained practices associated with manuscript production, a theme first broached in the Introduction (p. 5) and at other points throughout the book. There is a widespread consensus that there was a closer relationship between woodblocks printing and manuscript copies than between manuscripts and other printing techniques, and that many manuscripts circulated in China until the recent times. But was it really the same kind of the production method and circulation system for an author's unpublished manuscript passed from hand to hand, and for a set of printed books, produced in small but nevertheless substantial quantities, large numbers of which could easily be printed inking the woodblocks? Or, to change the subject, what is the link between the editions of the seventeenth century and the censorship of the eighteenth century, notably in regard to Zhang Chao? What, thanks to his publications and contacts, kind of influence did he wield in Beijing, taking into account that Beijing was a publishing hub in the same way as the cities of Jiangnan were? What was his relationship with the Manchurian authorities and aristocracy? These issues, some probably more difficult to resolve than others, show how *Writing for Print* raises questions and encourages original thinking and research. That is also why Suyoung Son's book will have a place in all good libraries that focus on the intellectual and cultural history of late imperial China and beyond.

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[5] I am thinking, for example, of Wang Tingne 汪廷訥, merchant, official, and dramatist, who used his money to produce publications, including a collection of biographies, *Renjing yangqiu* 人鏡陽秋 (A historical narrative on the mirror of the people), that contains not only a large number of prefaces, but also a list of consultants, to whom Wang may have sent the anthology, inviting written comments, which are inserted in the book's first fascicules in 1605. See Lin Li-chiang, "Wang Tingne Unveiled through the Study of the Late Ming Woodblock-Printed Book *Renjing Yangqiu*," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 95–96 (2008–2009), p. 294.

[6] See above, note 3.

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