

● 刘卫武

中国雕版印刷术早于唐论

中国雕版印刷术起于何时,历来众说纷纭。有汉、晋、六朝、隋、唐、五代、宋诸说。其中五代、宋说已为事实所推翻。今所讲中国雕版印刷术之始者,皆以为唐。然起于唐何时,亦有不同之观点。《中国版刻图录》序中说:“我们祖先经过长时期的研究,到了八世纪前后,又发明了刻板印刷术”。毛春翔先生也说:“我国刻书之业,兴于中唐,当八世纪后期,是颠扑不破的结论^[1]。”张秀民先生则认为在唐太宗贞观十年(公元636年)已有雕版印刷了^[2]。

笔者则以为,我国的雕版印刷早于唐。

唐太宗时已有雕版印刷,这一点可以肯定。明代史学家邵经邦在《弘简录》卷四十六中说唐太宗曾刻印长孙皇后撰的《女则》十篇^[3]。唐冯贽《云仙散录》(一名《云仙杂记》)中说:“玄奘以回锋纸印普贤像,施于四众,每岁五驮无余。”宋代张邦基《墨庄漫录》及《四库提要》将《云仙散录》定为宋代王铎伪作。毛春翔先生据此认为,“书既伪造,则其所记之事,自属模糊影响之谈,道听途说,不足为据了。玄奘既不印像,亦不印经,可以肯定。”^[4]然《云仙散录》记载玄奘印普贤像一事,是转引《僧园逸录》一书的记载。从《云仙散录》引用《僧园逸录》一书的情况看,作者是言之有据,并非道听途说。所以,不管《云仙散录》的作者是冯贽还是王铎,它关于玄奘曾印普贤

像的记载,我们还是应当相信的。

从唐太宗时的一些文献中,也可看出唐太宗时已有雕版印刷。由隋仕唐的褚亮在为《金刚般若经注》作的序中说,“辽东真本,望悬金而不刊;指南所寄,藏群玉以无朽。”^[5]既言“本”,而又“不刊”,且“藏之”,可见《金刚般若经注》的作者对其著作看得很重,不愿刻印流传。唐司空图在《为东都敬爱寺讲律僧惠确化募雕刻〈律疏〉》中说:“自洛城罔遇,时交乃焚,印本渐虞散失,欲更雕镌。惠确无愧专精,颇尝讲受,远钦信士,担结良缘。所希龟镜屯口,津梁靡绝,再定不刊之典,永资善诱之方,必期字字镌铭……。”^[6]褚亮序中之语,正与司空图的“不刊之典”语吻合。褚亮死于太宗时期,可见唐太宗时已有雕版印刷是无疑的。

隋有刻书之说,首始明代陆深^[7]。然这是陆深对隋文帝敕中的“废像遗经,悉令雕撰”中的“雕撰”二字误解所造成。像雕经撰,实为二事。后来胡应麟又将“悉令雕撰”改为“悉令雕板”。^[8]以后持刻书始于隋的人都以胡应麟的“悉令雕板”为依据。至于近人孙毓修引用罗振玉《鸣沙石室秘录》说有宋太平兴国五年翻雕隋刻《大隋求陀罗尼》一事^[9],亦为他人论证不能成立。由于上述主张刻书始于隋者所依据的文献论据皆不能成立,现在人们大都不同意隋有刻书之说。

笔者认为,隋时已知雕版印刷术了。

《隋书·经籍志(四)》载,“訖于有隋,四海一统,采荆南之杞梓,收会稽之箭竹,辞人才士,总萃京师。”这不能不使人联想到雕版印刷。

隋费长房《开皇三宝录总目序》云:“又齐周陈,并皆翻译,弗刊录目,靡所遵承,兼值毁灭,绝无依据。……臣幸有遇,属此休时,忝预译经,禀受佛语。”^[10]“弗刊录目”,意思很明确,便是翻译出来的佛经没有刻印,只录下了这些译经的目录。从这四字也可看出隋时已知道雕版印刷。由于齐、周、陈等朝对翻译出来的佛经没有印行,后又遭“毁灭”,致使到了隋时,所存经典骤减。

毛春翔先生据《隋书·经籍志》“隋开皇元年,普诏天下,任听出家,营造经像,而京师及并州、相州、洛州等诸大都邑,并官写一切经,置于寺内,而又别写藏于秘阁”的记载,认为隋时无雕版印刷。他说:“如果隋朝已知刊刻佛经,则相距不过十二年,为何至近,何必令官写一切经送佛寺,一版雕成,千百部马上风行全国,宣扬佛教,这办法是最好的了。……又隋初搜访遗逸,得书三万余卷,炀帝命写五十副本,藏嘉则殿,如果此时已知雕印书籍,何必又写如此多的副本?即此一点,已足说明隋时未有雕版印书之事。”^[11]

如果以有抄写经典存在便否认无雕印存在,这是站不住脚的。过去,曾有文章讲到唐玄宗时印过《开元杂报》,由于无法看到原物,讲印刷史者多以为无有其事。现在,已证明确实有《开元杂报》传世(北京大学新闻专业资料室藏有仿制的原件)。唐玄宗时已有雕板印刷存在,现已成为定论。然据《新唐书·经籍志》,“玄宗时,太府月给蜀郡麻纸五千番,季给上谷墨三百三十六丸,岁给河间、景成、清城、博平四郡兔一千五百皮为笔材,两都各聚四部,以甲乙丙丁为次,列经史子集四库”,可见唐时仍有抄书之事。清朝乾隆年间中国印刷术不是很发达吗?这时不但有雕印,而且有活字印刷,但是仍缮写了七部《四库全书》。所

以,以抄经的存在来否认隋时已知雕印是靠不住的。

为何隋时要大量抄写经典呢?这有以下原因:

(一)北周武帝大毁佛教,加上战火焚毁,经典遭到厄运,到隋时遗经已很少。在这种情况下,搜集整理遗经,自然要大量抄写。

(二)前几朝流传下来的经典真伪共存,人们没有遵承的标准本。隋时撰的《众经目录》卷一云:“佛法东经,年代已远,梵经西至,流布渐多,旧来正典,并由翻出,近遭乱世,颇失原起,前写后译,质文不同,一经数本,增减亦异。致使凡人得容,妄道或私采要事,更立别名或辄构余辞,仍取真号或论作经称,疏为论目。大小交杂,是非共混。”由于经典已“颇失原起”,而过去的翻译较为准确,所以隋炀帝命将搜访得来的遗经三万余卷写五十本藏于嘉则殿,可看作是作为范本保存。

(三)正象杨绳信师在《中国版刻综录》自序中所说,中国古代印刷的书“书价很贵,士人多望洋兴叹。”据《法苑珠林》载,有一叫文本的人为了消灾,请人在岩石上画一佛像,便出钱三千,如果出资刻经,又得多少钱呢?所以,如没利可图,私人是不会花钱刻的。后唐冯道在请刻经典的奏章中说:“尝见吴蜀之人,鬻印板文字,色类绝多,终无经典。”^[12]私人刻经,一般都是为了普施行善,如唐王玢为其双亲敬造普施的《金刚经》。宋时《磧砂藏》也是由善男信女们施资刊造的。

清代李元复和日本学者岛田翰主张六朝时已有雕版印刷。李元复是根据“占有符玺可师”来推断的。^[13]岛田翰认为北齐时有雕版印刷,其依据是“《颜氏家训》提到:江南书本‘穴’皆误作‘六’。夫书本之言,乃对墨板而言也。”^[14]不过李元复的主张只是主观臆测,没有依据;岛田翰的论据也难为人们接受。叶德辉在《书林清话》中反驳说:“若以诸书称本,定为墨板之证,则刘向《别录》校仇一人持本,后汉章帝赐黄香《淮南子》、《孟子》各一本,亦

得谓墨板始于两汉乎?”对于六朝时雕板印刷说,至今无人附议。

我们知道,雕板印刷必须具备以下条件:纸、反刻、阳文左书。这些条件在六朝时都已具备。墨、纸自不用说,其反刻如梁萧景的神道石柱,阳文左书如北齐马天禄等造像碑。^[15]所以,六朝时已知雕版印刷,并不是不可能的。

梁萧子显在《御讲金字摩诃般若蜜经序》中说:“金字摩诃般若蜜经者,盖法部之为尊,乃园圣之极教,……皇上爱重大乘,……乃以翠缣,刻为金篆。”^[16]“缣”者,传播也。“以翠缣”,便是“用翠缣传播”。“缣”为织品,显然是不能刻的。从萧子显的整篇序文中也看不出该经是刻在金属一类器物上的迹象。所以,“刻为金篆”,便是将经刻为篆文,以金粉印在缣上。故这部《摩诃般若蜜经》称为《金字摩诃般若蜜经》。

古人有在缣素上书写作画之习惯。如晋周闵曾在半幅丈八素上书写大品经^[17]《宋史·张去华传》:“命以缣素写其论十八轴,列置龙图阁之四壁。”由于缣细致不漏水,故能书写,当然也可以在上面印刷了。

据梁陆云《御讲波罗经序》:“以大同七年三月十二日讲金字般若蜜三慧经”看,此经的印刷当在公元551年或以前。

梁武帝晚年颇爱重佛法,曾数次入寺出家,在《述三教诗》中也说自己“晚年开释卷”。所以,他在大同年间刻印佛经是很容易理解的。以金粉印在缣上,按照他的地位及经济情况也是极容易做到的。

古代雕版印刷中是否有用篆体来印刷呢?笔者以为是有的。唐大历二年杜甫《李潮八分小篆歌》云:“峯山之碑野火焚,枣木传刻肥失真。苦县光和尚骨立,书贵瘦硬方通神。”^[18]《峯山碑》为秦代李斯用篆书所写,曾为后人拓下来作为学篆书的范本。由于该碑为野火所烧掉,而人们对这种范本又有需求,所以,当时有人用枣木翻刻雕印出售。张秀民

先生对“枣木传刻”的解释是,“它同普通石碑一样,刻的是阴文,只能正面捶拓为拓片,并不是蘸墨印刷成为印刷品^[19]我不同意此看法。宋杨万里《谢建州茶使吴德华送东坡新集》诗中云:“东坡文集依亦有,未及终篇已停手;印墨模糊纸不佳,亦非鱼网非科斗。富沙枣木新雕文,传刻疏瘦不失真。”由于古代之雕版书,为写刻本,先觅书法好手写版,尔后由刻工摹刻,是为“传刻”。因枣木比梓木硬,难刻,如刻工技艺不高,难免使文字失真。同时,由于刻印《峯山碑》者以盈利为目的,其雕版写者刻者并非好手,故才有“肥失真”事。

又《梁简文帝法宝联璧序》云:“今以岁次摄提,星在监德,百法明门,兹总备,千金不刊,独高斯典,合二百二十卷。”^[20]“千金不刊,独高斯典”与唐褚亮《辽东真本,望悬金而不刊;指南所寄,藏群玉以无朽》意同。

又梁王僧孺《礼佛发愿文》:“愿六宫眷属,业华姬日,声丽効辰。震彩镌图,传芳诗史。位齐宝印,行等月光。”^[21]“镌”者,刻也。“镌图”,从王文看自然是刻六宫眷属的图像了,但六宫眷属的图像决不象佛像一样,被雕刻为木像。其图像既要“传芳诗史”,非纸面上流传不行。其言“镌图”,可见是印刷图像。

综上所述,我以为在六朝时已有雕版印刷术了。至少在隋时是应当有的。我国的雕版印刷术并不是起于唐代。但究竟具体起于何时,现在还不能十分确切地确定。宋去唐不远,宋人且以为雕版印刷始于五代而不言唐^[22],原因是文献不足和实物匮乏。要确认我国的雕版印刷起于何时,还有待于发掘更多的文献并期待于实物的出现。

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公室负责行政领导和组织管理。全国高校图工委作为业务指导机构,负责协作协调、学术交流等具体业务指导。

(二)全面进行馆藏期刊资源调查工作。全国高校图工委可根据人民大学等调查馆藏文献资源试点的做法,列出调查提纲,提出基本要求,布置各馆对馆藏资源进行全面调查。特别是对期刊资源一定要调查清楚。各省高校图工委应积极协助和检查。各馆应抽出专门力量进行这一工作。

(三)确定学科收藏中心及其收藏的学科。调查工作完成后,国家教材和图书情报管理办公室应会同全国高校图工委,根据中心应具备的条件,进行研究协商,确定哪些馆为中心,然后把300个学科3.5万种外刊分别落实到各中心,同时也把中文期刊落实好。在研究这些工作时,要充分听取各省高校图工委和各中心的意见。

(四)着手建立高校图书馆网络和计算机网络。在上述几项工作落实好后,就要着手建立图书馆网络和计算机网络。

(五)研究制定必要的管理办法。在建立期刊资源保障体系时,还要研究制定必要的管理办法,以便供体系中各成员馆遵守。比如,对期刊收藏和提供使用、有偿服务收费、互借数量和期限、互借中丢失赔偿等,都要做

出明确的规定。

关于建立期刊资源保障体系,国外已有成功的经验。美、英、苏、日等国皆先后建成了国家、地区或系统的期刊资源保障体系。在我国,关于建立高校文献保障体系已从1982年讨论到今天。其间进展甚慢,说明难度较大。建立高校期刊资源保障体系比其单纯一些。我们可以先把这一体系建起来,然后通过实践,总结经验,在其基础上建立起高校文献资源保障体系,并为建立全国文献资源保障体系提供根据和模式。

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physics Journal from 1974 to 1983, a 67.8% of citations of agricultural periodical articles were all cited from various periodicals, as such, are primary information sources for scientific researchers. Nevertheless, in libraries and information agencies of China, the collections of books and periodicals are often out of proportion, e. g. books and periodicals in public libraries are in a ratio of 85% to 15%, in the Library of Chinese Academy of Sciences, the ratio is of 47% to 53%, while in the university and college libraries, it is of 90% to 10%. Therefore, it is urgent to solve the problem of expanding the periodical collection. 1 table. 6 references.

Collection proportion—Research

Periodicals—Function

G253

On Establishing Supply System of Periodicals in Colleges and Universities/Ye Shusheng//Bulletin of the China Society of Library Science/China Society of Library Science. -1990, 16(1). 51~55

Periodicals are the main resource from which information is acquired. According to statistics, 70 percent of information required for teaching and scientific research comes from periodicals. There are now in the world 300,000 titles of back periodicals and 150,000 current ones in foreign languages and 45,000 titles of back periodicals and 8,000 current ones in Chinese. However, the current periodicals in foreign languages ordered by colleges and universities of China are less than 20,000 titles. Periodicals in these institutions of higher learning are not only less in quantity, but also of a repetition, dispersion and very low supply rate. The contradiction of supply and demand will become sharper in the wake of subscription price rising and lack of funds. So it is imminent to establish periodical supply system in colleges and universities. 1 table, 7 references

Colleges and universities—China

Periodicals—Supply rate

G259. 23

Discriminating between FANG and CE/Zhang Jue//Bulletin of the China Society of Library Science/China Society of Library Science. -1990, 16(1). 56~57

In ancient China, FANG and CE were both used as book materials, but they were not alike at all. FANG instead of being a "volume" of putting them together one after another, was a rectangular board used for writing on. The machining precision of it was between that of JIAN and DU, and the writing area was between that of JIAN and CE, i. e. having a capacity of five, seven and nine lines with words covered from ten to nearly a hundred. FANG could not be compiled into CE, and the JIAN included in CE were not called FANG. 4 references

Book history—China

Book materials—Research

G256. 1

The Chinese Wood-Block Printing Appeared before Tang Dynasty/Liu Weiwu//Bulletin of the China Society of Library Science/China Society of Library Science. -1990, 16(1). -58~60, 55

Mao Chunxiang holds that the Chinese wood-block printing appeared in the late 8th century. Zhang Xiumin stands for that it appeared in A. D. 636. The author, however, maintains that it had

already existed before Tang Dynasty. Wood-block printing had already been known in Sui Dynasty (A. D. 581-618). In the Northern and Southern Dynasties (A. D. 420-589) when there was every requisite for developing wood-block printing, it was in no sense that people knew nothing about it. The author, based on historical records, discusses that in A. D. 551 or earlier, the Buddhist Sutra Chryso—Mahaprajnapara mifasutra was printed on fabric.

Wood-block printing—China

Woodcut plate making—Origin

TS 8—09

Theory and Practice of Libraries Changed from Patterns of the Closed in to the Open/Liu Jingyu and Ju Zhanping//Bulletin of the China Society of Library Science/China Society of Library Science. - 1990, 16(1). 61~65

Deepgoing reforms of Chinese library operations at present are being put through. Instructions in terms of theory are needed so as to establish new ideas, which are Ideals of:

1. An integral whole. The development of library system should be from the decentralized, isolated and sole undertaking way towards the network system in order to give full play to the group superiority;
2. Socialization. Change the pattern of libraries run solely by the state into a pattern of pushing the library work forward by both the state, the collectives and the individuals altogether;
3. Multifunctions. Change from the single cultural function towards the cultural, educational, scientific and information multifunctions;
4. Modernization. A vast amount of new and advanced techniques should be introduced and applied;
5. Readers first. The library service, instead of remaining passive, should be active so as to put a profound and thorough service into practice;
6. Processing the documents with depth. Develop both the knowledge unit and the information unit;
7. Scientific management. Try the best to combine object management with metrical management;
8. Self-development. The library expenditure usually depends mainly on the state's allocation of funds, still, funds should also be raised by libraries themselves as well;
9. Scientific policy decision. The department responsible for library work should work out a development strategy and strengthen the legal system construction as well as change from the management pattern into the service-management pattern, and from the experienced policy decision to the scientific policy decision.

Library service—Reform

Library operations—Trend of development

G259.2

Trial Analysis of the Usage and Effectiveness of English and Japanese Imports/Song Desheng// Bulletin of the China Society of Library Science/China Society of Library Science. -1990, 16(1). -65