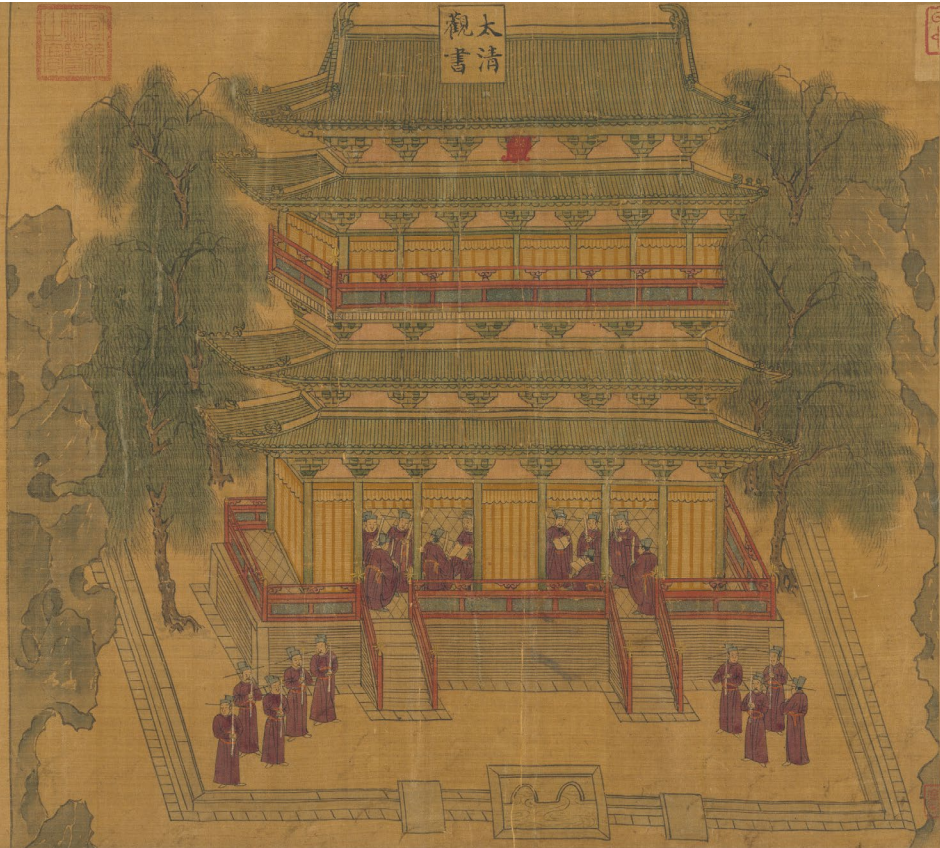


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The Imperial Library of the Northern Song

A Complete Translation of the
Lintai gushi (canben) 麟台故事 (殘本)
by Cheng Ju 程俱 (1078–1144)

Johannes L. Kurz


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Cover illustration: Taiqing guanshu (inspecting books at the Taiqing archive) is one of four paintings that go under the title Jingde situ (four events of the Jingde era (1004–1007)). The collection of National Palace Museum.

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To Doris

“Historiker, eh?” Der Torhauptmann war des Lesens mächtig. “Wir brauchen Steinmetzen, Maurer, Mörtelträger in Jerusholayim; sogar ein Schuster wäre von Nutzen; aber siehe, zu uns kommt ein Historiker.”

Stefan Heym, *Der König David Bericht*

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List of Dynasties

Qin 221–206 BCE Western Han 206 BCE–9 CE Eastern Han 25–220 CE Six Dynasties 220–589 CE Sui 589–618 CE Tang 618–907 CE Five Dynasties and Ten States 907–960/978 CE		
Later Liang 907–923 Later Tang 923–936 Later Jin 936–947 Later Han 947–950 Later Zhou 951–959	Wu 902–936 Southern Tang 937–976 Wuyue 907–978 Chu 907–951 Min 909–945 Southern Han 917–971 Former Shu 903–925 Later Shu 933–965 Jingnan (Nanping) 924–963 Northern Han 951–979	
Song 960–1279 CE	Liao 907–1125 CE	Jin 1115–1234 CE
Yuan 1279–1368 CE Ming 1368–1644 CE Qing 1644–1911 CE		

Preface

The present translation of the *Lintai gushi* comes out of an interest that started in the late 1990s with work on my habilitation thesis on the compilation projects of the first three Song emperors. Over the years I have worked intermittently on the text having to fulfill other obligations required either by other research interests or/and the need to establish a citation index. Working in a remote place without any Chinese collections I first had to gather material myself during leave periods in Europe or China. This situation improved thanks to a research grant from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, in 2004. With it I mustered the help of an able research assistant, Holger Kühnle, at the Institute of Chinese Studies, University of Heidelberg, who copied and sent much-needed texts.

From 2012 I have enjoyed the continued support from the Institute of Chinese Studies at the University of Heidelberg as a research affiliate. In addition, the staff at the East Asian Department of the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz zu Berlin have been providing excellent and very prompt service. Without the very knowledgeable and helpful people at the two institutions the present book as well as many of my other publications would have taken much longer to see the light of the day – if at all.

I am grateful to the National Palace Museum Taipei for their permission to use the painting “*Taiqing guanshu*” from the Collection of the National Palace Museum that serves as the front cover of the book. A big word of thanks goes to Nicole Merkel-Hilf, University Library of Heidelberg and CrossAsia, for encouraging me to apply for the CrossAsia Publizieren Plus+ grant, as well as the members of the relevant commission who examined and accepted my application.

For the translation I used the edition contained in the *Sibu congkan guangbian* and republished in the *Lintai gushi jiaozheng* and prepared by Zhang Fuxiang in 2000 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju). The Song copy in this edition is arranged after the *Siku quanshu* edition, but I am referring to it as “Cheng Ju 2000a” because it is the main text for this translation and it precedes the recompiled text from the *Yongle dadian*. The specific entries are referred to by the

Preface

numbers accorded them in Zhang Fuxiang, e.g., 3.12 refers to entry number 12 in *juan* 3, followed by the page number in the modern edition.

I am keeping the Chinese term *juan* 卷 as this originally referred to “scroll” throughout the text, although one could, in many cases, simply translate it with “chapter”. *Juan* indicates the size of a written work, but also the size of collections such as the imperial depositories.

For references to classical works such as the *Xu zizhi tongjian*, *Songshi*, *Yuhai* and others, I have generally, but not exclusively, relied on those provided by Zhang Fuxiang.

Names and titles of works are searchable in the index, while a glossary on official positions and administrative agencies provides their original Chinese designations.

Introduction

The *Lintai gushi* (1131) by Cheng Ju (1178–1144) deals with the imperial book collections under the early Song dynasty.¹ It shows that the book collections were created from scratch, only to be partially destroyed again by a fire in 1015 and scattered after the fall of the Song capital Kaifeng in 1127.

The *Lintai gushi* is the oldest surviving source of information on the Northern Song imperial libraries. It is possible to learn more from the *Lintai gushi* about activities undertaken to rebuild comprehensive book collections and to trace the history of the imperial libraries of the northern Song. Cheng Ju presented the historical precedent as a model for the rebuilding of the imperial collections as well as related bureaucratic structures in Hangzhou, the new Song capital.

Cheng Ju, a native of Kaihua 開化 in Quzhou 衢州 (Zhejiang), was appointed in or around 1131, the first year of the Shaoxing era (1131–1162), Vice Director of the Palace Library.² It was then that he compiled the *Lintai gushi* in twelve sections (*pian* 篇), which he arranged in five chapters (*juan* 卷). Wang Yinglin (1223–1296) considered the book part of a small series of works dealing with the same topic, namely the organization of the imperial libraries of the Tang and Song dynasties. They include the *Jixian zhuji* 集賢注記 by Wei Shu 韋述

1 For studies on imperial libraries see Winkelman 1968, Huang Chaozong 1973, Poon Ming-sun 1979, and Drège 1991.

2 Cheng Ju has a biography in Tuotuo 1977 (445.13136–13138). His Record of Conduct (*xingzhuang* 行狀) compiled by Cheng Yu 程瑀 (1087–1152) is found in the *Xin'an wenxian zhi* 新安文獻志 by Cheng Minzheng 1782 (94A.24a-31a). Both the *Songshi* biography and the Record of Conduct are contained in Zhang Fuxiang 2000 (341–343, and 343–348, respectively). The Record of Conduct is attached to Cheng Ju's collected works *Beishan xiaoji* 北山小集 in the *Siku quanshu* as well as the *Sibu congkan*. For a recent depiction of Cheng Ju's life and achievements see Luo Yumei and Wang Zhaonian 2011.

(*jinshi* 進士³ of 708, d. 757) of the Tang⁴, and the *Guange lu* 館閣錄 of the Yuanyou era of the Song by Song Feigong 宋匪躬 (fl. late 11th cent.)⁵, both of which are no longer extant. Wang Yinglin 1992 (51.44a) also mentions the *Nan Song guange lu* 南宋館閣錄 (10 *juan*) by Chen Kui 陳騏 (1128–1203)⁶ dating from the autumn of the fourth year of the Chunxi era (1177).

Main editions of the text

The text in the *Siku quanshu*

Before the appearance of the Song manuscript, the *Siku quanshu* edition was the earliest version of the text.⁷ The compilers of the *Siku quanshu*, working under Lu Xixiong 陸錫熊 (1734–1792), Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805), and Ren Dachun 任大椿 (1738–1789), reconstructed the book, by drawing on material

3 The “presented scholar” degree introduced in the Tang in the Song dynasty became a pre-condition for bureaucratic service in the higher echelons of the administration. I am leaving the title in its original throughout the text. For a thorough study of the examination system of the Song see Chaffee 1995.

4 For a short description of the *Jixian zhuji* from 756 see McMullen 1987, 267 n. 36. Wei Shu’s biography in Liu Xu 1975 (102.3183–3185) does not record the text, but the bibliographical monographs in the *Xin Tangshu* (Ouyang Xiu 1975, 58.1477) and the *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 203.5101) do, the former listing three *juan* for the work, the latter two only. The work is classified there as classical precedents (*diangu* 典故). The *Jixian zhuji* is addressed as *Jixian shumu* 集賢書目 in Wang Yaochen 1937 (2.123). Zheng Qiao 1990 (*yiwenlue* 藝文略 4, 622) also used the title *Jixian shumu* and categorized it under bibliographies (*mulu* 目錄). The work is listed under the same title in the same category in Tuotuo 1977 (204.5146). Fragments of the book have been recompiled in Tao Min 2015.

5 The work in eleven *juan* is listed in Tuotuo 1977 (203.5107) as are Chen Kui’s text, here addressed with its original title *Zhongxing guange lu* 中興館閣錄, and Cheng Ju’s *Lintai gushi*, listed under precedents (*gushi* 故事).

6 Zhang Fuxiang 1998 contains both the *Nan Song guange lu* as well as the *Nan Song guange xulu* 南宋館閣續錄 in ten *juan* by an unknown author. *Nan Song guange lu* is the title given the work after its recompilation for the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 in Qing times and this new title has been commonly used instead of *Zhongxing guange lu*. Zhang Fuxiang 1987 provides a detailed study of this text and the *xulu*.

7 On the compilation of the *Siku quanshu* and its underlying agenda such as establishing an authoritative collection of texts as well as a simultaneous purging of texts deemed undesirable see Guy 1987.

contained mainly in the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典⁸ and the *Shuofu* 說郛⁹ from the early Ming. For them the value of the work consisted predominantly in what it had to say about the position of Hanlin-Academician during the Song dynasty. They grouped this material in five *juan*, and arranged them under the headings preserved in the *Yongle dadian*.

The description of the *Lintai gushi* in the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* reads:

We are respectfully submitting for consideration the *Lintai gushi* in five *juan* compiled by Cheng Ju of the Song. Ju, whose style name was Zhidao 致道, hailed from Kaihua in Quzhou and he was awarded the *jinshi*-degree scoring the highest place in the examination of the southern palace, and passed the court examination.¹⁰ He became Edict Attendant in the Huiyou Cabinet (Huiyou ge 徽猷閣¹¹), was conferred the noble title of district earl (*xian bo* 縣伯) of Xin'an 新安, and was given the post of Junior Preceptor (at the end of his career).

The *Yuhai* reports that during the Yuanyou era (1086–1093) of the Song, Song Feigong produced a *Guange lu*, that Cheng Ju in the first year of the Shaoxing era (1131) submitted the *Lintai gushi*, and that Chen Kui in the fourth year of the Chunxi era (1177) continued (their work) and compiled the *Guange lu*, and thus there are three books as sources for the Hanlin during one generation. The book by Song has been lost, and although Chen's book survives, it is somewhat erroneous and incomplete.

No transmitted (complete) copy of the present book exists since the Ming except for some entries listed in the *Shuofu*. Only the *Yongle dadian* has rather numerous entries and arranging these in order, it has been possible to

8 On the *Yongle dadian* see Giles 1920, Goodrich 1970 and more recently Christos 2010.

9 Atwood 2017 provides a study of the *Shuofu*. The *Shuofu* contains copies of the entries on the *Baoyuan tianren xiangyi shu* 寶元天人祥異書 (addressed as *Xuanyuan tianshen xiangyi shu* 宣元天神祥異書), *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華, *Xu tongdian* 續通典, *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜, *Jiuyuzhi* 九域志, and the *Guochao huiyao* 國朝會要 (Song Limin 1986, 61). These are found in the 100 *juan* edition printed by Shangwu yinshuguan in 1927 and, subsequently, in Tao Zongyi 1988 (34.11a-12b (589–590)). All entries, except for the first and the last title, appear in the compilation (*xiuzuan* 修纂) section of the Song manuscript. The entry on the *Baoyuan tianren xiangyi shu* is found in the book collections (*shuji* 書籍) section in Cheng Ju 2000a (2.18, 272), and in Cheng Ju 2000b (2.1, 74). The *Guochao huiyao* entry is found in Cheng Ju 2000a (3.8, 302) and in Cheng Ju 2000b (2.10, 68–69). The *Yongle dadian* is no longer extant as a complete text and it is therefore near impossible to pinpoint the exact location from which the relevant sections for the re-compiled text were copied. Wang Zhaonian 2011 has nevertheless identified phrases that come from the surviving *Yongle dadian*.

10 The information on Cheng Ju's examination results comes from his Record of Conduct (*xingzhuang* 行狀).

11 This Cabinet, the repository for the collection of emperor Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1085–1100), had been established in 1108 (Tuotuo 1977, 162.3820).

produce a complete text. What the book records are matters of the Institutes and the Archive (*guange* 館閣) at the start of the Song, and regulations and institutions, and it does so in a clear and impressive manner. The reason for this is that when the imperial library was reestablished at the start of the Shaoxing era, Ju was appointed as its Vice Director. Therefore, when Ju wrote this book, he had access to old official documents from all the government agencies which makes this work extremely detailed. For instance the biography of Xing Bing 邢昺 in the *Dongdu shilüe* 東都事略 (1186) records his promotion from Academician Expositor-in-waiting to Vice Director of the Ministry of Works, but not that he had also held the post of Grand Master of Palace Leisure.¹² The biography of Song Shou 宋綬 records his being examined by the Secretariat on imperial order, but not his appointment as Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review.¹³ The biography of Han Qi 韓琦 in the *Songshi* 宋史 (1345) records that he entered the Academy of Scholarly Worthies as a provisional appointee from the post of Controller-general of Zizhou 淄州 (in modern Shandong), but does not record his appointment as Great Supplicator in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Companion of the Heir Apparent.¹⁴ The biography of Wang Tao 王陶 records that he had been a Companion of the Heir Apparent, but does not record his editing and revising the book holdings of the Institute for the Glorification of Literature.¹⁵ The biography of Sun Zhu 孫洙 similarly does not record that he had been Magistrate of Yuqian 於潛 and that he edited and revised the book holdings of the Imperial Archive.¹⁶ But all of this can be gleaned from the present book. And the *Yuhai* cites the biography of Xie Bi 謝泌 where Bi suggested to the emperor to divide the book holdings according to the four categories and place one man in charge of each. This event is dated to the start of the Duangong era (988–989), but in *juan* one hundred sixty-eight (of the *Yuhai*), the event is recorded for the fifth year of the Tiansheng era (1027), and the two statements contradict each other.¹⁷ According to what

¹² All official titles and posts, unless otherwise stated, have been translated according to entries in Hucker 1988.

¹³ See Cheng Ju 2000a, 1.20, chapter 1.

¹⁴ See Cheng Ju 2000a, 1.20, chapter 1.

¹⁵ See Cheng Ju 2000a, 1.22, chapter 1.

¹⁶ See Cheng Ju 2000a, 1.22, chapter 1.

¹⁷ The first reference is to Wang Yinglin 1992 (52.38b). The Duangong era date is questionable as the period in which Xie Bi made his request. It is the last given date before Xie's memorial, the next one, after the memorial, being 991 (second year of the Chunhua era) (Tuotuo 1977, 306.10094). The second reference is to Wang Yinglin 1992 (168.4b). The date must be wrong since Xie Bi had died in 1012.

the present book records, (the event) occurred at the beginning of the Xianping era.¹⁸

And the *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑒長編 records an imperial visit to the Directorate of Education for the *jiayin* 甲寅 day of the seventh month of the second year of the Xianping era (999), and an imperial visit to the Institute for the Veneration of Literature on the return, but after this day there is a *guichou* 癸丑 day. It is not possible for the *jiayin* day to precede the (*guichou* day) if this is within this same month, and therefore this is evidently a mistake. According to the present book the (correct date) is the *jia-chen* 甲辰 day of the seventh month.¹⁹

There are more than a hundred entries of this kind which are all sufficient for the textual examination of distinctions and similarities, and which, in regard to recovering past events, are of great benefit.

The original book according to the *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 consisted of five *juan*, and when Ju submitted the book, he said that it contained altogether twelve sections. The section headings that can be seen scattered throughout the *Yongle dadian* are on development (*yange* 沿革), agencies (*shengshe* 省舍), depositories (*chuzang* 儲藏), compilation (*xiuzuan* 修纂), duties (*zhizhang* 職掌), selection for posts (*xuanren* 選任), official positions (*guanlian* 官聯), favours conferred (*enrong* 恩榮), emoluments (*lulin* 祿廩). Merely nine (section headings) are extant, and we have carefully gathered these in one volume and accordingly produced five *juan*.

Three entries from Chen Kui's *Guange lu*, namely “Baoshu hui” 曝書會, “Jianhui” 餞會, and “Dayan xueshi yuan” 大宴學士院²⁰, are all said to have been derived from the *Lintai gushi*, but although these (three) matters are quoted, their contents do not form part of the main text. At around the time when (Yao) Guangxiao (姚) 廣孝 (1335–1418) and others compiled (the *Yongle dadian*), (the entries) were duplicated on publication, initially being omitted as erroneous, but later preserved. At that time the compiled text did not have a clear structure. This aspect is discernible for presently these entries have not been used as supplements within the text. Only Ju's *Beishan ji* records an afterword and we have attached it in order to preserve its antiquity.

Respectfully submitted for inspection in the second month of the forty-fifth year of the Qianlong 乾隆 era (1780).

Chief compiling officials Ji Yun, Lu Xixiong, Sun Shiyi 孫士毅 (1720–1796)

18 See Cheng Ju 2000a, 2.7, chapter 2. The entry there does not have a date, but the compilers of the note may have inferred the date by comparing the *Songshi* entry with the entry here, the next verifiable date in the entry being 993.

19 The modern edition of the *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* records the events referred to under the correct days with the correct cyclical characters (Li Tao 2004, 45.957).

20 These entries are found in Chen Kui 1998 (6.67–69), but there is no indication that the entry on “Baoshu hui” derived from the *Lintai gushi*, like in the other two cases.

Chief inspecting official Lufei Chi 陸費墀 (d. 1790)²¹

The Song dynasty text

The Song copy had been in the possession of Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1894) of Gui'an 歸安 (in modern day Zhejiang) who published it as a part of the third installment of his *Shiwanjuanlou congshu* 十萬卷樓叢書 in 1892.²²

From there it entered the Hanfenlou 涵芬樓 library that served as an archive for original copies and prints of the Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館 (Commercial Press). Zhang Yuanji 張元濟 (1867–1959) had established the Hanfenlou in 1907 and wrote an annotated catalogue to its collection. The collection was partially destroyed by fire in 1932 and titles of surviving texts are listed in a catalogue entitled *Hanfenlou yuancun shanben caomu* 涵芬樓原存善本草目 published in 1951.

The original chapters surviving deal with officials (*guanlian* 官聯) and selection of personnel (*xuanren* 選人); with book collections (*shuji* 書籍) and collation (*jiaochou* 校讎); and with compiling books (*xiuzuan* 修纂) and the state history (*guoshi* 國史). This text had previously been owned by Qian Gu 錢穀 (style name Shubao 叔寶, 1508–1579), Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (Wang Yuyang 王漁洋, 1634–1711), Hui Dong 惠棟 (style name Dingyu 定宇, 1697–1738), and Chen Zun 陳尊 (style name Zhongcun 仲尊, late Qing).

The earliest note to the Song copy is by Qian Gu and it reads: “Purchased on the tenth day of the eighth month of the Longqing era (September 14, 1567) from the former bookshop of the Du family (Dushi 杜氏) in Suzhou.”

Huang Pilie 黃丕烈 (1763–1825) added this information to the text:

²¹ Zhang Fuxiang 2000, 1–2. The composition of the team as well as their titles in Cheng Ju 1960 (“mulu” 目錄 3b) are different. Lu Xixiong and Ji Yun are identified as Chief Compiling Officials and Readers-in-waiting. The names of both Sun Shiyi and Lufei Chi are omitted while that of Ren Dachun 任大椿 (1738–1789) and his post of Compiling Official and Secretary are added.

²² Lu Xinyuan was the foremost collector of Song dynasty texts in the Qing period which he listed in 1882 in a catalogue entitled *Bi Song lou zangshu zhi* 誦宋樓藏書志. Paul Pelliot who gives an annotated table of contents of this catalogue thought that the Song edition of the *Lintai gushi* in Lu Xinyuan’s collection was the most authentic of all the editions and was rather critical of the *Lintai gushi* recompiled from the *Yongle dadian* (Pelliot 1909, 232–233). Pelliot incorrectly refers to Cheng Ju as Chen Ju (“Tch’en Kiu”). Lu’s invaluable collection of Song editions was sold by his son in 1908 to a Japanese banker.

This book is a facsimile copy of an old hand-written copy from the Song dynasty. Unfortunately it consists of three *juan* only, for no complete copy exists any more. However, truly this rare book is different from the (*Wuying dian*) *juzhen* (*ban quanshu*) (武英殿 聚珍 (版全書) edition, its section titles and their sequence varying quite a lot. When the bookdealer first brought it along, I examined it personally once and consequently recognized its quality. Immediately I initiated price negotiations, but as we could not settle on a price, (the bookdealer) took the book back home again. When he went to the Xiyun caotang 西峪草堂,²³ I asked my friend Hu Weizhou 胡葦洲 to avail himself of the copy and pass it on to me, and so he fulfilled a long-held craving. On the day of the return of the book I wrote down a few words in gratitude in order to thank (Hu) for the great favour.

In Chen's record this book is said to consist of five *juan* and that it comprises twelve sections.²⁴ A contemporary note says (that the book consists of) three *juan* which is not the complete copy and (this means) that when it was copied five *juan* were changed into three *juan*. Each chapter is headed by first (*shang* 上), second (*zhong* 中), and third (*xia* 下) and these have been added in order to obscure traces that this is not the complete text. The line that starts with "Longqing" and so forth is in the hand-writing of (Qian) Shubao and is particularly valuable. What makes books valuable are original copies, and this specimen certainly is one. Though incomplete it cannot be ignored.

Eleventh day of the sixth month of the *jiaxu* 甲戌 year of the Jiaqing 嘉慶 era (July 27, 1814).²⁵

Since the book is incomplete *canben* 殘本 (incomplete copy) was added to the title to mark it as the copy in three *juan*.²⁶ The book does not have a preface, but a note submitted to the Department of State Affairs dated to the twentieth

²³ The Xiyun caotang was the name of the archive where the painter and book collector Chen Zun, a resident of Suzhou in Jiangsu, kept his books. On Chen Zun see the biographical note in Yu Jianhua 1981 (1038).

²⁴ This refers to the entry on the *Lintai gushi* in the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 by Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (Chen Zhensun 1987, 6.178). Further entries in catalogues and bibliographic monographs are Chao Gongwu 1990 (7.322), Wang Yinglin 1992 (51.44a and 165.37b-38a), and Ma Duanlin 1986 (202.1690).

²⁵ Zhang Renfeng 2003, 529 and Cheng Ju 2000a, 335.

²⁶ The publisher's note to the *Lintai gushi* in the *Shiwanjuan lou congshu*-edition contained in Cheng Ju 1970 explains: "Both the *Shiwanjuan lou congshu* and the *Juzhenban congshu* contain this text. The *Shiwanjuan*-edition consists of four *juan* based on the three *juan* of the incomplete Song copy and six sections taken from the *Siku quanshu* edition. And two lost entries (from the text) in the *Zhongxing guange shu* 中興館閣書 (i.e. Chen Kui's *Guange lu*) were added. Since an examination of the recompiled version in the *Siku quanshu* and the original text resulted in differences, an addendum (*buyi* 補遺) in one *juan* was produced. To make (this edition) complete, Qian Daxin's 錢大昕

day of the ninth month of the first year of the Shaoxing era (October 16, 1131), that precedes the text (see below).²⁷

The text in the re-edited *Wuying dian juzhenban quanshu* 武英殿聚珍版全書

The *Wuying dian juzhenban quanshu* had been compiled on orders issued by the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (r. 1735–1796) in 1773 and gathered rare books collated from the *Yongle dadian* in movable type prints.²⁸ Since the imperial edition was sent to be printed in the provinces, local variations of the titles included occurred.

The Song copy lacks an afterword (*houxu* 後序), but the text in the *Wuying dian juzhenban* 武英殿聚珍版 collection has one that was added from the literary collection of Cheng Ju²⁹, from which it becomes clear that the note preceding the text in the *Shiwanjuan lou congshu* as well as in the *Juzhenban* edition, the “Jin *Lintai gushi shenxing yuanzhuang*” 進麟臺故事申省原狀 (original statement on the submission of the *Lintai gushi* for detailed examination), is a digest of the contents of the book for perusal by the relevant authorities.

Sun Xinghua 孫星華 used the copy held by Lu Xinyuan for his re-edition of the *Wuying dian juzhenban*. Sun’s revised work is dated to 1894.³⁰ The missing three sections, related to book collection (*shuji* 書籍), collation (*jiaochou* 校讎), and state history (*guoshi* 國史), were added by Sun Xinghua from the Song manuscript for the revised version of the text in five *juan*.³¹

(1728–1804) colophon to the *Lintai gushi*, as well as (the relevant entry from the) *Siku (quanshu zongmu) tiyao* 四庫 (全書總目) 提要 and Hu Yujin’s 胡玉縉 (1859–1940) (entry on the text in) the (*Siku tiyao buzheng* (四庫全書總目) 提要補正 were added photomechanically and appended at the end of the text.” The originally fragmented copy in three *juan* appeared in Cheng Ju 1934. Qian Daxin’s colophon is found in his *Qianyan tang wenji* 潛研堂文集 (Qian Daxin 2016, 462).

²⁷ Cheng Ju 1792 (38.19).

²⁸ Bussotti and Han 2014, 23.

²⁹ Cheng Ju 1792 (16.18–20a). In the *Siku quanshu* the *houxu* consisting of three pages is attached to the end of the last *juan*.

³⁰ For the colophon of Sun Xinghua see Cheng Ju 2000a (352). On the *Wuying dian* printing enterprise see Moll-Murata 2018 (213–320).

³¹ See the description of the *Lintai gushi* in Yongrong 1965 (79.682–683). Zhang Fuxiang provides a comparative list of the contents of the *Juzhen* edition and the Song copy in the appendix (360–386).

Since this version of the text differs again slightly from the five *juan* version contained in the *Siku quanshu*, here are some informative excerpts from the 1894 text by Sun Xinghua:

Cheng Ju of the Song has compiled the *Lintai gushi* in twelve sections, comprising five *juan*. The original book has long been lost. During the Qianlong era officials from the institutes collected and rearranged the work from the *Yongle dadian*, and they enlarged it with entries from the *Shuofu*, thus compiling five *juan*. But they only gathered nine sections, and when the *Juzhen* edition was printed, it was the present copy. Recently Mister Lu (i.e. Lu Xinyuan) from Gui'an acquired an incomplete Song copy in three *juan* with which I supplemented the *Juzhen* version and had it engraved for the (*Wuying dian juzhenban*) *congshu* 叢書. This copy increases the nine sections of the *Juzhen* edition by three sections (entitled) *shuji* 書籍, *jiaochou* 校讎, and *guoshi* 國史, fitting the number of thirteen sections³² of the original text, for the *Juzhen* edition already has nine sections, and adding to the main text more than fifty entries of interlinear notes. But since their arrangement in terms of the number and order of characters and phrases overlaps and differs, there are indeed numerous dissimilarities. Mister Lu has compiled one entry each from the *Chunxi Yutang zaji* 淳熙玉堂雜記 and the *Zhongxing guange lu* 中興館閣錄 as supplements³³, but since there was no section to enter them under, they were added at the end of (the last) chapter. I have compiled these into a supplement (*shiyi* 拾遺) in two *juan*, and have added moreover an examination of textual discrepancies (*kaoyi* 考異) in one *juan*, and have attached these to the old *Juzhen* edition. I have compiled material from the three sections (of the Song copy) that are comparatively larger than the text in the *Juzhen* copy in the supplement attached to the end of the text. The supplement begins with depositories (*chuzang* 儲藏), because there is no material to supplement the two sections on development (*yange* 沿革) and agencies (*guanshe* 官舍)³⁴ with, and therefore it is not a negligence that the section headings are not replicated again. In terms of what material appears in which section in the *Juzhen* copy and how it is placed in which section in the Song copy, I have under each entry added explanations to mark these without exception. Only the copy in the collectanea of Mr. Lu aimed to retain the old Song copy, therefore I have arranged the fragmented Song copy in three *juan* at the start. I used the *Juzhen* copy

32 I am not sure if this is a typographical error because “thirteen sections (*shisan pian* 十三篇)” also appears in Cheng Ju 1960 (“fu kaoyi” 附考異 18b) or if Sun Xinghua indeed accidentally miscalculated the number of sections.

33 The first addendum is entitled “Dayan xueshiyuan jushi” 大宴學士院具食 and is found in Zhou Bida 1782 (3 (*xia* 下).12b-13a) as well as in Chen Kui 1998 (6.67–68). The latter text identifies the entry as coming from the *Lintai gushi*. The second addendum, “Jianhui” 餞會, as mentioned above is similarly taken from Chen Kui 1998 (6.69) and similarly introduces the text as originating from the *Lintai gushi*.

34 *Guanshe* is clearly incorrect for *shengshe* 省舍.

to add text that was missing in the Song copy, and I supplemented the *Juzhen* copy with text from the Song copy. For this reason, the arrangement of the texts is divergent.³⁵ As for the examination of textual discrepancies, this had not been done yet by Mr. Lu. Having written out the text completely, I have consequently added these few words at the end of the document. Sun Xinghua from Kuaiji 會稽 (modern Suzhou, Jiangsu) in the second winter month (December/January) of the *jiawu* 甲午 year of the Guangxu period

The arrangement of sections in the *Lintai gushi* editions³⁶

<i>Siku quanshu</i>	Shiwanjuan lou	Juzhenban
<i>Lintai gushi</i> shenxing yuan zhuang <i>juan</i> 1: <i>yange</i> 沿革 <i>shengshe</i> 省舍 <i>chuzang</i> 儲藏	<i>Lintai gushi</i> shenxing yuan zhuang <i>juan</i> 1A: <i>guanlian</i> 官聯 <i>xuanren</i> 選任	<i>Lintai gushi</i> shenxing yuan zhuang <i>juan</i> 1: <i>yange</i> 沿革 <i>shengshe</i> 省舍 <i>chuzang</i> 儲藏 ³⁷
<i>juan</i> 2: <i>xiuzuan</i> 修纂 <i>zhizhang</i> 職掌	<i>juan</i> 2B: <i>shuji</i> 書籍 <i>jiaochou</i> 校讎	<i>juan</i> 2: <i>zuan</i> 纂 <i>zhizhang</i> 職掌
<i>juan</i> 3: <i>xuanren</i> 選任	<i>juan</i> 3C: <i>xiuzuan</i> 修纂 <i>guoshi</i> 國史	<i>juan</i> 3: <i>xuanren</i> 選任
<i>juan</i> 4: <i>guanlian</i> 官聯	<i>juan</i> 4: <i>yange</i> 沿革 <i>shengshe</i> 省舍 <i>chuzang</i> 儲藏 <i>zhizhang</i> 職掌 <i>enrong</i> 恩榮 <i>lulin</i> 祿廩	<i>juan</i> 4: <i>guanlian</i> 官聯

³⁵ This process accounts for the fourth *juan* in the revised Juzhen ban edition which differs in regard to the three *juan* of the Song copy and the five *juan* of the original Juzhen ban copy.

³⁶ The sequence of sections and chapters in the *Nan Song guange lu* shows how much the Siku quanshu edition owes to this text in terms of headings: *juan* 1 *yange*, *j.* 2 *shengshe*, *j.* 3 *chuzang*, *j.* 4 *xiuzuan*, *j.* 5 *zhuanshu* 撰述 (compiling), *j.* 6 *gushi* 故實 (historical experiences), *j.* 7 and 8 *guanlian*, *j.* 9 *linlu*, *j.* 10 *zhizhang*.

³⁷ In Cheng Ju 1960 (1.9b) a note is attached after *juan* 1 that reads: “First revised by Shi Youxian 史悠咸 (*jinshi* of 1892) from Beiping, again revised by Gui Dian 桂玷 (1867–1958) from Nanhai 南海.”

The arrangement of sections in the *Lintai gushi* editions

<i>Siku quanshu</i>	Shiwanjuan lou	Juzhenban
juan 5: <i>enrong</i> 恩榮 <i>lulin</i> 祿廩	<i>buyi</i> 補遺: <i>xiuzuan</i> 修纂 <i>xuanren</i> 選任 <i>guanlian</i> 官聯	juan 5: <i>enrong</i> 恩榮
<i>houxu</i> 後序	<i>houxu</i> 後序	<i>houxu</i> 後序
		<i>shiyi</i> 拾遺 <i>juan</i> 1: <i>chuzang</i> 儲藏 <i>xiuzuan</i> 修纂 <i>zhizhang</i> 職掌 <i>xuanren</i> 選任 <i>guanlian</i> 官聯 <i>shuji</i> 書籍 <i>shiyi</i> <i>juan</i> 2: <i>jiaochou</i> 校讎 <i>guoshi</i> 國史
		<i>kaoyi</i> 考異

The Translation

“Original statement on the submission of the *Lintai gushi* for detailed examination”

Cheng Ju, Grand Master of Court Service and Acting Vice Director of the Palace Library, submits:

Since the emperor’s moving out³⁸, I have seen that official documents have been based on patterns culled from recollections and accordingly they have been somewhat inaccurate. In the recent past as the court reestablished the Palace Library consulting old regulations, in a short period of time outstanding and talented men were assembled, and as I was selected as a deputy my heart was overflowing with joy. I consider the archives of books and records as the source of regulations, but the present records preserved amounted to that held by but one department only. Gathering at once the information found in orally transmitted works as well as in old books, and the extent of rules and regulations, and preparing them successively into . . .³⁹ divided into three *juan* with the title *Lintai gushi*. I have made . . .⁴⁰ to be delivered to the Memorial Forwarding Office. Upon reception I ask for permission to send a copy to be kept in the Palace Library for comments.” Respectfully

38 This most likely refers to the departure of the emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162) from the north in 1127. He only settled permanently in early 1132 in Lin’an 臨安 (modern Hangzhou) which served as provisional capital until upgraded to permanent capital in 1138. In between Nanjing had been the official capital as well as Shaoxing after the Jin armies had sacked Lin’an in 1130 (Tao Jingshen 2009, 660–661; Kuhn 2009, 76).

39 Six characters are missing in the original text. The amended text in the *Sibu congkan* reads “distributed across three *juan*”.

40 Four characters are missing here. In Cheng Ju 2000b (5) the complete phrase reads: “and arranged these in a book. It consists of altogether twelve sections arranged in five *juan*, and it is entitled *Lintai gushi*. I have completed the work in two volumes which I am submitting to the Memorial Forwarding Office”. The version in Cheng Ju 1792 (38,19a-b) reads quite different from the two others: “It consists of altogether twelve sections arranged in four *juan* that I have completed in two volumes. I am submitting the book I presented to the Executive Office of the Department of State Affairs and I would like to ask to forward it with comments to the Memorial Forwarding Office (incorrectly written *tongdasi* 通達司 here). Therefore, I am asking to store copies in the library and the archive (*shengge* 省閣) to provide for discussions.’ I am sincerely laying this out

“Original statement on the submission of the *Lintai gushi* for detailed examination”

putting on record the memorial I made. I am humbly awaiting Your orders. Received Imperial Order on nineteenth day of ninth month, consequently submitting memorial.

Note submitted to Department of State by Cheng, Drafter

Shaoxing first year, ninth month, twentieth day.

(seal of Department of State)

First year Shaoxing, 9th month, 20th day (October 12, 1131)

before the Department of State for examination. I am humbly awaiting Your instructions.”

“Original statement on the submission of the *Lintai gushi* for detailed examination”

Recorded in the seventh month of the first year of the Shaoxing era (July/August 1131) by Cheng Ju 程俱, Gentleman for Court Audiences (*chaoqing lang*) and Acting Vice Director of the Palace Library (*bishu shao jian* 祕書少監)

1A Official positions (*guanlian* 官聯) and Appointments (*xuanren* 選任)

1.1

The Institute for the Glorification of Literature (Zhaowen guan 昭文館), the Historiography Institute (*shiguan* 史館) and the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (Jixian yuan 集賢院) at the start of the dynasty were established as the Three Institutes (*sanguan* 三館) with the common appellation Institute for the Veneration of Literature (Chongwen yuan 崇文院), following old regulations. Positions provisionally assigned to the Institutes as far up as the post of Proofreader were commonly called Institute positions (*guan zhi* 館職).

Officials had to be examined before they were assigned to these positions. Those who had not been examined and assigned there, were there on account of exceptional favours and merits, or for having served a long time as Director of a Bureau within the Imperial Bureaucracy.

After the reform of the official system of the Yuanfeng era (1078–1085)⁴¹ all the official matters of the Three Institutes returned to the Palace Library (*bishu sheng* 祕書省), and the officials in the Library from Director and Vice [Director] down to Correctors⁴² all were functional officials.⁴³

From the middle of the Yuanyou era (1086–1093), moreover, those who were examined through the Institute of Academicians (*xueshi yuan* 學士院) were

41 For a description and analysis of the Yuanfeng Reforms that started in 1080 see Smith (2009, 457–464). Xiong (2019) provides a study of the library administration in the Southern Song based on the *Nan Song guange lu* 南宋館閣錄 compiled by Chen Kui 陳騏 and others and submitted to the throne in 1177.

42 Hucker translates *zhengzi* as Proofreader (Hucker 1988, 450). In order to distinguish the *zhengzi* from the *jiaokan* that he also renders as Proofreader (Hucker 1988, 732), I have used Corrector throughout the text as translation for *zhengzi*.

43 This means that these positions were actual working assignments.

commissioned as Subeditors and Proofreaders, and they staffed the Palace Library. If they were already officials in the Palace Library, they were commissioned without being examined. In regard to distinctions in promotion, copiousness of remuneration, excellence of qualifications, recruitment for assignments, and the drafting of documents, they were on a different level compared to other offices.⁴⁴

1.2

During the Tang the Institute for the Glorification of Literature was called Institute for the Advancement of Literature (Hongwen guan 弘文館) and it was subordinate to the Chancellery.

In the first year of the Jianlong era (960) its name was changed to Institute for the Glorification of Literature in order to avoid the taboo name of Xuanzu 宣祖 (emperor Taizu's father).⁴⁵ The position of Grand Academician was filled by a Grand Councilor. Academicians and Auxiliary Academicians were not regular positions, but men were appointed to these positions from the ranks of the metropolitan bureaucracy. Their duties related to the revision and collation of documents and records in the four categories of the Classics, Histories, Philosophers, and Belles-Lettres. The position of Director of the Institutes was filled with an official of rank five and above from within the two government departments (Chancellery and Secretariat).⁴⁶

1.3

The Historiography Institute since the past was housed in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies and the position of Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History was filled by a Grand Councilor.⁴⁷ During the Kaibao era Xue Juzheng 薛居正 (912–981) as a Participant in Determining Governmental Matters served as Chief Compiler.

⁴⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 225. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (1.1, 7). Cf. the entry on the Three Institutes (*sanguan* 三館) in Jiang Shaoyu 1981 (29.367); Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 職官, 18.50 (2779)); Hong Mai 2005 (16.208).

⁴⁵ The name of the father of the Song founder was Zhao Hongyin 趙弘殷.

⁴⁶ Cheng Ju 2000a, 226.

⁴⁷ The first Grand Councilor to hold the position was Zhao Pu 趙普 (922–992) who received the appointment in 964 (Xu Song 1997, “zhiguan”, 18.75 (2792)).

From then onwards among the Participants in Determining Governmental Matters some concurrently served as Compilers of the Dynastic History, but this was not a regular attachment.⁴⁸

During the Jingde era there was, moreover, the position of Joint Compiler of the Dynastic History which ended when the history was finished.⁴⁹

The position of Senior Compiler was filled with court officials, whereas positions in the Institute were filled with metropolitan officials. Moreover, the positions of Examining Editor and Junior Compiler were not regular positions. They were in charge of the compilation of the Dynastic History and the calendar, and the management of the book holdings. The position of director was filled with an official of rank five and above from within the two government departments (the Chancellery and the Secretariat). Later, when the official regulations were changed, the [compilation of] the calendar was made part of the Section for the Dynastic History.

Every time histories of past dynasties or veritable records were compiled, a separate Dynastic History Institute (*guoshi yuan* 國史院) and Veritable Records Institute (*shilu yuan* 實錄院) were set up. The Dynastic History Institute was supervised by the Principal Grand Councilor, officials in the position of Hanlin-Academicians and above served as Compilers of the Dynastic History, and in the remaining positions attendant officials served as Joint Compilers of the Dynastic History, and ordinary officials served as Junior Compilers. The Veritable Records Institute was supervised by the same officials as the Dynastic History Institute, attendant officials served as Senior Compilers and the remaining officials as Examining Editors.⁵⁰

1.4

The position of Grand Academician of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies was filled by a Grand Councilor. For an appointment as Academician no specific position was required, and (the position) was assigned to officials serving as Supervising Secretary, Grand Master of Remonstrance, Chief Minister, Director

48 Xue Juzheng since late 973 was in charge of the compilation of the History of the Five Dynasties (*Wudai shi* 五代史) after Zhao Pu had retired (Xu Song 1997, “zhiguan”, 18.75 (2792)).

49 This refers to the compilation of the official histories of the reigns of emperors Taizu 太祖 (r. 960–976) and Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–997) under the supervision of Grand Councilor Wang Dan 王旦 (957–1017) (Li Tao 2004, 66.1485).

50 Cheng Ju 2000a, 226–227. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (4.2, 163).

and above. The position of Provisionally Assigned Academician was not a regular post. The duties [of a Provisionally Assigned Academician] were similar to those [of the officials] in the [Institute for] the Glorification of Literature).

The director of the Academy normally was one official from the Two Departments (i.e., the Secretariat and the Chancellery) of rank five and above; sometimes, deviating from this rule, two men filled the position.

When the Three Institutes were transformed into the Institute for the Veneration of Literature, other official positions were created such as Examining Editor, which was not a fixed official position and filled with metropolitan officials; Proofreader, which was not a fixed official position filled with metropolitan, Provincial Private Secretariat, Prefecture and District Officials. Their duties consisted in gathering the charts and records of the Three Institutes.

The position of supervising official was filled with a Palace Eunuch as Concurrent Director of the book holdings in the Imperial Archive. In the fifth year of the Tianxi era (1021), moreover, the post of Joint Office Manager was introduced to be filled by one official.⁵¹

1.5

The Imperial Archive (*bige* 祕閣) was established in the second year of the Duangong era (989) in the middle hall of the Institute for the Veneration of Literature to store original copies from the book holdings of the Three Institutes as well as old paintings and calligraphies taken out from the palace.

In the first year of the Chunhua era (990) on imperial order the archive was made subordinate to the Three Institutes. Court Officials were placed on provisional assignment to the archive, while metropolitan officials filled the positions of Subeditor. Their work consisted of matters related to copying the imperial records, charts and books to be transferred and stored in the Archive.

The head of the Archive, following old rules, was an Assistant Director, Gentleman or Academician who as concurrent Director of the Palace Library was in charge of matters of the Archive.

After the ninth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1016) an official of rank three from the Various Offices (*zhusi* 諸司)⁵², or of rank five and above from the

⁵¹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 227.

⁵² Hucker 1988 (1431) understands this to refer to “all the agencies of the central government”. Since the majority of examples in the present text refers to officials coming from the Nine Courts (*jiusi* 九司) within the structure of the central government I would suggest that *zhusi* in this case refers to the Nine Courts.

two departments (the Secretariat and the Chancellery) was appointed as director.⁵³

At the start of the dynasty there was also the post of Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, who looked after matters of the Imperial Archive, but after the Xianping era (998–1003), these were sinecures altogether.⁵⁴

1.6

The Department of the Palace Library (*bishusheng* 祕書省) was situated in the Guanghua Quarter (Guanghua fang 光化坊) that was part of the metropolitan bureaucracy. The Department was managed by one man. When there was no Director, then an official from the staff of the Department of the Palace Library would act in this position concurrently.

In the fourth year of the Jingde era (1007) by imperial order a eunuch from the Imperial Archive book collections was to jointly supervise [the Department]. He was to control the printing of sacrificial and congratulatory [texts]. Apart from the *Zhengci lu* 正辭錄⁵⁵, if there were special sacrifices, the Department also compiled the texts [for them] separately from those compiled by the Editorial Service. Alternatively, if the Capital lacked officials in the Editorial Service, Assistant Directors and Assistants of the Department of the Palace Library would also be doing compilation work there.

According to old regulations regular congratulatory and sacrificial texts as well as documents on the Mountains and Rivers all had to be submitted by the Department of the Palace Library, while the Institute of Academicians only sub-

⁵³ The entry on the Archive in *Songshi*, which dates this instruction to 990 as well, makes it clear that the person in charge came from either of the two larger organizations (Tuotuo 1977, 144.3874).

⁵⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 227. On the Imperial Archive see also Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.47–49 (2778–2779)). This and the preceding entry form one entry in Cheng Ju 2000b (4.1, 159).

⁵⁵ The *Zhengci lu* was a text compiled originally by Li Zhi 李至 (947–1001) in 991. At the time texts on ritual matters had rarely been collated, so Li Zhi collected several hundred entries dealing with ritual and ceremonies in three *juan* and entitled the whole text *Zhengci lu* (Li Tao 2004, 32.718). This text then served as a reference for future ceremonial activities until emperor Zhenzong’s 真宗 (r. 997–1022) reign in 1004 when Li Zongze 李宗諤, Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1020) and Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 (961–1017) revised the text after which it was printed in 1007 (Li Tao 2004, 58.1300).

mitted documents on the Five Mountains (*wuyue* 五嶽), but not on the Four Rivers (*sidu* 四瀆).⁵⁶

From the twelfth month of the sixth year of the Xianping era (December 1003/January 1004) by imperial order congratulatory texts on the Four Rivers were to be submitted together [by the Institute of Academicians with the other texts].

In the second year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1009) the Two Drafting Groups (*liangzhi* 兩制)⁵⁷, the Edict Attendants of the Longtu Cabinet (Longtuge 龍圖閣) together with the Ritual Academy of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, moreover, were ordered to gather the printing blocks of the congratulatory texts from the Department of the Palace Library and the Institute of Academicians, and to take the *Zhengci lu* and revise it. These texts were handed over to all agencies for reverential usage.

At the start of the Jingde era (1004) the Department of the Palace Library by imperial order selected men capable of calligraphy for the writing of congratulatory texts on printing blocks, and the Director of the Palace Library was appointed to personally examine these. Only when the *kaishu*-script had been carefully executed without errors, were the texts submitted.

The personnel of the Department consisted of a Director, a Vice Director, an Assistant Director, Assistants, Editors, Correctors, an Editorial Director, and an Assistant Editorial Director. At that time all of these were officials [in other functions], and they kept these positions when they entered and left [the Department]. This was similar to the Department of State Affairs which had Vice Ministers in its Courts and Directorates (*sijian* 司監), Chief Ministers [and] Vice [Chief Ministers], Bureau Directors, Assistants (*chengbu* 丞簿) and others, and all of these were officials [with other duties] as well.

The position of Director of the Palace Library (commentary: nowadays this is a Grand Master of the Palace) was an appointment by special order, so that sometimes an official with a different post held the Directorship concurrently. Examples for this are Song Bai 宋白 (933–1009)⁵⁸, who during the Zhidao era (995–997) as a Hanlin-Academician Recipient of Edicts, concurrently served as

56 The Five Mountains or Five Peaks are located in the five cardinal directions: Hengshan 恆山 (north), Hengshan 衡山 (south), Huashan 華山 (west), Taishan 泰山 (east), Songshan 嵩山 (center). The Four Rivers are the Changjiang 長江, Huanghe 黃河, Huaihe 淮河 and Jishui 濟水.

57 This refers to Hanlin-Academicians and Secretariat Drafters (Hucker 1988, 3660).

58 Song Bai (*jinshi* of 961) participated in many of the literary projects undertaken during the reign of the first three Song emperors, such as the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, and the *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華. He is also said to have compiled a continuation of the *Tongdian* 通典 by Du You 杜佑 (735–812), the *Xu Tongdian*

Director of the Palace Library; Li Zhi⁵⁹, who during the Chunhua era (990–994) as a former Executive Official (Grand Councilor) held the position of Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites (commentary: nowadays this is a Grand Master for Thorough Service), concurrently was Director of the Palace Library; Yang Yi⁶⁰, who in the ninth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1016) held the position of Director of the Palace Library, was concurrent Manager of the Affairs of the Imperial Archive and the Department of the Palace Library.

Those who discussed this [latter appointment] opined that Yi only should be Director of the Palace Library. He should not in addition be the Manager of the Department and the Archive, for this was a mistake committed by the authorities.

After this, officials of rank five and above from the two Departments (Secretariat and Chancellery) who were not concurrent Directors only were called managers (*pan* 判), even when they also managed the affairs of the Department of the Palace Library.

Similar to how the Director/ate of the Palace Library managed the affairs of the Imperial Archive and the Department, the Assistant Editorial Director (commentary: nowadays this is referred to as a Court Gentleman for Instruction) was responsible for compiling the Daily Calendars (*rili* 日曆) in the Three Institutes, whereas the Exhorter (commentary nowadays this is referred to as a Gentleman for Discussion) and the Remonstrator (commentary: nowadays this is referred to as a Gentleman for Court Service) held positions at the same institution and when at the court assembly, they lined up with the exhorting and admonishing officials; Attendant Censor (commentary: nowadays this is referred to as a Gentleman for Court Audiences) and Investigating Censor (commentary: nowadays this is referred to as a Gentleman for Discussion) who held

續通典 in 200 *juan*. This work covered the period from 756 to 959, but it was not well received which may account for its disappearance (Kurz 2003, 68–71).

⁵⁹ Li Zhi, a native of Zhending in Hebei, shortly after passing the *jinshi*-examination left the capital to take up his first duty commission outside of the capital. After his return he assumed a position in the Historiography Institute and during the ill-fated campaign against the Northern Han state (951–979) in 979 he was responsible for logistics. In 983 Li Zhi became a Hanlin-Academician and entered the circle of imperial advisors. He originally wanted to retire for he was going blind, but the emperor assigned him to the Ministry of Rites. Li Zhi was one of the main compilers of the *Wenyuan yinghua* (Kurz 2003, 112–113).

⁶⁰ Yang Yi already as a young boy showed outstanding talents in poetry and after being examined by Zhang Quhua 張去華 (938–1006) was invited to work in the Institutes and the Archive. He participated in the compilation of the *Taizong shilu* 太宗實錄 and the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 and was an outspoken critic of Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962–1025) and his partisans (Kurz 2003, 189–192).

positions at the original Censorate, consequently lined up with the investigating and reporting officials.⁶¹

1.7

In the eighth month of the first year of the Chunhua era (September/October 990) Li Zhi and others said:

“In regard to repositories where rulers stored books, in the Han the Weiyang Palace (Weiyang gong 未央宮) was established, and within it were located the Qilin Cabinet (Qilin ge 麒麟閣) and the Tianlu Cabinet (Tianlu ge 天祿閣). Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE) and Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE) were appointed proofreaders of texts and since these were held within the Palace, they were addressed as books in the palace (*zhongshu* 中書), and this was the palace book collection (*neikushu* 內庫書).⁶² During the Eastern Han books were stored in the Dongguan 東觀 (Eastern Tower) which was also located in the Palace.

With the reign of (Han emperor) Huandi 桓帝 (r. 146–166) for the first time a Director of the Secret Documents was introduced to manage the books and secret writings (*tushu biji* 圖書祕記) in the Palace, and this was called the Imperial Book Collection (*bishu* 祕書).⁶³

When the Wei dynasty separated the Imperial Book Collection and created the Palace Collection, the Directorate of the Palace Library handled art and writings, maps and registers (*yi wen tu ji* 藝文圖籍)⁶⁴. Later on, the Imperial Book Collection (*bishu* 祕書) ranked among the lesser storehouses (*shaofu* 少府), and therefore Wang Su 王肅 (195–256) as Director of the Palace Library submitted a memorial in which he argued that the Palace Library should not be included among the lesser storehouses, declaring that the Palace Collection of

61 Cheng Ju 2000a, 228. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (2.18, 81).

62 This structure had been built and completed during the reign of Han Gaozu 漢高祖 (r. 202–195 BCE), the first emperor of the Han in 198 BCE (Sima Qian 1982, 8.386). Cheng Ju is most likely quoting an entry from the *Tongdian* 通典, *juan* 26 which in its entirety is found also in Ma Duanlin 1986 (56, “zhiguan” 10, 511). According to Zhang Yan 張晏 (fl. 3rd cent.), a commentator of the (*Qian*) *Hanshu*, Emperor Wudi 武帝 of the Han (r. 141–87 BCE) had the Qilin Cabinet built to store likenesses of a white *lin* 麟, a mythical creature, that he had claimed to have caught in 122 BCE (Ban Gu 1975, 54.2469 for the commentary; 6.174 for the white *lin*).

63 According to Jean-Pierre Drège 1991 (21–22) this occurred in 159.

64 Drège 1991 (24) translates this as “des arts et lettres et des cartes et archives”.

the Wei was the same as the Dongguan of the Han.⁶⁵ Consequently, it was not ranked among the lesser storehouses.

The Lantai 蘭臺 was a place where books were stored, for Xue Xia 薛夏⁶⁶ addressed the Lantai as the Outer Pavilion (*waitai* 外臺), and the Imperial Library as the Inner Archive (*neige* 內閣). That being so, the books of the Imperial Library were stored within the palace.

Both the Jin 晉 (266–420) and Song 宋 (420–479) dynasties had an appellation for the Imperial Archive, for emperor Xiaowu 孝武 (r. 373–396) of the Jin loved to peruse books and examine art, and encouraged Xu Guang 徐廣 (352–425) to stock the Cabinet for Imperial Books (*bishu ge* 祕書閣) with more than 30,000 *juan* of books in the Four Classes.⁶⁷ When Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–443) of the Song was Director of the Palace Library he supplemented the Imperial Archive with books, that had been lost.⁶⁸

During the war at the end of the Qi 齊 dynasty (479–502) the Imperial Archive was set on fire, and its book holdings were lost and dispersed. Jiang Ziyi 江子一 of the Liang (503–557) asked to restore the Imperial Archive for the perusal of books.⁶⁹

When emperor Yangdi 煬帝 (r. 605–617) of the Sui 隨 (581–618) ascended the throne, he ordered to copy the books in the Imperial Archive, to divide them into three different classes, and to store them in the eastern wing of the Guanwen Hall (Guanwen dian 觀文殿).⁷⁰ It is therefore evident, that the establishment of the Imperial Archive goes back a long way.

⁶⁵ Wang Su's official biography in *Sanguo zhi* (Chen Shou 1982, 13,414–423) does not mention the memorial. Wang had been appointed as head of the library during the reign of the second ruler of the state of Wei, Cao Rui 曹叡 (r. 226–239).

⁶⁶ Xue Xia received the appointment as director of the palace library during the reign of Cao Pi 曹丕 (r. 220–226), the first ruler of the state of Wei (Chen Shou 1982, 13,421).

⁶⁷ On this see also Kwang Tsing Wu 1944 (43).

⁶⁸ Wu writes: "In 426 a prominent scholar by the name of Hsieh Ling-yun (385–433) was appointed keeper of books. In 431 he . . . compiled a catalog entitled *Ssu-pu mu-lu* listing 14,582 chuan, which were stored in the Tsung-ming kuan" (Wu 1944, 44).

⁶⁹ Jiang had asked permission to inspect the books held in the Imperial Archive which the emperor granted and in addition Jiang was appointed to a position in the Hualin-Department (*Hualin sheng* 華林省), i.e. the palace library of the Liang. See Yao Silian 1973 (43,608–609).

⁷⁰ The relevant information is found in Sima Guang 1956 (182,5694–5695). The entry there is translated in Drège 1991 (45–46). Cf. also Wu 1944 (49–50). Emperor Yangdi had his officials examine the works contained in the palace library. Out of a total of 370,000 scrolls, 37,000 were chosen to be included in Yangdi's library. The 37,000 scrolls were copied in fifty sets which then were placed in the major offices and residences in the

In the fifth year of the Kaiyuan era of the Tang (717), the books in the eastern wing of the Qianyuan Hall (Qianyuan dian 乾元殿) were to be copied and then stored in the inner storehouse according to the four categories. Chu Wuliang 褚無量⁷¹, a Policy Adviser, and Ma Huaisu 馬懷素 (659–718), Director of the Palace Library (*bishu jian* 祕書監), were ordered to supervise this matter.⁷²

In the thirteenth year (725), the Hall of Immortals (Jixian dian 集仙殿) was renamed Hall of Scholarly Worthies (Jixian dian 集賢殿), and thereupon the Academy of Scholarly Worthies was established there.⁷³ All the books of the Imperial Archive were then stored there, even though this was not regularly followed as a principle. Since the decline of the ruling house of the Tang, many events occurred in the Central Plains, and records and cultural objects were scattered carelessly. After close to one hundred years this situation was ended.

When Our State took over after the end of the decline (that is the Five Dynasties period 907–960), it once again restored written records and searched for books to gradually restock the holdings of the Three Institutes.

The Imperial Archive was once again established among the Institutes to store outstanding books, to gather the profound wisdom of the classic scriptures, and to provide for reading at the second night watch.⁷⁴

This was inspired by the Emperor's ambition, and was not the result of deliberations among the courtiers.

Moreover, imperial poetry and imperial writings had been produced in abundance and documents amassed to such an extent, that it was difficult to archive them and impossible for the administration to cope with.

However, since the founding (of the archive in 988), a cycle of seasons has passed, and when we consider the archive's official staff, there are no particular disposition for their ranking. We therefore ask for an imperial edict which places (the archive's staff) with that of the Three Institutes. As for the ranking (of its officials) from top to bottom and the highest to the lowest designations, they should be laid down in writing and made into a fixed pattern. Since the Depart-

eastern capital. Their quality was distinguished by the colour of the rod on which the texts were mounted, namely red, dark blue and plain lacquer. The eastern wing of the Guangwen Hall held the categories Classics and History, and the western wing stored titles pertaining to Philosophy and Literature.

71 The correct character *wu* has been amended from the *jiben*-edition.

72 The catalogue produced and submitted to the throne in late 720 was entitled *Qunshu sibu lu* 群書四部錄. For more on this see Drège 1991 (52–59), and also Liu Xu 1975 (46.1962).

73 See Drège 1991 (60).

74 The second night watch extended from 9 to 11pm (Wilkinson 2000, 212).

ment of the Palace Library holds no books, and it originally was staffed with metropolitan officials, we ask to follow this old rule.”

The [consequent] imperial order read:

“We have begun the establishment of an imperial book vault to manage the multitude of books, and therefore We have selected known scholars to build it up within the palace grounds. Written documents have been provided in great numbers and now can be easily perused. [This place] is located in a vast area in the Forbidden City and no office outside the palace can compare with it. From now on the Imperial Archive shall be ranked with the Three Institutes, while the Department of the Palace Library shall according to the old regulations be part of the metropolitan bureaucracy.”⁷⁵

1.8

When the Imperial Archive was set up in the first year of the Duangong era (988), Li Zhi, Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites, was made concurrent Director of the Palace Library Directorate, Song Bi 宋泌⁷⁶, Right Remonstrator provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, was assigned concurrently to the Imperial Archive, and Du Hao 杜鎬 (938–1013)⁷⁷, Right Grand Master Admonisher and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute was made Subeditor in the Imperial Archive. With this, the staffing of the Imperial Archive started.

During the Taiping xingguo era (976–983) Tian Xi 田錫 (940–1004)⁷⁸, Recorder to the Left, submitted a memorial, that explained that presently there was a book collection of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies within the Three

⁷⁵ Cheng Ju 2000a, 229–230. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (1.3, 21–22). The decree fixed the situation that the original memorial had complained about, namely that the bureaucratic administration of the palace library had been mixed up with the actual agencies and officials employed within the Three Institutes and the Archive. The consequent distinction between the two only ended with the Yuanfeng reforms that streamlined the administration of the Imperial Library as the Department of the Imperial Library.

⁷⁶ Song Bi had received his *jinshi*-degree in the 977 examination (Tuotuo 1977, 280.9646).

⁷⁷ Du was the son of an influential Southern Tang official and showed great knowledge of the Classics and history in his youth. He accompanied Zhenzong to the peace negotiations with the Liao in 1005. He was one of the original compilers of the *Cefu yuangui* (Kurz 2003, 117–119).

⁷⁸ Tian Xi (*jinshi* of 978) according to his biography in Tuotuo (1977) was responsible for planting the idea of the compilation of a new encyclopedia or rather government

Institutes, but no staff of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and even though there existed Imperial library staff, there was no collection of charts and records in the Imperial Library.⁷⁹ So, in the first year of the Chunhua era (990), the first to be appointed to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies was He Meng 和蒙 (951–995)⁸⁰, a Companion of the Heir Apparent.⁸¹

As for the Imperial Library and its duties, it merely looked after the printing blocks for shrines and sacrifices and nothing else, while books were stored in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive. But what [Tian] referred to as [the Imperial Library's] bureaucratic personnel, were just honorific posts, and therefore there were no books.

At the start of the Jingde era (1004) [the posts of] Academician of the Longtu Cabinet, Provisionally Assigned Academician, Edict Attendant, and [Official] Provisionally Assigned to the Archive were created who were all part of the Imperial Archive, and every five days one official by turns was on duty.

Later on, the Tianzhang Cabinet (Tianzhang ge 天章閣) was established with Edict Attendants⁸² and since it was a part of the Imperial Archive as well, [these officials] took turns being on duty with the officials from the Longtu Cabinet.⁸³

handbook in the head of emperor Zhenzong, an idea which later resulted in the production of the *Cefu yuangui* (Wang Cheng 1979, 39.601–608; Tuotuo 1977, 293.9787–9792).

⁷⁹ Cf. the text of the memorial in Wang Cheng 1979 (39.602) and Tuotuo 1977 (293.9788).

⁸⁰ The character of the personal name here is not quite correct because the radical on the left-hand side should be 山, the marker of the generation name (*paihang* 排行), that He Meng shared with his better-known brother He Xian 和峴 (933–988). He Meng, a prodigious writer steeped in rhyme prose, on the strength of the work he submitted to the throne received the appointment with which he is identified here after having served as Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Entertainments (Tuotuo 1977, 439.13014–13015).

⁸¹ According to Li Tao 2004 (31.700) Li Zongze was appointed to the position of Subeditor in the spring of 990 and not He Meng.

⁸² The Tianzhang Cabinet as a storage unit for the personal collection of the emperor was established per request by Ding Wei 丁謂 (966–1037) and his colleagues, submitted on December 14, 1020 (Tuotuo 1977, 8.170). The creation of the position of Edict Attendant in the Tianzhang Cabinet dates to September 6, 1030 (Tuotuo 1977, 9.188). For a description of the eventual staff of the Tianzhang Cabinet see Tuotuo 1977 (162.3819–3820).

⁸³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 231. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.18, 82), for the passage from “During the Taiping xingguo era ...” to “... therefore there were no books”. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.23, 99–100) for the passage that runs from “At the start of the Jingde era...” to the end of the entry.

1.9

The Institute for the Veneration of Literature set up provisionally assigned staff within the Three Institutes for the Institutes [for the Glorification of Literature and Historiography], for the Academy [of Scholarly Worthies] and the [Imperial] Archive, and Subeditors and Proofreaders.⁸⁴ Apart from these posts, the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive each also set up posts like Examining Editor and Editorial Assistant of the Book Collections⁸⁵; these positions were function describing and were also part of the positions of the Institutes [and the Imperial Archive].

Proofreaders and Proofreaders of Documents did not carry these titles with them when they left (these positions). In the fifth year of the Tiansheng era (1027) Yan Shu 晏殊 (991–1055)⁸⁶, Administrator of Nanjing, broke new grounds for Wang Qi 王琪⁸⁷, Proofreader in the Imperial Archive and Notary of the Assistant Supervisor of the Regent of Nanjing. Shu was the reason for the special permission (for Wang Qi) to keep the title (as Proofreader).⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Those officials serving in the Institutes and the Archive below rank five were not yet considered court officials. To mark this status their positions were preceded by the prefix *zhi* 直 (provisionally assigned). Once they managed to attain rank five and reception as Court Officials, the prefix would be removed (Gong Yanming 1997, 147).

⁸⁵ According to Gong Yanming 1997 (147), this was a substantial post and not an honorary one.

⁸⁶ Yan Shu, a native of Linchuan in Jiangxi, was a child prodigy and upon recommendation was permitted to sit for the *jinshi*-examination which he passed. Even though the Councilor Kou Zhun 寇準 (961–1023) objected to Yan's promotion for his being a Jiangxi native, the emperor nevertheless conferred the *jinshi*-degree on him. He became an outstanding scholar-official with a reputation for erudition and many younger scholars sought his instruction, such as Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) (Wang Cheng 1979, 56.830–832; Tuotuo 1977, 311.10195–10198).

⁸⁷ Wang Qi had come to the attention of emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–1064) in 1025 when he submitted a memorial to the throne. Since the emperor was impressed by Wang's erudition, he appointed Wang who hailed from Chengdu as Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review and Proofreader (Li Tao 2004, 103.2392). According to his biography in the *Songshi*, Wang Qi was not only appointed Proofreader at the time, but also Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (Tuotuo 1977, 312.10245). This would mean that Wang only had to drop the latter position whereas he was allowed to continue the use of the title of Proofreader even though he was no longer stationed at the capital.

⁸⁸ Cheng Ju 2000a, 232. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.19, 87).

1.10

In the first month of the fourth year of the Jiayou reign (1059) the position of Compilation Clerk of the Book Collections in the Institutes and the Archive was introduced when Cai Kang 蔡抗 (1008–1067)⁸⁹ and Chen Xiang 陳襄 (1017–1080)⁹⁰, Subeditors in the Imperial Archive; Su Song 蘇頌 (1020–1101)⁹¹, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; and Chen Yi 陳繹 (1021–1088)⁹², Subeditor in the Institutes and the Archives, listed and revised (the holdings of) the Historiography Institute, the Institute for the Glorification of Literature, the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and the Imperial Archive. After the introduction of the official system of the Yuanfeng era (1078–1085) the position of Compilation Clerk was terminated.

During the Yuanyou era (1086–1093) outside of the functional officials of the Department of the Palace Library and the positions within the Institutes, a position of Editor of the Books Bound in Imperial Yellow was established which was comparable to that of Editing Clerk.⁹³

1.11

With the introduction of the official system in the fifth year of the Yuanfeng era (1082), the Institute for the Veneration of Literature was transformed into the Palace Library (*bishu sheng* 祕書省). The honorific titles of Director, Vice Director, and Corrector were changed into functional positions such as Director of the Palace Library, Vice Director of the Palace Library, Assistant Director,

⁸⁹ Cai Kang (*jinshi* of 1034) served as tutor of the future emperor Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1063–1067) who grew very fond of him (Wang Cheng 1979, 82.1249–1250; Tuotuo 1977, 328.10577–10578).

⁹⁰ Chen Xiang (*jinshi* of 1042) was a scholar from Fujian who entered office thanks to the recommendation of Fu Bi. He later became an opponent of Wang Anshi 王安石 (1019–1086) who removed him from the capital. During the reign of emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–1085) he recommended Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) for service (Wang Cheng 1979, 85.1297–1299; Tuotuo 1977, 321.10419–10420).

⁹¹ Su Song has a lengthy biography (Tuotuo 1977, 340.10859–10868). He was involved in the revision of the *Bencao tujing* 本草圖經 that was published in 1062 (Franke 1976, 969) or in 1061 (Hervouet 1978, 245).

⁹² Chen Yi, while being employed in the library, took part in the revision of the *Qian Hanshu* 前漢書 (Tuotuo 1977, 329.10614).

⁹³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 232. This and the preceding entry form one entry in Cheng Ju 2000b (2.19, 87).

Assistant in the Palace Library, Editorial Director, Assistant Editorial Director, Editor and Corrector.

For positions in the Institutes no further exams were necessary for appointments; those who held concurrent assignments in the Institutes following old precedents [were treated as] supernumerary functional officials. Subeditors and above were promoted one rank; Proofreaders after three years were assessed through an evaluation, and Editing Clerks after two years. Both [groups of officials] were dismissed as officials concurrently [holding positions].⁹⁴

1.12

In the seventh year of the Zhenghe era (1117) the Supervisorate of the Office for Daoist Records within the Palace Library was established, and the posts there were filled with Grand Academicians up to Commissioner-Councilors and the Three Solitaries.⁹⁵ Two positions for Concurrent Character Officials were introduced [which were filled with] Acting Assistant Directors of the Palace Administration.

In the second year of the Xuanhe era (1120) palace eunuchs were appointed to oversee the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive. Military Commissioners and Commissioner-Councilors also could fill this position. All of them were appointed in recognition of their merits; this had no historical precedent.

In the past there had been the position of Supervisor of the Storehouses for Books⁹⁶ that was held by a Eunuch. With the new regulations, the Ministry of Personnel was instructed to detach one official on commission. When one official of the Gate Guard consequently had been appointed, this was due to a recommendation the Ministry had submitted in a memorial to the throne.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 232. See Cheng Ju 2000b (4.8, 171).

⁹⁵ The three high titles subsumed under the Three Solitaries (*sangu* 三孤) were Junior Preceptor, Junior Mentor, and Junior Guardian of the emperor (Xu Song 1997, “zhiguan”, 1.2 (2355)).

⁹⁶ Hucker translates *shuku* as “publications office” for the Song period (Hucker 1988, 5441). Since this does not make much sense here, I have opted for the present translation.

⁹⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 232–233. This entry has been divided into two in Cheng Ju 2000b (4.12 and 4.13, 182–183).

1.13

The personnel setup of the Yuanfeng reform was as follows: Director of the Palace Library, Vice Director, one person each, or two Vice Directors; one Assistant Director and two Assistants in the Palace Library, all of which managed the affairs of the Library; two Editorial Directors, and two Assistant Editorial Directors for the compilation of the Daily Calendars; four Editors and two Correctors for the proofreading of documents.

At the end of the Zhenghe era (1111–1117) the number of officials [appointed to the Library] was no longer fixed because offices became redundant and superfluous. In the third year of the Xuanhe era (1121) this matter was discussed frequently at court, and the emperor who was similarly tired of the matter, consequently ordered the Three Departments⁹⁸ to fix the number of officers and make their appointments “pure” (*qing* 清).⁹⁹ Thereupon, similar to the Yuanfeng regulations, only two officials each for the position of Assistant Editorial Director, Editor, and Corrector were added, and apart from the Director and the Vice Director the number of officials was fixed at eighteen. Similar to the Tang, when there were extraordinary examination graduates, they were all added [to this number] as supplementary officials from outside the court.¹⁰⁰

After the Chongning era (1102–1106) the Office for the Compilation of Collected Regulations of the Dynasty and the Office for the Editing of the Records with Maps of the Nine Regions were both established in the Palace Library. The statutes (*huiyao* 會要)¹⁰¹ were compiled by supporting officials, whereas supernumerary officials were appointed as Consultants, and Compilers were appointed as Character Examiners.

This [practice] was different from the time of the dynastic ancestors. At the time of the dynastic ancestors the post of character examining officials already existed for the [compilation of the] statutes. However, Lin Xi 林希 (fl. 1064-

⁹⁸ The Three Departments refer to the Department of State Affairs, the Chancellery, and the Secretariat.

⁹⁹ This meant that officials assigned to serve in the Library would be considered members of the higher stream within the bureaucracy. For the development of *qingguan* 清官, see Herbert 1988 (45–46).

¹⁰⁰ The “climb to Yingzhou” (*dengying* 登瀛) since Tang times was a metaphor for the best examination graduates in a certain year (Sima Guang 1956, 189.5932). The text up to this last sentence forms an entry in Cheng Ju 2000b (4.9, 171), while the remainder of the text is found in Cheng Ju 2000b (2.21, 95).

¹⁰¹ For a detailed description of the Song statutes see Hartman 2021 (23–48).

after 1101)¹⁰², as a Character Examiner, on imperial order was employed as Joint Junior Compiler, and from that we can see that a Character Examiner was not a Junior Compiler, and a Junior Compiler hence was someone who was writing.¹⁰³ During the Chongning era (1102–1106) the opposite was the case.

The *Jiuyu tuzhi* 九域圖志¹⁰⁴ had been compiled uninterruptedly during the previous reigns within the Institutes and the Archive only, and no office had been established for it. In the Chongning era (1102–1106), even though the Palace Library had recently been established, more offices were introduced and official positions were created in them. Supporting officials were made Editors¹⁰⁵, supernumerary officials were made Consultants, and Compilers were made Junior Compilers.

The selection of Editorial Examiners and Junior Compilers was supervised by officials of the Directorate of the Palace Library, but the specific [numbers of] officials were never determined. At that time, state councilors and Supporting Officials generally had started their careers there, and altogether there were several tens of officials that had come from the Directorate of the Palace Library. This being so, the two works (*Guochao huiyao* 國朝會要 and *Jiuyu tuzhi*) that had been regularly compiled since the time of the imperial ancestors, were also compiled at the Three Institutes, but no special offices [for their compilation] were established.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Lin Xi's biographies in Wang Cheng 1979 (97.1491–1492) and Tuotuo 1977 (343.10913–10914) do not mention these posts, even though they refer to his various postings to the Library.

¹⁰³ Literally “lowering the brush” (*xiabi* 下筆).

¹⁰⁴ Ebrey 2008 (113 and 134) renders the titles as *Nine Provinces Illustrated Gazetteer* and *Classified Documents*. De Weerd 2009a (160) translates the title of this general map of the empire as “Gazetteer of the Nine Zones”. Dennis 2011 (107–108) refers to the text as “Nine Regions Gazetteer with Maps” which does the original title more justice. Dennis also reports that finally in 1107 the *Jiuyu tuzhi* was compiled in an agency specifically designed for that purpose.

¹⁰⁵ *Xiangding* 詳定 originally was a temporary position created in the bureaucratic structure of the provisional Office for the Compilation of Official Pronouncements (Tuotuo 1977, 162.3805).

¹⁰⁶ The agency to begin a bureaucratic career in apparently was the Directorate of the Palace Library that provided a number of official positions that did not entail real work on the collections nor on compilations. In contrast, the Three Institutes that did not have a comparable array of positions also were tasked with the compilation of the two works mentioned, but no new positions had been introduced for these.

In the beginning, after Wang Fu 王黼 (1079–1126) had taken over the administration, he wanted to get rid completely of all redundant expenses.¹⁰⁷ Once Wang had taken the matter of Yanshan 燕山 into his hands,¹⁰⁸ all relevant offices were abolished in the Capital and similarly no more officials were appointed for the compilation of the Collected Regulations, but on imperial orders they were to be compiled together with the *jiuyu tuzhi* by officials from the Department [of the Palace Library]. When the offices had just been terminated, Fu thought of the favourites of the ruler and he feared that they would sit together with the ruler and explain to him to not go through with the termination. Consequently, he acquired a decree to proceed with urgency and ordered that the officials in the agencies¹⁰⁹ were to end their work as officials in the book depositories that same day, and all lower ranking officials were to go to the Ministry of Personnel.

Thereupon, documents and drafts all were lost. As a consequence, discussions at court could not be known of, because information was (usually) not submitted to the Dynastic History Institute, but regularly to the Office [for the Compilation] of the Collected Regulations [of the Dynasty]. Because matters were entered according to categories (in the statutes), every individual matter that had occurred from the first year of the Jianlong era (960) until that time was affected by the new rules. Their origin and course remained, but because they were not used in the concise record of the dynastic history, it was difficult to recognize how they fit into the larger frame.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Wang in 1120 drastically reduced the personnel currently involved in publication works (Ebrey 2008, 134).

¹⁰⁸ In 1123 the Jin 金 (1115–1234) ceded the former Liao capital of Yanjing 燕京 (modern day Beijing) and a number of neighbouring prefectures to the Song for the payment of annual tribute (Twitchett and Smith 2009, 632).

¹⁰⁹ These are specified in his *Songshi* biography as the bureau for the collected regulations (*huiyao ju* 會要局) and the Six Managers (*liudian ju* 六典局) among other offices (Tuotuo 1977, 470.13682). The Six Managers refer to low ranking palace women in the palace bureaucracy (Hucker 1988, 3818). In the present context, the officials targeted by Wang's policy were those employed in the Office for the Compilation of Collected Regulations of the Dynasty.

¹¹⁰ My understanding is that when information appeared from the period, instead of being compiled into the larger record of the dynastic history, it was inserted into the relevant category of collected regulations (*huiyao*). This made it difficult to understand the information in the context of the general narrative of the dynasty.

Therefore, those who discussed the matter regretted that the termination of the offices had been done without understanding, and that it had been handled without skill.¹¹¹

Personnel selection (*xuanren* 選任)

1.14

At the start of the dynasty when the chaos of the usurpers had been ended and the country had been united, the sage ruler desired to immerse the empire in peace and he ordered the scholars to discuss the principles on which to enjoy the merits of ultimate peace [Great Tranquility]. At the time the scholars in the Three Institutes insisted to be treated differently from the regular bureaucracy. Later on (scholar-officials) selected for service there possessed a high status, for their treatment by the emperor became increasingly exclusive. In the period from the Zhiping (1064–1067) to the Xining (1068–1077) eras, there was not one among the high dignitaries and attendants who had not come from there.

With the bureaucratic reform of the Yuanfeng era, the Institute for the Veneration of Literature changed into the Palace Library. The positions starting from Corrector upwards, even though they were identical with functional positions, the mode of selection and employment (for them) was still imitating the historical precedent of the ancestors.¹¹²

1.15

It was at the inception of the Imperial Archive, when Li Zhi as a former executive official was appointed Director of the Institute for the Veneration of Litera-

¹¹¹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 233–234. See Cheng Ju 2000b (4.9, 171), for the passage from “The personnel setup...” to “... from outside the court”, and Cheng Ju 2000b (4.9, 171) for the passage from “After the Chongning era...” to the end of the entry. In the edition of the text contained in the *Shiwanjuan lou congshu* the text is similarly separated. See Cheng Ju 1892 (1.7a and 1.7b). Wang’s biography in the *Songshi* does not include this statement, but claims that for his policies “he was praised universally as a wise minister” (Tuotuo 1977, 470.13682).

¹¹² Cheng Ju 2000a, 234–235. See Cheng Ju 2000b (3.1, 105). Since the reforms, officials would have to make their way into the Institutes through the bureaucratic system and on account of merits. What Cheng Ju suggests here is that prestigious officials assumed Institute positions because of their status just as at the start of the dynasty.

ture, and consequently it is possible to know when he was selected.¹¹³ For when Song Bi, provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, also served provisionally in the Imperial Archive, and Du Hao, as an Examining Editor of the Historiography Institute was appointed Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, that was the first year of the Duangong era (988).¹¹⁴

1.16

The staffing of the Imperial Archive began, when He Meng was the first to become provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies at the beginning of the Chunhua (990–994) era.¹¹⁵ Lü Youzhi 呂祐之 (947–1007)¹¹⁶, Imperial Diary Drafter who was provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, Zhao Ang 趙昂¹¹⁷, Left Remonstrator who was provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, An Deyu 安德裕 (940–1002)¹¹⁸, Vice Director in the Treasury Bureau who was provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, and Ju Zhongzheng 句中正 (929–1002)¹¹⁹, Vice Director in the Bureau of Forestry and Crafts who was provisionally assigned to the Historiography

113 The relevant entry in the *Xu Zizhi tongjian* reads: “On the *xinyou* 辛酉 day of the fifth month of first year of the Duangong era (July 2, 988) the Imperial Archive was established in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature” (Li Tao 2004, 29.652). The *Song huiyao* similarly dates the founding of the Imperial Archive to that month without the specific day (Xu Song 1997, “zhiguan 18”, 47 (2778)). Cheng Ju obviously had not had access to this information.

114 Cheng Ju 2000a, 235. See Cheng Ju 2000b (3.1, 105).

115 According to the *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* He Meng was appointed on the *ding-mao* 丁卯 day of the eighth month of the first year of the Chunhua era (September 16, 990) (Li Tao 2004, 31.704).

116 Lü had received his *jinshi*-degree during the early Taiping xingguo era (976–983). During the Duangong era (988–989) he served as a deputy envoy to Koguryo (Korea). After his stint at the Historiography Institute Lü received a promotion to Drafter and was appointed to hold the examinations as co-examiner (Tuotuo 1977, 296.9873–9874).

117 Zhao Ang passed the *jinshi*-examination in 977 (Tuotuo 1977, 271.9300).

118 An Deyu, *jinshi* of 969, during the Taiping xingguo era had held the position in the Historiography Institute era before he was assigned to the Treasury in the early Duangong (988–989) era (Tuotuo 1977 (440.13036)).

119 Ju Zhongzheng had started his career in the service of the state of the Later Shu (934–965) in Sichuan. He was well versed in several styles of calligraphy and during emperor Taizong’s reign he was assigned to the Historiography Institute. He revised the *Yupian* 玉篇 by Gu Yewang 顧野王 (519–581) and the *Qieyun* 切韻 (submitted in 601) by Lu Fayan 陸法言 (Tuotuo 1977, 441.13049–13050).

Institute, all became provisionally assigned to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature.

Before this, officials could only be provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, but with the initial order to provisionally assign (Lü) Youzhi and the others to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature, positions were provided for all the Three Institutes.¹²⁰

1.17

During the reigns of the imperial ancestors many officials in the Institutes had been appointed through examinations, but there were also those that had been recommended and had only been examined [after having been assigned there].

In the third year of the Zhidao era (997) Li Ruozhuo 李若拙 (944–1001), Director of the Treasury Bureau provisionally assigned to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature, submitted a memorial to the throne in which he stated his case for promotion, and thereupon the Institute of Academicians was ordered to test him [by asking him] to draft three documents. [After he passed the examination,] he was appointed as Director in the Ministry of War and as Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute.¹²¹ At the time Ruozhuo already had been an official in the Institutes, but nevertheless he stated his case and begged for transferal.

This case resembled that of Zhang Quhua¹²² who had asked to have the quality of his literary work examined by court officials specialized in literature (i.e. Hanlin-Academicians and the like) and who had managed to be appointed Drafter. This may be called a “favour erroneously conferred”, and (appealing) should not have been made a permanent rule.

¹²⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 235. See Cheng Ju 2000b (3.1, 105).

¹²¹ The *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 307.10134) mentions Li's appointment to the positions, but not his request to be examined.

¹²² Zhang Quhua (*jinshi* of 961) was recommended for official service by the eminent scholar Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) and accordingly was appointed to the Historiography Institute. He made his plea for examination for he was not transferred for a long time, and complained that others with lesser qualifications had received better positions. Zhang as well as those whom he had implicated were consequently tested and as a result he was promoted while one of his competitors was demoted (Tuotuo 1977, 306.10107–10110).

At the start of the Xianping era (998–1003) Sun Mian 孫冕¹²³ from Sanbaiqu 三白渠, Assistant Director of the Palace Library Administration, submitted a memorial on policies to the throne. Upon imperial orders he was conferred the purple fish pouch (*ziyudai* 紫魚袋)¹²⁴, and Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 (954–1001)¹²⁵, a Drafter, was given orders to examine his literary skills, and Sun was appointed to be provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute. Afterwards he became a well-known official.¹²⁶

1.18

According to old regulations those who passed the decree examinations in the first three classes, and those who passed the *jinshi*-examination in the first class with distinction, began (their administrative careers) as Notaries of Two Commissioners¹²⁷ or as District Magistrates; upon their return to the capital, they were promoted to Controller-general, and after expiration of their tour, they were assigned to Institute positions. Those who passed the decree examinations in the fourth class, and those who passed the *jinshi*-examination in the second and third classes and below, were not under the regulation assigning them Institute positions; however, if they were frequently recommended, they would be assigned.

In the third year of the Jiayou period (1058) an edict was sent down to the authorities to make known as a law, that in general old regulations would be

¹²³ Sanbaiqu was a canal close to the capital that Sun was in charge of (Tuotuo 1977, 94.2347). In the year 1000 Sun was Comptroller of the Tax Bureau (Tuotuo 1977, 285.9609).

¹²⁴ The fish pouch contained a token of identity shaped like a fish which was either made from silver and then referred to as red, or from gold then called purple. The pouch containing this identification was worn on the belt (Tuotuo 1977, 153.3568).

¹²⁵ Wang Yucheng as a precocious child is said to have composed literature already at the age of eight years. A graduate of the *jinshi*-examination of 983, he ranks among the major early Northern Song literary scholars. He compiled a work that listed omissions in the *Old History of the Five Dynasties* entitled *Wudai shi quwen* 五代史闕文, but is generally better known as the author of the *Collection of Lesser Cultivation* (*Xiaochu ji* 小畜集), his collected works (Wang Cheng 1979, 39.608–614; Tuotuo 1977, 293.9793–9800; and Nienhauser 1985, 884–885).

¹²⁶ Cheng Ju 2000a, 235. This and the preceding three entries constitute one entry in Cheng Ju 2000b (3.1, 106).

¹²⁷ These were assignments to actual commissioners tasked with military matters (Hucker 1988, 918 and 3676).

followed; however, those who had passed the decree examinations in the fourth class, and those who had passed the *jinshi*-examination in the fourth and fifth classes, all would be assigned the rank of District Magistrate and after completion of their tour, they would be transferred to the Bureau of Personnel Assignments to group them with functional officials of Two Commissioners. The order was similarly given to expectant examinees.¹²⁸

It was not until the early Jing you era (1034–1037) that Sheng Du 盛度 (?-after 1034)¹²⁹, Hanlin-Academician Recipient of Edicts and others received an imperial order to determine the ranks and classes of the imperially called examinations at the Institute of Academicians and the Document Drafting Office, and they established “literary style exalted” (*wenli jugao* 文理俱高) as the first rank; “literary style accomplished” (*wenli jutong* 文理俱通) as the second rank. “Literary style less accomplished” (*wenli cutong* 文理粗通) as the third rank was divided into upper and lower; “literary style unrefined” (*wenli jucu* 文理俱粗) as the fourth rank was [similarly] divided into upper and lower; and “[literary style] careless” (*pimiu* 紕繆) constituted the fifth rank. Thus there were seven ranks altogether. Prior to this, they had examined old regulations and found that there existed [also] seven ranks all in all, including “excellent” (*you* 優), “less excellent” (*shao you* 稍優), “suitable” (*kan* 堪), “slightly suitable” (*shao kan* 稍堪), “ordinary” (*ping* 平), “slightly poor” (*shao di* 稍低), and “poor” (*ci di* 次低), but the grades from top to bottom in this system had not been made known (previously). Thereupon Du and the others agreed on this for the examination of the Ministry of Rites and changed the ranking accordingly.¹³⁰

Therefore, since both the Institute of Academicians and the Document Drafting Office used this standard, it was not exclusive to the posts in the Institutes. According to historical precedents, for the examination of Worthy and Excel-

¹²⁸ Expectant Examinees (*suoting* 鎖廳) were all those scholar-officials that qualified for the Decree Examination and that thereby would advance more quickly in their careers (Tuotuo 1977, 155.3605). The *Song huiyao* incorrectly dates the order to the tenth intercalary month (Xu Song 1997, “xuanju” 選舉 11.6–7 (4429)). The correct date, the intercalary twelfth month, is found in Li Tao 2004 (188.4540).

¹²⁹ Sheng had received the *jinshi*-degree in 989 (Wang Cheng 1979, 55.814–817; Tuotuo 1977, 292.9759–9761).

¹³⁰ The Ministry of Rites in 1007 had circulated two documents regarding examination procedures to all prefectures, namely the *Kaojiao jinshi chengshi* 考校進士程式 as well as the *Qin shi jinshi tiaozhi* 親士進士條制 (Tuotuo 1977, 155.3610). It must be one or the other of these two that Sheng Du and his colleagues amended. Cf. the parallel version of this passage in Li Tao 2004 (115.2688) and Xu Song 1997 (“xuanju” 選舉 32.7 (4746)).

lent, Straightforward and Upright (*xianliang fangzheng* 賢良方正)¹³¹, and other such examinations, [the candidates] had to undergo an examination consisting of six discussions (*lun* 論) at the Imperial Archive.

On the same day military selectees (*wuju* 武舉) were also examined at the Imperial Archive. However, the examination had to distinguish between the functional officials from within and outside the capital and those selected for Institute positions.

Examples for this kind of examination are found in the first year of the Jingyou era (1034), when this was done with Li Zhongrong 李仲容¹³², Hanlin-Academician Reader-in-waiting; Song Jiao 宋郊 (996–1066)¹³³, Drafter; Sun Zude 孫祖德¹³⁴, Edict Attendant in the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations; and Wang Juzheng 王舉正¹³⁵, provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly

¹³¹ This term refers to both non-officials and officials that had been recommended for service who were appointed upon recommendation by high-ranking members of the administration (Hucker 1988, 2516). Once they had been appointed, they would be permitted to sit for the Decree Examinations (Chaffee 1995, 190).

¹³² Li Zhongrong passed the *jinshi*-examination in 1002, but his career was cut short by a Grand Councilor who disliked Li. It was only after the demise of his opponent, that Li was appointed to the position mentioned in this entry. His biography in *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 262.9063–9064) records that he was furthermore appointed concurrent Academician in the Longtu Cabinet and that his last post was that of a Vice Director in the Ministry of Revenue.

¹³³ This was the original name of Song Xiang 宋庠 who earned himself a name as a straightforward official who did not shun confrontations with superiors. Emperor Renzong wished to promote Song directly from Drafter to Right Grand Master of Remonstrance and head of the Bureau of Military Affairs, but the Secretariat pointed out that there were no precedents for this kind of accelerated career. Hence the emperor only appointed him Hanlin-Academician (Wang Cheng 1979, 65.983–985, Tuotuo 1977, 284.9590–9593; and Franke 1976, 984–986).

¹³⁴ According to Sun Zude's biography, the position of Proofreader that he was given as one of the first assignments, was not a regular official post. Hence Sun left the Institutes and the Archive at the end of the year to take up a position as Assistant Director of the Court of Judicial Review (Tuotuo 1977, 299.9928).

¹³⁵ Wang Juzheng entered service as an Editor in the Palace Library Administration on account of the *yin*-privilege granted his father. After he had successfully passed the *jinshi*-examination, he served, among other posts, as Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. He was also on the staff of officials compiling the *Zhenzong shilu* 真宗實錄 and participated in the compilation of the dynastic history. Thereafter, he was provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, the position he is identified with here. He compiled the *Sanchao baoxun* 三朝寶訓 and served as Joint Compiler of the Court Diaries (Wang Cheng 1979, 37.582–583; Tuotuo 1977, 266.9186–9188).

Worthies. [Further examples] are Yan Shu, Vice Censor-in-chief; Hanlin-Academicians Ding Du 丁度 (990–1053)¹³⁶ and Song Jiao; and Gao Ruona 高若訥 (997–1055)¹³⁷, provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, in the first year of the Baoyuan era (1038).¹³⁸

In the eighth year of the Xining era (1075), an imperial order ended examinations of Military Selectees at the Imperial Archive and they were merely to be examined by the Office for Separate Examinations of the Examination Office (*gongyuan bieshi suo* 貢院別試所; my translation).¹³⁹

1.19

In the ninth month of the second year of the Zhidao era (October/November 996)¹⁴⁰ Huang Yijian 黃夷簡 (934–1011)¹⁴¹, Director of the Criminal Administration Bureau, was posted to the Imperial Archive. Yijian had [previously] submitted a memorial, pointing out that advisors from Zhe[jiang] had not been admitted (*yu* 預) to positions in the Institutes and the Archive. Thereupon he explained that in the past he had been an advisor of the king of Wuyue and originally had followed the king to the capital upon his surrender.¹⁴² His words were very sincere and outspoken. The emperor felt sympathy and therefore gave the order [for his appointment to the Imperial Archive].¹⁴³ Before this

¹³⁶ Ding Du co-authored (with Zeng Gongliang 曾公亮 (998–1078), and Yang Weide 楊惟德) the military handbook *Wujing zongyao* 武經總要 which clearly marks him as an official interested in military things (Wang Cheng 1979, 63.947–949; Tuotuo 1977, 292.9761–9765; Franke 1976, 1022–1025).

¹³⁷ Gao Ruona (*jinshi* of 1024) later on had Ouyang Xiu demoted and exiled from the capital, when the latter came to the defense of his colleagues which had been indicted by Gao (Wang Cheng 1979, 63.957–959; Tuotuo 1977, 288.9684–9686).

¹³⁸ Cf. Xu Song 1997 (“xuanju” 10.21 (4422)).

¹³⁹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 236. Xu Song 1997 (“xuanju” 17.17 ((4539)) provides more information on this imperial order.

¹⁴⁰ Xu Song 1997 (“xuanju”, 33.3 (4756)) gives the third year of that era, 996.

¹⁴¹ Huang Yijian, a native of Fuzhou, served Wuyue and entered Song service after the surrender of the last ruler of Wuyue (Tuotuo 1977, 441.13042).

¹⁴² In both Xu Song 1997 (“xuanju”, 33.2 (4756)) and Tuotuo 1977 (441.13042) Huang claimed to have convinced Qian Chu 錢俶 (r. 947–978) to surrender to the Song. Qian Chu was the last of the rulers of the so-called Ten States (*shiguo* 十國) to submit to the Song in 978.

¹⁴³ Xu Song 1997 (“xuanju” 33.2 (4756)) provides the date “third day of the tenth month of the third year of the Zhidao era” (November 5, 1997) for this order.

event, many scholars from Jiangnan like Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (917–992)¹⁴⁴ and Zhang Ji 張洎 (937–997)¹⁴⁵ had been employed in the Institutes and the Archive.¹⁴⁶

1.20

In the fifth year of the Qingli era (1045) Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 (1003–1058)¹⁴⁷, a Hanlin-Academician, on imperial orders examined and selected officials for duty in the Institutes and the Archive. In order to supplement personnel lacking in the Institutes and the Archive, he asked for permission to concurrently appoint two men from the Chancellery and the Secretariat that the emperor would recommend on account of their proven literary talents, and one person from outside the [Two Departments], which would be selected by the Secretariat upon imperial call. *Jinshi* having passed the examinations with distinction from the third class upwards [were to be selected] following old examples. An imperial order was sent to all officials to submit recommendations, while simultaneously the imperial edict (concerning the appointments) was proclaimed.

During the reign of the imperial ancestors there had been [the position of] Reader in the Institutes and the Archive (*guange dushu* 館閣讀書; my translation), which was either conferred to men presenting themselves in a memorial to the throne, or by selection of young talents, or by being the son or younger brother of a Grand Councilor.

At the start of the Jingde era (1004–1007) the *jinshi* Yan Shu from Fuzhou 撫州 (Jiangxi) was fourteen years old; by special order he had been examined by

¹⁴⁴ Xu Xuan had had a distinguished career under the Southern Tang and became a very prominent figure at the early Northern Song court as well. He participated in the compilation of the *Taiping yulan*, *Taiping guangji* and the *Wenyuan yinghua*, and is responsible for the revision of the *Shuowen* 說文 (Kurz 2003, 72–77; Woolley 2014).

¹⁴⁵ Zhang Ji, a native of Chuzhou in Anhui and former official of the Southern Tang, achieved prominence as chief examiner of the *jinshi*-examinations in 985, as well as his participation in the compilation of the *Taiping yulan* and the *Taiping guangji* (Kurz 2003, 77–78).

¹⁴⁶ Cheng Ju 2000a, 243. A significant number of officials from the former state of Jiangnan were employed in the service of the Song. What Huang was complaining about is the fact that men from Jiangnan that had resisted the Song until 976 were taken over more easily into Song service, than those from Wuyue that had helped the Song in their conquest of Jiangnan.

¹⁴⁷ Wang Yaochen received his *jinshi*-degree in 1027 having graduated on the top of the list of that year's examinees (Wang Cheng 1979, 70.1067–1072; Tuotuo 1977, 292.9772–9776).

composing one piece of poetry (*shi* 詩) and one of rhyme prose (*fu* 賦), and consequently had been conferred the *jinshi*-degree. Two days later, he was tested once more by imperial order by writing one poem, one piece of rhyme prose, and a discussion (*lun* 論) within the palace, and within a short while he had passed. The emperor was greatly pleased and declared to his Grand Councilors and to the examination officials in the Two Drafting Groups and the Institutes and the Archive, that he had selected [Yan Shu] as a Corrector in the Palace Library Directorate. He gave him a long gown and an [official] tablet [for audiences], and ordered him to inspect books in the Imperial Archive and to review them with Chen Pengnian¹⁴⁸ who was a scholar provisionally assigned to the Institutes. The reason for this was that he was still very young and his thoughts and attitude were still malleable.

Later, when Yang Huizhi 楊徽之 (921–1000)¹⁴⁹, Hanlin-Academician Reader-in-waiting died, the emperor conferred a favour on Song Shou 宋綬 (991–1040)¹⁵⁰, [Yang's] daughter's son, by giving him the position of Great Supplicator in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. When Shou was fifteen years old, on imperial order he was examined by the Department of State Affairs. Zhenzong admired his literary talents and gave him a special promotion to Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review and let him work as Reader in the Institutes and Archive, where he took part in the proofreading of the local gazetteers (*tujing* 圖經) of the empire. In the first year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1008) he was examined by the Institute of Academicians once again, and made Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. He worked with his father [Song 宋] Gao 皋 in the Institutes and the Archive, and every time a book was submitted there, they at once made two copies of it, and people respected them for this.

148 Chen Pengnian as an adolescent was called to Jinling to serve the last ruler of the Southern Tang. After the fall of the Southern Tang in early 976 Chen moved to Kaifeng and passed the *jinshi*-examination at the start of the Taiping xingguo era. During Zhenzong's reign Chen was a member of an alleged political faction called the "Five Demons" (*wugui* 五鬼) that also included Wang Qinruo, Ding Wei, Lin Te 林特 (who had served in the imperial library of the Southern Tang) and the eunuch Liu Chenggui 劉承珪 (949–1012). For his involvement with the "Five Demons" see Hartwell 1988 (24). He was one of the compilers of the *Cefu yuangui*, and is the author of an anecdotal history of the Southern Tang, the *Jiangnan bielu* 江南別錄 (Kurz 2003, 197–201).

149 Yang Huizhi, although a native of Fujian, went to sit for the *jinshi*-examination of the Later Zhou instead of the Southern Tang under whose control Fujian at the time nominally was. He was in sole charge of the poetry section within the *Wenyuan yinghua* and compiled 180 *juan* for it (Kurz 2003, 113–115).

150 Song Shou inherited the vast book collection of his grandfather Yang Huizhi who was very fond of him. Song was one of the compilers of the *Zhenzong shilu* (Wang Cheng 1979, 57.837–838; Tuotuo 1977, 291.9732–9736).

They were conferred imperial favours as high (lt. deep) as Mount Tai; Zhenzong first awarded them the “formally qualified” (*chushen* 出身) *jinshi*-status¹⁵¹, and on the following day he transferred them to the positions of Assistant Directors of the Court of Judicial Review. That Zhenzong acquired these two men was because of his being outstanding within all under Heaven.

Before these events there was Shao Huan 邵煥, a Corrector in the Palace Library Directorate, who had asked for the position of Reader in the Institutes and Archive, and his request was granted.

In the fourth year of the Tiansheng era (1026) Zhang Shixun 張士遜 (964–1049)¹⁵², Vice Commissioner of the Bureau of Military Affairs, petitioned for his son Youzhi 友直, a Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review, to be appointed Proofreader. The emperor said: “Institute positions are provided for outstanding men; how can he ask for one of these as a favour?”¹⁵³ A command was issued to terminate the position of Reader in the Institutes and Archive. Consequently, an imperial order decreed that henceforth no more officials would be added to the Proofreaders in the Institutes and Archive.

In the winter of the first year of the Mingdao era (February 1032–February 1033) Yang Wei 楊偉 (984–1058)¹⁵⁴ and Guo Zhen 郭稹¹⁵⁵, Erudites of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, were both appointed Subeditors in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; and Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061)¹⁵⁶, Assistant Director of the

¹⁵¹ Candidates in the examinations were graded into three major categories comprising five classes. “Passed with distinction” (*jidi* 及第) applied to the first two ranks, “formally qualified” was reserved for the third class, while the remainder were given the predicate “passed” (*tong chushen* 同出身) (Chaffee 1995, 216n26).

¹⁵² Zhang Shixun (*jinshi* of 992), two years after the event described here, became Grand Councillor (Wang Cheng 1979, 52.767–771; Tuotuo 1977, 311.10216–10219; Franke 1976, 38–39).

¹⁵³ The emperor’s reply in the *Songshi* reads: “Institute positions are provided for outstanding men, his request cannot be entertained” (Tuotuo 1977, 311.10219).

¹⁵⁴ Yang Wei, younger brother of Yang Yi, in or shortly after 1017 was examined by the Institute of Academicians and conferred the *jinshi*-degree (Tuotuo 1977, 305.10084).

¹⁵⁵ Guo Zhen, a native of Kaifeng, after graduating as a *jinshi*, was appointed Lecturer in the Directorate of Education, but was dismissed when found lacking in ability. When the Directorate managers put in a good word for Guo, he was recalled. After this inconspicuous start, his career led Guo eventually to the post of Magistrate of Kaifeng. The post of Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices is not listed in his biography in Tuotuo (1977, 301.9998–9999).

¹⁵⁶ Song Qi had received his *jinshi*-degree in the empire of the Liao in 941. For more information see Franke 1976 (980–982).

Palace Administration, and Han Qi 韓琦 (1008–1075)¹⁵⁷, Companion of the Heir Apparent, were appointed as Assistant Directors of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Shi Yannian 石延年 (994–1041)¹⁵⁸ and Zhao Zongdao 趙宗道 (999–1071)¹⁵⁹, Case Reviewers in the Court of Judicial Review, were appointed Subeditors in the Imperial Archive. An imperial order was issued that it was necessary to receive an imperial call to sit for the examination, and that it was no longer possible to present oneself [for the position].

In the following year, Sheng Shenfu 盛申甫¹⁶⁰ and Ma Zhifang 馬直方¹⁶¹, Assistant Directors of the Court of Imperial Entertainments, nevertheless averred that they had been attached as Readers to the Institutes for a long time, and therefore they asked to be given a nominal supernumerary appointment there. The emperor only ordered the Provisioners (of the imperial kitchen) to provide them with food, and that they be examined after having waited for [another] three years. Consequently, he decreed that they would not be installed [in the Institutes].¹⁶²

Shenfu previously had reached the position of Reader in the Institutes and the Archive because his father Sheng Du, Hanlin-Academician Reader-in-waiting and Magistrate of Heyang fu 河陽府 (in modern Henan), had asked for it, people said.

¹⁵⁷ Han Qi was one of the most influential scholar-officials of his times. He entered bureaucratic service after having passed the *jinshi*-examination in 1027 (Wang Cheng 1979, 69.1047–1058; Tuotuo 1977, 312.10221–10230).

¹⁵⁸ Shi Yannian had asked to restore male rule at a time when Empress Liu (r. 1020–1033) held the reins of government and was demoted and exiled as a punishment shortly after the death of the empress. The post of Case Reviewer was given to Shi after he had been recalled to the capital (Wang Cheng 1979, 115.1784–1786; Tuotuo 1977, 442.13070–13071).

¹⁵⁹ The *Songshi* records Zhao Zongdao only with the position of Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (Tuotuo 1977, 301.10001).

¹⁶⁰ The *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 292.9761) does not list the position as Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Entertainments for Sheng Shenfu, but records that of Director of the Ministry of War in the Department of State Affairs and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. He also served once as Fiscal Commissioner of Fujian.

¹⁶¹ Ma Zhifang had received the appointment as Reader upon the request of his father Ma Jiliang 馬季良 (Tuotuo 1977, 463.13552).

¹⁶² The contents of this paragraph are also found in Li Tao 2004 (112.2603). The short entry is introduced: “Terminating the position of Reader in the Institutes and Archive (*ba guange dushu* 罷館閣讀書)”.

On another day, the emperor turned to his Grand Councilors saying: “The storehouses for books are there to serve the wise and talented and to provide [material] for discussion. In recent years families of high dignitaries have often asked for [employment there] as a favour. This is certainly not what constitutes the idea of recruiting talent.” In an imperial edict he ordered that Grand Councilors, the Two Departments (Secretariat and Chancellery), and Attendant Officials were no longer permitted to submit pleas for placing their sons, younger brothers and relatives in positions in the Institutes. The texts that had been presented by *jinshi* who had passed with distinction and by those in the first three classes would be examined again, and only after they had sat for another examination upon imperial call, they would be appointed [to the Institutes and the Archive].¹⁶³

1.21

Xia Song 夏竦 (985–1051)¹⁶⁴, Military Commissioner of Wuning Military Prefecture (Wuning jun 武寧軍; in modern Hubei) and concurrent Director of the Chancellery, and Cheng Lin 程琳 (988–1056),¹⁶⁵ Military Commissioner of Wusheng Military Prefecture (Wusheng jun 武勝軍; in modern Sichuan) and Joint Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery, recommended Zhang Shuo 張碩, Vice Director in the State Farms Bureau of the Department of State Affairs, Cai Kang, Assistant Director of the Palace Library, Ji Zhongchang 季仲昌, Secretary of the Heir Apparent, Li Shixi 李師錫¹⁶⁶, Prefectural Secretary, and others to be examined for Institute positions.

¹⁶³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 243–245. See Cheng Ju 2000b (3.7, 120–122).

¹⁶⁴ Xia Song early in his career had worked in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies and in the Historiography Institute where he worked on the dynastic history. He became a teacher of the later emperor Renzong (r. 1022–1064) and one of the leading scholars of his times. His scholarly interests not only comprised the philosophical and historical texts, but also laws, the calendar and *yin-yang* theory, as well as Daoism and Buddhism (Kurz 2003, 212–213).

¹⁶⁵ Xia Song had received the appointments as Military Commissioner of Wuning Military Prefecture and concurrent Director of the Chancellery in 1049 (Wang Cheng 1979, 54.802). Cheng Lin had been appointed to the position of Joint Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery in 1049 as well (Wang Cheng 1979, 54.808).

¹⁶⁶ Li Shixi was the son of Li Wei 李維 (fl. 985–1034) who had participated in the compilations of the *Cefu yuangui* and the *Zhenzong shilu*, and contributed to the revision of the *Xu Tongdian*. The *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 282.9542) gives the title of Vice Director in

Emperor Renzong declared: “Positions at the Institutes should be filled with scholars possessing literary knowledge and matching reputations. Presently the high ministers have recommended many insubstantial men, for they wanted to build personal favours. We cannot tolerate this.”

Thereupon Shuo and the others were transferred to the Bureau of Personnel Evaluation where they registered their names and that was all.

However, both Youzhi, the son of [Zhang] Shixun, who indeed had been appointed Proofreader in the Imperial Archive, and [Sheng] Shenfu, the son of Sheng Du, had been conferred a “formally qualified” *jinshi*-degree.

Sometime later, when Chen Shengzhi 陳升之 (1011–1079) was a Remonstrance Official,¹⁶⁷ he said:

“Recently, those appointed to positions in the Institutes and the Library are increasingly ignorant, and this is not the true meaning of gathering wise talents from all under heaven and nurturing results. I ask to arrange for the present number of position holders to be fixed as the regular quota. The Secretariat should record the names of those who are recommended for service, so when there are vacant positions, those whose literary talent and comportment stand out, should be elected to be examined by the emperor. Ultimately high dignitaries should not be permitted to ask a favour and have their relatives examined for positions to support them.”

The emperor replied:

“From now on, when dignitaries submit [names for employment] in Institute positions, the Secretariat shall record these names. When there are vacancies, men chosen for their outstanding erudition and comportment will be called up by imperial decree and will be ordered to undergo an examination at the Institute of Academicians, so that there will be no more granting of ‘degree-worthy’¹⁶⁸.”

From that time onwards officials close to the emperor never again asked for the favour of having (their protégées) examined for positions.

the Bureau of Forestry and Crafts for Li Shixi, while his brother Li Gongjin 李公謹 is referred to as Secretary of the Heir Apparent.

¹⁶⁷ The post of Right Remonstrator was one of the first that Chen Shengzhi, who had obtained his *jinshi*-degree during the Jing you (1034–1037) era, received. In the *Songshi* his criticism reads slightly differently: “The Three Institutes are a magnificent road to the bureaucracy. The men that recently have been employed there, are increasingly inexperienced, and [positions in the Three Institutes] have become initial ranks for unemployed high-ranking people. I ask for strict selection for office [in the Three Institutes]” (Tuotuo 1977, 312.10236–10237).

¹⁶⁸ On “degree-worthy” see Moore 2004 (81–93). This qualification was given to the top ten candidates in the metropolitan examinations.

In the tenth month of the first year of the Zhihe era (November/December 1054), Great Supplicator in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices [Liu 劉] Jin 瑾, son of Grand Councilor Liu Hang 劉沆 (995–1060)¹⁶⁹, asked the Institute of Academicians to arrange for an imperial examination for an Institute position.

Shortly before this, Hang had supervised the final construction of the mausoleum for the Wencheng Empress (Wencheng huanghou 溫成皇后, 1024–1054)¹⁷⁰, and he resolutely rejected any favours offered to him for this, but he put in the plea for his son. In the second year of the Jiayou era (1057), [Liu Jin] consequently was appointed Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive.¹⁷¹

In the fourth month of the third year of the Jing you era (April/May 1036)¹⁷², the councilor Wen Yanbo 文彥博 (1005–1069)¹⁷³ said:

“Zhang Gui 張瓌¹⁷⁴, provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, for more than ten years has not been evaluated for an official reassignment, and the court should reward him for not seeking appointments. In the past he has been granted a special transfer to two offices already. Presently, he has returned from the post of Fiscal Commissioner of Liang Zhe Circuit¹⁷⁵ to replace the

¹⁶⁹ Liu Hang, *jinshi* of 1030, had been criticized by imperial censors for being involved in the burial ceremonies of the empress, but the emperor did not take any action against Liu. A few months afterwards, the emperor appointed Liu to the post of Grand Councilor. According to Tuotuo 1977 (285.9606), Liu Hang strictly rejected a donation worth several hundred *liang* 兩 (one *liang* ~ 40 gr) of silver from the possessions of the late empress, but instead asked that Liu Jin would be examined by the Institute of Academicians. This information seems to come straight from Li Tao 2004 (177.4291).

¹⁷⁰ This is the posthumous title that Renzong bestowed on his consort from the Zhang 張 family (Tuotuo 1977, 242.8622–8623).

¹⁷¹ Liu Jin’s biography in Tuotuo 1977 (333.10703) does not mention Liu Hang’s intervention in his appointment, but merely says that he “passed the *jinshi*-examination and became a Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive.” His biography in Wang Cheng 1979 (66.1007–1009) does not record this appointment.

¹⁷² This date is incorrect and should read fifth month of the third year of the Huangyou era (June/July 1054) (Xu Song 1997, “xuanju” 27.28, 4676). The *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* corroborates this (Li Tao 2004, 170.4091).

¹⁷³ Wen Yanbo (*jinshi* of 1027) in 1048 reached the post of Grand Councilor. He later was an opponent of Wang Anshi’s reforms, even though, as we see here, he initially had recommended Wang for official service (Franke 1976, 1202–1204).

¹⁷⁴ Zhang Gui was a son of the better-known Zhang Ji 張洎. Due to his family relationship with the influential Wang Qinruo – who was his father-in-law – Zhang was given a position in the Imperial Archive (Tuotuo 1977, 330.10625–10626).

¹⁷⁵ The circuit of Liang Zhe comprised parts of the modern provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang.

Magistrate of Yingzhou 穎州 (in modern Anhui) on duty assignment. And he likewise has never himself promoted his qualifications.

Wang Anshi¹⁷⁶, Assistant Director of the Palace Administration, has passed the *jinshi*-examination on the fourth spot, and according to an old rule, he should have returned to the capital after one tour as official (outside of it) and presented his abilities and ask to be tested for an Institute position. Anshi has altogether served several times and yet has never appealed to the throne. The court should order him to sit for the imperial examination even if he is declining, saying that his family is poor and his relatives are old; moreover, positions in the literary institutions (*wenguan* 文館) are what scholars covet, but Anshi quietly kept to himself. It is not easy to obtain him.

Han Wei 韓維 (1017–1098)¹⁷⁷, Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review, once has been highly recommended by the Southern Department (i.e. Department of State Affairs), but since five or six years has not been given an official position. He is fond of antiquity and loves to study, and has been content not seeking appointment. I ask to specially confer all of them promotions to positions.”¹⁷⁸

By imperial order Zhang Gui was conferred robes of the third rank; Wang Anshi was summoned back to the capital, to await to be tested and to obtain an imperial call; and Han Wei was sent to the Institute of Academicians to be examined. However, the latter two in the end did not sit for any examination.

In the second year of the Zhihe era (1055), Wei was appointed Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute; in the first year of the Jiayou era (1056), Gui was made Joint Compiler of the Court Diaries. In the fourth year (1059) Anshi was provisionally assigned to the Institute of Scholarly Worthies.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ For more information on Wang Anshi, the most influential scholar-official in the second half of the eleventh century, see Franke 1976 (1097–1104).

¹⁷⁷ Han Wei on account of disputes with Wang Anshi did not accept the position of Hanlin-Academician in 1069, but instead preferred to work in the administration of the capital district. Having returned to court after Wang Anshi's resignation, he was demoted once the reform party of Wang Anshi's followers came to power (Franke 1976, 387–389).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. the parallel version of this event in Li Tao 2004 (170.4091–92). It appears there under the third year of the Huangyou era (1051).

¹⁷⁹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 245–246. For the passage running from “Xia Song...” to “...appointed Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive”, see Cheng Ju 2000b (3.5, 112–113); for the passage from “In the fourth month of the third year...” to the end of the entry, see Cheng Ju 2000b (3.6, 118).

1.22

In the third year of the Jiayou era (1058) Directors of the Court of Imperial Entertainments Zhang Zixian 張子憲¹⁸⁰, Zhao Lianggui 趙良規, Zhang Yuxi 掌禹錫 (992–1068)¹⁸¹, Qi Kuo 齊廓¹⁸², and Zhang Zisi 張子思¹⁸³, were all appointed to be provisionally assigned as scholars to the Imperial Archive. Previously, Zhang Zixian and the others had all been Vice Directors of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive, and were about to be promoted to Grand Masters of Remonstrance, but the Secretariat argued that Grand Masters of Remonstrance could not carry any more provisional appointments, and therefore they were all made full ministers.

According to historical precedents high ministers and directors could not hold concurrent positions in the Institutes [and the Archive; or the Institute for the Veneration of Literature]¹⁸⁴, but from then on, positions were given to them upon exceptional pleas.

In the fourth year (1059) the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive established posts for the editing of their books, in order to create additional appointments in compliance with the conventions.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ Zhang Zixian entered service thanks to the *yin*-privilege granted his father. In an examination consequently held, he received the *jinshi*-degree. After his tenure at the Imperial Archive, he worked as District Magistrate of Hongzhou and Luzhou in Jiangxi, and ended his career as Magistrate of Yangzhou, Jiangsu (Tuotuo 1977, 265.9160).

¹⁸¹ Zhang Yuxi as a censor suggested a plan to increase the troops at the border to fend off enemy incursions based on historical precedents from Han times. After having served outside the capital, he was provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (Tuotuo 1977, 294.9807–9808; Franke 1976, 46–47).

¹⁸² Qi Kuo ended his career as Director of the Palace Library (Tuotuo 1977, 301.10005).

¹⁸³ Zhang Zisi was the nephew of Zhang Zhibai 張知白 (?-1028). According to Zhang Zhibai's *Songshi* biography Zhang Zisi reached the post of Vice Director of the Ministry of Works (Tuotuo 1977, 310.10189).

¹⁸⁴ This regulation is also mentioned in Zhao Lianggui's biography in Tuotuo (1977, 287.9659–60).

¹⁸⁵ The meaning of these last four characters may well indicate the creation of posts that could be taken over by full ministers mentioned in the preceding sentence. The text from the start up to this point forms a separate entry in Cheng Ju 2000b (3.8, 126).

During the Jiayou era (1056–1063) Wang Tao 王陶 (1020–1080)¹⁸⁶, Companion of the Heir Apparent, and Zhao Yanruo 趙彥若¹⁸⁷, Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review, were employed as Editorial Assistants of the Book Collections of the Institute for the Glorification of Literature; Fu Bian 傅卞¹⁸⁸, Erudite of the National University, was made Editorial Assistant of the Book Collections of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Sun Zhu 孫洙 (1031–1079)¹⁸⁹, District Magistrate (*ling* 令) of Yujian 於潛 District of Hangzhou, was appointed Editorial Assistant of the Book Collections of the Imperial Archive; and afterwards Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019–1083)¹⁹⁰, Administrator in the Law Section of Taipingzhou 太平州 (in modern day Anhui province), became Editorial Assistant of the Book Collections of the Historiography Institute.

In the sixth year (1061) (Sun) Zhu was appointed Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive, whereupon an imperial decree determined that when Editorial Assistants of the Book Collections had served for two years, they were to assist as Proofreaders, and this started with Zhu.

¹⁸⁶ Wang Tao (*jinshi* of 1027) made himself an enemy of Han Qi later in his life and consequently was banished from the capital by emperor Shenzong. He was recalled sometime later, but since the emperor disliked him, he had to retire from the court (Wang Cheng 1979, 85.1291–1293; Tuotuo 1977, 329.10610–10612).

¹⁸⁷ Zhao Yanruo, thanks to the *yin*-privilege granted his father Zhao Shimin 趙師民 (see below), entered service at the start of the Yuanyou era. He was appointed Hanlin-Academician and Drafter, but during the backlash against Yuanyou officials, he was indicted for his participation in the compilation of the *Shenzong shilu* 神宗實錄 and exiled (Wang Cheng 1979, 60.912–913). In his father's biography (Tuotuo 1977, 294.925) Zhao is referred to as a Secretariat Drafter.

¹⁸⁸ Fu Bian appears in the *Songshi* as an envoy to the Liao in 1066 (Tuotuo 1977, 13.259). Chang Bide et al. (1984, vol. 4, 2979) provides the further information that Fu during the same time served as head of the Remonstrance Office and as Edict Attendant in the Baowen Cabinet (Baowen ge 寶文閣).

¹⁸⁹ Sun Zhu hailed from Yangzhou and was awarded the *jinshi*-degree even before he reached adulthood. He submitted a lengthy text on ceremonies which Han Qi praised for its erudition. Sun was critical of Wang Anshi's "New Laws" (introduced between 1069 and 1075) and therefore left the capital for some time before he returned to work especially in agencies dealing with finances (Wang Cheng 1979, 85.1299–1300; Tuotuo 1977, 321.10422–10423). For a depiction and analysis of the factional struggles starting in the mid-eleventh century see Levine 2008.

¹⁹⁰ Zeng Gong (*jinshi* of 1057) who hailed from Fujian was a prolific writer and collector of books. Once he had come to the attention of Ouyang Xiu through his writings, the latter gave him his support. Zeng made himself a name as a proponent of the classical style prose favoured by Ouyang Xiu (Tuotuo 1977, 319.10390–10392). See also the laudatory text that Ouyang Xiu compiled on the occasion of the departure of Zeng Gong from the capital in 1042 in Egan 1984 (209–211).

Later on, Lü Huiqing 呂惠卿 (1031–1111)¹⁹¹, Liang Tao 梁燾 (1034–1097)¹⁹², and Shen Gua 沈括 (1031–1095)¹⁹³ all entered regular Institute positions from the post of book editor.

During the Xining era (1068–1077) Xing Shu 邢恕, the former Assistant Magistrate of the Yong'an 永安 District of Henan fu was appointed Editing Clerk in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature. Before this, Lü Gongzhu 呂公著 (1018–1089)¹⁹⁴, Vice Censor-in-chief, had recommended Shu as someone of the same rank as Jia Yi 賈誼 (200–168 BCE) and Ma Zhou 馬周 (601–648), and when the emperor had interviewed him, the order [for his appointment as Editing Clerk] was issued.

Consequently, it was ordered that those who were eligible for the placement examinations could be tested to become employed (in the Institutes and the Archive) and be appointed as Editing Clerks in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature, in order to satisfy inquiries for placement. After a period of two years, they would receive an imperial summons, and some would be appointed

¹⁹¹ Lü Huiqing, another scholar from Fujian, passed the *jinshi*-examination in 1057. Wang Anshi assigned him to the financial section in the administration from where he was going to give support to Wang. Later in his life Lü Huiqing distanced himself from Wang and from the court. Nevertheless, the compilers of the *Songshi* included his biography in the category of treacherous officials (*jianchen* 姦臣) (Wang Cheng 1979, 83.1265–1270; Tuotuo 1977, 471.13705–13709; Franke 1976, 707–712).

¹⁹² Liang Tao, in the factional struggles of the Yuanyou era, was accused of being a partisan of Sima Guang and banished from the capital. He was only rehabilitated during the Shaoxing era (1131–1162) (Wang Cheng 1979, 90.1386–1388; Tuotuo 1977, 342.10887–1091).

¹⁹³ Shen Gua (*jinshi* of 1063), a native of modern-day Hangzhou, is considered one of the great polymaths of the eleventh century who was well acquainted with such diverse areas as printing, music, engineering and so forth (Wang Cheng 1979, 86.1306–1308; Tuotuo 1977, 331.10653–10657; Franke 1976, 857–863).

¹⁹⁴ Lü Gongzhu (*jinshi* of 1042) was the third son of Lü Yijian 呂夷簡 (979–1044). He was a friend of Sima Guang and shared the latter's opposition to Wang Anshi and his policies. He became the principal official at court to denounce Wang Anshi's attempts at reform (Wang Cheng 1979, 88.1347–1356; Tuotuo 1977, 336.10772–10777; Franke 1976, 719–722).

to Institute positions, while others would be entered among the officials to be assigned (*chaiqian* 差遣)^{195, 196}

Emperor Yingzong once said to his advisors: “It is the Institutes and the Archive where outstanding talents are nurtured. Recently, when I wanted to select men as officials there were no able men around. How is it possible that we are lacking in talented men?”

Ouyang Xiu, State Councilor in the State Administration Chamber, replied: “The path to gathering talented men has become narrow, and the Institutes and the Archive only select men to employ them as Editorial Assistants of the Book Collections; therefore appointments [from there to higher posts] have slowed down. The path for employing talented men should be opened up, and once positions in the Institutes and the Archive will be saturated, suitable men can be mustered from the many men available there.”¹⁹⁷

Zhao Gai 趙槩 (996–1083)¹⁹⁸ said: “To nurture talents, men that excel should be examined and then be employed.” The emperor replied: “You and your colleagues have suggested a number of men with talents, good behavior and qualities. Supposing that you could not avoid including family relatives, I will have to inspect them and check if they are qualified or not myself.”

195 Officials were categorized into regular officials (*guan* 官), official position holders (*zhi* 職) and officials on assignment (*chaiqian*) (Tuotuo 1977, 161.3768). The regular officials were defined by salary and ranks, official position holders were chosen on the strength of their literary talents, while officials on assignment served both inside and outside the capital in various functions. This system served to distinguish the rank, the position and provisional appointments. Distinctions within the three categories were rank (*jie* 階), merits (*xun* 勳) and title (*jue* 爵).

196 For the preceding text see the entry in Cheng Ju 2000b (3.10, 127–128) which forms a separate entry there.

197 The *Songshi* records a dialogue between emperor Yingzong and Ouyang Xiu in 1066 that dealt with the “recommendation of able men” (*jinxian* 進賢) and how difficult it was to find these. Ouyang Xiu explained that there were only three paths to a great bureaucratic career that all started in the Institutes: scoring high in the *jinshi*-examination, being recommended by a high-ranking official, and through a progression of official assignments. He suggested that only very small numbers of excellent *jinshi* passed every year and that therefore the pool of candidates to choose from was rather limited (Tuotuo 1977, 156.3647–3648). Though the text itself is quite different from the text in the *Lintai gushi* the context appears to be same.

198 Zhao Gai (*jinshi* in 1027) at the time of this exchange was Councilor (Tuotuo 1977, 318.10364–10366; Wang Cheng 1979, 71.1086–1088).

Grand Councilor Zeng Gongliang¹⁹⁹ opined: “If I and my colleagues are recommending people for service who then are employed, suspicions will inevitably arise.”

Han Qi said: “What I and my colleagues are worried about is that it is difficult to find talented men for service in the administration. When we finally find suitable candidates and discuss if they have abilities or not, this will certainly be above all suspicion.” The emperor consequently told them to recommend men, and thereupon (Han) Qi, (Zeng) Gongliang, (Ouyang) Xiu, and (Zhao) Gai submitted the names of more than ten men which the emperor ordered to be examined. Qi and the others were concerned about the big number of candidates, but the emperor said: “I have trusted you with suggesting names of candidates, and if they are worthy, why would you worry that there are too many?” Then he ordered that Cai Yanqing 蔡延慶 (1028–1090)²⁰⁰, Vice Director in the Revenue Section in the Department of State Affairs; Ye Jun 葉均²⁰¹, Vice Director in the State Farms Bureau in the Department of State Affairs; Liu Ban 劉攽 (1023–1089)²⁰², Wang Fen 王汾²⁰³, and Xia Yi 夏倚²⁰⁴, Erudites of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices; Zhang Gongyu 張公裕, Companion of the Heir

¹⁹⁹ Zeng Gongliang, a native of Quanzhou in Fujian during the reign of Renzong, was instrumental in selecting the future emperor Yingzong as heir to the childless Renzong. An early and active supporter of Wang Anshi, he became critical of Wang’s policies towards the end of his life (Wang Cheng 1979, 69.1061–1064; Tuotuo 1977, 312.10232–10234; Franke 1976, 1069–1073).

²⁰⁰ Cai Yanqing throughout his career was given high ranking positions in the Institutes and the Archive, as well as positions outside of the capital (Wang Cheng 1979, 53.795–797; Tuotuo 1977, 286.9638–9640).

²⁰¹ On Ye Jun, son of the better known Ye Qingchen 葉清臣 (1000–1049), the sources have little to report. In his father’s biography in Tuotuo (1977, 295.9854) he is identified with the post of Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. At the end of the Yuanfeng era (1078–1085), as a Vice Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, he was involved in a discussion about the positions of the philosophers Meng Ke 孟軻 (fl. 4th cent. BCE) and Yanzi 燕子 (c. 578–500 BCE) vis à vis each other (Tuotuo 1977, 443.13102).

²⁰² Liu Ban, one of the co-compilers of the *Zizhi tongjian*, had passed the *jinshi*-examination in 1046. For his criticism of Wang Anshi’s “New Laws” he was banished from the capital (Wang Cheng 1979, 76.1156–1158; Tuotuo 1977, 319.10387–10388).

²⁰³ There is only scarce information left on Wang Fen. He was the son of Wang Hui 王回 who hailed from Fujian and the great grandson of the early Northern Song scholar Wang Yucheng (954–1001). The highest position he ever held was that of Vice Director of the Ministry of Works (Tuotuo 1977, 293.9800 and 432.12844).

²⁰⁴ Xia Yi in 1057 was a Controller-general in Linzhou 麟州 (in modern Sichuan) which he helped defend against the Xixia (Tuotuo 1977, 326.10522–10523).

Apparent; Li Chang 李常 (1027–1090)²⁰⁵, Assistant Director of the Court of Judicial Review; Hu Zongyu 胡宗愈²⁰⁶, Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Entertainments; Zhang Dun 章惇 (1035–1105)²⁰⁷, Judge in the Staff of the Military Commissioner of Xiongwu 雄武 Military Prefecture); Wang Cun 王存 (1023–1101)²⁰⁸, former Judge in the Staff of the Surveillance Commissioner of Mizhou 密州, altogether ten men, were later to be examined as excess candidates.

When the [selection of candidates] was completed, the Institute of Academicians received the imperial order to examine them. Xia Yi and Zhang Dun were given an examination degree, but because a censor said something, Yi was made Administrative Assistant of the Fiscal Commissioner of Jiangxi Circuit, and Dun only was appointed Assistant Editorial Director. Liu Ban and Wang Cun were appointed Proofreaders in the Institutes and the Archive, Zhang Gongyu and Li Chang were appointed Subeditors in the Institutes and the

205 Li Chang, a southerner from Fujian, was a bibliophile with a library of nine thousand *juan* that he had copied himself. After being recommended for service by a friend he was appointed Subeditor in the Imperial Archive during the reign of emperor Shenzong. He was on friendly terms with Wang Anshi, but once he criticized Wang's agricultural reforms, he lost his position as head of the Remonstrance Office. He was recalled to the capital in 1083 to become Vice Minister in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites (Wang Cheng 1979, 92.1413–1414; Tuotuo 1977, 344.10929).

206 Hu Zongyu passed the *jinshi*-examination in 1059. After having spent considerable time in the position that was given him accordingly, Hu was appointed Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute. Like so many of his colleagues, Hu was ousted by Wang Anshi. Hu was among a number of scholar-officials who defended the right of the "gentlemen" (*junzi* 君子) to criticize policies without forming factions (*dang* 黨), in a piece entitled "The Gentleman does not adhere to factions" ("Junzi wu dang lun" 君子無黨論). Though the emperor liked the piece, Hu was forced to quit the capital on account of pressure from his opponents (Wang Cheng 1979, 71.1092–1094; Tuotuo 1977, 318.10370–10371).

207 Zhang Dun who hailed from Jianzhou in Fujian and passed the *jinshi*-examination in 1059, later would gain notoriety as member of an alleged political faction at the court of emperor Zhezong (Wang Cheng 1979, 95.1467–1473; Tuotuo 1977, 471.13709–13714).

208 Wang Cun, a *jinshi* of 1046, was a native of Danyang in Jiangsu. Initially he had befriended Wang Anshi, but when the latter wanted him to submit matters to the throne he refused. It was for this reason, that Wang spent an unusually long time in the Three Institutes without being promoted any further. After emperor Zhezong personally had him examined and found that he did not belong to a faction, Wang was promoted to Compiler of the Dynastic History (Wang Cheng 1979, 90. 1377–1379; Tuotuo 1977, 341.10871–10874).

Archive, and Hu Zongyu received the post of Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies.²⁰⁹

In the fourth year of the Zhiping era (1067) Censor Wu Shen 吳申²¹⁰ explained:

“During the previous reign ten men were tested for Institute positions on imperial order, and the positions were overstaffed with them. They also only had been examined in poetry and rhyme prose. This is not what is most pressing in governing the state and ruling the people. I would like to ask to employ the recommendations from the Two Drafting Groups and suspend the poetry and rhyme prose [examination]. The examination [instead] should comprise of three parts of policy discussions (*lunce* 論策), in which questions on the Classics, History, and contemporary affairs (*shiwu* 時務) will be asked. Each policy discussion should consist of ten topics (*shi* 事). Those that have previously undergone the imperial decree examination likewise should be asked to become acquainted with the new regulation and be examined accordingly.”²¹¹

By imperial order the Two Drafting Groups determined the new regulations for circulation.

Later Wang Gui 王珪 (1019–1085)²¹², Hanlin-Academician Recipient of Edicts, and others said, that the examination in poetry (*shi* 詩) and rhyme prose (*fu* 賦) should be suspended, like Shen had suggested. Consequently, by imperial decree one part of the examination for Institute positions consisted of an argumentation (*lun* 論), while the other part consisted of a discussion of politics (*ce* 策).²¹³ When examinations for Institute positions were held during the Yuanyou era, they only consisted of a discussion of politics.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ The text does not give any information which positions were given to Cai Yanqing and Ye Jun. On the selection of able men see also Twitchett and Smith (2009, 346).

²¹⁰ Following Yingzong’s death in 1067, Wu Shen was penalized with a hefty fine for excessive criticism of high dignitaries (Tuotuo 1977, 2, 265).

²¹¹ For a variant version of Wu Shen’s memorial see Li Tao 2004 (209.5085).

²¹² Wang Gui (*jinsi* of 1042) who came from Sichuan advised emperor Renzong in ritual matters (Wang Cheng 1979, 80.1222–1226; Tuotuo 1977, 312.10241–10243; Franke 1976, 1115–1117). Neither of his biographies mention his criticism of the examination curriculum.

²¹³ Cf. the parallel version of this exchange between Yingzong and his advisors in the commentary in Tuotuo 1977 (164.3874–3875). The information there is taken from Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan”, 18.3 (2756)).

²¹⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 247–248. For the passage from “In the third year of the Jiayou era...” to “... appointments in compliance with the conventions.”, see Cheng Ju 2000b (3.7, 126); from “During the Jiayou era...” to “... as officials detached on commission.”, see

1.23

The circulation of the [new] official system of the Yuanfeng era began when Wang Yirou 王益柔 (1015–1086)²¹⁵, provisionally assigned to the Longtu Cabinet and Acting Supervisor of the Directorate for the Palace Buildings, was appointed Director of the Palace Library. When (Wang) left the capital in the following year as Administrator of Caizhou, Ye Jun, a Bureau Director in the Bureau of Merit Titles, was appointed Vice Director of the Palace Library. Before one month had passed, Li Chang, Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites, because he was related to Sun Jue 孫覺, Vice Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, appointed Jue as Vice Director of the Palace Library, and Jun was given the post of Vice Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices.²¹⁶ In the following year, when Zhao Yanruo, a Right Grand Master of Remonstrance, was criticized for having transgressed the limits of his office, he retired as Director of the Palace Library. Both [Sun Jue and Zhao Yanruo] had been appointed at the same time.

Jun was the son of the former Hanlin-Academician [Ye] Qingchen²¹⁷, and was recommended at the start of the Zhiping era (1064–1067) by a Grand Councillor. He passed the imperial examination and entered the official ranks of the Institutes.²¹⁸

1.24

When the Palace Library was established (in 1082), initially Lin Xi, a Court Gentleman Consultant, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and Manager of the Ritual Academy, was appointed as Gentleman for Discussion and Acting Assistant Editorial Director of the Palace Library Directorate; after-

Cheng Ju 2000b (3.10, 127–128); from “Yingzong once said...” to the end of the entry see Cheng Ju 2000b (3.11, 131 (first paragraph)).

²¹⁵ Wang Yirou, second son of the eminent scholar-official Wang Shu 王曙, entered service thanks to the *yin*-privilege. He was very well read and Sima Guang referred to him as the only person capable of examining the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 in its entirety (Wang Cheng 1979, 53.792–793; Tuotuo 1977, 286.9634–9636).

²¹⁶ Neither Wang Cheng 1979 nor Tuotuo 1977 mention any family relationship between Li Chang and Sun Jue.

²¹⁷ Ye Qingchen (*jinshi* of 1024) hailed from Suzhou in Jiangsu and was one of the outstanding scholar-officials during the reign of Renzong (Wang Cheng 1979, 64.966–968; Tuotuo 1977, 295.9849–9855).

²¹⁸ Cheng Ju 2000a, 248–249.

wards he was transferred to be Director of the Ministry of Rites, but as before he retained the position of Editorial [Director]. As for the historiographers, they found it difficult to understand, that he was treated like this.²¹⁹

1.25

In the sixth month of the fifth year [of the Yuanfeng era (June/July 1082)] Feng Ji 豐稷 (1033–1107), a Court Gentleman for Comprehensive Duty and Investigating Censor, was appointed Assistant Editorial Director of the Palace Library Directorate. Before (the Yuanfeng reforms), Ji had said: “Official regulations recently have been circulated, but Vice Grand Councilors, Ministers, Vice Directors (*shilang* 侍郎), Bureau Directors (*langguan* 郎官), aides and assistant magistrates and such, shortlisted fellows that cheated and bribed. How is it possible thus to enlighten the four quarters [of the empire]!” It was for this reason that this command was given.²²⁰ A short while afterwards, [Feng] was made Vice Director in the Ministry of Personnel.²²¹

At the start of the Chongning era (1102–1106) Wang Weizhi 王滄之 was a Remonstrator and prevented Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121), the father of his wife, from becoming Editorial Director and Concurrent Dynastic History Official.²²²

²¹⁹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 249. See Cheng Ju 2000b (3.11, 132). A ranking minister apparently should not serve as an Editorial Director. The Library was the stepping stone towards ministerial positions, as mentioned earlier in the text.

²²⁰ That is, Feng Ji was assigned to the Library as a censor in order to make sure that appointments were made based on the correct regulations without interference from other officials. Feng Ji had been Investigating Censor and was appointed Assistant Editorial Director after the dismissal of Zhang Dun to Chenzhou 陳州 (modern Huaiyang in eastern Henan). Neither Wang Cheng 1979 nor Tuotuo 1977 include Feng’s statement, nor do they mention the post of Court Gentleman for Comprehensive Duty for Feng (Wang Cheng 1979, 94.1462–1464; Tuotuo 1977, 321.10423–10426). Li Tao 2004 (327.7885–7886) reports on Feng’s appointment and his previous posts and includes a long version of Feng’s complaints.

²²¹ The appointment, as the *Song huiyao* notes, constituted a demotion for Feng Ji on account of his criticism of appointment procedures (Xu Song 1997, “zhiguan” 66.28 (3877)). The consequent appointment to the Library that certainly was a promotion is dated there to July 25, 1082.

²²² Zhang Shangying had used his influence to procure a position for Wang Weizhi. For this obvious case of favouritism, he was criticized by Shu Tan 舒亶, whom he had, ironically, previously recommended (Wang Cheng 1979, 102.1568; Tuotuo 1977, 80.10424).

After this there was Zeng Mao 曾楸²²³, an Investigating Censor, who prevented Wu Zhizhong 吳執中²²⁴, the father of his wife, from being appointed as Assistant Editorial Director. During the Xuanhe era (1119–1125), Pan Lianggui 潘良貴 (1094–1150), as Vice Director in the Bureau of Receptions, in contravention of an imperial order, was made Assistant Editorial Director.²²⁵ This was similarly a “pure” appointment.²²⁶

1.26

In the seventh year of the Yuanfeng era (1084) Ye Zuhe 葉祖洽 (?–1117) was appointed Prefect of Huzhou 湖州 (in modern Zhejiang). The emperor criticized this saying that “Zuhe during the Xining era (1068–1077) graduated on top of the examination list and ought to be given a position in the Palace Library”, and consequently he was appointed Editor.²²⁷

In the beginning Xing Shu and Wang Zhongxiu 王仲脩, both being Proofreaders in the Imperial Archive, had been appointed Editors, and Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041–1098)²²⁸, after he had finished the compilation of the *Zizhi tongjian*²²⁹, received the position of Corrector. Later on, Xing Shu was promoted to Assistant Editorial Director and was again promoted to work in one of the met-

²²³ Not much is known about Zeng Mao, except that he was the older brother of the more prominent Zeng Ji 曾幾 (Tuotuo 1977, 282.11678). In 1127 Zeng was Magistrate of Xingren fu 興仁府 (in modern day Shandong) (Tuotuo 1977, 360.11277).

²²⁴ Wu Zhizhong’s biography in Tuotuo 1977 (356.11204–11205) does not mention this matter.

²²⁵ This may refer to an incident in which Pan criticized the emperor for employing sycophants as ministers (Tuotuo 1977, 376.11633–11634). However, the *Songshi* does not record his appointment as Assistant Editorial Director.

²²⁶ Cheng Ju 2000a, 249. This and the two preceding entries form one entry in Cheng Ju 2000b (3.11, 132).

²²⁷ The examiners Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019–1079) and Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) wanted to rank Ye lower, but Lü Huiqing pushed him to the top of the graduation list. The *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 354.11167) renders the position as Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. This passage is also found in Li Tao 2004 (345.8282).

²²⁸ Fan Zuyu became important as an influential official during the Yuanyou period. He was put in charge of the compilation of the *Shenzong shilu* (Franke 1976, 338–345).

²²⁹ This work that covered the history of the empire from early times until 959 CE was completed in 1084. The main compiler of the work was Sima Guang.

ropolitan offices.²³⁰ Zuyu up to the Yuanyou era (1086–1093) only was appointed Editorial Director and Concurrent Expositor-in-waiting. This shows how stingy appointments could be handled.²³¹

1.27

The historical precedents for the holding of concurrent positions in the Institutes and the Archive and for promotions differed. At the start of the Jingde era (1004–1007), Du Hao who was provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive, and Qi Lun 戚綸 (954–1021)²³² who was a Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, were both acting in their old positions as Edict Attendants in the Longtu Cabinet. Several years later Hao, who was then a Director of the Bureau of Honors provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive and acting as Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet, was promoted to Right Grand Master of Remonstrance and Provisional Academician of the Longtu Cabinet, which was an extraordinary favour.

Among others, who were Subeditors in the Imperial Archive and became promoted to be provisional [Academician in] the Imperial Archive, and those, who as Subeditors in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies were promoted to be provisional [Academicians of] the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, or were promoted to be provisional [Academicians of] the Longtu Cabinet, there were Zhang Zisi, Zhao Lianggui, and Qian Yannian 錢延年 (997-?)²³³ during the Zhihe era (1054–1055).

During the Chunhua era (990–994) there had been Lü Youzhi, Zhao Ang, An Deyu, and Ju Zhongzheng, who, while provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, were appointed to provisional assignments in the Institute for the Glorification of Literature.

²³⁰ Xing Shu had been employed by Wu Chong 吳充 (1031–1080) to work as a Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive, and then worked as an Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute before he was appointed Assistant Editorial Director. The metropolitan office that the text refers to is that of Vice Director in the Bureau of Operations, which Xing Shu received on account of a poem that pleased emperor Shenzong (Tuotuo 1977, 471.13703).

²³¹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 249. See Cheng Ju 2000b (3.13, 148–149).

²³² Qi Lun (*jinshi* of 983), one of the original compilers of the *Wenyuan yinghua*, was also involved in the organization of emperor Zhenzong's visits to Mt. Tai and the sacrifices at Fenyin (Kurz 2003, 130–133).

²³³ Qian Yannian was a son of Qian Ruoshui 錢若水 (960–1003) (Tuotuo 1977, 266.9171).

In regard to those who were appointed as Drafters while being provisionally assigned to the Institutes and the Academy, there were Lü Youzhi on provisional assignment to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature, as well as He Meng and Wang Anshi, who while provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, were all appointed Drafters.

In regard to Subeditors and Proofreaders they were often transferred according to the order in their area of responsibility. There were officials like Lü Tai 呂溱²³⁴ and Li Xun 李紱 (1013–1052)²³⁵, who were provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Yu Jing 余靖 (1000–1064)²³⁶, Peng Cheng 彭乘, Pu Zongmeng 蒲宗孟 (1022–1088)²³⁷, Sun Zhu, Huang Lü 黃履 (1030–1101)²³⁸, Zeng Gong and Zhao Yanruo, who were Subeditors in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, all of which were appointed Joint Compilers of the Court Diaries; there was Cai Xiang 蔡襄 (1012–1067)²³⁹ who as a Proofreader was promoted to a provisional assignment in the Historiography Institute and Directorship of the Remonstrance Bureau.

²³⁴ Lü Tai (*jinshi* of 1038) was assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies early in his career when he was also made Joint Compiler of the Court Diaries (Wang Cheng 1979, 76.1159–1161; Tuotuo 1977, 320.10401–10402).

²³⁵ Li Xun for his critical remarks on some senior officials had found the ear of Renzong who liked him for his frankness. In his career that was marred by his love of alcohol, Li also served as an envoy to the Liao (Tuotuo 1977, 302.10027–10029).

²³⁶ Yu Jing (*jinshi* of 1024) made himself a name by speaking out in defense of Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052) after the latter had been dismissed from office. Yu had received the post in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies after he had pointed out mistakes in the *Hanshu* of Ban Gu. Consequently, the emperor made him revise both the *Shiji* by Sima Qian as well as the *Hou Hanshu* by Fan Ye (Wang Cheng 1979, 75.1139–1141; Tuotuo 1977, 320.10407–10411).

²³⁷ Pu Zongmeng (*jinshi* of 1053) was appointed to the post of Subeditor in or shortly after 1068, after he had come to the attention of emperor Shenzong with a memorial in which he criticized high dignitaries and eunuchs. His promotion to Joint Compiler of the Court Diaries occurred sometime after this event. He was called to work on the dynastic history soon afterwards and was further promoted to Hanlin-Academician (Wang Cheng 1979, 83.1272–1276; Tuotuo 1977, 328.10570–10572). According to Li Tao 2004 (327.7866), he had served as compiler of the *Liangchao zhengshi* 兩朝正史 (Official History of the Two Reigns).

²³⁸ Huang Lü (*jinshi* of 1057) a native of Fujian, at the start of his career served as Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive and was concurrent head of the Remonstrance Office. Heavily involved in factional struggles, he expelled some of his colleagues before he himself fell victim to a purge (Wang Cheng 1979, 96.1488–1490; Tuotuo 1977, 328.10572–10574).

²³⁹ Cai Xiang apart from his role in politics is known as an accomplished calligrapher and tea connoisseur. He has a biography in Wang Cheng 1992 (75.1141–11).

Deng Runfu 鄧潤甫 (1027–1094), as an Examiner of the Secretariat and Supervisor of the Revenue Section, was appointed Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies provisionally assigned to the Document Drafting Office, and shortly afterwards was appointed Drafter.²⁴⁰

Chang Zhi 常秩 (1019–1077)²⁴¹, as a Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review, on special imperial order was promoted to be Left Exhorter provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and shortly afterwards he was provisionally assigned to the Document Drafting Office, which also was an extraordinary favour.

Bi Zhongyan 畢仲衍 (1040–1082)²⁴², as a Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, was appointed Left Recorder; Wang Anli 王安禮 (1034–1095)²⁴³, as a Proofreader, was transferred to a provisional assignment in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; and Wang Zhen 王震 (1046–1095)²⁴⁴, as a Proofreader was made Examiner of the Secretariat and Supervisor of the Rotes Section and was promoted to Bureau Director in the Right Office. Zhongyan and Zhen both were promoted at the start [of the reform] of the official system.

When the [new] official system was set in motion, positions in the Palace Library differed compared to earlier times. Positions in the Institutes were only

²⁴⁰ Deng Runfu from Jianchang in Fujian had been appointed as Examiner of the Secretariat and Supervisor of the Revenue Section when Wang Anshi was in charge of the administration in 1069 (Wang Cheng 1979, 96.1487–1488; Tuotuo 1977, 343.10911–10912).

²⁴¹ Chang Zhi had failed the *jinshi*-examination, and consequently had chosen to live the life of a recluse, not striving for office. Having been appointed Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review by emperor Renzong, he did not take up the job. Only after Shenzong had taken the throne, did he finally agree to travel to the capital in 1070, to accept the positions described here (Wang Cheng 1979, 118.1829–1831; Tuotuo 1977, 329.10595–10596).

²⁴² Bi Zhongyan, great grandson of Bi Shian 畢士安 (938–1005), was recommended for service by Ouyang Xiu and Lü Gongzhu. Apart from his appointment as Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, Bi served as head of the Ritual Academy in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. The event alluded to here refers to the appointment of Bi by order of Shenzong (Wang Cheng 1979, 41.631; Tuotuo 1977, 281.9522–9523).

²⁴³ Wang Anli, younger brother of Wang Anshi and *jinshi* of 1061, had been working as an Editing Clerk in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature and not as a Proofreader according to both Wang Cheng (1979, 79.1214–1216) and Tuotuo (1977, 327.10553–10557). He was, however, in fact assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, but shortly thereafter left the capital to take up a position as Magistrate.

²⁴⁴ According to Tuotuo 1977 (10406–10407), Wang Zhen was Examiner of Clerks in the Personnel Section. The promotion mentioned in this passage occurred after the initiation of the bureaucratic reforms of the Yuanfeng era.

held in conjunction with (participation in) the Classics Colloquium (*jingyan* 經筵)²⁴⁵, and promotions for officials in the Dynastic History Academy (*guoshi yuan* 國史院; my translation) and the Veritable Records Academy (*shilu yuan* 實錄院; my translation) as a result were slightly different.²⁴⁶

During the Yuanyou era (1086–1093) both Zhang Lei 張耒 (1054–1114)²⁴⁷ and Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105)²⁴⁸ (commentary: The order was not enacted) as Assistant Editorial Directors, and during the Shaosheng era (1094–1097) both Deng Xunwu 鄧洵武 (1057–1121)²⁴⁹ and Wu Boju 吳伯舉 as Editors, were promoted to Left and Right Recorders. The reason [for their appointments] was that they were concurrent officials in the Dynastic History Academy.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ The Classical Colloquium served as a forum for the discussions of the emperor with his officials who would lecture him on a variety of texts and politics. The participants were called Classical Colloquium Officials (*jingyan guan* 經筵官) and consisted generally of men who served as Hanlin Readers and Lecturers (*shuoshu* 說書) from the Institute for the Veneration of Literature (Gong Yanming 1997, 46; Hucker 1988, 1249, 1250 and 5521).

²⁴⁶ The Dynastic History Institute was an agency of the Chancellery, whereas the Veritable Records Institute has a rather varied history as illustrated in Gong Yanming 1997 (257). The modern edition separates both institutes, because the *guoshi shilu yuan* which has an entry in the relevant monograph in the *Songshi* was only established in the 1230s (Tuotuo 1977, 164.3878–3879). Hucker translates this as Historiography and True Records Institute (Hucker 1988, 353). Given the context, one may assume that at this point the two agencies were not part of the Three Institutes.

²⁴⁷ Zhang Lei like Huang Tingjian was a student of Su Shi (Wang Cheng 1979, 116.1795; Tuotuo 1977, 444.13113–13115; Franke 1976, 20–23).

²⁴⁸ Huang Tingjian ranks among the most famous poets, calligraphers and scholar-officials of his time (Wang Cheng 1979, 116.1793–1794; Tuotuo 1977, 444.13109–13111; Franke 1976, 454–461).

²⁴⁹ Deng Xunwu, a native of Chengdu in Sichuan, in addition to the position listed here, was appointed as Corrector in the Palace Library and as Junior Compiler in the Dynastic History Academy. In this latter capacity he compiled the history of Shenzong's reign, the *Shenzong shi* 神宗史 (Wang Cheng 1979, 98.1508–1511; Tuotuo 1977, 329.10599–10601).

²⁵⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 250. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (3.13, 149).

2B Books and Collating Texts (*shuji* *jiaochou* 書籍校讎)

2.1 Books

At the start of the Jianlong era (960) the Three Institutes contained more than 12,000 *juan* of books.²⁵¹ After the pacification of Jingnan (in central Hubei) in the first year of the Qiande era (963) all its charts and books were gathered completely to add to the substance of the Three Institutes.

After the pacification of the (Later) Shu in the third year [of the Qiande era (965)], Sun Fengji 孫逢吉, a Recorder of the Right, was dispatched to gather its charts and books.²⁵² He got hold of altogether 13,000 *juan* of books.²⁵³

In the fourth year (966) an imperial order called for the levy of lost books. A total of 1,228 *juan* were collected. The [scholar of the] Three Ritual Classics (*sanli* 三禮) She Bi 涉弼, the [scholar of the] Three Commentaries (*sanzhuan* 三

²⁵¹ Li Tao 2004 (19.422) and Ma Duanlin 1986 (174.1508) confirm this number. Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 崇儒, 4.15 (2237)) and Wang Yinglin 1992 (43.15b) give the number of books as “more than 13,000”.

²⁵² Tuotuo 1977 (145.3400) recounts that all inferior items Sun – referred to there as a Recorder of the Left – recovered from Shu were to be destroyed. Sun was a native of Shu and had been an expert on the *Shijing* 詩經 in the National Academy of the Later Shu regime (in Sichuan, 934–965). Moreover, he had been responsible for the engraving of the Classics into stone (Tuotuo 1977, 441.13050). In addition, he had, together with Ju Zhongzheng, prepared the texts of the *Wenxuan* 文選, the *Chuxueji* 初學記, and the *Baishi liutie* 白氏六帖 for printing (Tuotuo 1977, 479.13894. Hong Mai 2005 (“Rongzhai xubi” 容齋續筆 14.393) reports that Sun as an Erudite of the National University (*guozhi boshi* 國子博士) of Shu wrote the text for the *Zhouyi* 周易 to be inscribed on stone.

²⁵³ The books from Shu, after close scrutiny, were transferred to the Historiography Institute on June 3, 966 (Wang Yinglin 1992, 43.15b).

傳) Peng Gan 彭乾, the Erudite Scholar Zhu Zai 朱載,²⁵⁴ and others went to the capital to submit their books. The books were distributed to the storehouses by imperial order. Bi and the others received examination degrees.²⁵⁵

In the intercalary eighth month (August/September 966) the emperor issued a proclamation through the Historiography Institute, that all officials and commoners, who possessed books, had to come forward and present them so that their table of contents could be inspected. Those that were lacking in the Institutes would be kept. The people who presented books were to be sent to the Court of Academicians to examine their suitability as officials. The names of the regular officials [who had offered their books] were to be made public.

In the winter of the eighth year of the Kaibao era (975/76) Jiangnan (i.e. Southern Tang 南唐, 937–976) was pacified. In the spring of the following year (976) Lü Guixiang 呂龜祥²⁵⁶, a Librarian of the Heir-apparent, was dispatched to go to Jinling (modern Nanjing), where he made a list of the charts and books. He obtained more than 20,000 *juan* which were all sent to the Historiography Institute. From these [shipments] all books [previously missing] were provided little by little.²⁵⁷

When Qian Chu of Liang Zhe (i.e. the kingdom of Wuyue 吳越, 907–978) surrendered [to the Song], his book holdings were received as well.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ The Three Ritual Classics comprise the *Zhouli* 周禮, *Yili* 儀禮, and *Liji* 禮記. The Three Commentaries are the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan* 春秋左傳, *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳, and *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳. The Erudite Scholar was a first examination degree of the Ministry of Rites. All of these degrees belonged to the “Various fields” (*zhuke* 諸科) type of examination (Chaffee 1995, 189–190).

²⁵⁵ It is quite likely, though there is no evidence for it, that the examination degrees awarded were those with which they were addressed in the preceding lines.

²⁵⁶ Lü Guixiang was the uncle of the better known Lü Mengzheng 呂蒙正 (946–1011) who participated in the compilation of the *Wenyuan yinghua*, and the grandfather of Lü Yijian, who served as Grand Councilor. The highest position Lü Guixiang reached was that of Assistant Director of the Palace Administration (Tuotuo 1977, 265.9149).

²⁵⁷ Cf. the parallel account in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru”, 4.15 (2237)).

²⁵⁸ Cheng Ju 2000a, 251.

2.2

In the first month of the ninth year of the Taiping xingguo era²⁵⁹ an imperial decree proclaimed:

“The state realizes the emperor’s orders and makes public his administration, it upholds erudition and informs and guides learning, statutes of the state and regulations of the court, and it inspires education. Regulations of the state and decrees of the court together consolidate [the state]. Now, if ancient writings are scattered and destroyed, it must be our task to search for them. Nothing surpasses copying (old) texts to govern the state and care for the people. It is [therefore] appropriate to order the Three Institutes to list titles of books that are missing in the Institutes by reading through the *Kaiyuan sibu shumu* 開元四部書目.²⁶⁰ At the exits of the Courts for Awaiting the Morning Hour²⁶¹ notices will be posted to inform everyone within and without the palace that when families of officials possess books which are lacking in the Three Institutes, they are permitted to purchase an official position.

People submitting 300 *juan* of books and above shall be transferred to the Institute of Academicians to undergo a test of their talents and writing style. They will be examined [on their knowledge of] basic principles and one son of those (families), who qualify for an official position, will be conferred the “formally qualified” (*chushen* 出身) rank. Those who are familiar with the Ruists and Mohists will be placed according to their abilities.²⁶² As to people who do not have 300 *juan* [for submission], the number of volumes will be determined for a reward of gold and silk. The books of those people who do not want to purchase a post, will be borrowed and, after they have been copied, will be returned.”

²⁵⁹ Officially there is no ninth year in that reign period. Li Tao 2004 (25.571) lists the imperial address under the *renxu* 壬戌 day of first month of the first year of the Yongxi era (February 15, 984).

²⁶⁰ Li Tao (2004) refers to this catalogue as *Kaiyuan siku shumu* 開元四庫書目. This catalogue, according to Drège (1991, 60) originally was entitled *Gujin shulu* 古今書錄 and appeared under such titles as *Sibu mulu* 四部目錄 and *Kaiyuan siku mulu* 開元四庫目錄. Below (3.10) the work is referred to as *Kaiyuan sibu lu* 開元四部錄.

²⁶¹ There were two such structures one of which was located at the western palace wall, while the other was at the eastern palace wall (Gong Yanming 1997, 100–101).

²⁶² The parallel passage in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru”, 4.16 (2238)) reads: “If there are those who are not familiar with the Ruists and Mohists, they will be granted placement.” Cf. also 2.12 below.

From then on books from the four quarters of the empire frequently were sent forward.²⁶³

2.3

In the first year of the Duangong era (988), more than 10,000 *juan* of books in the Three Institutes were stored in a separate vault, and its name was Imperial Archive.²⁶⁴

2.4

In the tenth month of the third year of the Chunhua era (September/October 992) the imperial commissioner Li Huaijie 李懷節 was dispatched to transfer a *Qianzi wen* 千字文 written in the imperial running script to the Imperial Archive.

When Li Zhi asked to engrave [this text] on the reverse side of the stele that carried the imperially written “Eulogy for the Imperial Archive” (*bige zan* 祕閣贊), the emperor said: “I happened to have written the *Qianzi wen* during my leisure. If, as a consequence, I order it to be inscribed in stone, and if Li Zhi even more urgently wishes to have it engraved, then this is not the way to hand down the established culture of erudition. There are hundreds of [different] editions of the *Xiaojing* 孝經. I will personally copy one of these, and this text may then be carved on the back of the stele.”²⁶⁵

In the sixth month of the fifth year (July/August 994) Lan Minzheng 藍敏正²⁶⁶, Palace Servitor, on imperial order transferred five scrolls of imperial

²⁶³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 254. Cf. the much less detailed speech in Li Tao 2004 (25.571). The parallel entry in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru”, 4.16 (2238)) has a different wording and places the entry from Li Tao after the entry found here.

²⁶⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 255. Zhang Fuxiang suggests that this entry is incomplete and refers the reader to chapter 1 entry 2 in Cheng Ju 2000b (18–19) for more details on the establishment of the Imperial Archive.

²⁶⁵ Cf. the parallel entries in Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.48 (2778)), Li Tao 2004 (33.739–740), Wang Yinglin 1992 (33.19a), and Jiang Shaoyu 1981 (266.9176). The reign era in the original text reads Duangong (988–989) instead of Chunhua (990–994). Since the Duangong era only lasted for two years the date was amended from the other texts.

²⁶⁶ Zhang Ji referring to precedents from Tang times once recommended a promotion for Lan to the post of Commissioner for Academicians. The emperor angrily

running script writings to the Archive, and Zhang Bi 張泌 (?-after 994)²⁶⁷, Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute, and Academicians from the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive were ordered to inspect them.²⁶⁸

2.5

In the seventh month of the first year of the Chunhua era (July/August 990) the imperially composed *Bizang quan* 祕藏詮 in ten *juan*, *Xiaoyao yong* 逍遙詠 in eleven *juan*, *Bizang zhuza fu* 祕藏諸雜賦 in ten *juan*, a *Fofu* 佛賦 in one *juan*, *Youyin lüshi* 幽隱律詩 in four *juan*, *Huaiguan yibai yunshi* 懷感一百韻詩 in four *juan*, and *Huaigan huiwen wu qi yan* 懷感迴文五七言 in one *juan*, numbering altogether forty-one *juan*, were stored in the Imperial Archive.²⁶⁹

2.6

The emperor addressed his councilors: “I have learnt that the book collections in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive are not well ordered at all. Many books are missing, the collation of books has been similarly careless, which, as a consequence, caused the transmission [of texts] to be faulty again and again. Starting from today all officials who are detached [to the Institutes and the Archive] from Proofreaders up to those in charge will have to dedicate themselves thoroughly and avoid errors, and they will cease following the old routine. When all these matters have been determined, they will have to be followed accordingly [in the future].”²⁷⁰

rejected the proposition citing eunuchs as one of the major causes for the decline of the Tang (Tuotuo 1977, 267.9215).

²⁶⁷ Zhang Bi was a former Southern Tang official taken over into Song service. He has a short biography in Tuotuo 1977 (265.9139).

²⁶⁸ Cheng Ju 2000a, 255.

²⁶⁹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 256. See Cheng Ju 2000b (1.10, 37). See also Xu Song 1997 (“zhi-guan” 18.47 (2778)), and Wang Yinglin 1992 (28.4b).

²⁷⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 256–257.

2.7

Xie Bi 謝泌 (948–1012)²⁷¹, who was provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, reported to the throne: “The books of the state are not arranged in proper order. Under the Tang the philosophical scriptures, the histories, the masters, and belles-lettres had been distributed into four repositories. Xue Ji 薛稷, Shen Quanqi 沈佺期 (656–714), Wu Pingyi 武平一, and Ma Huaisu were given charge of one storeroom each. It is hoped, that these historical precedents will be respected.”²⁷² The emperor was delighted and consequently ordered Bi and three more officials from the Institutes to head the four archives with Bi being in charge of the belles-lettres archive.

In the third month of the fourth year [of the Chunhua era (March/April 993)] rewards were announced for books which were lacking in the Three Institutes. A reward of 1,000 cash was given for every *juan* that was forwarded, while for 300 *juan* and more, people were considered for official salary and employment.²⁷³

2.8

In the sixth month of the first year of the Zhidao era (July 995), Pei Yu 裴愈, Palace Eunuch and Inspector (*jian* 監) of the books held by the Imperial Archive and the Three Institutes, was ordered to find and retrieve paintings and calligraphies in the prefectures of Jiangnan and Liang Zhe.²⁷⁴ People who were

²⁷¹ Xie Bi had previously served the Southern Tang. Upon surrender of that state in 976 he came with many of his colleagues to the Song capital where he passed the *jinshi*-exam in 980 (Tuotuo 1977, 306.10093–10097).

²⁷² I have not been able to trace Xie’s statement in the biographies of the four officials. Ma Huaisu was appointed as director of the palace library under emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–756), after he had suggested a reorganization of the book collection (Drège 1991, 53–54). In the *Songshi* version of the memorial the Tang classification of books is dated to the Jinglong era (707–709) (Tutuo 1977, 306.10093).

²⁷³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 257. This and the preceding entry make up one entry in Cheng Ju 2000b (1.15, 43–44).

²⁷⁴ The order was issued on the *yiyou* 乙酉 day of the sixth month (July 10) according to Li Tao 2004 (38.817). In Li Tao’s record, Pei only travelled through Jiangnan, but not Liang Zhe. Jiangnan is roughly equivalent with the former territory of the Southern Tang state (937–976) in the modern provinces of Jiangsu and Jiangxi, while the circuit of Liang Zhe consisted of territory formerly ruled by the state of Wuyue (907–978) in Zhejiang and southern Jiangsu.

willing to submit [such material] to officials were given generous presents in the value [of the works presented]. [Items] that people did not want to submit were copied by able local copyists and returned [to their owners] as soon as the copying was finished. Hence, they were conferred rubbings [from stone inscriptions] in the imperial calligraphy as presents according to their submissions.²⁷⁵

When Yu returned, he had all in all acquired more than sixty scrolls of calligraphy, forty-five well-known paintings, nine cithers (*guqin* 古琴), and eight original copies of the writing of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361), Bei Linggai 貝靈該 and Huaisu 懷素 (725–785), all of which were entered into the Imperial Archive.

Before this, officials had been sent to all circuits to ask for old books, rare paintings, and calligraphic pieces of ancient sages. [When people submitted] a few such items they would be rewarded with gold and silk, [and when they submitted] many such items they would be marked for an official position. Within the span of several years innumerable paintings and books reached the capital with the number of works collected in all the circuits several times higher.

Another imperial order to the Historiography Institute called for the storage of 5,712 volumes of works on astronomy, prognostication, apocrypha, techniques and others, together with one hundred and fourteen scrolls of old paintings and calligraphic pieces, in the Imperial Archive. The wealth of paintings and books [in the Imperial Archive] at that time was unique.²⁷⁶

2.9

In the sixth month of the second year of the Zhidao era (June/July 996) the emperor dispatched an Imperial Commissioner to confer twenty scrolls of calligraphy in the *feibai* 飛白 (flying white)-style as presents to the Grand Councilor Lü Duan 呂端 (933–1000)²⁷⁷ and others, each receiving five scrolls, and also sent forty scrolls to be stored in the Imperial Archive. The characters all measured several *chi* 尺 (1 *chi*=31.2cm) in circumference. Lü Duan and the others,

²⁷⁵ In one such case, Pei Yu gave Hong Wenfu 洪文撫, a well-known book collector, one hundred scrolls (Tuotuo 1977, 456.13392).

²⁷⁶ Cheng Ju 2000a, 257–258. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (1.12, 39–40).

²⁷⁷ Lü Duan had become Grand Councilor in 995 (Franke 1976, 748–749).

one after another, went to the private resting hall [of the emperor] to express their gratitude.²⁷⁸

2.10

In the third month of the second year of the Xianping era (March/April 998) Zhu Ang 朱昂 (925–1007)²⁷⁹, Inspector of the book holdings of the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive, Director of the Bureau of Honors and Drafter, and others reported: “Large quantities of books from the four storerooms have disappeared. The present examination has found evidence that court officials [alone] have borrowed as many as 460 *juan*.” An imperial order granted permission to provide books from all princely residences to be copied outside the palace and to supervise the return of the remaining books.²⁸⁰

2.11

In the intercalary third month [of the same year (April/May 998)] the Three Institutes were ordered to compile [a catalogue] of the books in the four categories in two copies. One copy was to be deposited in the Longtu Cabinet in the palace, the other one in the Taiqing Pavilion (Taiqinglou 太清樓) in the Rear Garden of the palace, to facilitate the browsing and reading [of books]. Later, when the Institutes and the Imperial Archive were understaffed, the Bureau of Personnel Administration of the Ministry of Personnel was ordered to select Ancillary Officials and officials from prefectures and districts who possessed literary erudition, and make them Proofreaders of all the books in the Institutes and the Imperial Archive.

²⁷⁸ Cheng Ju 2000a, 258. The parallel entry in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 6.4 (2270)) also records a statement by the emperor concerning his appreciation of various calligraphic styles.

²⁷⁹ Zhu Ang’s family, originally from northern China, fled south during the Later Liang dynasty and settled in Hunan. Zhu was known as a book collector and therefore carried the nickname Xiao Wanjuan 小萬卷 (Little ten thousand *juan* (Zhu)), to distinguish him from the older Zhu Zundu 朱尊度 (fl. mid-10th cent.), who was known as Zhu Wanjuan 朱萬卷, and also lived in Hunan (Wang Cheng 1979, 38.594–595; Tuotuo 1977, 439.13005–13009).

²⁸⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 259. Cheng Ju 2000b (1.15, 43–44), provides more details. The event is recorded also in Wang Yinglin 1992 (52.39a), Li Tao 2004 (43.921), and Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.51 (2780)).

Consequently, Liu Yun 劉筠 (970–1030), Commandant of Guantao 館陶 (in modern Shandong)²⁸¹; Shen Yong 慎鏞, Commandant of Wanqiu 宛丘 (in modern Henan)²⁸²; Shen Jing 沈京, Commandant of Yunxiang 鄆鄉 (in modern Hubei); Zhang Zhengfu 張正符, Magistrate of Anfeng 安豐 (in modern Anhui); Zhang Zun 張遵, Commandant of Shangcai 上蔡 (in modern Henan); Nie Zhen 聶震, Commandant of Gushi 固始 (in modern Henan)²⁸³; and Wang Yu 王昱 (962–1035), Assistant Magistrate of Tongcheng 桐城 (in modern Anhui)²⁸⁴, were selected to enter the Institutes as Proofreaders. (Zhang) Zhengfu had hardly begun working, when he died.²⁸⁵

At the start of the Jingde era (1004) the collation came to an end and [the copies] were presented to the palace. At that time among the book collectors of the metropolitan region the family of the late chancellor Wang Pu 王溥 (922–982) alone brought forth many [books].²⁸⁶

Every time book owners lent out a book, it was copied and as soon as this was done, an envoy from the palace was sent to return it immediately.

Previously the emperor had addressed his ministers: “The state has searched for charts and books several times and has gradually enlarged [its collection]. We have ordered collectors among official and commoner families to lend their catalogues to compare them against the book holdings of the palace depositories and the Institutes and the Archive. Recently We have received many

281 Liu Yun, later a member of the compilation team for the *Cefu yuangui*, went on to become Hanlin-Academician during the reign of emperor Zhenzong (Kurz 2003, 206–208).

282 Shen Yong’s career led him to the positions of Vice Director in the Revenue Section of the Treasury Bureau. The post as Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices that he is credited with further below, according to Tuotuo 1977 (277.9447), was that of his brother Shen Kai 慎錡.

283 In the *Songshi* Nie Zhen is referred to as Compiler of the *Cefu yuangui*, Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, and Subeditor in the Imperial Archive (Tuotuo 1977, 125.2929). This is the only instance where Nie is credited with work on *the Cefu yuangui*.

284 Wang Yu has an entry in Lü Zuqian 1936 (144.16).

285 Cf. the parallel version in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.1–2 (2230–2231)).

286 One of the major reasons why Wang Pu’s family possessed quite a large number of books was that emperor Taizu had conferred surplus copies of books, calligraphic pieces and paintings taken from the collections of the states of the Later Shu and the Southern Tang on his ministers (Tuotuo 1977, 249.8801–8802).

[books]. Lately peace was made and there are no more troubles.²⁸⁷ How else could We have achieved this (the submission of so many books)?²⁸⁸

2.12

In the second month of the third year (of the Xianping era (March/April 1000) on imperial order one copy of the *Taizong yuji* 太宗禦集 in 30 *juan* was stored in the Imperial Archive, and another copy was stored in the Three Institutes.²⁸⁹ An imperial order from the tenth month of the fourth year (October/November 1001) read:

“The state has established the Shiqu 石渠 within the palace book repositories,²⁹⁰ to receive the Yuling 羽陵 repository and the Jimeng 汲冢 scriptures.²⁹¹ Following the former regulations of the Han (dynasty), books were purchased and thus came [into the collections]²⁹²; browsing through the old catalogue of the Kaiyuan era (of the Tang) [it is obvious] that more texts are still missing. To gather all those texts that have vanished, money as well as other rewards should be offered. By opening the path to submit books, the gates to [official] advancement will be unlocked. The families of palace and metropolitan officials who possess books that are missing in the Three Institutes shall respond and for each *juan* they provide they shall be given 1,000 cash, and these texts will

²⁸⁷ It makes sense to assume that the peace mentioned here refers to the treaty of Shanyuan with the Qidan-Liao that was negotiated in January 1005 (see Wright 1998).

²⁸⁸ Cheng Ju 2000a, 259. Jiang Shaoyu 1981 (31.394) provides the following numbers of books: Institute for the Glorification of Literature, 38,291 *juan*; Historiography Institute, 41,553 *juan*; Academy of Scholarly Worthies, 42,554 *juan*; Imperial Archive, 15,785 *juan*.

²⁸⁹ Taizong's writings had been compiled by Lü Wenzhong who submitted them on the *renzi* 壬子 day of the second month (March 12, 1000) (Wang Yinglin 1992, 28.5a).

²⁹⁰ The *Shiqu ge* 石渠閣 (Stone Gutter Cabinet) housed the Imperial Archive. A brief description of the Southern Song building and its contents is provided in Weitz 2002 (194).

²⁹¹ Wang Yinglin 1992 (52.1b) explains that Yuling, originally a place name, is another term for the private collections of rulers. Jimeng refers to pre-Qin texts written on bamboo discovered in the year 281. Stolen from an ancient royal tomb (*meng* 冢) located in Ji commandery (Ji jun 汲郡), the texts were seized from the thief and became known as the texts from the Ji (commandery) tomb (Fang Xuanling 1974, 51.1432–1433). They were collated and then made part of the imperial collection (Fang Xuanling 1974, 39.1154).

²⁹² The term used here comes from an anecdote in which the Han emperor had lost three chests full of books and Zhang Anshi 張安世 (?–62 BCE) was the only one who knew their titles. Consequently, the titles were “purchased” (*gouqiu* 購求) to make up for the previous loss. See Ban Gu 1975 (29.2647).

be submitted for a thorough scrutiny by the Institutes. Once they have been found to belong to the works missing from the Institutes, and once the volumes have been proven to be free of errors, they will be entered immediately (into the collections).

Those who submit books in excess of 300 *juan*, upon examination of their abilities, will be awarded with the ‘formally qualified’ status. For those not familiar with the Ruists and the Mohists, classification in the court ranks will be provided. An order shall be issued to the Historiography Institute to copy and issue a list of titles that the collections are short of, to be posted at the Courts for Awaiting the Morning Hour, and notes (relating to this) shall be passed to the Fiscal Commissions in all circuits for urgent circulation.”²⁹³

This was the text of the imperial decree issued during the Taiping xingguo era (976–983).

Du Hao and Chen Pengnian were ordered to separate genuine from fake copies, for at the time of editing, cover notes had been attached to the texts, and then Song Shou and Yan Shu were ordered to assist them.

And then, on another order, the State Finance Commission delegated Ding Wei²⁹⁴ and Li Zongze to collect texts to supplement lost works.²⁹⁵

2.13

In the ninth month of the fourth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (September/October 1011) Xiang Minzhong 向敏中 (948–1019)²⁹⁶, the concurrent Director of the Palace Library; Chao Jiong 晁迥 (951–1034)²⁹⁷, head of the Institute for the Glorification of Literature; Yang Yi, head of the Historiography Institute,

²⁹³ Cf. the slightly different versions of this decree above (2.2, 254) and in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.17 (2238)). A third one, dated to the fourth year (1001) is found in Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 7.13 (2541)).

²⁹⁴ Ding Wei’s biographies in Wang Cheng 1979, (49.737–742) and Tuotuo 1977 (283.9566–9571) do not mention his involvement in the collection of old texts.

²⁹⁵ Cheng Ju 2000a, 262–263.

²⁹⁶ Xiang Minzhong (*jinshi* of 980) in 1001 held the post of Grand Councilor which he lost within two years because of his involvement in a publicized scandal. During Zhenzong’s sacrifices to Heaven in 1008 as well as to the Earth in 1011, Xiang served as regent in Kaifeng. Consequently, he was appointed Grand Councilor again (Wang Cheng 1979, 41.627–629; Tuotuo 1977, 282.9553–9557). See also Franke 1976 (398–400).

²⁹⁷ Chao Jiong’s biography in Tuotuo 1977 (305.10085–10087) states that he was an avid reader of Buddhist and Daoist texts and a very prolific writer. He passed the *jinshi*-examination in 980. In 1011 he was the official responsible for the sacrifices to Earth in

and Li Wei ²⁹⁸, head of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, submitted a memorial to the throne, in which they asked to store the emperors' collected texts and writings in the Institutes and the Imperial Archive. Consequently, miscellaneous writings and poetry were handed to Minzhong and the others from the palace. All of these were arranged into categories, and [writings] that followed later were accordingly used to continue and supplement these. And so, there were a *Zhengjuji* 諍居集, a *Fayin qianji* 法音前集, a *Wangchenji* 王宸集, a *Du jingshi* 讀經史, a *Qingjingdian shiyuefu ji* 清景殿詩樂府集, a *Zhengshuo* 正說 and other writings.

At the beginning of the Tianxi era (1017), Li Xuji 李虛己 ²⁹⁹, Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet, was ordered to compile these writings and he produced 120 *juan*.³⁰⁰

In the fourth month of the fifth year (1021) 15 *juan* of newly collected imperial writings comprising prose (*wen* 文), eulogies (*song* 頌), songs (*ge* 歌), and poems (*shi* 詩) were stored in the imperial archive following the original request by Xiang Minzhong.³⁰¹

Fenyin and continued to please the emperor by composing an elegy on the occasion of the building of the Yuqing zhaoying Temple (Yuqing zhaoying gong 玉清昭應宮). See also Wang Cheng (1979, 46.692–693). None of his biographies in Wang Cheng 1979 or in Tuotuo 1977 list Chao with the position as head of the Institute for the Glorification of Literature, but they show that he was regularly employed within the Institutes and the Archive during Zhenzong's rule.

²⁹⁸ Li Wei (*jinshi* of 985) was called to take up a position in the capital after having composed a eulogy praising Zhenzong. During his career he was regularly assigned for compilation work undertaken in the Institutes and the Archive (Kurz 2003, 195–196).

²⁹⁹ Li Xuji was a native of Fujian whose father had served the Southern Tang state. He passed the *jinshi* examination in 977 (Tuotuo 1977, 300.9973–9974).

³⁰⁰ The bibliographical monograph of the *Songshi* does not mention this collection. Li is the author of a *Yazhengji* 雅正集 in ten *juan* (Tuotuo 1977, 300.9975) and a *Mingliangji* 明良集 in 500 *juan* (Tuotuo 1977, 209.5394).

³⁰¹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 264–265. Cf. the parallel entry in Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.52 (2780)).

2.14

In the summer of the eighth year (1015) a fire ravaged the palace of the Prince of Rong (Rong wang 榮王) for several days.³⁰² None [of the books] in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature and the Imperial Archive survived. In the fifth month the Outer Institute was built outside the walls of the imperial city and books were copied [to be stored there].

The Hanlin-Academician Chen Pengnian asked to provide books from the imperial palace to fill [the number of lost original] copies. At first, officials were dispatched to examine and establish definitive texts and subsequently these were copied. All officials in the Institutes and the Archive as well as officials selected by the Ministry of Personnel were ordered to proofread.

Once the inspection was finished, the supervising officials of the Institutes and the Archive were ordered to revise [the texts]. The Two Drafting Groups selected officials from among their staff for another inspection. And then the Two Drafting Groups were ordered to pick five meticulous officials specialized in literature for a further check. The proofreading and revising followed the style of the Palace Library Directorate where all officials alternately checked each other's working, and every ten days a memorial with the results was compiled and submitted to inform the emperor of their activities.

Works suspected to be erroneous and not yet identified and corrected were discussed by all officials together. When the imperial decree read "accepted", these works were merely sent for further checking to inspectors, and proof-readers were ordered to work together with them.

Consequently, books were brought out from the Taiqing Pavilion and Pengnian received an order to supervise the clerks and to recruit two hundred scribes. Pengnian yet again submitted a memorial asking to order Liu Chongchao 劉崇超³⁰³, a Palace Attendant supervising the book collections, to manage this matter. And then he requested that men should be recruited by permitting the purchase of official positions with book collections, to examine original

³⁰² Li Tao 2004 (84.1927) provides the date *renshen* 壬申 day of the fourth month (May 5, 1015). The fire had started in the middle of the night and lasted until noon of the following day. Li Tao specifies the buildings that fell victim to the flames as the left store-room of the imperial collection, the Chaoyuan Gate (Chaoyuan men 朝元門), the Institute for the Veneration of Literature, as well as the Imperial Archive. Xu Song 1997 ("chongru" 4.17 (2238)) only mentions the latter two.

³⁰³ No biographical information is available on Liu Chongchao other than that he was a eunuch and responsible for the logistical support of the group of scholars who compiled the *Cefu yuangui*.

copies [thus received] and compensate [the donors] according to the value [of the texts] in regard to brushwork, workmanship and other criteria.

For five hundred *juan* and more, generous financial rewards should be conferred, and [book owners] with capabilities might be selected [as officials] by special appeal to receive an imperial summons.

Thereupon nineteen men who had submitted books were conferred pass degrees and appointed to the Three Ranks (*sanban* 三班)³⁰⁴, and thus 18,754 *juan* were received.

In the first month of the ninth year (February/March 1016) the Military Affairs Commissioner Wang Qinruo³⁰⁵ was ordered to act as Chief Supervisor and a seal was cast for him, whereas Pengnian as before jointly managed [this task with him]. When Pengnian [was made] Participant in Determining Governmental Matters, he still supervised this task, but when he died, no one replaced him. When Qinruo was made Councilor, Li Di 李迪 (971–1047)³⁰⁶ replaced him.

From that time onwards, usually one Participant in Determining Governmental Matters was assigned to this task, and his title was Supervisor of the Revision of Books in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive. This position was terminated in the reform of the official system of the Yuanfeng period.

After [Chen] Pengnian had entered the Secretariat, he did not return to the Institutes, and his duties as Overseer-General were carried out solely by [Liu] Chongchao, while Directors of the Institutes and the Archive did not longer oversee these duties.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ This term identifies officials of lower rank but with the right to attend court audiences (Hucker 1988, 4884).

³⁰⁵ Wang Qinruo is most well-known for his role concerning the Heavenly Texts in 1008 (see Cahill 1980) and his alleged involvement in the “Five Demons” faction (Li Tao 2004, 78.1788). He was also the supervising official for the compilation of the *Cefu yuangui* and a very prodigious scholar (Wang Cheng 1979, 49.731–736; Tuotuo 1977, 283.9559–9564). In addition, see Franke 1976 (1105–1109) and Kurz 2003 (187–189).

³⁰⁶ Li Di (*jinshi* of 1005) enjoyed a successful official career and became known for his opposition to empress Liu 劉 who acted already as regent during the last years of Zhenzong’s reign, but officially assumed the regency in 1022 until her death in 1033 (Wang Cheng 1979, 51.755–759; Tuotuo 1977, 310.10171–10175). On Empress Liu see Chaffee 2001.

³⁰⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 266. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (1.6, 28).

2.15

In the eighth month of the first year of the Tianxi era (August/September 1017) the Office for Supervising and Proofreading the Book Collections reported: “The scholars Liu Pu 劉溥 and Hou Weizhe 侯惟哲 both have submitted 500 *juan* of books to the Taiqing Pavilion which it did not have copies of. We ask that they will be re-examined and employed according to the previous imperial decree.” This was followed.

In the twelfth month [of the same year (Dec. 1017/Jan. 1018), Wang Qinruo said:

“To be eligible for an official position for the submission of books, the number originally determined by imperial decree was set at five hundred *juan* and these arrangements were agreed upon. Later on, the purchase of office became quite frequent, while the books [submitted] were trivial and disorderly. Still the number of five hundred *juan* has been continued for [purchase of office] for books lacking in the Taiqing Pavilion. Among the recently submitted books fake titles have been produced, and sections and chapters are disorderly arranged. Many of the titles are works by present authors, and it is difficult to distinguish them (from old works). I am requesting to formulate and establish regulations to diligently search for books.”

This was followed.³⁰⁸

2.16

In the fifth month of the second year [of the Tianxi era] (June/July 1018) the Changle Commandery Princess (Changle junzhu 長樂郡主, daughter of the heir apparent) submitted eight hundred *juan* of books from her family collection and she was conferred 300,000 cash. The books were stored in the Imperial Archive.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ Cheng Ju 2000a, 268.

³⁰⁹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 268. See the parallel entry in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.18 (2239)). Zhang Fuxiang in his commentary explains that the *Song huiyao* refers to “200,000” (*ershi wan* 二十萬) cash only. The edition of the text published by Zhonghua shuju clearly reads “300,000” (*sanshi wan* 三十萬).

2.17

In the intercalary sixth month of the first year of the Jing you era (July/August 1034), the Hanlin-Academician Zhang Guan 張觀³¹⁰, and the Drafters Li Shu 李淑 (1002/1003–1057/1058)³¹¹ and Song Jiao were ordered to organize the books in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive; on yet another order Sheng Du, Zhang Dexiang 章得象 (978–1048)³¹², Shi Zhongli 石中立 (972–1049)³¹³, and Li Zhongrong, Supervisors of the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive, had to inspect [the book holdings] once more.³¹⁴

On the *jiayin* 甲寅 day of the tenth month of the third year (October 31, 1036), the Drafter Wang Juzheng was appointed to inspect and arrange the books in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive³¹⁵, and from then on offi-

³¹⁰ Zhang Guan had received his *jinshi*-degree from the Southern Tang. When he entered the service of the Song, he failed the *jinshi*-examination. After he had submitted some of his writings to the throne, Taizong conferred the *jinshi*-degree on Zhang. Zhang was an expert in the history of the Han (Tuotuo 1977, 276.9400–9402).

³¹¹ When Li Shu was eleven or twelve years old, he presented his writings to Zhenzong when the latter made a state visit to the Laozi temple in Bozhou (in modern Anhui province) in 1014. Li passed an examination to become an Editor in the Palace Library. In 1019 he was appointed Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive and participated in the compilation of the *Zhenzong shilu* as an Examining Editor. During the Tiansheng era (1023–1031) he became a Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute. Tuotuo 1977 (291.9740–9741) says that Li only passed the *jinshi*-examination after he had served in these positions already. Wang Cheng 1979 (57.845–850) does not credit him with a *jinshi*-degree at all.

³¹² Zhang Dexiang whose family had its roots in Fujian was recommended by Yang Yi for higher positions. When asked why, Yang replied that Zhang had a wide range of knowledge that set him apart from other scholars coming from Fujian. After having been assigned to the Historiography Institute, Zhang served as an envoy to the Liao, in recognition of which he was made a Hanlin-Academician. He ended his career as Grand Councilor (Wang Cheng 1979, 56.828–830; Tuotuo 1977, 311.10204–10205).

³¹³ Shi Zhongli, while he was heading the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, conducted examinations at the Ministry of Rites. Accused of having promoted unsuitable candidates, he was demoted to Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute. Several years later he was appointed Vice Grand Councilor (Wang Cheng 1979, 31.514–515; Tuotuo 1977, 263.9104–9105).

³¹⁴ Cf. the parallel passage in Li Tao 2004 (114.2681) from which it becomes evident that Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061), younger brother of Song Jiao, participated in the inspection, and not Song Jiao.

³¹⁵ This information is also supplied in Li Tao 2004 (119.2809).

cials were regularly selected from among the Inner and Outer Drafters³¹⁶ to perform this task.

In the first month of the fourth year of the Jiayou era (February/March 1059) Wu Ji 吳及 (1014–1062)³¹⁷, Right Exhorter and Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, said:

“The imperial ancestors changed the corrupt practices of the Five Dynasties and established civil institutes in order to receive scholars from the four corners of the empire, and honorable men consequently presented themselves one by one. For this reason, the sobriquet, they commanded, was “literary grace” (*fengcai* 風采), and they were not inferior to the Han and Tang. In recent years eunuchs have been employed to oversee the book vaults of the Institutes and the Archive, and many of the books that were lend out, were lost. Moreover, the book collections degraded, and the supplementary copying [of works] by the clerks was inaccurate.

This is not how the state respects the erudition of people outside the capital.³¹⁸

I am requesting to select two or three officials from the Institutes and the Archive and to employ them as compilers of the book collections. Both those who lend books for themselves and those who do this for others, should be formally indicted.”

The emperor consequently ordered the introduction of the position of Compiler of the Book Collections of the Institutes and the Archive, and the four officials Cai Kang and Chen Xiang, Subeditors in the Imperial Archive; Su Song, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; and Chen Yi, Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive, were appointed to assign books to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature, the Historiography Institute, the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and the Imperial Archives, and to arrange them.³¹⁹

³¹⁶ Inner Drafters were Hanlin-Academicians, whereas Outer Drafters were members of the Secretariat. Since Outer Drafters were also referred to as Secretariat Drafter (*zhongshu sheren*) and Hanlin-Academicians could not take this position, the term Inner Drafter was used for them when they were on duty assignment in the Secretariat. Both were also generically addressed as Drafters (Xu Song 1997, “zhiguan” 6.53 (2523); Gong Yanming 1997, 43; Hucker 1988, 4158).

³¹⁷ Wu Ji had passed the *jinshi*-examination at the remarkably young age of seventeen (Tuotuo 1977, 302.10022–10025).

³¹⁸ What Wu refers to here is the fact that the appointments he mentioned previously were all from within the palace, whereas at the start of the dynasty scholars from all over the country were given opportunities as officials in the capital.

³¹⁹ This paragraph forms part of an individual entry in Cheng Ju 2000b (1.10, 232).

They were not to be appointed to other offices concurrently, and they were replaced after two years. Afterwards, moreover, the position of Editorial Assistant was filled with four officials, whose duties consisted in perusing the *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目³²⁰, to collect and gather missing books, to correct mistakes and copy texts, and also to produce separate copies on yellow paper in order to avoid destruction through insect infestation.³²¹

In the sixth year of the Jiayou era (1061) the Institutes and the Archive submitted 6,916 *juan* of yellow copies they had produced, and 2,954 *juan* of supplementary white copies.³²²

The emperor conferred a banquet to the officials of the Two Administrations (Secretariat-Chancellery and Military Affairs Commission) and the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature, and the Grand Councilor Han Qi and others made a stone inscription to commemorate this event on the western wall of the Institute.³²³

2.18

On the *renshen* 壬申 day of the eighth month of the fifth year of the Jiayou era (September 13, 1060), an imperial edict stated:

“After Our state had taken over from the Five Dynasties, books were scattered. At the beginning of the Jianlong era the books in the Three Institutes merely amounted to 10,000 *juan*. After Our Ancestors had pacified the various states, they first of all received their charts and records. Similarly, people were dispatched on separate occasions [to collect books]. Frequently imperial orders were issued to acquire different editions [of books]. These books gradually supplemented those [in the palace]. During the Jingyou era (1034–1037) We have

³²⁰ For more information on this catalogue, see Hervouet 1978 (195).

³²¹ This probably was a precautionary measure that included books already affected by book worms or to be affected by this very real danger to the written heritage in the future. The copies were made on yellow paper to distinguish them from the originals.

³²² According to Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.8 (2234)) this occurred in the twelfth month of that year (January/February 1062). Li Tao 2004 (195.4733) provides the *xinchou* 辛丑 day (February 4, 1062). The entry there describes the revision process as one that went through four stages, namely the empire wide collection of books, the selection of proper titles, the collation of definitive editions, and a final examination of the definitive editions. Usually only one official would examine the final texts. This certainly still left room for errors.

³²³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 269.

ordered erudite scholars to compile tables of contents, and to remove erroneous and duplicate works altogether.

While on leave from government matters, We have perused [the collections] tirelessly. However, if one compares the holdings of the present palace repositories with the old records of the Kaiyuan era of the Tang, large numbers of books are missing. Rules to offer rewards will be introduced in order to open the way wide for the submission of books. This will address scholarly and commoner families within and around [the capital], who all consent to submit books that are missing now in the Institutes and the Archive. For every *juan* [submitted] one bale of fine silk will be given, and for five hundred *juan* special conferral of literary posts will be arranged.”³²⁴

After suitable scholars had been selected, the emperor ordered them to arrange the books in the Institutes and the Archive, and a search for lost books was started and an empire wide search for books to supplement the missing copies began. And then he addressed his Councilors: “Of the official histories of [the dynasties] of the Song (420–479), Qi (480–502), Liang (503–557), Chen (557–589), Later Zhou³²⁵, and the Northern Qi (550–577), hardly any original copies are extant today and as of now they have not been circulated to Educational Officials. The Editorial Assistants shall be commissioned to diligently collate them.” From then onwards the search produced many texts and after errors had been corrected, they were consequently made into complete histories and circulated as the standard texts.³²⁶

In the second year of the Baoyuan era (1039) the emperor, after one hundred and fifty six paragraphs on heaven and earth, stellar constellations, breath control, and divination, that he had collected had been arranged into thirty categories, comprising ten *juan*, and been given the title *Baoyuan tianren xiangyi shu*, called his advisors to come out to the Taiqing Pavilion and showed the text to them. He ordered it to be stored in the Imperial Archive.³²⁷

³²⁴ The edict is also found in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.18–19 (2239)) and Li Tao 2004 (192.4640).

³²⁵ Later Zhou here refers to the Northern Zhou (557–581).

³²⁶ Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.19 (2239)) adds the Hou Wei 後魏 to the list of states. Hou Wei refers to the Wei dynasty (386–535) (also Northern Wei) whose history was treated in the *Weishu* 魏書 compiled by Wei Shou 魏收 (507–572) in 554. Jiang Shaoyu 1982 (31.397) and Wang Yinglin 1992 (43.19b–20a) similarly refer to seven dynastic histories.

³²⁷ This paragraph forms an individual entry in Cheng Ju 2000b (2.13, 74). In Li Tao 2004 (125.2938) this event occurred on the *guisi* 癸巳 day of the eleventh month (November 24).

On the *dinghai* 丁亥 day of the sixth month of the seventh year of the Jiayou era (July 20, 1062) the Imperial Archive submitted a memorial asking for the supplementing of the books read by the emperor.

Before this event Ouyang Xiu who supervised the Archive had said:

“In the beginning the Imperial Archive was a repository where Taizong stored his books and all of them were bound in thin yellow silk, and they were called Taiqing copies. Later on, because it was announced that they were to be taken into the palace, many of them remained in the palace, and the books [in the Taiqing Pavilion] are rather incomplete. I therefore ask to submit these old copies [from the palace] and to order to supplement [the holdings in the Taiqing Pavilion].”

Consequently, on imperial order the eunuchs concurrently serving in the Longtu, Tianzhang and Baowen Cabinets as well as in the Taiqing Pavilion examined the books that were missing, and craftsmen were recruited to copy them for the Chancellery. Thereupon they were submitted to the throne.³²⁸

During the Xining era (1068–1077) Song Minqiu³²⁹ said: “Even though the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive hold a multitude of books, they are grouped in many categories that are erroneous. I ask to collect the books, that are listed in the *Yiwenzhi* 藝文志 by Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), and send an order to all the Circuits to purchase original manuscripts to revise them. In the future, the catalogues in the *Hanshu* monograph (on literature) (*Hanzhi* 漢志) and the *Tangshu* monograph (on literature) (*Tangzhi* 唐志) can be used for collating texts, and all those texts that are worth to be handed down should be kept, while all the remaining texts can be done away with.”³³⁰ In the end this suggestion was not followed.³³¹

³²⁸ The request by the Imperial Archive and Ouyang Xiu’s statement are also found in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.9 (2234)). See also Li Tao 2004 (196.4763) and Wang Yinglin 1992 (52.41a).

³²⁹ Song Minqiu, a son of Song Shou, was one of the most prolific writers of the mid-Northern Song, and among the many works he authored the *Chunming tuichao lu* 春明退朝錄 and the *Tang dazhao lingji* 大唐詔令集 stand out as sources for the Song and Tang administrations, respectively (Wang Cheng 1979, 57.841–843; Tuotuo 1977, 291.9736–9737).

³³⁰ Slightly different and more detailed versions of Song Minqiu’s suggestion are contained in Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.3 (2756)) and in Li Tao 2004 (228.5540–5541).

³³¹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 271–272.

2.19

In the fourth year of the Zhenghe era (1114) the officials, who had been tasked with re-arranging and inspecting [the holdings of] the Palace Library, reported: “Books on loan from the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive and never returned since the fourth year of the Chongning era (1105) number 4,328 volumes and scrolls, and they have been missing for a long time.”³³² An imperial decree ordered that in the future officials in the Library were to call back all books on loan. Moreover, the decree made clear that the Department’s (Library) directors and assistant directors should outline regulations for lending books, and thus limit the time for recovering them.

At that time the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive had holdings of 33,149 volumes and scrolls and that was all.³³³

At the start of the Xuanhe era (1119–1124) officials, who were supervising the Palace Library, suggested the establishment of an Office for the Supplementing and Completing of Previous Imperial Book Collections in the Palace Library and to search thoroughly for books in the empire to facilitate revisions.

Eighteen Attendant Officials were appointed as Consultant Officials, other officials were appointed Proofreaders; and then there were several *jinshi* who even though they held no position acted as Editorial Examiners. After one year, all of them were ordered to be made officials. This had not been finished yet, when many events occurred in the state.³³⁴

2.20

In the seventh month of the fifth year of the Chunhua era (August/September 994), on imperial order select officials were to separately revise the *Shiji* 史記, and the *Qian* and *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書. Du Hao, Vice Director in the Bureau of Forestry and Craft, Examining Editor in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature and concurrent Subeditor in the Imperial Archive; Shu Ya 舒雅 (before

³³² Zhang Fuxiang suggests that this statement may have been borrowed from a memorial preserved in Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.15 (2762)). For restrictions on book lending practices in the Southern Song he refers to an imperial decree from 1131 as well as another from 1157 that restricted access to books (Chen Kui 1998, 3.21 and 3.22).

³³³ Assuming that this number represents the total number of books registered, more than 10% of the book holdings had gone missing.

³³⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 275–276. The “events” most likely refer to the war with the Jin starting in 1125. For more detailed information on the contents of these last two paragraphs see Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.12–13 (2236)).

940–1009)³³⁵, Vice Director in the State Farms Bureau and Subeditor in the Imperial Archive; Wu Shu 吳淑 (947–1002)³³⁶, Vice Director in the Criminal Administration Bureau and Subeditor in the Imperial Archive; and Pan Shenxiu 潘慎修 (937–1005)³³⁷, Director of the Catering Bureau provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive, revised the *Shiji*. Zhu Ang, Director of the Tax Bureau provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive, again revised their work. Moreover, Chen Chong 陳充 (944–1013)³³⁸, Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices provisionally assigned to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature; Ruan Sidao 阮思道³³⁹, Erudite of the National University and Examining Editor of the Historiography Institute; Yin Shaolian 尹少連, Assistant Editorial Director provisionally assigned to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature; Zhao Kuang 趙況³⁴⁰, Assistant Editorial Director provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute; Zhao Anren 趙安仁 (958–1018)³⁴¹, Assistant Editorial Director provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; and Sun He 孫何 (961–1004)³⁴², Supervisor of the Directorate of the Palace Buildings provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, were ordered to revise the *Qian* and *Hou Hanshu*. When the work was finished, Pei Yu, a

³³⁵ Shu Ya was a disciple of the famous Han Xizai 韓熙載 (901–970). Later on, he left the administration to follow the lifestyle of a daoist (Kurz 2003, 84–86, Kurz 2011a).

³³⁶ Wu Shu was one of the most prolific authors of the late tenth century. Among his patrons was Han Xizai, and his father-in-law was Xu Xuan (Kurz 2003, 80–84).

³³⁷ Pan Shenxiu who hailed from Putian in Fujian had started his bureaucratic career under Li Yu 李煜 (926–978, r. 961–976), the last ruler of the Southern Tang. After the conquest of the Southern Tang by the Song in 976, Pan gained the favour of emperor Taizong through his mastering of *weiqi* 圍棋 (Tuotuo 1977, 296.9874–9875).

³³⁸ Chen Chong, a native of Chengdu in Sichuan, graduated as a *jinshi* during the Yongxi era (984–987) (Tuotuo 1977, 441.13039–13040).

³³⁹ Ruan Sidao was one of the compilers of the *Taiping yulan* listed in the compilation order dating from spring 977 (Wang Yinglin 1992, 54.40a–41b (453); Kurz 2003, 87). Wang Yinglin quotes from the *Taizong shilu*, but this entry is not found in the fragments of the *Taizong shilu* surviving today.

³⁴⁰ We find Zhao as member of a group of officials asking the new emperor Zhenzong to reinstate Qian Xi 錢熙 (953–1000) who had been dismissed previously (Tuotuo 1977, 440.13038). The *Songshi* does not provide any more information about him or his career.

³⁴¹ Interestingly, Zhao Anren's family possessed the last surviving copy of the *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔, an encyclopedia dating back to the Sui dynasty. By imperial order the family was permitted to hand over the copy to the palace library (Tuotuo 1977, 287.9659).

³⁴² Sun He, *jinshi* of 992, went on to become an Assistant Director of the Palace Library, shortly after he had been assigned to the Historiography Institute (Tuotuo 1977, 306.10097–10100).

Eunuch Palace Attendant, was dispatched to deliver the books to Hangzhou to have them engraved on printing blocks.³⁴³

2.21

In the tenth month of the third year of the Xianping era (October/November 1000), an imperial decree was issued for the selection of officials to proofread the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, *Jinshu* 晉書, and *Tangshu* 唐書. Huang Yijian, Vice Director of the Court of Imperial Entertainments provisionally assigned to the Imperial Library; Qian Weiyan 錢惟演 (962–1034)³⁴⁴, Vice Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive; Liu Mengsou 劉蒙叟³⁴⁵, Bureau Director in the Criminal Administration Bureau provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute; Du Hao, Vice Director in the Bureau of Equipment, Examining Editor in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature, provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive; Song Gao 宋臯³⁴⁶, Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; and Qi Lun, Assistant Editorial Director and Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, were ordered to revise the *Sanguo zhi*.

Hao and Lun were ordered to carefully examine the work once more with Dong Yuanxiang 董元亨³⁴⁷, Vice Director in the Bureau of Forestry and Craft and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute, and Liu Kai 劉錡³⁴⁸, Assistant Director of the Palace Library provisionally assigned to Historiography Institute.

Xu Gun 許袞 (949–1005), Vice Director in the Ministry of War provisionally assigned to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature, and Chen Chong,

³⁴³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 281. Cf. the parallel entry in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.1, *kanshu* 勘書 (2230)).

³⁴⁴ Qian Weiyan was a son of the last ruler of Wuyue. He started his career in the military, but after an examination by the Institute of Academicians he became a civil official. After he had submitted the *Xianping shengzheng lu* 咸平聖政錄 that dealt with events of the Xianping era of Zhenzong’s reign, he was transferred to the Imperial Archive (Kurz 2003, 192–193). Also see Franke 1976 (219–221), and Nienhauser 1985 (279–280).

³⁴⁵ Liu Mengsou received the *jinshi*-degree in 967 (Tuotuo 1977, 263.9101–9102).

³⁴⁶ Song Gao was the father of the more prominent Song Shou. The biographies of his son in which he is briefly mentioned do not record the post he is identified with in this entry.

³⁴⁷ Dong Yuanxiang was assigned to the Historiography Institute in 991 (Tuotuo 1977, 271.9298).

³⁴⁸ Liu Kai received the *jinshi*-degree in 999 (Tuotuo 1977, 276.9389).

Vice Director in the Ministry of Justice provisionally assigned to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature, were to revise the *Jinshu*, and Huang Yijian was to participate in this, whereas Hao, Lun, and Kai had to carefully examine the work [as they had done] before.

An Deyu, Director of the Treasury Bureau provisionally assigned to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature; Ju Zhongzheng, Director of the State Farms Bureau provisionally assigned to Institute for the Glorification of Literature; Fan Yiyong 范貽永³⁴⁹, Vice Director in the Bureau of Receptions provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Wang Xiyi 王希逸³⁵⁰, Assistant Director of the Palace Administration provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute; and Dong Yuanxiang and Liu Kai were to jointly collate the *Tangshu*.

Liu Chenggui³⁵¹, Commissioner of Palace Halls and Parks, looked after this enterprise, while Liu Chongchao, Palace Attendant, assisted him.

In the fifth year [of the Xianping era (1002)] the revision was complete, [the texts] were sent to the Directorate of Education to be engraved on printing blocks, and the collators were given rewards of silver and silk according to rank. [Liu] Kai was especially rewarded with a red fish pouch (*feiyudai* 緋魚袋).³⁵²

In the ninth month of the fourth year [of the Xianping era (September/October 1001)] Xing Bing 邢昺 (932–1010)³⁵³, Hanlin-Academician Reader-in-Waiting and Libationer of the Directorate of Education; Du Hao, of the staff of the Imperial Archive; Shu Ya, Subeditor in the Imperial Archive; Li Wei, of the staff

³⁴⁹ Fan Yiyong correctly should be addressed as Fan Yisun 范貽孫, son of Fan Zhi 范質 (911–964). He is referred to in his father's biography with the title mentioned in the text here (Tuotuo 1977, 249.8797).

³⁵⁰ Wang Xiyi was well read in Tang history and was also a bibliophile said to have possessed more than 10,000 *juan* of books. He participated in the compilation of the *Cefu yuangui* (Kurz 2003, 197).

³⁵¹ Liu Chenggui, a eunuch, earned his first merits fighting rebels in Quanzhou in Fujian that had been newly annexed by the Song in 978. He organized the logistics for the Fenyin sacrifices in 1008, and he was a participant in the compilation of both the *Taizong shilu* and the *Cefu yuangui* (Kurz 2003, 203–205).

³⁵² Cf. the parallel entry in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.2, *kanshu* 勘書 (2231)).

³⁵³ Xing Bing was a classical scholar who wrote commentaries to the *Lunyu* 論語, *Xiaojing* 孝經, and *Erya* 爾雅. See Tuotuo (1977, 431.12797–12801) for his biography, and Hervouet (1978, 41, 48, and 54) for his works.

of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Sun Shi 孫奭 (962–1033)³⁵⁴, Expositor-in-waiting of all Princely Establishments; Li Muqing 李慕清³⁵⁵, Assistant Director in the Palace Administration; Wang Huan 王煥 and Liu Shixuan 劉士玄, both Assistant Directors of the Court of Judicial Review; and Cui Woquan 崔倓³⁵⁶, Lecturer in the Directorate of Education, submitted a memorial together with the completely revised [texts] of the *Zhouli* 周禮, *Yili* 儀禮, *Gongyang* [zhuan], *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳, *Xiaojing*, *Lunyu*, *Erya* and the *Qijing shuyi* 七經疏議, comprising altogether 165 *juan*. [The emperor] ordered to print and publish them. He granted [the revising officials] a banquet at the Directorate of Education, and conferred Bing the title Grand Master of Palace Leisure, whereas Hao and the other were all promoted in rank.

In the ninth month of the second year of the Jingde era (October/November 1005) an order was given to Xing Bing, [Hanlin-]Academician Expositor-in-waiting, and the Two Drafting Groups to revise once more the wrong and incorrect characters in the *Shangshu* 尚書, *Lunyu*, *Xiaojing* and *Erya*. The reason for this was that Du Hao and Sun Shi had been ordered by the emperor to edit the works, and had made a report on the omissions and errors in them.³⁵⁷

2.22

During the Xianping era (998–1003) Zhenzong addressed his Grand Councilors: “Taizong very much respected literature and history, but the printed editions of the three histories, I have heard, owing to the inability of the revision officials to carefully examine [the texts], are full of omissions and errors, and thus should undergo another correction.” Consequently, he ordered Chen Yaozuo 陳堯佐 (963–1044)³⁵⁸, Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and

³⁵⁴ Sun Shi was a specialist of the Classics and worked on the compilation of the *Cefu yuangui* (Kurz 2003, 213–214). He was an outspoken critic of the sacrifices at Fenyin in 1011 (Chang 2007, 50–51).

³⁵⁵ Li Muqing is only mentioned in Sun Shi’s biography (Kurz 2003, 166–168).

³⁵⁶ With the exception of Cui Woquan who has short biographies in Wang Cheng 1979 (113.1742) and Tuotuo 1977 (431.12822), no more information is available on the three, probably junior, members of the compilation team.

³⁵⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 282. The text from “In the ninth month of the fourth year ...” until the end forms a separate entry in Cheng Ju 2000b (2.3, 52–53).

³⁵⁸ Chen Yaozuo’s (*jins* of 988) career led him to the position of Grand Councilor under emperor Renzong. Apart from the revision of the *Shiji*, he participated in the compilation of the *Zhenzong shilu* and the *Sanchao shi* 三朝史 (Wang Cheng 1992, 44.664–667; Tuotuo 1977, 284.9581–9584).

provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute; Zhou Qi 周起³⁵⁹, Editorial Director provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute; Sun Jin 孫僅 (969–1017)³⁶⁰, and Ding Xun 丁遜, both Assistant Directors of the Court of Imperial Entertainments provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, to revise the *Shiji* again. When Yaozuo shortly afterwards left the capital to manage Shouzhou 壽州 (in modern Anhui)³⁶¹, and Qi took over as acting Administrative Assistant in the State Finance Commission, Ren Sui 任隨, Assistant Editorial Director provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, assumed responsibility of this matter.

In the first month of the first year of the Jingde era (January/February 1004) the revision was finished, and Sui and the others submitted the revised *Shiji* together with five *juan* of corrected characters to the throne.³⁶² By imperial decree all of them were rewarded with silk according to their rank.

And then Diao Kan 刁衍 (945–1013)³⁶³, Vice Director in the Bureau of Equipment provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive; Chao Jiong, Right Remonstrator provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute; and Ding Xun were ordered to revise the printed editions of the *Qian* and the *Hou Hanshu* again. And [when] Jiong [was appointed] Drafter, Chen Pengnian, Assistant Director of the Palace Library provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, was appointed to join in this task.

In the seventh month of the second year (August/September 1005), Kan and the others reported to the emperor: “Throughout history men of wisdom have striven to annotate the two *Hanshu* and both correct as well as incorrect entries crept into the texts. Their commentaries were distinguished by merits and faults, and phrases did not correspond, names of people became confused.

³⁵⁹ Zhou Qi (*jinshi* of 998) was an able calligrapher and his family possessed a large book collection. Late in his career, around 1022, he was appointed Director of the Palace Library (Wang Cheng 1979, 44.675–676; Tuotuo 1977, 288.9672–9673).

³⁶⁰ Sun Jin, younger brother of Sun He, graduated top of the *jinshi*-class of 998. Near the end of the Dazhong xiangfu (1008–1016) era Sun served as Supervising Secretary (Wang Cheng 1979, 47.713–714; Tuotuo 1977, 306.10100–10101).

³⁶¹ Wang Cheng 1979 (44.664–667) does not mention any posting of Chen’s to Shouzhou. Tuotuo 1977 (284.9582) does so, but does not specify when he left the capital for Shouzhou.

³⁶² Zhang Fuxiang points out the different wording in Jiang Shaoyuan 1982 (31.395) that instead of *kanwu* 刊誤 has *zhawu* 差誤 whereas the *Song huiyao* has *zhawu wenzi* 差務文字 (Xu Song 1992, “chongru” 4.1 (2230)). The latter appears to be incorrect. Cf. Wang Yinglin 1992 (43.19a) who uses *kanwu* as well.

³⁶³ Diao Kan belonged to an influential family of the Southern Tang state. He is best known for his participation in the compilation of the *Cefu yuangui* (Kurcz 2003, 193–195).

There being no common basis, their work was lacking and doubtful. All other scholars therefore consulted a multitude of books, and looked everywhere for all available copies. If one cannot understand (the text), how could one dare to establish (its) wording! Even though we cannot say to have penetrated the text completely, we have achieved a rough understanding without subjective bias. We have corrected 349 (characters) and have verified more than 3,000 characters, that we have recorded in six *juan* which we are submitting.”

Kan and the others were conferred gifts of vessels and bales of silk fabric³⁶⁴ according to rank.³⁶⁵

2.23

On the *dingyou* 丁酉 day of the third month of the first year of the Jingde era (April 5, 1004) Huang Yijian, Vice Director of the Court of Imperial Entertainments provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive, and others submitted 24,162 *juan* of newly written imperial texts that they had proofread. They were given stringed cash and silk according to rank. Liu Yun, Proofreader and former Commandant of Guantao district in Daming fu, and five other men furthermore were appointed as Case Reviewers in the Court of Judicial Review and Subeditors in the Imperial Archive.³⁶⁶

2.24

In the sixth month of the first year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1008) each Grand Councilor was conferred a copy of the *Nanhua zhenjing* 南華真經³⁶⁷, after Du Hao, Examining Editor of the Institute for the Veneration of Literature

³⁶⁴ I am assuming that *qibi* 器幣 is used here in the same sense as *qibo* 器帛 that is also and perhaps interchangeably used throughout the text to refer to gifts of valuable vessels (made from porcelain or metal) and silk fabrics. The original meaning of *bi* is jade objects and silk fabrics (*yubo* 玉帛) according to the commentator Du Yu 杜預 (222–284) (Ruan Yuan 1980, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 6.419).

³⁶⁵ Cheng Ju 2000a, 283–284. Cf. the parallel entry in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.1 (2230)).

³⁶⁶ Cheng Ju 2000a, 284. Cf. the parallel entry in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.3 (2231)). The texts Huang Yijian and his colleagues copied most certainly constituted the collected writings of the Song emperors until this time.

³⁶⁷ This is the title given the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, one of the main texts of Daoism, by the Tang emperor Xuanzong in 742 (Liu Xu 1975, 24.926).

and others had revised it and after it had been carved into woodblocks and printed. In the fourth month of the fifth year (1012), the Institute for the Veneration of Literature submitted the newly printed *Liezi Chongxu zhide zhenjing* 列子冲虚至德真经³⁶⁸, copies of which by imperial decree were conferred upon imperial princes and Grand Councilors.

During the Jingde era, when the Court had been on its way to visit the Imperial Tombs, they had passed by a Liezi-Temple, which by imperial decree was given the name Zhide 至德 (Virtue Achieved), and officials were ordered to revise the [above mentioned] text. Once the printing blocks were completed, the proofreading officials were conferred gold brocade according to rank.

In the second month of the second year [of the Jingde era (1005)] Sun Shi, Expositor-in-waiting of all Princely Establishments and Concurrent Lecturer in the Directorate of Education, said: “There are very many editions of the *Zhuangzi* with commentaries, but only the commentary by Guo Xiang 郭象 (252–312) can really grasp the ideas of Zhuang Sheng 莊生. I am asking to follow the example of the *Daodejing* 道德经, and to employ all officials from the Institutes and the Archive for a revision [of the *Zhuangzi*] and to print it together with the *Zhuangzi shiwen* 莊子释文 in three *juan* compiled by Lu Deming 陸德明 (c. 550–630).” By imperial decree Shi was ordered to revise the work together with Du Hao, Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet and others, just as [Sun] had laid out before. When this was done, people said that the *Erya shiwen* 爾雅释文 printed by the National University was full of errors, and Hao and Shi were ordered to revise it together.

In the fourth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1011), Li Zongze³⁶⁹, Yang Yi, Chen Pengnian and others were ordered to proofread the *Zhuangzi xu* 莊子序. It was printed and circulated. Before all this, the Institute for the Veneration of Literature had revised an edition of the *Zhuangzi*, but since the preface was not the text by Guo Xiang, it had been discarded. Upon this the emperor said that the structure of the text (*wenli* 文理) should be honored, and therefore the order [for the revision] was issued.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ Like the *Zhuangzi*, the *Liezi* 列子 received the new title *Chongxu zhenjing* 冲虚真经 in 742. The insert *zhide* 至德 (supreme virtue) is an addition to the title by emperor Zhenzong in early 1007 (Wang Yinglin 1992, 53.15b).

³⁶⁹ Li Zongze was the third son of Li Fang, and was called to participate in a number of compilations during the early Northern Song period (Wang Cheng 1979, 32.519–521; Tuotuo 1977, 265.9140–9143).

³⁷⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 285. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (2.5, 60).

2.25

The *Wenyuan yinghua* and Li Shan's 李善 (c. 630–689) *Wenxuan* 文選³⁷¹, which had been compiled by officials provisionally assigned to the Three Institutes and the Imperial Library, as well as by Subeditors and Proofreaders, were printed and circulated in the eighth month of the fourth year [of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1011)].³⁷²

2.26

In the twelfth month of the eighth year [of the Dazhong xiangfu era (January/February 1016)] the Military Affairs Commissioner Wang Qinruo on imperial order was to act as Inspector-in-chief of the copying and proofreading of the book collections of the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive, and the Hanlin Academician Chen Pengnian was to assist him. Before this event, on the *bingwu* 丙午 day of the tenth month (December 12, 1015), the Ministry of Personnel had been ordered to select officials with literary knowledge from among the ancillary officials in the provinces and districts to help out with the proofreading of the book collections in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive. Prior to this, the book collections of the Institutes and the Archive had burnt in the summer of that year, and many books were missing again; therefore, an order had been issued to buy and copy books. Consequently, the Ministry of Personnel was directed to take the list of men for the regular examination (*changxuan* 常選), and to first examine them in three tests, each test consisting of 500 characters and more. Those that passed [the tests] were selected. And then they were sent to the Institute of Academicians where they were tested in poetry (*shi* 詩), rhyme-prose (*fu* 賦), and argumentation (*lun* 論). [Those who passed] were ordered to enter the Institutes as Proofreaders, and after altogether three years, they were transferred to be metropolitan officials.

There were also specially appointed Proofreaders. The metropolitan officials, who had been Proofreaders for three years, after reporting to the throne were

³⁷¹ The *Wenxuan* (in 30 *juan*), a literary collection, had been compiled originally by Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531) and had later been annotated by Li Shan (in 60 *juan*). The latter text is the one that was published in print.

³⁷² Cheng Ju 2000a, 285. Cf. Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.3 (2231)).

appointed Subeditors. When Chao Zongque 晁宗愨³⁷³, Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review, was transferred from the post of Proofreader after a total of three years, it was consequently ordered that he was to return to his original post first, and later, after another year, to be given the post of Subeditor. From then onwards all Proofreading Officials received the appointment as Subeditor after four years, and Zongque was the first of these.

About this time Pengnian raised the plea to appoint scholars provisionally assigned to the Institutes, Subeditors and those examined by the Ministry of Personnel as Proofreading Officials. And then an order was issued to the Hanlin-Academicians Chao Jiong, Li Wei, Wang Zeng 王曾 (978–1038)³⁷⁴, Qian Weiyan, the Drafters Sheng Du and Chen Zhihui 陳知微 (969–1018)³⁷⁵, to submit the name of one official each from the Institutes and the Archives as well as the metropolitan bureaucracy who were diligent scholars of literature, to be appointed as Revising Proofreading Officials.

Jiong and the others for these positions selected Song Shou, Exhorter to the Left and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Xu Shi 徐奭, Editorial Director provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Ma Wenqi 麻溫其³⁷⁶, Companion of the Heir Apparent provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Yan Shu, Editorial Director and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; and Feng Yuan 馮元 (975–1037)³⁷⁷, Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review and Examining Editor of the Institute for the Veneration of Literature. When all the Proofreading Officials had completed the proofreading, [the texts] were transferred to the Revising Proofreading Officials for further proofreading. When they were done, [the texts] were

³⁷³ Chao was the son of Chao Jiong and entered official service due to the *yin*-privilege as an Editor in the Palace Library (Wang Cheng 1979, 46.693–694; Tuotuo 1977, 305.10087–10088).

³⁷⁴ Wang Zeng had an impressive career that led him to the post of Grand Councilor (Wang Cheng 1979, 51.759–764; Tuotuo 1977, 310.10182–10186). For Wang and his role in court politics during emperor Renzong's reign, see Twitchett and Smith (2009, 280–283).

³⁷⁵ Chen Zhihui received the *jinshi*-degree in 1002 (Tuotuo 1977, 307.10135–10136).

³⁷⁶ Xu Shi most probably is wrong for Sun Shi who is named in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.5 (2231)). However, a Xu Shi appears twice in the *Songshi*, as a metropolitan examiner for the *jinshi*-examination together with Ma Wenqi after 1005, as well as Fiscal Commissioner of the Liang Zhe Circuit (Tuotuo 1977, 288.9683 and 301.10000, respectively). Li Tao also refers to Xu Shi (see below). Ma Wenqi is only mentioned in the first *Songshi* entry above.

³⁷⁷ Feng Yuan (*jinshi* of 1008), a native of Guangdong, was an expert in the Five Classics (Wang Cheng 1979, 46.700–701; Tuotuo 1977, 294.9821–9823).

transferred to the principal directors of the Institutes and the Archive to be inspected and revised. One or two officials were selected once more from the Two Drafting Groups as Revising Inspecting Officials, who as soon as the principal directors had finished their inspection and revision, inspected [the texts] again. For all [these checks] progress reports of the achievements and lapses examined were produced.³⁷⁸

2.27

In the third month of the ninth year (April/May 1016) Wang Qinruo was conferred the title of Acting Grand Preceptor; and Zhang Fu 張復³⁷⁹, Director in the Ministry of War provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, and Qi Wei 祁暉,³⁸⁰ Vice Director of the Bureau of Sacrifices provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, were promoted in rank; Qian Yi 錢易³⁸¹, Vice Director in the Revenue Section provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and Shen Yong, Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, were conferred the purple fish pouch.

The reason for the rewards was that all of them had participated in the collation of the *Daozang* 道藏.³⁸² On the same day they were given an imperial banquet in the Rear Garden of [the imperial palace] for an appraisal of flowers (*shanghua* 賞花). The emperor thus composed a five-syllable poem (*wu yan shi*

³⁷⁸ Cheng Ju 2000a, 286–287. Cf. the almost identical entry in the commentary in Li Tao 2004 (85.1961) and Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.4–5 (2231)).

³⁷⁹ In 1014 Zhang Fu was dismissed for careless work from his post as Manager of the Imperial Diary, but he was reinstated the following year (Tuotuo 1977, 441.13065).

³⁸⁰ Qi Wei was a *jinshi* of the examinations of the year 1000 (Tuotuo 1977, 456.13398).

³⁸¹ Qian Yi, a member of the former royal family of Wuyue, took the *jinshi*-examination at the start of Zhenzong’s reign in 997 or 998, but failed. Upon his second attempt in 999, he passed. He excelled in the cursive style of calligraphy and in landscape painting, and was a very active writer as well (Wang Cheng 1979, 48.726–727; Tuotuo 1977, 317.10343–10345).

³⁸² Work on the early *Daozang*, the collection of Daoist scriptures and texts, was begun during the last years of emperor Taizong’s reign and resulted in a collection of 3,737 *juan*. Wang Qinruo and his colleagues had re-examined the texts starting in 1009, added 622 *juan* of texts, and compiled a catalogue for the text collection (4,359 *juan*) entitled *Baowen tonglu* 寶文通錄 (Li Tao 2004, 86.1975–1976; Kurz 2003, 159–161). This must be the occasion for celebration described here.

五言詩), and the attending officials composed a rhapsody.³⁸³ Then they had an archery contest (*touhu* 投壺)³⁸⁴ at the Taiqing Pavilion.³⁸⁵

2.28

In the sixth month of the second year of the Tiansheng era (July/August 1024) Zhang Guan 張觀³⁸⁶, Right Exhorter provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute; Wang Zhi 王質 (1001–1045)³⁸⁷ and Chao Zongque, Erudites of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Subeditors in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Chen Gu 陳誥³⁸⁸, Subeditor in the Imperial Archive; Li Shu, Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Entertainments and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Peng Cheng, Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive; and Gongsun Jue 公孫覺, Lecturer in the Directorate of Education on imperial orders were to proofread the *Nanbeishi* 南北史 and the *Suishu* 隋書.³⁸⁹ Consequently, Song Shou, Director in the Left Office and Drafter, and Liu

383 Five refers to the number of syllables per line. On Song poetry see Fuller 2017, especially pp. 351–399.

384 *Touhu* (“pitch-pot”) refers to a drinking game that was popular until Song times in which participants threw darts or sticks from a distance into a container. For more on this game see Montell 1940.

385 Cheng Ju 2000a, 288. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (2.8, 64).

386 If this is the same Zhang Guan who was mentioned above already, he would have been quite old at the time of the revision of the historical works.

387 A member of an influential and wealthy family, Wang Zhi first entered official service on the basis of the *yin*-privilege, and then passed the *jinshi*-examination. Yang Yi, his teacher, was very impressed by the talented young man. Wang is said to have not cared much for the management of the family’s finances and being a bibliophile spent a lot of money on the purchase of old books (Tuotuo 1977, 269.9244–9245).

388 Chen Gu in 1025 was joint manager of the Ritual Academy (Tuotuo 1977, 103.2520). Before this, he had served as District Magistrate (Tuotuo 1977, 284.9583).

389 The information on the team is repeated in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.6 (2233)).

Ye 劉燾 (968–1029)³⁹⁰, Vice Director in the Ministry of Personnel and Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet, received the order to supervise them.³⁹¹

2.29

In the sixth month of the third year of the Tiansheng era (June/July 1025), Chen Congyi 陳從易 (?-1031)³⁹², Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive and Vice Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices provisionally assigned to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature, was by imperial decree demoted to a provisional assignment in the Historiography Institute, while Nie Guanqing 聶冠卿 (988–1042)³⁹³, Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, as well as Li Zhaogou 李昭邁³⁹⁴, Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Entertainments and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, were both dismissed from their posts. The reason for this was that they had been accused of negligence when collating books in the Taiqing Pavilion.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁰ Liu Ye (*jinsi* of 998) has biographies in Wang Cheng 1979 (30.497–499) and Tuotuo 1977 (262.9074–9075). His biography in the *Songshi* emphasized the fact that many old prestigious families declined during the tumultuous last decades of the Tang and the period of the Five Dynasties, but that Liu's family starting from the Northern Qi (550–577) successfully managed for twelve generations to enter their members into the bureaucracy.

³⁹¹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 288. Cf. Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 4.6 (2233)) and Jiang Shaoyu 1982 (31.396).

³⁹² Chen Congyi was a native of Fujian. During a rebellion in Sichuan Chen became notorious for executing all rebels that he caught and this earned him the recommendation of Wang Qinruo. He consequently worked in the Institutes and the Archive as well as in the Court of Judicial Review (Kurz 2003, 205–206).

³⁹³ Nie Guanqing, a southerner from Shexian in Anhui whose grandfather had served the state of Wu, had received his *jinsi*-degree in 1012. He was recommended for service by Yang Yi and upon passing an examination by the Court of Academicians, started his career in the Institutes and the Archive as a Proofreader. Nie was an Assistant Director of the Court of Judicial Review; he was given the position as Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices after he had been recalled to office following his dismissal (Tuotuo 1977, 294.9819–9820).

³⁹⁴ Similar to Nie Guanqing, Li owed his initial employment to Yang Yi, who was impressed by Li's literary talents (Tuotuo 1977, 265.9144–9145). The *Songshi* does not record his appointment in the Court of Imperial Entertainments.

³⁹⁵ Cheng Ju 2000a, 289. The dismissal of the three officials was due to their work on the *Shidai xingwang lun* 十代興亡論. In the *Song huiyao* (Xu Song 1997, “chongru” 4.6

2.30

In the ninth month of the second year of the Jing you era (October/November 1035) by imperial order³⁹⁶ the Hanlin-Academician Zhang Guan and others were to examine and revise the *Qian* and *Hou Hanshu* as well as the *Mengzi* 孟子, and publish [the revised texts] through the Directorate of Education. People talking about [this matter] thought that in past dynasties the Classics and Histories all had been hand-written on paper, and though they contained mistakes, they could still be consulted for collating [new texts]. In the Five Dynasties period officials started to use inked wood blocks to print the Six Classics,³⁹⁷ in the hope to establish definitive texts and characters, and thus to make scholars less suspicious of texts. Since the reign of Taizong, moreover, all the historical works of Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145–90 BCE; author of the *Shiji*), Ban Gu (d. 90 CE; author of the *Qian Hanshu*), and Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445 CE; author of the *Hou Hanshu*) had been printed³⁹⁸, and all of them circulated with the [print edition of] the Six Classics, and consequently existing hand written copies were

(2233)) depiction of this episode books from the Taiqing Pavilion were copied to provide for the holdings of the Institutes and the Archive. When the books were returned many of them were damaged and thus the emperor ordered to keep them in the Institutes and the Archive, whereas new copies were made for the Taiqing Pavilion. The emperor when inspecting the Taiqing Pavilion happened to find a large number of erroneous passages and mistakes in the *Shidai xingwang lun*, and consequently penalized Chen, Nie, and Li. In Li Tao's (2004, 103.2382) version Chen and his colleagues had been specifically ordered to revise the *Shidai xingwang lun*, and the emperor checking on the work, found it to be lacking in quality and hence had the officials dismissed. The painting that serves as cover for this book, the "Taiqing guan shu" 太清觀書 (Inspecting books at the Taiqing Pavilion) from a handscroll that includes four scenes and thus titled "Jingde si tu" 景德四圖 (usually translated "Four events of the Jingde era", but actually referring to "Four depictions (of events) of the Jingde era") from the middle of the eleventh century shows emperor Zhenzong perusing what could be the catalogue of the holdings of the repository during the Jingde era (1004–1007). Murray 2007 (77) suggests that the handscroll was part of a larger project entitled *Sanchao xunjian tu* 三朝訓鑿圖 (10 jian, no longer extant) commissioned by Renzong in 1048 and, as the title suggests, dealing with events under his three predecessors. For more on the "Taiqing guan shu" painting and the Taiqing Pavilion see Liu 1999.

³⁹⁶ Li Tao 2004 (117.2755) records the imperial order under the *renchen* 壬辰 day of the ninth month (October 15).

³⁹⁷ This is a reference to the printing project of the Confucian classics initiated by Feng Dao 馮道 (882–954) and brought to conclusion in 953.

³⁹⁸ The *Taizong shilu* give the date October 14, 996, (*dingmao* 丁卯 day, eighth month, second year of the Zhidao era) for the submission of the printed *Shiji* by the Historiography Institute to the throne (Qian Ruoshui 2005, 78.190).

no longer used. However, the inked wood blocks were faulty and when they were first published these mistakes were not corrected, and later on scholars did not have any other editions to review them.

It happened that Yu Jing, Assistant Director of the Palace Library suggested that the official edition of the *Qian Hanshu* was imperfect, and he asked to revise it. Consequently, an imperial decree ordered Jing and Wang Zhu 王洙 (997–1057)³⁹⁹ to take all the old copies [of the *Qian Hanshu*] out of the Imperial Archive and check them against [the printed work]. After more than a year, they submitted a *Hanshu kanwu* 漢書刊誤 in thirty *juan* to the throne.⁴⁰⁰ Thereupon, the old printing blocks were changed to follow the newly revised text. However, even this was not enough to eradicate [all mistakes], and the histories by Sima Qian and Fan Ye were full of omissions, and regrettably, no old copies could be consulted to revise them and correct their errors, so they said.⁴⁰¹

In the following year (1036), Yu Jing, Proofreader of the *Shiji* and the [two] *Hanshu* and Assistant Director of the Palace Library, was made Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and Wang Zhu, Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review⁴⁰² and Lecturer in the Directorate of Education, was appointed Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute, while the Hanlin-Academician Zhang Guan, and the Drafters Li Shu and Song Jiao, who had served as Editors, were conferred gifts of vessels and bales of silk fabric according to rank.⁴⁰³

399 Wang Zhu possessed broad historical knowledge. Apart from his work on the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*, he also participated in the compilation of the *Chongwen zongmu* (see below) and the *Guochao huiyao* 國朝會要 (Tuotuo 1977, 294.9814–9816).

400 The monograph on bibliography in the *Songshi* records the title under Yu Jing only (Tuotuo 1977, 203.5085).

401 The concerns of scholars regarding the gap in quality between hand-written and printed texts is mirrored in a statement by Ye Mengde 葉夢德 (1077–1148) translated in Cherniack 1994 (48–149).

402 Wang Zhu's biography in *Songshi* does not record this position, but lists the post of head of the Ritual Academy in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices as well as that of Expositor-in-Waiting of the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations following the submission of the *Hanshu kanwu*.

403 Cheng Ju 2000a, 290. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.11, 70–71).

2.31

On the *yichou* 乙丑 day of the tenth month of the third year of the Jing you era (November 11, 1036) the emperor at the Hall for the Veneration of Governance (Chongzheng dian 崇政殿)⁴⁰⁴ inspected the newly revised books of the two repositories holding the [categories] Philosophers and Belles-Lettres, which amounted to more than 12,000 *juan*. He conferred gifts of vessels and bales of silk fabric on the Proofreaders as well as on the officials concurrently assigned to the task and the scribes according to rank.

On the same day he conferred a banquet at the Institute for the Veneration of Literature on Grand Councilors, officials of the Two Drafting Groups and officials from the Institutes and the Archive.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁴ This was a section of the Hanlin-Academy (Hucker 1988, 1645).

⁴⁰⁵ Cheng Ju 2000a, 290. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.12, 73).

3 Editing *xiuzuan* 修纂

3.1

In the ninth month of the seventh year of the Taiping xingguo era (982) imperial orders were sent to Li Fang⁴⁰⁶, Hanlin-Academician Recipient of Edicts; Hu Meng 扈蒙 (915–986)⁴⁰⁷, Hanlin-Academician; Xu Xuan, Supervising Secretary provisionally assigned to the Institute of Academicians; Song Bai, Secretariat Drafter; the Drafters Jia Huangzhong 賈黃中 (941–996)⁴⁰⁸, Lü Mengzheng 呂蒙正 (946–1011)⁴⁰⁹, Li Zhi; Li Mu 李穆 (928–985)⁴¹⁰, Bureau Director in the Bureau of Honours; Yang Huizhi, Vice Director in the Bureau of Provisions; Li

⁴⁰⁶ Li Fang had received his *jinshi*-degree under the Later Han dynasty. As one of the most important officials during the reigns of Taizu and Taizong, he supervised the compilation of the *Taiping yulan* and *Taiping guangji* (Kurz 2003, 63–64).

⁴⁰⁷ Hu Meng, prior to his entering the service of the Song had compiled the *Zhou Shizong shilu* 周世宗實錄 (Veritable Records of Emperor Shizong of the Zhou). He was involved in the revision of the set of official rites as well which in 974 was first circulated as the *Kaibao tongli* 開寶通禮 (Kurz 2003, 65–67).

⁴⁰⁸ Jia Huangzhong apart from his participation in the *Wenyuan yinghua* project is also known for his supervision of the compilation of the *Shenyi pujiufang* 神醫普救方, a collection of medical recipes ordered by Taizong (Kurz 2003, 107–109). For more on the *Shenyi pujiufang* see Kurz 2003 (163–164) and Fan Jiawei 2014 (9–57).

⁴⁰⁹ Lü Mengzheng passed the *jinshi*-examination in 977 as the top candidate. He had been appointed Drafter in 980 (Kurz 2003, 110–111).

⁴¹⁰ Li Mu (*jinshi* of 954) came from Kaifeng. As an envoy to the Southern Tang, he in vain encouraged Li Yu, the last ruler of that state, to surrender to the Song (Kurz 2003, 67–68).

Fan 李範⁴¹¹, Investigating Censor; Yang Li 楊礪 (931–999)⁴¹², Assistant Director of the Palace Library; the Assistant Editorial Directors Wu Shu, Lü Wenzhong 呂文仲⁴¹³, and Hu Ting 胡汀; Zhan Yiqing 戰貽慶⁴¹⁴, Assistant Editorial Director provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute; Du Hao, Assistant Director of the Directorate of Education; and Shu Ya, Assistant Director of the Directorate for the Palace Buildings. They were to peruse the literary collections of previous dynasties, select their essentials, and arrange them in categories, to produce the *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (Commentary: Afterwards Li Fang, Hu Meng, Lü Mengzheng, Li Zhi, Li Mu, Li Fan, Yang Li, Wu Shu, Lü Wenzhong, Hu Ting, Dai Yiqing 戴貽慶, Du Hao and Shu Ya all were transferred to look after other tasks, and by another order Su Yijian 蘇易簡 (958–996)⁴¹⁵, Hanlin-Academician; Wang You 王祐 (924–987)⁴¹⁶, Secretariat Drafter; and the Drafters Fan Gao 范杲⁴¹⁷ and Song Shi 宋湜 (950–1000)⁴¹⁸, together with Song Bai were to finish the work.)

411 In 983 Li Fan was one of the examination supervisors in the capital, and in the following year he was sent to the southern regions as a judicial investigator (Kurz 2003, 116).

412 Yang Li's father had moved to Sichuan from Chang'an during the early tenth century where he entered service under the Former Shu. Yang passed the *jinshi*-examination during the Jianlong era (960–962), and in 976 travelled to Kaifeng where he was examined again by the Institute of Academicians. After passing the examination he was accepted into the service of the Song (Kurz 2003, 116–117).

413 Lü Wenzhong, a native of Shexian in Anhui, had received the *jinshi*-degree under the Southern Tang and entered Song service immediately after the surrender of the Southern Tang in early 976 (Kurz 2003, 86–87).

414 Zhan Yiqing is often referred to as Dai Yiqing. See below.

415 Su Yijian (*jinshi* of 980), a native of Sichuan, possessed great knowledge in literature and calligraphy (Kurz 2003, 119–120).

416 Wang You who started his official career under the Later Han was employed in various posts by the Song. One of his last appointments which he had to reject because of illness was that of magistrate of the Song capital Kaifeng (Kurz 2003, 120–121).

417 Fan Gao, a nephew of the much better-known Fan Zhi, was an expert in literary studies. He was not given permission to compete in the *jinshi*-examination on account of his family's status. His *Songshi* biography is rather dismissive of Fan because he never managed to straighten his finances (Kurz 2003, 121–123).

418 Song Shi was awarded the *jinshi*-degree in 980 and after serving in Sichuan became attached to the retinue of the crown prince. In 995 Song was made Hanlin-Academician and during Zhenzong's reign he was head of the Imperial Chancellery and deputy head of the Bureau of Military Affairs. He died during Zhenzong's campaign against the Liao in 1000 (Kurz 2003, 123–125).

In the third year of the Yongxi era (986) the work was submitted to the throne, comprising a total of 1,000 *juan*.⁴¹⁹

3.2

In the tenth month of the third year of the Xianping era (1000) Song Bai, a Hanlin-Academician Recipient of Edicts, and Li Zongze, an Imperial Diary Drafter and Drafter, were ordered to compile the *Xu tongdian*.⁴²⁰

Shu Ya, a Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, Li Wei, Shi Zhongli, and Wang Sui 王隨, who were all provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, were appointed Junior Compilers and Du Hao, from the staff of the Imperial Archive, was made Examining Editing Official for this enterprise. The work was finished in the ninth month of the fourth year comprising two hundred *juan* and it was submitted to the throne. On imperial orders it was transferred to the Imperial Archive. Consequently, a banquet was granted [to the compilers] to reward them, and they were given vessels and bales of silk fabric according to their rank.

Before these events, during the Chunhua reign, Taizong had ordered Su Yijian, a Hanlin-Academician, and scholars from the Three Institutes to collate this work, but it so happened that Yijian and the others each had to attend to other duties, and as a result this work was stopped. After this, the new order to complete it was issued.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 293. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.1, 47). Cf. also the parallel entry in Xu Song 1997 (“chongru” 5.1 (2247)).

⁴²⁰ The original *Tongdian* by Du You generally dealt with government institutions, but it also serves as an early source for the history of Southeast Asia. The early Song *Xu tongdian*, as a continuation of the earlier text, followed probably its structure. This *Xu tongdian* is not to be confused with the book of the same title compiled on imperial order in the Qing dynasty (completed in 1782) and officially referred to as the *Qinding Xu tongdian* 欽定續通典.

⁴²¹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 294. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.2, 51). Cf. also the entry on the *Xu tongdian* in Wang Yinglin 1992 (51.40b-41a (385)). Wang Yinglin, instead of Wang Sui, added Ren Sui to the list of officials involved in the compilation. Ren Sui appears to be correct given that he was also involved in the revision of the *Shiji* (see 2.22).

3.3

In the ninth month of the second year of the Jingde era (October 1005) an order to compile the *Lidai junchen shiji* 歷代君臣事跡 (Records of Relations Between Rulers and Officials in Past Dynasties) reached Wang Qinruo, Vice Director of the Ministry of Justice and Academician in the Hall for Aid in Governance, and Yang Yi, Remonstrator to the Right and Drafter. Qinruo submitted a memorial, in which he requested the [following officials] as joint compilers: Qian Weiyan, Vice Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud and Provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive; Du Hao, Director of the Criminal Administration Bureau, Auxiliary Academician in the Imperial Archive and Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet; Diao Kan, Vice Director in the Bureau of Equipment and Auxiliary Academician in the Imperial Archive; Li Wei, Vice Director in the Ministry of Revenue provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Qi Lun, Exhorter to the Right, Subeditor in the Imperial Archive and Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet; Wang Xiyi, Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and provisionally assigned to the Institute of Historiography; Chen Pengnian and Jiang Yu 姜嶼⁴²², Assistant Directors of the Palace Library provisionally assigned to the Institute of Historiography; Song Yixu 宋貽序⁴²³, Grand Master Admonisher to the Right; Chen Yue 陳越 (973–1012), Assistant Editorial Director provisionally assigned to the Institute of Historiography.

At the outset Weiyan and the others each were ordered to draft tables of contents, which they submitted to Qinruo [and Yi]⁴²⁴ for close inspection. Qinruo [and Yi] [on this basis] established [the structure] for the compilation and submitted it to the emperor. Consequently, what had been outlined by Qinruo [and Yi], was laid down. Those parts that they had not yet finished completely they were ordered to supplement.

Furthermore Liu Chenggui, Commissioner of Palace Halls and Parks, Prefect of Tengzhou 滕州 (in modern Shandong) and concurrent Manager of the Capital Security Office, as well as Liu Chongchao, Eunuch of High Rank and con-

⁴²² Jiang Yu is attributed authorship of a text entitled *Mingyue fengwu zhi* 明越風物志 in the section on geographical works in the relevant monograph in the *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 204.5153).

⁴²³ Song Yixu was the oldest son of high-ranking official Song Qi 宋琪 (917–996) (see Franke 1976, 980–982). He has but a very short biographical entry in Tuotuo 1977 (264.9131–9132).

⁴²⁴ The reading “and Yi” for “others” (*deng* 等) is based on the parallel version of the text in Wang Yinglin 1992 (54.42a (454)).

current Supervisor of the Collections in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive, were ordered to take charge of the compilers.

Those among the compiling officials who were not palace officials or [members of] the Imperial Diary [Office] and served as court officials, were excused [from their present duties], and those who did not have a post and were not entitled to regular official salary, were specifically given one.

The food and beverages they were treated with were different from those given to the normal ranks.

In the following year (1006) Zhenzong visited the Institute for the Veneration of Literature, to read in the *Lidai junchen shiji*, that was being compiled at that time. Wang Qinruo and Yang Yi presented several *juan* of the rough draft for inspection. After he had scrutinized these, the emperor ordered [Yang] Yi to explain the principles according to which the categories and topics of the compilation had been arranged.

The emperor said: “You and the others have perused a great number of books while compiling this work, and used their merits for expounding [things in detail]. This book has nothing in common at all with the *Taiping yulan* and the *Taiping guangji* that were praised in the past.” Yi replied: “The *Taiping yulan* only reports on past events without differentiating between good and bad. The *Taiping guangji* is but trivial talk and insignificant gossip. That is where these two books differ from the present book.”⁴²⁵

The emperor consequently ordered the compilers to tackle difficult problems exhaustively during the compilation of the work. He personally changed and corrected the sequence of the topics which had not yet been decided upon. And then he said: “We are compiling this book, because We want to emphasize meritorious and good affairs between rulers and officials of preceding dynasties and make them into future norms. Reading this book to inquire about history is also useful for scholars.”⁴²⁶ From that day onwards, two chapters of the draft were submitted daily to the emperor. The emperor read through them carefully and by the next day he inevitably had noted mistakes and announced them. He said:

“The imperial decrees and commands of previous dynasties were all being issued for contemporaneous matters and there certainly were reasons to prepare them. Now that these are gone altogether and as the original circumstances (*yi* 意) are no longer recognizable, we must distinguish between good and evil, and therefore the task consists in examining and verifying. If in the former

⁴²⁵ The negative opinion of the *Taiping yulan* and *Taiping guangji* still reverberates in Haeger’s 1968 critical evaluation published almost a thousand years later as well.

⁴²⁶ Cf. the variant version of this speech in Li Tao 2004 (65.1452).

histories there was an imbalance between praise and blame, by imperial order the [description of] contemporary affairs were changed. At that time the influential ministers used their power at will and they created [the records according] to their likes and dislikes. We are retrospectively inspecting all this, and scrutinizing all available texts, we can distinguish right from wrong.

As to the compilation of books, when they referred to people of high rank, they were completed quickly, and this makes it certainly difficult to [discern] their essential facts.

Towards the end of the Daye era (605–617) there was an abundance of written works, but rarely have they been transmitted, so how is it possible that they are not deeply flawed? With the present book I want to preserve a lesson for rulers and their officials and therefore only the Classics and History, but no heterodox writings and trivial talk at all will be used. Each section (*pian* 篇) will be introduced by a preface, and this shall become the pattern to be employed. The prefaces so far written, all quote the Classics and History, and thus are fully concise, but warnings and exhortations are not comprehensive.

For instance, in the straightforward admonishments (*zhijian* 直諫) category remonstrance should not be held back in regard to the adornments of emperors and kings, for if judgement is not passed with the most fitting words, then our neighbouring states will be in doubt and accept that praise [of excessive adornments] is permissible. When in the regular running of the state accidentally errors occur, and also when emperors wantonly break the law, some people use allegories that lead to an awareness [of these conditions], and that is a laudable act. Rashly revealing [these blunders], blaming them on the ruler, publicizing them for posterity and to portray oneself as straightforward, indeed is not [the comportment of] a loyal official.”

Consequently, he conferred vessels and bales of silk fabric on the compiling officials, and copper cash on the scribes and the others, according to rank.

The original order [for the compilation] had been given to [Wang] Qinruo, [Yang] Yi and others, but abruptly Chen Congyi, an Assistant Director of the Palace Library, as well as Liu Yun, a Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, were recruited.

After [Wang] Xiyi's death⁴²⁷ and [Song] Yixu's demotion⁴²⁸, Zha Dao 查道 (955–1018)⁴²⁹, an Auxiliary Academician in the Institute of Historiography, and Wang Shu 王曙 (963–1034)⁴³⁰, an Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, were selected as collaborators. Again, sometime later, Xia Song, who was provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, was enlisted, and finally Sun Shi, Vice Director in the Bureau of Operations, was ordered to compose the phonetic commentary.

Altogether work on the text spread over a period of nine years and it was completed comprising 1,000 *juan* in the sixth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1013), when it was submitted to the throne. It consisted of thirty-one categories, which all were introduced with a general preface, while each of the 1,104 subcategories also had their own preface. Moreover, there was a table of contents and a phonetic commentary, that also comprised ten *juan* each. The ruler read the work for some time and gave it the title *Cefu yuangui*.⁴³¹

By imperial order Qinruo and the others were conferred [the privilege] to sit [in the presence of the emperor]. Qinruo and the others submitted a memorial asking for an imperial preface; the emperor modestly rejected [this suggestion] three times, [but] when the Grand Councilors asked him once more, he complied.

On the *bingzi* 丙子 day⁴³² an imperial decree conferred an official position on one son each [of the following officials]: Wang Qinruo, Military Affairs Commissioner; Chen Pengnian and Li Wei, Hanlin-Academicians; Du Hao, Academician in the Longtu Cabinet; Qian Weiyao, Drafter in the Imperial Secretariat; Sun Shi and Diao Kan, Edict Attendants in the Longtu Cabinet. Yang Yi, Vice

427 The very short biographical entry on Wang in the *Songshi* does not give an exact date for his death (Tuotuo 1977, 268.9233). It merely mentions that he participated in the compilation of the *Cefu yuangui* and that he was promoted to Vice Director of the Bureau of Sacrifices.

428 Song Yixu's offence is not further specified, but he was given the lowly position of Vice Prefect of Fuzhou 復州 (in modern Hubei) (Tuotuo 1977 (264. 9132)).

429 Zha Dao was the son of a prominent official at the Southern Tang court whose sons all were taken over into the service of the Song (Kurz 2003, 208–210).

430 Wang Shu (*jinshi* of 992) was the son-in-law of Kou Zhun and when the latter was dismissed Wang similarly lost his post in the capital. Back in the capital he was serving the later emperor Renzong, but again was demoted because of irregularities in the examinations. Wang was versed in the canonical scriptures and history and wrote a number of works on these topics (Kurz 2003, 210–212).

431 For more on the compilation process and the personnel involved see Kurz 2003 (171–219).

432 Since no month and no year are given, this date cannot be determined.

Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices was made Director of the Palace Library in the Western Capital (Luoyang) as he had been before. Diao Kan, Bureau Director in the Ministry of Justice and Auxiliary Academician in the Imperial Archive, was made Bureau Director in the Ministry of War. Jiang Yu, Vice Director of the Bureau of Sacrifices and Auxiliary Academician in the Institute of Historiography, was made Vice Director in the Revenue Section. Xia Song, Assistant Director of the Palace Library and Auxiliary Academician in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, was made Exhorter to the Left and as before acted as Assistant Director of the Palace Administration. Liu Yun, Sub-editor in the Imperial Archive, was made Exhorter to the Right and Auxiliary Academician in the Institute of Historiography. All received vessels and bales of silk fabrics according to their rank to reward them for their compilation work.

At the start of the compilation each category was submitted as soon as it was drafted, and the emperor personally inspected it and picked out errors and mistakes. Often, he would write them down in his own hand, and sometimes he would summon [the compilers] for guidance and appraisals. He ordered Liu Chenggui, Commissioner of Palace Halls and Parks, to open a register to record the tasks of the compiling officials and to list [the names of those officials, who] diligently had removed errors in memorials.

The emperor once addressed Wang Qinruo: “The *Junchen shiji* is written using the Classics and [Historical] Records as sources. Recently We found that the category on military commanders only starts with Han Xin 韓信 (d. 196 BCE), a general of the Han dynasty.” Thereupon he produced [a passage from] the *Si(yin)zheng* 嗣(胤)征 [chapter] of the *Shangshu* 尚書 that read: “To guide the six marshals means to be Minister of War”, and yet [other passages] in the *Shijing* such as the *Caiwei* 采薇 and the *Chuche* 出車 which all dealt with matters related to military commanders. As soon as the compilers had been notified in writing, they examined the *Zhengyi* 正義 (Corrected Commentaries) [of the Classics] and used [passages from them] to enter the compilation.

In the tenth month of the second year⁴³³ a letter from the imperial palace was conferred on Wang Qinruo and the others. It read:

“In the *Junchen shiji* categories do not correspond with one another. We order as of today, that Qinruo when he has finished proof reading will sign with his name at the beginning of [each] chapter, and that when Yang Yi has finished his revision, will sign with his name at the end of [each] chapter. The

433 The reign era is not specified here but since the letter is referring to the *Cefu yuangui* by its working title it is fair to assume that it was sent during the Jingde era and hence the probable date would be 1005.

officials trusted with the first compilation and the second revision will likewise sign at the end [of each chapter] in order to avoid modifications to the whole work.”

Apart from the correct Classics and Histories, only the *Guoyu* 國語, *Zhangguo ce* 戰國策, *Hanshi waizhuan* 漢詩外傳, *Lüshi chungqiu* 呂氏春秋, *Guan[zi]* 管子, *Yan[zi]* 燕子, *Han[feizi]* 韓非子, *Huainanzi* 淮南子, and the *Xiuwendian yulan* 修文殿御覽 were used [in the compilation]. Records of women were also recorded in 80 *juan*. [This work] was conferred the title *Tongguan yifan* 彤管懿範.⁴³⁴

3.4

In the first year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1008), when the emperor was about to proceed to Yanzhou 兗州 (in modern Shandong) to perform the *fengshan* 封禪 sacrifices⁴³⁵, Qi Lun, an Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet, asked for an order for the officials compiling local gazetteers (*tujing* 圖經)⁴³⁶, to first compile local gazetteers of the prefectures and districts through which the east-bound imperial procession would pass⁴³⁷ and submit them to the palace, and confer copies of these for examination to the Department of State Affairs, the

⁴³⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 294–297. The corresponding entry in the *jiben* (Cheng Ju 2000b, 2.4, 54–55) adds after the last sentence the following information: “On the *yihai* 乙亥 day of the eighth month of the fourth year of the Jingde era the emperor, having paid a visit to the Shangqing Temple at the Daxiangguo Monastery, stopped by the Institute for the Veneration of Literature, to inspect the *Junchen shiji* that was being compiled there. Wang Qinruo and Yang Yi submitted a draft copy to the emperor, and the emperor took a long time to peruse it. And then he also inspected the charts and books that were contained in the four storehouses. He addressed the councilors: ‘The compilation of books is a difficult matter. Those who talk about it praise the Veritable Records of former reigns even though they have shortcomings.’ Yi came forth and said: ‘When the historiographers write down matters, they faithfully gather all details. When I headed the compilation of the *Taizong shilu* all matters appeared in sequence based on records found in books, and these have been used to write the record.’ The emperor agreed with this and gave each of the compiling officials vessels and bales of silk fabrics according to their rank”. The date of the visit is probably incorrect and should be amended to read on the “*renyin* 壬寅 day” (September 22, 1007) (Tuotuo 1977, 7.134).

⁴³⁵ On the sacrifices to heaven and earth in the early Song period see Fong 1996 and Kuhn 2001 (146–147).

⁴³⁶ On *tujing* in the Northern Song dynasty see Hargett 1996.

⁴³⁷ The itinerary of the imperial procession and the consequent memorial by Qi Lun are contained in Li Tao 2004 (68.1536–1537).

Bureau of Military Affairs, and the Institute for the Veneration of Literature. This suggestion was followed.⁴³⁸

In the fourth year (1011) when the emperor was about to sacrifice [to the God of the Earth (*houtu* 后土)] at Fenyin⁴³⁹, he also ordered [local gazetteers of] the places he would pass through to be compiled by Qian Yi from the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, Chen Yue from the Historiography Institute, Liu Yun, a Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, and Song Shou, a Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies.⁴⁴⁰ When the emperor later proceeded to pay his respects at the Taiqing Temple (*Taiqing gong* 太清宮) (in 1014)⁴⁴¹, he also ordered officials to compile [local gazetteers of] the places he had passed through. Moreover, Yan Shu, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies,⁴⁴² was ordered to join in the compilation.⁴⁴³

3.5

In the twelfth month [of the first year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (December 1008/January 1009)]⁴⁴⁴ Chen Pengnian, Vice Director in the Ministry of Justice provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute and Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet, asked to compile the imperial edicts, memoranda, regula-

⁴³⁸ Zhenzong's religious activities also led to the compilation of a large gazetteer (*tujing*), consisting of 1,566 *juan* in 1010. Wang Yinglin 1992 (14.37–38a) provides more information on this work which is no longer extant, under the heading *Xiangfu zhouxian tujing* 祥符州縣圖經.

⁴³⁹ For more information on this sacrifice see Tuotuo 1977 (104.2534–2537).

⁴⁴⁰ The completed work is addressed as *Xiangfu tuxunlu* 祥符圖訓錄 in Wang Yinglin 1992 (15.38b–39a).

⁴⁴¹ The Taiqing gong was located in Haozhou 亳州 (in modern Anhui), the alleged place of origin of Laozi. In 1013 a delegation from Haozhou consisting of 3,316 men including priests and degree holders, petitioned the emperor to proceed to Haozhou. When the court bureaucracy similarly asked Zhenzong to do so, he agreed to visit the place the following year. The *Songshi* records this under the heading “chaoye Taiqing gong” 朝謁太清宮 (Tuotuo 104.2537–2541). All this has to be seen in the context of Zhenzong's vision of the Song imperial family being descendants of Laozi. The date of Zhenzong's visit was February 24, 1014 (Tuotuo 1977, 8.155). He left Haozhou on March 1, 1014 (Li Tao 1992, 82.1863).

⁴⁴² Yan Shu was given the position of Subeditor in the year 1005, when he was about fourteen years old (Tuotuo 1977, 311.10195).

⁴⁴³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 297.

⁴⁴⁴ The supplemented date comes from Cheng Ju 2000b (2.7, 63).

tions and so forth, [that had been circulated] after the reception of the Heavenly Letters and before the adoption of an imperial honorific title by the emperor (*shang zun hao* 上尊號),⁴⁴⁵ under the title *Dazhong xiangfu fengshan ji* 大中祥符封禪記. On imperial orders, Li Zongze, Hanlin-Academician, Ding Wei, Provisional State Finance Commissioner, Qi Lun, Subeditor in the Imperial Archive and Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet, and Pengnian compiled a record which was delivered to the Five Commissioners (*wushi* 五使)⁴⁴⁶ for inspection.⁴⁴⁷

3.6

In the ninth month of the sixth year [of the Dazhong xiangfu era (September/October 1013)] Shen Congji 慎從吉 (950–1019)⁴⁴⁸, a Provisional Supervisor of the Bureau of Personnel Assignments in the Ministry of Personnel, said the following:

“The Office of Statutes (*geshisi* 格式司; my translation) uses the *Shidao tu* 十道圖⁴⁴⁹ to determine prefectures (*jun* 郡) and districts (*xian* 縣) according to

445 The time span is from the *yichou* 乙丑 day of the first month of the first year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (February 10, 1008) to the *xinhai* 辛亥 day of the sixth month of the same year (July 29), when officials asked the emperor to adopt the title “Chongwen guangwu yitian zundao baoying zhanggan shengming renxiao huangdi” 崇文廣武儀天尊道寶應章感聖明仁孝皇帝 (Tuotuo 1977, 7.135–137).

446 According to Hucker, the Five Commissioners were all assignments for censors (Hucker 1988, 7819). The correct designation is Five Commissioners of the Censorate (*yushitai wushi* 御史台五使) and refers to irregular official assignments (Gong Yanming 1997, 384).

447 Cheng Ju 2000a, 300. Cf. Cheng Ju 2000b (2.7, 63).

448 Shen Congji, a nephew of the last ruler of Wuyue, arrived at the Song court after the surrender of Wuyue in 978. Unemployed for a long time, he was only recalled in 1004 by Zhenzong and then enjoyed a moderate career (Tuotuo 1977, 277.9445–9447).

449 This title may refer to a number of works first compiled during the Tang dynasty, two of which are identified by the year they were compiled in. The *Jiu Tangshu* lists a *Chang'an sinian* (704) *Shidao tu* 長安四年十道圖 in thirteen, and a *Kaiyuan sannian* (715) *Shidao tu* 開元三年十道圖 in ten *juan* (Liu Xu 1975, 46.2016). The *Xin Tangshu* lists these titles as well, but also a *Shidao tu* 十道圖 in ten *juan* by Li Jifu 李吉甫 (758–814) (Ouyang Xiu 1975, 58.1506). In his biography in the *Jiu Tangshu* Li Jifu is credited with a *Guojibu* 國計簿 in ten *juan* that dealt with households, taxes and armed forces registers (Liu Xu 1975, 148.3997). It is not clear if this is the work entitled *Shidao tu* in the *Xin Tangshu* or *Zhenyuan Shidao tu* 貞元十道圖 in the *Taiping huanyuji* (Yue Shi

the *shang* 上, *chi* 赤, *jin* 緊 and *wang* 望 classes.⁴⁵⁰ Justice officials also use this to determine punishments, but each year the numbers of [registered] families vary, and their numbers are never corrected, so that when it comes to grading the families, many mistakes are occurring.

I would like to ask that officials be detached on duty assignment to collect the copies of the *Map of the Ten Provinces* held in the Office of Statutes and the Court of Judicial Review as well as all the maps and treatises (*tujing* 圖經) of the whole empire held by the Institutes and the Archive, to compile a new work to be handed over to and disseminated among all offices for their use.”

An imperial decree ordered Shen Yong and Shao Huan, Subeditors in the Imperial Archive, and Yan Shu, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, to compile [a new work], while the Hanlin-Academician Wang Zeng⁴⁵¹ was to supervise them.⁴⁵²

This revision (*xiangding* 詳定) then was the origin of the *Jiuyu tuzhi* 九域圖志.

In the sixth month of the eighth year of the Xining era (July/August 1075) Liu Shidan 劉師旦, Vice Director in the Criminal Administration Bureau in Department of State Affairs, said: “The *Jiuyutu* is already more than sixty years old. During that time some prefectures and districts have been abolished, others have been established, names and designations have changed, classifications have been upgraded or downgraded, and ancient relics in ordinary places that it reports on cannot be found.”

On imperial orders the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive had to revise the work. Afterwards an order was sent to Zhao Yanruo, an Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly

2007, 120.23940). In August 924 an official of the Later Tang asked the emperor to compile “maps of the ten provinces” (Liu Xu 1975, 32.440). Following the organization of the territory of the Song in 993 into ten provinces, in 1007 an update of the existing *Shidao tu* was ordered, but this revision was never finished.

⁴⁵⁰ These classes of districts were based on their population since the start of the Song in 960. The *shang*-class had a size of 2,000 households and more, the *jin*-class consisted of more than 3,000 households, and the *wang*-class featured more than 4,000 households. *Chi* probably refers to one of the original classes. It may have been listed here incorrectly, since the other classes established in 960 were *zhong* 中 (more than 1,000 households), *zhongxia* 中下 (less than 1,000 households), and *xia* 下 (less than 500 households) (Xu Song 1997, “zhiguan” 11.76 (2660)).

⁴⁵¹ The bibliographical monograph in the *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 204.5153) lists a *Jiuyutu* 九域圖 in three *juan* compiled by Wang Zeng.

⁴⁵² Cf. the parallel entry in Li Tao 2004 (81.1851). The anecdote is dated there to the tenth month of that year. See also Wang Yinglin 1992 (14.35a).

Worthies, and Zeng Zhao 曾肇 (1047–1107)⁴⁵³, District Magistrate of Huojia 獲嘉 District in Weizhou 衛州 Prefecture (in modern Henan) and Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive, too, to delete [passages from] and revise the old text [as necessary], but the Imperial Archive did not establish a separate office for them. Yanruo dismissed the revision, and his advice was followed.

Since the transmitted editions of the old work did not outline the boundaries of territories, it was difficult to refer to it as a map, and thus the title was changed [from *Jiuyu tuzhi* 九域圖志] to *Jiuyuzhi* 九域志.⁴⁵⁴

3.7

In the summer of the fourth year of the Tianxi era (1020), the Hanlin-Academicians Yang Yi, Qian Weiyuan and Sheng Du; Xue Ying 薛暎⁴⁵⁵ and Wang Shu, both Academicians provisionally assigned to the Bureau of Military Affairs; Chen Yaozi 陳堯咨⁴⁵⁶, an Auxiliary Academician in the Longtu Cabinet, the Drafters Liu Yun, Yan Shu and Song Shou; and Li Xingjian 李行簡⁴⁵⁷, an Edict Attendant, asked to bring forth the “Imperial Collection” (*Yuji* 御集) [from its repository], in order to expound its substance (*jian jie qi yi* 箋解其義).

An imperial decree ordered Yi and the others to produce annotations, while the Grand Councilor Kou Zhun was the Consultant-in-Charge, and Li Di, a Participant in Determining Governmental Matters, served as Associate Consultant. [Commentary: Zhun subsequently retired, and the Councilors Ding Wei and Li

⁴⁵³ Zeng Zhao (*jinshi* of 1067) was a native of Jianchang in Jiangxi. His rise in the administration began with the submission of an Account of Conduct (*xingzhuang*) for Zeng Gongliang, which caught the attention of emperor Shenzong. Consequently, Zeng received an appointment as Junior Compiler of the dynastic history, and he subsequently served as Examining Editor for the Veritable Records of Shenzong (*Shenzong shilu* 神宗實錄) (Wang Cheng 1979, 48.721–724; Tuotuo 1977, 319.10392–10396; Franke 1976, 1066–1069).

⁴⁵⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 300–301.

⁴⁵⁵ Xue Ying who hailed from Sichuan was a career official who served the first three Song emperors. His real talents apparently lay in the areas of financial administration (Kurz 2003, 127–129).

⁴⁵⁶ Chen Yaozi (*jinshi* of 1000) was the younger brother of Chen Yaozuo (Tuotuo 1977, 284.9588–9589).

⁴⁵⁷ Li Xingjian had been appointed Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet as well as Director in the Ministry of Justice by Zhenzong (Tuotuo 1977, 301.9991–9992).

Di became Consultants-in-Charge. Later on, Feng Zheng 馮拯⁴⁵⁸ and Cao Liyong 曹利用 (?-1029)⁴⁵⁹ were also called to fill in, and Ren Zhongzheng 任中正⁴⁶⁰ and Wang Zeng, Participants in Determining Governmental Matters, and Qian Weiyan, Deputy Military Affairs Commissioner, were appointed as Associate Consultants. Sheng Du, Xue Ying, and Chen Yaozi, as Commentary Officials successively gave support from outside (the original revision team), and the Drafters Lü Yijian⁴⁶¹, Zu Shiheng 祖士衡⁴⁶², Qian Yi, as well Zhang Shixun, Academician provisionally assigned to the Bureau of Military Affairs, and the Hanlin-Academician Li Ci 李諮 (982–1036)⁴⁶³ were also brought in. Since Yijian subsequently became Magistrate of Kaifeng fu, he retired from the revision team. Shou was sent as an envoy to the Qidan, Yi unexpectedly passed away, and Li Yun similarly left to take up a post outside the capital.]

Twenty-eight officials who were either from the staff of the Three Institutes or were Subeditors served as Editorial Examiners and they completed 150 *juan*.

In the winter of that year, the Secretariat and the Bureau of Military Affairs again asked to revise the *Yuji*, and under the direction of Qian Weiyan and Wang Zeng 300 *juan* were finished. Moreover, they gathered pleasant words and good events from the Records of Current Government (*shizhengji* 時政記), the Imperial Diary (*qijuzhu* 起居注), and Daily Calendars (*rili* 日曆) from the

⁴⁵⁸ Feng Zheng had entered official service upon the recommendation of Grand Councillor Zhao Pu (Wang Cheng 1979, 49.742–744; Tuotuo 1977, 285.9608–9611).

⁴⁵⁹ Cao Liyong had been the Song emissary to the Liao when Zhenzong moved to Shanyuan for the peace negotiations with the Liao empire in 1005 (Wang Cheng 1979, 50.745–748; Tuotuo 1977, 290.9705–9708).

⁴⁶⁰ Ren Zhongzheng passed the *jinshi*-examination with distinction and upon recommendation by Wang Qinruo was appointed Assistant Editorial Director in the Palace Library by Taizong, after he had served outside the capital. In 1010 Ren was promoted to the position by which he is identified here (Wang Cheng 1979, 44.673–674; Tuotuo 1977, 288.9669–9670).

⁴⁶¹ Lü Yijian served three times (1022–1033, 1036–1038, and 1040–43) as Grand Councillor during Renzong's reign (Wang Cheng 1979, 52.771–779; Tuotuo 1977, 311.10206–10210; Franke 1976, 713–719).

⁴⁶² At the start of the Tiansheng era (1023) Zu Shiheng, who because of his erudition had enjoyed the support of Li Zongze and Yang Yi, was removed from the capital and demoted to serve as district magistrate of Jizhou 吉州 (in modern Jiangxi), on account of his close relation to Ding Wei (Tuotuo 1977, 296.9931).

⁴⁶³ Li Ci (*jinshi* of 1005) received the position of Hanlin-Academician by special intervention from Zhenzong (Tuotuo 1977, 292.9753–9755).

Zhidao and Xianping eras up to the ninth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era and produced a *Shengzhengji* 聖政記 in 150 *juan*.⁴⁶⁴

3.8

When the Dynastic History was completed at the end of the Tiansheng era (1023–1031)⁴⁶⁵, work was begun in the History Compilation Office (*xiushiyuan* 修史院) on the continuation of the compilation of the *huiyao*.

In the second year of the Mingdao era (1033), Song Shou, Participant in Determining Governmental Matters, was ordered to check the compilation. In the fourth month of the fourth year of the Qingli era (1044), Zhang Dexiang, Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History, submitted the newly compiled *Guochao huiyao* in 150 *juan*.⁴⁶⁶

Together with Wang Zhu, Junior Compiler, Vice Director in the Ministry of Works, Edict Attendant in the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute concurrently assigned to the Longtu Cabinet, [Zhang Dexiang] was conferred dresses of the third rank.⁴⁶⁷

3.9

In the first month of the second year of the Mingdao era (February/March 1033), the Grand Councilor Lü Yijian and the Military Affairs Vice Commissioner Xia Song submitted the imperially written texts *Sanbao zan* 三寶讚 and *Huang taihou fayuan wen* 皇太后發願文 which they had annotated. Li Shu, Examining Editor, Commentator (*zhushi guan* 註釋官), Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worth-

⁴⁶⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 301–302. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.9, 65–66).

⁴⁶⁵ The compilation of the *Sanchao guoshi* 三朝國史 (History of the (first) three reigns) began in 1027 in the Court of Palace Attendants and later moved to the Secretariat. The compilers submitted the final text in 1030 (Wang Yinglin 1992, 46.57).

⁴⁶⁶ Li Tao 2004 (148.3578) records this under the *jiyou* 己酉 day (May 17). The biography of Zhang Dexiang in Tuotuo 1977 (311.10204–10205) omits his assignment as Chief Compiler, whereas Wang Cheng 1979 (56.829) lists it. The bibliographical monograph of the *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 207.5294) credits him with authorship of the *Guochao huiyao* that covered the period from the start of the dynasty up to 1044. Moreover, he is found as the author of a work entitled *Song liuchao huiyao* 宋六朝會要在 300 *juan*, that was continued by Wang Gui (Tuotuo 1977, 207.5299).

⁴⁶⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 302. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.10, 68–69).

ies, was appointed Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute; Zheng Jian 鄭戢 (992–1053)⁴⁶⁸, Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, was transferred to the Historiography Institute. A son of Lü Yijian and Xia Song each was given an official position. However, Yijian asked to confer his son Gongbi 公弼 (998–1073)⁴⁶⁹, Assistant Director of the Court of Judicial Review, the *jinshi*-degree. This was granted.⁴⁷⁰

3.10

In the twelfth month of the first year of the Qingli era (December 1041/January 1042), the Hanlin-Academician Wang Yaochen and others submitted the newly compiled *Chongwen yuan zongmu* 崇文院總目 in sixty *juan* to the throne.⁴⁷¹ During the Jing you era (1034–1037) some of the books in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive were defective and some were surplus copies, while others were incomplete and therefore officials were ordered to determine which books were to be kept and which ones were to be discarded, following the model of the *Kaiyuan sibu lu* 開元四部錄, and thus a general catalog was compiled and submitted to the throne.

On the *gengyin* 庚寅 day [of the twelfth month of the first year of the Qingli era] (January 9, 1042) it was ordered that the following officials who had compiled the general catalogue were all promoted one rank and given grain and

⁴⁶⁸ Zheng Jian (*jinshi* of 1025), a native of Wuxian 吳縣 (in modern Zhejiang), after he had returned from a tour as Controller-general of Yuezhou 越州 (in modern Zhejiang), was appointed joint manager of the Ritual Academy in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, which is similar to the position he is identified with here. He had held the position of Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies already prior to his departure from the capital. Upon his return he participated in the compilation of the commentary for the *Fayuan wen* and the *Sanbao zan*. Afterwards he was provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute among other appointments (Wang Cheng 1979, 55.823–824; Tuotuo 1977, 292.9766–9768).

⁴⁶⁹ With the conferral of the *jinshi*-degree came appointments for Lü Gongbi as Provisionally Assigned Academician in the Historiography Institute and Fiscal Commissioner of Hebei Circuit (Wang Cheng 1979, 52.780–782; Tuotuo 1977, 311.10212–10214).

⁴⁷⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 302–303. The information in this paragraph is also found in Li Tao 2004 (112.2604) under the *jichou* 己丑 day (February 24, 1033).

⁴⁷¹ On the *Chongwen yuan zongmu* see also Hervouet (1978, 195) under *Chongwen zongmu*. According to the entry there the number of *juan* of this work ranged from 64 to 66 to 67. The entry in the *Lintai gushi* makes clear that the catalogue comprised 60 *juan* of which only five remain.

property according to rank: Zhang Guan, supervisor of the compilation of the *General Catalogue*, Academician in the Hall for Aid in Governance and Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites in the Department of State Affairs; Song Xiang, Right Grand Master of Remonstrance; Wang Yaochen, Hanlin-Academician and concurrent Academician in the Longtu Cabinet, Vice Director in the Ministry of War of the Department of State Affairs, Drafter and Director of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Nie Guanqing, Hanlin-Academician and concurrent Academician Reader-in-Waiting, recalled Bureau Director in the Ministry of War in the Department of State Affairs, Director of the Institute for the Glorification of Literature; Guo Zhen, Vice Director in the Ministry of War in the Department of State Affairs and Drafter. The following officials who had served as Junior Compilers were promoted: Lü Gongchuo 呂公綽 (999–1055)⁴⁷², Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies was made Vice Director in the Ministry of Works in the Department of State Affairs; Wang Zhu, Assistant Director of the Palace Administration, Expositor-in-Waiting of the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations, and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute was made Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. Diao Yue 刁約⁴⁷³, Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive and Assistant Director in the Palace Administration; Ouyang Xiu, Companion of the Heir Apparent; Yang Yi, Assistant Editorial Director in the Palace Library; and Chen Jing 陳經, Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review, were all made Subeditors in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies.

Wang Congli 王從禮, concurrently serving as Clerk in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive and Palace Courier, was made Deputy Commissioner of the Imperial Larder. Pei Zi 裴滋, Eunuch in the Express Courier Service and Palace Servitor, and Observer in the Imperial Dispensary was granted transfer to a different official position after the fulfillment of his present service. Yang Anxian 楊安顯, Eunuch of the High Duty Group, was made Eunuch of High Rank. Zhang Guan and Song Xiang, even though they were serving outside the capital, were supervising (the compilation) and also actively took part in it.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² Lü Gongchuo was the oldest son of Lü Yijian. None of his biographies refer to his participation in the compilation of the *Chongwen zongmu*, while the assignment to the Ministry of Works appears to have been a routine promotion. At the same time Lü was given the post of Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute which he declined as his father was in charge of the dynastic history. Only after the latter had passed, he assumed this post (Wang Cheng 1979, 52.780; Tuotuo 1977, 310.10210–10212).

⁴⁷³ Diao Yue (*jinshi* of 1030) was a descendant of Diao Kan (Tuotuo 1977, 316.10322 and 337.10784).

⁴⁷⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 303. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.14, 75).

3.11

In the eighth month of the third year [of the Qingli era] (September/October 1044) Fu Bi 富弼 (1004–1083)⁴⁷⁵, Vice Military Affairs Commissioner, said: “I am asking to circulate the historical precedents of the imperial ancestors in a book and store it in two repositories⁴⁷⁶ to serve as models that can be observed.” The emperor was pleased with this memorial, and ordered Wang Zhu, Vice Director in the Ministry of Works in the Department of State Affairs, Reader-in-waiting of the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute⁴⁷⁷; Yu Jing, Right Exhorter and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Ouyang Xiu, Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies and head of the Remonstrance Office; and Sun Fu 孫甫 (998–1057)⁴⁷⁸, Erudite in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, to compile [such a work]; additionally, he gave Bi supervision of the work. In the following year the book was finished. It had altogether ninety-six categories and consisted of twenty *juan*, and it was entitled *Taiping gushi* 太平故事.⁴⁷⁹

During the Huangyou era (1049–1053) the emperor produced the *Sanchao xunjian tu*, and he called the close advisors, the imperial family, as well as the staff of the Institutes and the Censors to inspect it.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁵ Fu Bi was an outstanding scholar-official and acted as Grand Councilor several times during his successful career. An opponent of the New Laws introduced by Wang Anshi, he retired from all his positions under the pretext of illness (Wang Cheng 1979, 68.1027–1044; Tuotuo 1977, 313.10249–10257).

⁴⁷⁶ Most likely Taizong’s and Zhenzong’s Archives, the Taiqing Pavilion and the Longtu Cabinet.

⁴⁷⁷ The correct designation of the post should be *shijiang* 侍講 (Expositor-in-waiting) instead of *shidu* 侍讀. The post of Expositor-in-waiting had been introduced in 1036. This is the post that Wang Zhu is identified with in the preceding entry.

⁴⁷⁸ Sun Fu specialized in Tang history and compiled a *Tang shiji* 唐史記 in 75 *juan* which does not survive. He made himself such a name in the field that there was as saying that “reading history all day does not compare to listening to Sun talk about it for one day” (Wang Cheng 1979, 64.975–976; Tuotuo 1977, 295.9838–9842).

⁴⁷⁹ The original working title of the text, *Zuzong gushi* 祖宗故事, as well as the long version of Fu Bi’s suggestion are found in Li Tao 2004 (143.3455–3456). Excerpts of the imperial preface written by Renzong are found in Wang Yinglin 1992 (56.27a–28a) under the entry on the *Sanchao xunjian tu*.

⁴⁸⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 304.

3.12

In the fifth month of the fifth year [of the Qingli era (June/July 1045)] the following officials were appointed to serve as compilation officials for the *Tangshu* 唐書: Zeng Gongliang, Vice Director in the Tax Bureau of the Department of State Affairs, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies and concurrent Expositor-in-waiting in the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute; Zhao Shimin 趙師民⁴⁸¹, Assistant Director of the Court of the Imperial Clan, Examining Editor in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature and concurrent Expositor-in-waiting in the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations; He Zhongli 何中立 (1004–1057)⁴⁸², Assistant Director of the Palace Administration and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Song Minqiu, Assistant in the Palace Library Administration; Fan Zhen 范鎮 (1008–1088)⁴⁸³, Assistant Director in the Court of Judicial Review and Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive; Shao Bi 邵必⁴⁸⁴, Assistant Director in the Court of Judicial Review and Lecturer in the Directorate of Education.

In the fifth month of the third year of the Huangyou era (June/July 1051) Wang Chou 王疇 (1007–1065)⁴⁸⁵, Vice Director in the Bureau of Operations and Junior Compiler of the *Tangshu*, was provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive.

⁴⁸¹ Zhao Shimin, an imperial clansman, entered metropolitan service at the advanced age of 50. He came to be the head of the Court of the Imperial Clan (Wang Cheng 1979, 60.912; Tuotuo 1977, 294.9823–9825).

⁴⁸² He Zhongli (*jinshi* of 1034) had a career that led him to the post of Director in the Ministry of Justice (Tuotuo 1977, 302.10029–10030).

⁴⁸³ Fan Zhen who hailed from Sichuan enjoyed a long and successful bureaucratic career until he retired at the age of 63 (Wang Cheng 1979, 77.1169–1178; Tuotuo 1977, 337.10783–10790; Franke 1976, 306–308).

⁴⁸⁴ Shao Bi before being called to help compile the *Tangshu* had made a name for himself by engraving the *Classics* on stone tablets which were placed in the Directorate of Education (Tuotuo 1977, 317.10337–10338).

⁴⁸⁵ Wang Chou had been called on the *Tangshu* compilation team thanks to a recommendation by Jia Changzhao 賈昌朝 (998–1065) who was a very high-ranking official at the time. After submission of a eulogy to emperor Renzong, entitled *Shengzheng wei gong song* 聖政惟公頌, he was granted to sit in an imperial examination as a consequence of which he found himself assigned to the Imperial Archive. Neither of his biographies mentions an appointment as Vice Director in the Bureau of Operations, but both record the position of Erudite at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (Wang Cheng 1979, 55.820–821; Tuotuo 1977, 291.9746–9749).

In the second year of the Zhihe era (1055), Ouyang Xiu, Hanlin-Academician and Correcting Compiler of the *Tangshu*, said:

“Since the times of the Han dynasty, the Tang has reigned for the longest period of time. Their statutes and regulations have frequently been employed by the present, and thus the new monographs in the *Tangshu* that we are compiling shall be very detailed. Now, because since the reign of [Tang emperor] Wenzong 文宗 (r. 827–833) no Veritable Records exist⁴⁸⁶, I have examined biographical writings and variant records for fact and fiction, but still, I believe this to be a deficient strategy. I have learnt that in the departments and courts of the Palace Eunuch Service, in the Auxiliary Censorate, and in the Luanhe 鑾和 repositories in the Western Capital (Luoyang) memorials to the throne, written records and notes from the Tang to the Five Dynasties period are still surviving. I would like to detach the Compilation Official Lü Xiaqing 呂夏卿⁴⁸⁷ to go there and inspect and gather these.”

This was followed.

In the third month of the third year of the Jiayou era (March/April 1058), Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002–1060)⁴⁸⁸, Editorial Examiner of the Book Collection at the *Tangshu* (Compilation) Office, was appointed Junior Compiler of the *Tangshu*.

In the seventh month of the fifth year [of the Jiayou era (July/August 1060)] Xiu and his colleagues submitted the *Tangshu* in two hundred and fifty *juan* to the throne.⁴⁸⁹ Subsequently, Ouyang Xiu, Correcting Compiler of the *Tangshu*, Hanlin-Academician and concurrent Academician in the Longtu Cabinet and Supervising Secretary, was appointed Vice Director of the Ministry of Person-

⁴⁸⁶ Veritable Records had been compiled for Wenzong's successor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 841–847), but these survived only in one *juan* that dealt with the year 841. These were the last Veritable Records compiled and no such records for the reigns of emperors Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 847–860), Yizong 懿宗 (r. 860–873), Xizong 僖宗 (r. 873–888), as well as for Zhaozong 昭宗 (r. 888–904) and Aidi 哀帝 (r. 904–907) existed. On the Tang Veritable Records see Twitchett 1992 (119–159). The compilation of dynastic histories (*guoshi*) had ended in the middle of the eighth century. Hence Ouyang Xiu and his colleagues had very limited official historical material to work with.

⁴⁸⁷ Lü Xiaqing (*jinshi* of 1042) was an expert in Tang history and contributed genealogical information to the *Xin Tangshu* by Ouyang Xiu (Wang Cheng 1979, 65.993; Tuotuo 1977, 331.10658–10659).

⁴⁸⁸ Mei Yaochen was one of the major poets in the middle of the eleventh century who had started his official career thanks to the support of such major scholar-officials figures like Qian Weiyan and Yan Shu (Franke 1976, 761–770).

⁴⁸⁹ On the compilation process and the structure of the final *Tangshu* see also Wang Yinglin 1992 (46.32a–33b).

nel in the Department of State Affairs, and Song Qi, Academician in the Proper and Bright Hall⁴⁹⁰ and concurrent Hanlin-Academician Reader-in-waiting, Academician in the Longtu Cabinet and Vice Minister of the Ministry of Personnel, was appointed Assistant Director of the Left in the Department of State Affairs; Fan Zhen, Junior Compiler of the *Tangshu*, Bureau Director in the Ministry of Rites in the Department of State Affairs and Drafter, was appointed Bureau Director in the Ministry of Personnel; Wang Chou, Bureau Director in the Ministry of Personnel and Drafter, was made Bureau Director of the Right Office⁴⁹¹; Song Minqiu, Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, was made Vice Director in the Ministry of Works; Lü Xiaqing, Assistant Director of the Palace Library, was provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive; Liu Xisou 劉義叟 (1017–1060)⁴⁹², Editorial Director, was made Examining Editor in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature. All were given vessels and bales of silk fabric according to rank.⁴⁹³

3.13

In the second year of the Jiayou era (1057) the Bureau for the Editing of Medical Books was set up within the Compilation Office. Zhang Yuxi provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies and Examining Editor in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature, Lin Yi 林億⁴⁹⁴, Zhang Dong 張洞 (1019–1067)⁴⁹⁵ and Su Song, all of which were Subeditors in the Imperial

⁴⁹⁰ According to Ouyang Xiu 1986 (2.1030), this position was first created during the Later Tang dynasty (923–936) and was often held concurrently by Hanlin-Academicians.

⁴⁹¹ The Right Office comprised the Ministries of War, Justice, and Works.

⁴⁹² Liu Xisou was responsible for the compilation of the treatises on the calendar (*lǜlì* 律歷), astronomy (*tianwen* 天文), and the Five Elements (*wuxing* 五行) in the *Tangshu* (Wang Cheng 1979, 65.993–994; Tuotuo 1977, 432.12838).

⁴⁹³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 306–307.

⁴⁹⁴ In the section on medicinal works of the bibliographical monograph in the *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 207.5307), Lin Yi is credited with authorship of a *Huangdi sanbu zhenjiujing* 黃帝三部鍼灸經 in 12 *juan*.

⁴⁹⁵ Zhang had received his first appointment thanks to the support of high-ranking officials who were impressed by his literary abilities. After he had passed the required examination by the Institute of Academicians, he entered the Imperial Archive as a Subeditor (Tuotuo 1977, 299.9933).

Archive, as well as Chen Jian 陳檢, a Secretary of the Heir Apparent, were appointed Editors of Medical Books.⁴⁹⁶

3.14

In the third month of the sixth year [of the Jiayou era (March/April 1061)] Guo Gu 郭固, an Assistant Director of the Court of Judicial Review was appointed to edit the military books that had recently been stored in the Imperial Archive.⁴⁹⁷

3.15

In the tenth month of the third year of the Xining era (November/December 1070) Wang Cun and Gu Lin 顧臨⁴⁹⁸, Proofreaders in the Imperial Archive; Qian Zhangqing 錢長卿, Assistant Editorial Director in the Palace Library; and Liu Fengshi 劉奉世 (1041–1113)⁴⁹⁹, Assistant Director of the Court of Judicial Review were given the imperial order to compile the *Jingwu yaolie* 經武要略.⁵⁰⁰ As they had been concurrently tasked with the revision of law books of

⁴⁹⁶ Cheng Ju 2000a, 310. Cf. Jiang Shaoyu 1981 (21.396) and Wang Yinglin 1992 (63.33b). Li Tao 2004 (186.4487) specifies the titles that needed to be re-examined and corrected.

⁴⁹⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 311. After Guo Gu had collated texts into 172 volumes (*ce* 冊) bound in imperial yellow in the summer of 1067, he was appointed Vice Director-in-chief of the Palace Storehouse (Xu Song 1997, “chongru” 4.8 (2234)). He had started his career as a lowly official, but upon submission of a memorial on the use of war chariots, he was appointed Assistant Director of the Court of the Imperial Regalia (Tuotuo 1977, 12.237). In 1072 Guo held the position of Deputy Commissioner of the Palace Storehouse (Tuotuo 1977, 157.3679). In 1074 Guo was a Commissioner for Fostering Prosperity. The bibliographical treatise of the *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 207.5288) attributes two military works to Guo, namely the *Junji juesheng licheng tu* 軍機決勝立成圖 (1 *juan*) and the *Bingfa gongshou tushu* 兵法攻守圖術 (3 *juan*).

⁴⁹⁸ Gu Lin began his career as a Lecturer of the Directorate of Education. Emperor Shenzong was aware that Gu had an interest in military matters and therefore assigned him to the compilation team (Tuotuo 1977, 344.10939).

⁴⁹⁹ During the Yuanfeng era Liu served in the Bureau of Military Affairs (Wang Cheng 1979, 76.1158–1159; Tuotuo 1977, 419.10388–10390).

⁵⁰⁰ According to the *Wenxian tongkao* the first such compilation was produced by Wang Shu and the otherwise unknown Dan Shining 單士寧 in 1044 under the auspices of the Bureau of Military Affairs. It included documents relating to all things military

all offices, Chief and Deputy Recipients of Edicts were ordered to take care of this.⁵⁰¹

The dynastic history (*guoshi* 國史)

3.16

At the start of the dynasty scholars provisionally assigned to the Institutes separately compiled the Daily Calendars (*rili* 日曆) and sent them quarterly to the Historiography Institute. Afterwards only Senior Compilers assumed that task.

In the eighth year of the Taiping xingguo era (983) Li Fang, Chief Compiler, submitted a memorial asking for the re-introduction of the Records of Current Government (*shizhengji* 時政記) of the Tang.⁵⁰² [Following] this historical precedent, every month these were forwarded to the Institutes entitled events (*shijian* 事件), and at the start of the Duangong era (988) they were renamed Records of Current Government.⁵⁰³

In the second year (989) the Secretariat-Chancellery submitted a memorial: “Every time the emperor is approaching the main [audience] hall, the Military Affairs Commissioners are the first to present matters to the emperor. The Grand Councilors have no way to learn about the commendations for instructions by the imperial government, and once these considerations have ended, they are omitted [from the record].” Consequently, an imperial decree ordered the Vice Military Affairs Commissioner to make a monthly record in an attachment of historical matters (*shishi* 史事) to be send to the Secretariat for editing.⁵⁰⁴

and under the responsibility of the Bureau of Military Affairs (Ma Duanlin 1986, 58, 525). These works were compiled in irregular intervals for individual reigns, so that by 1254 seven *Jingwu yaolue* (*Qichao Jingwu yaolue* 七朝經武要略) existed (Tuotuo 1977, 44.853).

⁵⁰¹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 312. Cf. Cheng Ju 2000a (2.16, 78). The parallel passage in Li Tao 2004 (216.5268) reads: “... hence Chief and Deputy Recipients of Edicts were ordered to submit (law books) for revision.”

⁵⁰² On these see Twitchett 1992 (51–56). See also the entry on the Song *shizhengji* in Wang Yinglin 1992 (48.44a-46a).

⁵⁰³ According to Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 6.30 (2511)) Hu Meng initiated the re-introduction of the *shizhengji*. Hu Meng’s memorial concerning these is found in Li Tao 2004 (15.326) and a translation of it is provided in Kurz 2012 (15–16).

⁵⁰⁴ For a complete text of the consequent order issued by the Chancellery, see Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 6.30 (2511)). Cf. also Li Tao 2004 (30.691).

In the fifth year of the Xianping era (1002) the request of Wang Sizong 王嗣宗 (944–1021)⁵⁰⁵, Salt and Iron Monopoly Commissioner, was followed that all matters that had been submitted by the State Finance Commission should be written down, and that one Supervisor (*panshi* 判使) should compile records to be forwarded to the Institutes quarterly.⁵⁰⁶

In the fifth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1012) Wang Qinruo and Chen Yaosou 陳堯叟 (961–1017)⁵⁰⁷, Administrators of the Bureau of Military Affairs, began compiling separate Records of Current Government.⁵⁰⁸

When the official system of the Yuanfeng era was initiated, [compilation] of the Calendar returned to the Section for the History of the Dynasty of the Department of the Palace Library, to be solely the task of Editorial Directors and Adjunct Compilers, and the Dynastic History Institute or the Veritable Records Institute were separately established to compile the Veritable Records and the Dynastic History of former reigns. With this the Dynastic History and the Daily Calendars became separated into two.

In the ninth month of the fourth year of the Yongxi era (September/October 987) Hu Dan 胡旦 (fl. 976–1008)⁵⁰⁹, Right Rectifier of Omissions provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, said the following:

“Our dynasty from the first year of the Jianlong era (960) to the third year of the Yongxi era (986) has not announced the completion of either Veritable Records nor Daily Calendars. When the Daily Calendars ceases as bulletins and no agencies at all have access to gazettes (*wu guan bao* 無關報), it comes to the point where words and actions of emperors will not be compiled because no

⁵⁰⁵ Wang Sizong, a *jinshi* of 975, since the year 1001 had held the position of Salt and Iron Monopoly Commissioner (Wang Cheng 1979, 43. 658; Tuotuo 1977, 287.9648).

⁵⁰⁶ This section is found in Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.78 (2793)) with a quotation from Wang Sizong’s memorial as well as in Li Tao 2004 (53.1155).

⁵⁰⁷ Chen Yaosou (*jinshi* of 989), prior to being appointed as Joint Manager of the Bureau of Military Affairs during the Jingde era (1004–1007), had served as Assistant Director of the Palace Library. Thereafter he worked mainly in military positions, such as Pacification Commissioner of the two circuits of Guangnan dong and Guangxi (Wang Cheng 1979, 44.663–664; Tuotuo 1977, 284.9584–9588).

⁵⁰⁸ The record that the two officials compiled was entitled *Shumiyuan shizhengji* 樞密院時政記 and this established an example for compiling the *shizhengji* directly in the Bureau of Military Affairs rather than submitting material to the Secretariat. Cf. also Wang Yinglin 1992 (48.44b (322)).

⁵⁰⁹ Hu Dan (*jinshi* of 978) had a great interest in history and expressed that interest in writing a number of works, among them the *Han chunqiu* 漢春秋, *Wudai shilüe* 五代史略, *Jiangshuai yaolüe* 將帥要略 and others (Wang Cheng 1979, 38.595–596; Tuotuo 1977, 432.12827–12830).

news of ongoing matters in the Secretariat and the Bureau of Military Affairs can be accessed, and no records will be available of the documents and memorials received by the Office for Audience Ceremonies and the Memorial Forwarding Office. And if promotions of civil and military officials are not made known, and Accounts of Conduct of those who received merits and those that were buried, are not recorded, then the historiographers ultimately have nothing to rely upon for compiling [historical records].

I have examined the reign of Emperor Mingdi 明帝 of the Han (r. 58–75) who had the *Guangwudi ji* 光武帝紀 compiled, as well as Tables (*biao* 表), Monographs (*zhi* 志), Biographies (*liezhuan* 列傳), and Contemporary Records (*zaiji* 載記), and forthwith under each [succeeding] reign these were compiled as well, so that during the reign of emperor Lingdi 靈帝 (r. 168–189) already one hundred and seventeen *juan* were completed. Even though these were not the complete events of the whole dynasty, at all times records were continuously written, and these now form the *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記.⁵¹⁰

During the times of emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) of the Tang records similarly existed dating from the very start of the dynasty, assembled in Annals, Biographies, and the Ten Treatises⁵¹¹, and as under each [successive] reign records were compiled, during the reign of Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779) already 130 *juan* were completed, which now form the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書.

I hope that the historical precedents of the Han and Tang are made the standard and that forthwith orders will be given for the compilation of Imperial Annals (*diji* 帝紀), Tables, Treatises, and Biographies. When these are gathered as records, they will provide [material] for the Dynastic History in the future.”⁵¹²

Dan also listed events (*shijian* 事件): The conferral of [posthumous] titles on the four imperial ancestors and consorts, and the Prince of Yong 邕 [Zhao 趙] Guangji 光濟⁵¹³ of the imperial family and three more people; the Grand Prin-

510 Until the compilation of the *Hou Hanshu* several hundred years later, the *Dongguan Hanji* served as the main official history of the Han together with the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* (Wilkinson 2013, 623).

511 This term refers to the treatises typically found in dynastic histories that deal with such subjects as astronomy, law, Five Elements, geography, book collections and so forth.

512 A slightly variant form of this memorial is found in Wang Yinglin 1992 (168.15).

513 Zhao Guangji, the oldest brother of Taizu and Taizong born from the same mother, received the title of Prince of Yong in 962 (Tuotuo 1977, 1.11 and 242.8606). He was already dead at the founding of the dynasty (Tuotuo 1977, 244.8666).

cess of Chen (Chenguo chang gongzhu 陳國長公主)⁵¹⁴ and another person; [Zhao 趙] Dezhao 德昭 (?-979)⁵¹⁵, Prince of Wei 魏, son of Taizu, and another person; the royal relative Du Shenqiong 杜審瓊 (897-966)⁵¹⁶ and two more persons; the former Grand Councilor Li Gu 李穀 (903-960)⁵¹⁷ and two more people; the Grand Councilor Fan Zhi and three more people; the former military official Han Tong 韓通 (?-960)⁵¹⁸ and thirty-four more people; the rebellious general Murong Yanjian 慕容延釗 (?-963)⁵¹⁹ and four more persons; the commanding general Zhang Guanghan 張光翰⁵²⁰ and fifteen more people; the meritorious official Li Chuyun 李處耘 (920-966)⁵²¹ and two more people; the border general He Jijun 何繼筠 (921-971)⁵²² and four more people; the military official Ju Tingzuo 具廷祚⁵²³ and five more people; the civil official Zhao Shangjiao 趙上交 (895-961)⁵²⁴ of the previous dynasty and six more people;

514 The Grand Princess of Chen was a sister of Taizu (Tuotuo 1977, 242.8606).

515 Zhao Dezhao was the second son of Taizu (Tuotuo 1977, 244.8676-8677).

516 Du Shenqiong was a maternal uncle of Taizu (Tuotuo 1977, 463.13536).

517 Li Gu had served as a general under the Later Zhou and had been one of their commanders in the Huainan campaign in 955 (Tuotuo 1977, 262.9051-9056). On the Huainan campaign see Kurz 2011b (72-87).

518 Han Tong, a military official, had made himself a name in the invasion of the Southern Tang state, when he led the vanguard of the Later Zhou army into Yangzhou. He was killed at the time of the takeover of power by Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 (927-976), the founder of the Song dynasty (Tuotuo 1977, 484.13968-13970).

519 Murong Yanjian in 963 had been one of the Song commanders in charge of the campaign in Hunan. He died there in the same year (Tuotuo 1977, 251.8834-8835).

520 The *Songshi* contains a very short biographical note on Zhang Guanghan (Tuotuo 1977, 250.8824).

521 Li Chuyun was instrumental in the suppression of the rebellion of Li Zhongjin 李重進 in 960, and participated in the conquest of Jingnan in 963 (Wang Cheng 1979, 20.348-350; Tuotuo 1977, 257.8960-8963).

522 He Jijun has biographies in Wang Cheng 1979 (29.471-472) and Tuotuo 1977 (273.9326-9327).

523 The first character is probably wrong and should be replaced with Wu 吳. Wu Tingzuo 吳廷祚 (918-971) had served the Later Zhou and at the start of the Song played an important part in quelling the rebellions of Li Yun 李筠 (?-960) and Li Zhongjin (Wang Cheng 1979, 25.421; Tuotuo 1977, 257.8947-8948). On the founding of the Song dynasty and early uprisings against it see Lorge 2015 (102-130).

524 Zhao has a biography in Tuotuo 1977 (262.9065-9067).

and also Dou Yi 竇儀 (914–966)⁵²⁵ and eight more people; the regular official Zhang Xi 張錫 (?–961)⁵²⁶ and ten more people; the (imperial) promoted official Lü Yuqing 呂餘慶 (927–976)⁵²⁷ and four more people; the official Yang Zhongxiong 楊重熊, who submitted to enlightened rule⁵²⁸, and five more people; the official Li Hao 李昊 (892–after 965), who surrendered, and nine more people; the villainous official Zhang Qiong 張瓊 (?–963)⁵²⁹ and two more people; the rebel Li Yun⁵³⁰ and another person; the rebellious official Lu Duoxun 盧多遜 (934–985)⁵³¹; the specialist (*fangshu* 方術) Wang Chune 王處訥 (915–982)⁵³²; the hermit Wang Zhaosu 王昭素⁵³³ and another person; the hegemon who accepted the rule (of the Song) Gao Baorong 高保融 (920–960)⁵³⁴ and

525 Dou was an expert in law and participated in the compilation of the *Xingtong* 刑統, that he submitted with his colleagues in 963 (Wang Cheng 1979, 30.490–492; Tuotuo 1977, 262.9092–9094).

526 Zhang Xi, a native of Fujian, has a biography in Tuotuo 1977 (262.9068).

527 Lü Yuqing was a close associate of Taizu and eventually was appointed Grand Councilor (Wang Cheng 1979, 31.504–505 and Tuotuo 1977, 263.9098–9101).

528 Zhao Sheng (2007, 3.67) defines “submission to enlightened rule” (*guiming* 歸明) as a subaltern official title given to people belonging to ethnic groups in the southwest of the empire.

529 Zhang Qiong was a member of the retinue of Taizu when the latter served as commander of the Later Zhou in the war against the Southern Tang. He was sentenced to death after insulting Taizong (Tuotuo 1977, 259.9009–9010).

530 Li Yun in 960 rebelled against the recently established Song dynasty, but he was swiftly dealt with by emperor Taizu’s commanders (Wang Cheng 1979, 22.381; Tuotuo 1977, 484.13970–13975).

531 Lu Duoxun (*jinsi* of 954), having been accused of forming a faction, was dismissed from his post as Grand Councilor in 982 and exiled to Hainan (Wang Cheng 1979, 31.510–512; Tuotuo 1977, 264.6116–6120; Twitchett and Smith 2009, 258–259).

532 Wang Chune upon imperial order compiled a new calendar for the dynasty which he submitted in 963 (Li Tao 2004, 4.89). In 981, he again presented a new calendar to the throne (Tuotuo 1977, 461.13497–13498).

533 Wang Zhaosu not only specialized in the Nine Classics, but also in Daoist scriptures, and was a teacher of the later Grand Councilor Li Mu. At the age of 77, Wang who had never wanted an official career was invited to an audience where he impressed Taizu with his knowledge. Since he did not want to stay in the capital Taizu gave him generous gifts and permission to return home where he lived to the venerable age of 88 (Wang Cheng 1979, 113.1739–1740; Tuotuo 1977, 431.12808–12809).

534 Gao Baorong ruled over the tiny state of Jingnan on the middle Yangzi from 948–960, and submitted to the Song in 960 (Tuotuo 1977, 483.23952–13953).

three more people; the order receiving barbarian Ding Xuan 丁璿⁵³⁵ and three more people; the usurper Li Jing 李景 (916–961)⁵³⁶ and nine more people; Yutian 于闐 (Khotan)⁵³⁷ from among the Four Barbarians and twelve more countries.

He arranged Jiangnan, Guangnan, Hedong, Xichuan, Jingnan, Liang Zhe, Zhang[-zhou and] Quan[-zhou] and Xiazhou into Tables (*biao* 表)⁵³⁸, and Calendar (*lǜlì* 律曆), Astronomy (*tianwen* 天文), Geography (*dìlǐ* 地理), Five Elements (*wǔxíng* 五行), Rites (*lǐyue* 禮樂), Penal Law (*xíngfǎ* 刑法), Economy (*shíhuo* 食貨), Field Irrigation (*gōuxu* 溝洫), Books (*shūjī* 書籍), Buddhism (*shì* 釋) and Daoism (*dào* 道) into Treatises.

Moreover, as none of the illegitimate states had left any written records one could have compiled from, and as there was Li Hui 李暉, Adjutant of Xuzhou 許州, who formerly was an illegitimate Grand Councilor of Hedong (Northern Han) and who now was of venerable age and could no longer walk, [Hu] hoped that a scholar provisionally assigned to the Institutes be dispatched to go to the district in question to compile records (for the Northern Han) together with Li Hui.

Xiao Cui 蕭催, Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices assigned to Xijing (Luoyang), in the past had served the illegitimate Guang (Southern Han) as Left Vice Director [of the Chancellery].⁵³⁹ He asked for his posting to the Institutes

⁵³⁵ Ding Xuan served as an envoy of the ruler of Jiaozhou 交州, in modern day north Vietnam, to the court of Taizong. Originally the position as Military Governor of Jiaozhou had been Ding Xuan's, but he lost it due to his youth (Tuotuo 1977, 488.14058–14062).

⁵³⁶ Li Jing had ruled the state of the Southern Tang since 943, and died shortly after he had submitted to Song rule in 961 (Kurz 2011b, chap. 3).

⁵³⁷ A description of Yutian is found in Tuotuo 1977 (490.14106.14019).

⁵³⁸ The geographical designations are synonymous with the states of Wu (902–936) and Southern Tang (937–976) (Jiangnan), Southern Han (917–971) (Guangnan), Northern Han (951–979) (Hedong), Former Shu (907–925) and Later Shu (934–965) (Xichuan), Jingnan (924–963), Wuyue (907–978) (Liang Zhe), the autonomous territory of Qingyuan (Zhangzhou and Quanzhou), and the Xixia or Tanguts (Xiazhou). With the exception of the latter, these states belong to what historiographers in the early Northern Song came to refer to as the Ten States. Descriptions of these are found in chapters 478–483 of the *Songshi*. The Xixia who founded their state in 954 are treated in Tuotuo 1977 (485.13981–14003) as a foreign country.

⁵³⁹ Xiao Cui 蕭催 had served in 971 as an envoy of the Southern Han ruler to the Song (Tuotuo 1977, 2.32).

so that he could compile together with the provisionally assigned scholars of the Institutes the record of events (*shiji* 事跡) for that state (Southern Han).⁵⁴⁰

Furthermore, both the illegitimate *Shu shilu* 蜀實錄 and the *Jiangnan lu* 江南錄 recorded [events] not faithfully⁵⁴¹; neither Jingnan, nor Hunan (Chu, 926–951) nor Xiazhou had any written records, and no one was knowledgeable about their historical events. He then asked that court officials, who had knowledge about those places, work together with scholars at the Institutes and compile [historical] records.

Many officials had been buried without their Accounts of Conduct having been submitted, and he hoped that from then on when civil and military official were buried, the Censorate would be ordered to notify their families to provide Accounts of Conducts, stelaie inscriptions (*beiwén* 碑文), tomb inscriptions (*muzhi* 墓誌), family genealogies (*jiadie* 家牒), and clan genealogies (*pulu* 譜錄) and to submit these to the Historiography Institute. The Court of Palace Attendants from the Inner Posts⁵⁴² should prepare these regulations to be put in force (*shixing* 施行) accordingly.

He furthermore requested that all memorials from inside and outside (the Imperial City) submitted by the Office for Audience Ceremonies and the Memorial Forwarding Office should be recorded in books which he asked again to be forwarded to the Historiography Institute.

The routine dispatches (*xingqianzhe* 行遣者) from the Department of State Affairs and the Bureau of Military Affairs, he likewise asked to be sent down for copying. As for the remaining government gazetteers and writings from the Institute of Academicians, the Document Drafting Office, and other agencies, [he suggested] to establish registers (*ji* 籍) with copies of confidential documents for checking.

Submissions brought from foreign countries that had entered the Foreign Relations Office gradually should be reported to the [Historiography] Institute

⁵⁴⁰ If such a history indeed was compiled for which there is no other evidence, it is lost today. The separate histories for the Southern Han were compiled at the start of the nineteenth century from material across a number of older sources that did not specifically deal with the Southern Han

⁵⁴¹ The *Shu shilu* most likely refer to the *Hou Shu Meng xianzhu shilu* 後蜀孟先主實錄 (30 *juan*), the *Hou Shu zhu shilu* 後蜀主實錄 (40 *juan*), and the *Hou Shu houzhu shilu* 後蜀後主實錄 (80 *juan*), compiled by Li Hao. The *Record of Jiangnan* is the work commissioned by Taizong on the history of the Southern Tang state and compiled by Xu Xuan and Tang Yue 湯悅 (fl. 940–983), which they submitted to the throne in 979 (Kurz 2016). None of these works are surviving (Kurz 2003, 221–223).

⁵⁴² The Inner Posts refer to the Bureau of Military Affairs, the Court of Palace Attendants, and the State Finance Commission (Hucker 1988, 4150).

one by one. Once officials serving as envoys to foreign countries and those assigned to punitive campaigns, had returned (to the capital), the [Historiography] Institute should be permitted to ask them for submission of one official report each on conduct of affairs as well as on the customs of each country.⁵⁴³

An imperial order was issued following the petition, and in a room in the western corridor of the Historiography Institute the History Office was installed which received five hundred cash strings from the Bureau of Sacrifices as a budget, and seven imperial copyists as personnel.

Within a short while Hu Dan had compiled three *juan* which he first submitted to the emperor. Since Dan was shortly thereafter made Drafter and dismissed from working as a historiographer, Kong Wei 孔維 (928–991)⁵⁴⁴, Director of Studies of the National University, and Li Jue 李覺 (?-after 991)⁵⁴⁵, Erudite of the *Liji* 禮記 provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, replaced him in this position. Those who discussed this, said that since both Wei and Jue were classical scholars (*ruchen* 儒臣), they should not have been called (*cheng* 稱) to the Historiography Institute. Consequently, the compilation ceased.⁵⁴⁶

3.17

In the fourth month of the fifth year of the Chunhua era (May/June 994) Li Zhi, Vice Minister of the Ministry of Personnel and Concurrent Director of the Imperial Library; Zhang Ji, Hanlin-Academician, Secretariat Drafter and Compiler of the Dynastic History; together with Zhang Bi and Fan Gao, Right Grand Masters of Remonstrance and Senior Compilers in the Historiography Institute compiled the court history of Taizu.

Before these events, the emperor had addressed his Grand Councilors:

⁵⁴³ I am using here the translation (including footnotes) with some slight changes of Hu Dan's memorial published in Kurz 2012 (27–31) with friendly permission of the editors of the *Journal of Asian History* and the publisher Otto Harrassowitz.

⁵⁴⁴ Kong Wei was a specialist of the *Zhouyi* 周易 (Wang Cheng 1979, 113.1740; Tuotuo 1977, 431.12809–12812).

⁵⁴⁵ Li Jue had passed the Nine Classics examination in 980 and is known for his participation in the revision of the *Shijing* (Wang Cheng 1979, 113.1741; Tuotuo 1977, 431.12820–12822).

⁵⁴⁶ Cheng Ju 2000a, 312–315.

“The writing of history is extremely difficult. I have once read the *Taizu shilu* 太祖實錄 and they were very deficient.⁵⁴⁷ In regard to the interactions between Heaven and Man, omens manifesting [Taizu’s] Mandate of Heaven, and the duration of years, these are known to everyone. Furthermore, I have personally witnessed these events. Zhi and others shall be ordered to revise and re-edit [the work].”

Su Yijian replied:

“The scholar Hu Meng had been entrusted to compile the history in recent times. Meng was faint-hearted and intimidated by the powerful and influential; he was often evasive [in his writing] and this is not at all what one refers to as the upright brush [of the historian].”

The emperor said:

“The position of the historiographer consists in unconditionally reporting good and bad without restrictions. In the past emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) of the Tang wanted to burn the history of Empress Wu 武’s reign (r. 690–705), but his advisors argued that this was not permissible, for they wanted later generations to learn about it using it as a lesson.”⁵⁴⁸

Shortly afterwards both Zhi and Bi resigned as historiographers, and Song Bai, Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites, stood in for them.

In the winter of the same year, Ji and the others finished the compilation of the *Taizuji* 太祖紀 in one *juan*. Everything that the emperor had advised about and all the events that the historiographers had selected, was separately written down in vermilion and in black ink, to distinguish one from the other. Later, after Ji had been transferred, the history as a result was not completed.⁵⁴⁹

The emperor was interested in learning (*rushu* 儒術). Every time someone submitted a finished text to the throne, he would invariably treat him with generous courtesy, confer an official dress, vessels and brocade as a favour on him, and have his book entered in the Institutes and the Archive. For this reason, scholars urged themselves on a lot.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁷ On the problems involved in compiling the *Taizu shilu* see Jiang Fucong 1965.

⁵⁴⁸ The imperial monologue in the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* continues with the emperor arguing that the Song founder was not a usurper, but a loyal servant of the preceding Later Zhou (Li Tao 2004, 35.7770).

⁵⁴⁹ See also Xu Song 1997 (“yunli” 運曆 1.29, 2142) and Li Tao 2004 (35.777).

⁵⁵⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 318–319.

3.18

In the same month⁵⁵¹ Zhang Bi, Right Grand Master of Remonstrance and Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute in a memorial to the throne asked to introduce [the position] of Imperial Diary Drafter (my translation) to fill the duties of Left and Right Recorder, who were to write down the daily words and actions [of the emperor], and submit [these records] at the end of each month to the Historiography Institute.⁵⁵²

Upon imperial order, the request was followed, and Liang Zhouhan 梁周翰 (929–1009)⁵⁵³, Imperial Diary Drafter and Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute assumed the affairs of the Imperial Diarist, whereas Li Zongze, Assistant Director of the Palace Library provisionally assigned to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature, assumed the affairs of the Imperial Diary Drafter.⁵⁵⁴

3.19

In the third year of the Zhidao era (997) the *Taizong shilu* 太宗實錄 were compiled, but the Grand Councilor Lü Duan, even though he carried the title of Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History, did not actively participate in it. Afterwards, when the *Taizong shilu* underwent a revision, an imperial order named Lü Duan and Qian Ruoshui 錢若水 (960–1003)⁵⁵⁵ as joint compilers. When

⁵⁵¹ In the *Song huiyao* (Xu Song 1997, “zhiguan”, 2.10 (2376)) Zhang Bi submitted his memorial on May 17, 994 (fifth day of the fourth month of the fifth year of the Chunhua era).

⁵⁵² For a translation of the memorial in Li Tao 2004 (35.778–779) see Kurz 2012 (26–27).

⁵⁵³ Liang Zhouhan received his *jinshi*-degree under the Later Zhou in 952. He has biographies in Wang Cheng 1979 (38. 591–594) and Tuotuo 1977 (439.13000–13005).

⁵⁵⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 321–322.

⁵⁵⁵ Qian Ruoshui (*jinshi* of 985) in his *Songshi*-biography is portrayed as an expert in border defense (Wang Cheng 1979, 35.558–563; Tuotuo 1977, 266.9165–9171).

Duan had retired as Councilor, Li Hang 李沆 (947–1004)⁵⁵⁶ continued with the completion of the work.⁵⁵⁷

3.20

In the second year of the Jingde era (1005) Bi Shian⁵⁵⁸, Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History, died.⁵⁵⁹ At the same time Kou Zhun had ceased to be a Grand Academician in the Hall of Scholarly Worthies, and consequently Wang Dan 王旦 (957–1017)⁵⁶⁰, Participant in Determining Governmental Matters, was ordered to take over the administration of the Historiography Institute, which in fact meant the post of Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History. After Dan had been appointed Councilor, he kept the position as historiographer as before although he no longer was holding the post of Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History concurrently.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁶ Li Hang (*jinshi* of 980) had an impressive career that saw him appointed Vice Grand Councilor in 992, a post that Zhenzong reconfirmed him in after his accession. He soon afterwards was promoted to Grand Councilor (Wang Cheng 1979, 40.615–617; Tuotuo 1977, 282.9537–9541; Franke 1976, 556–557).

⁵⁵⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 322. Cf. Wang Yinglin 1992 (48.15a-16a) and Li Tao 2004 (42.889) both of whom date the imperial order for the *Taizong shilu* to the *yisi* 乙巳 day of the eleventh month (December 10, 997).

⁵⁵⁸ Bi Shian (*jinshi* of 966) previously had been in charge of the revision of the *Sanguo zhi*, the *Jinshu* and the *Tangshu*. He defended the *Jinshu* against some officials who wanted to erase some “base” passages from the text in a memorial to Zhenzong, who followed his argumentation. Hence the *Jinshu* survived in its original form (Wang Cheng 1979, 41.629–631; Tuotuo 1977, 281.9517–9522).

⁵⁵⁹ On October 10, 1007, an imperial decree had been issued ordering the compilation of the official histories of the reigns of Taizu and Taizong (*Taizu Taizong zhengshi* 太祖太宗正史) (Li Tao 2004, 66.1485). The mention of Bi Shian’s death accounts for the two years between his passing and the appointment of Wang Dan as the new Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History. He was in charge of Wang Qinruo, Chen Yaosou, Zhao Anren, Chao Jiong and Yang Yi. Wang Yinglin 1992 (46.35a) added Lu Zhen 路振 (957–1014) and Cui Zundu 崔尊度 (954–1020) to the compilation team. The compilation process of the histories for both Taizu and Taizong is dealt with in Kurz 2003 (143–148) and Kurz 2012 (20–25).

⁵⁶⁰ Wang Dan started his official career when, aged 23, he passed the *jinshi*-examination in 980. He became one of the most influential officials at the court of Zhenzong until his death in 1017. He has biographies in Wang Cheng 1979 (40.618–622) and Tuotuo 1977 (282.9542–9553). In addition, see Franke 1976 (1147–1153) and Kurz 2003 (133–136).

⁵⁶¹ Cf. Li Tao 2004 (66.1485) and Wang Yinglin 1992 (46.55a-56a).

Senior Compiler

According to historical precedents the Historiography Institute every month compiled the daily calendars which consisted of records that all the Supervisors of the Institute together with the Senior Compiling Officials and the officials assigned to the Institute had compiled separately, and which were stored in the same Institute. At the start of the dynasty all Senior Compilers and officials assigned to the Institute compiled [records] separately for every quarter following old regulations. Afterwards only the Senior Compilers and the Supervisors of the Institute compiled these.

During the Taiping xingguo era Zhao Linji 趙鄰幾 (921–979)⁵⁶², Left Grand Master Admonisher provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, as well as Lü Mengzheng and Fan Gao, Left Reminders provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, were all given [posts] as Senior Compilers, and as thereafter there were many officials provisionally assigned to the Institute, consequently only the Senior Compilers did compilation work.

In the fourth year of the Chunhua era (993) the Hanlin-Academician Song Shi as a mere Compiler of the Dynastic History also was often involved in the compilation of the Daily Calendars.⁵⁶³

3.21

In the eighth month of the fourth year of the Xianping era (August/September 1001) the Memorials Office was ordered to submit an official gazette (*baozhuang*

⁵⁶² Zhao Linji who hailed from a peasant family in Shandong passed the *jinshi*-examination in 955 and entered the service of the Later Zhou. He was interested in preserving and collecting all extant Veritable Records from Tang times, and after his death his son had to submit all his father's manuscripts to the court where they were compiled into a calendar of the Tang dynasty starting with the reign title Huichang (841–846). This work is entitled *Huichang yilai rili* 會昌以來日曆, comprised 26 *juan* (Tuotuo 1977, 439.13010) and may be considered an attempt to account for the loss of the Tang dynastic histories since the eighth century and the Veritable Records since 841. Li Tao 2004 (35.779) reports that Qian Xi was dispatched in the summer of 994 to collect all of Zhao Linji's writings for which his family was rewarded with 100,000 copper cash. Wang Yinglin 1992 (48.11b) refers to the text as *Bu Huichang yilai rili* 補會昌以來日曆 which in the context makes more sense as there was no other material left, and hence a "Supplement" to or "Supplementary" of a calendar was a more apt description of the work.

⁵⁶³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 324. Cf. the parallel entries in Wang Yinglin 1992 (168.18a) and Xu Song 1997 ("zhiguan" 18.78 (2793)).

報狀) in a sealed envelope every five days to the Historiography Institute.⁵⁶⁴ The History Compilation Office in the past was situated in the first corridor of the Secretariat; later it moved to the Court of Palace Attendants. Formerly the History Compilation Office had compiled the Collected Regulations (*huiyao* 會要).

In the sixth month of the fifth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (July/August 1012) the Institute for the Compilation of the Dynastic History reported:

“In regard to the Treatise on Rites (*lizhi* 禮志) which is presently being compiled [we would like to state the following]: In the past the Daily Calendars preserved auspicious matters only and the Ritual Academy should [thus] be ordered to specify matters relating to the alternating influence of ritual texts on the evolution of regulations, as well as on written judgments and deliberations since the start of the dynasty. Above all it must be considered, that discarding (texts) will result in defective state statutes.

Sun Shi, Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet, should be made supervisor of the Ritual Academy (*liyuan* 禮院)⁵⁶⁵. He is profoundly versed in the Classics and his knowledge of rites is extensive. We expect him to be expressly commissioned as Examining Editor to submit reports.”⁵⁶⁶

This was followed.

Moreover, an imperial decree ordered the Bureau of Military Affairs to submit Records of Current Government to the Historiography Institute every month. Before this, the monthly report prepared by the Bureau of Military Affairs to which were attached historical events, was sent to the Secretariat to be included in the Records of Current Government. When it had come to this, Wang Qinruo and Chen Yaosou were the first to ask for separate compilations [of the Records of Current Government and historical records].⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁴ In Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 2.45) the order for the submission of the gazettes is dated to July/August 999. De Weerd 2009b provides a study of court gazettes especially during the Southern Song.

⁵⁶⁵ This is the short form for the *Taichang liyuan* 太常禮院 within the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (Gong Yanming 1997, 97).

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. the parallel entry in Li Tao 2004 (78.1771–1772).

⁵⁶⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 326. In the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* the start of the compilation of the “Shumiyuan shizhengji” is dated to July 17, 1012 (Li Tao 2004, 78.1772).

3.22

In the eleventh month of the first year of the Qianxing era (November/December 1022) Wang Juzheng, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and Li Shu, Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive, were both appointed Junior Compilers in the Historiography Institute. At that time the Senior Compilers Li Wei and Song Shou said:

“The Historiography Institute in the past has had four Senior Compilers, but recently Zu Shiheng has left for a post outside [the Institutes]. We want to present the case of the Daily Calendar of the former reign, when after the first year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1008) no more [daily calendars] had been compiled. We hope that two officials from the Institutes and the Archive may be selected as Junior Compilers [of the Daily Calendar].”

Consequently, the order for the appointment [for the two Junior Compilers] was given.⁵⁶⁸

3.23

In the eighth month of the ninth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (September/October 1016) Gao Shen 高紳, Director in the Ministry of Justice, was appointed Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute. Shen, a partisan of the Military Affairs Commissioner Wang Qinruo, did not receive orders to do compilation work, but only supervised the placement examination of the Ministry of Personnel. Only when Shen petitioned the throne shortly afterwards to be posted to an outside commandery, did he take over as Senior Compiler.⁵⁶⁹

In the first year of the Tiansheng era (1023), when Shi Zhongli as Director in the Ministry of Revenue acted as Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute, the authorities referred to the case of Shen, and thus he did not compile the Daily Calendars.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁸ Cheng Ju 2000a, 329. See Cheng Ju 2000b (3.4, 111). Cf. Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.79 (2794)). This source provides the date for the entry in the *Lintai gushi* that has been missing there.

⁵⁶⁹ Gao Shen in Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.79 (2794)) first became attached to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature and then supervised Senior Compilers of rank five and above in the Secretariat and the Chancellery. The parallel entry in the *Xu Zizhi tongjian* makes it clear that Gao Shen’s promotion to Senior Compiler did not include any actual work in this function (Li Tao 2004, 87.2008).

⁵⁷⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 329. As Directors (*langzhong*) in Ministries both Gao and Shi could not actively be involved in compilation work. Gao’s example shows that he was permit-

3.24

In the ninth month of the fourth year of the Jiayou era (October/November 1059) Ouyang Xiu, Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute, said:

“Historiographers have produced books to record the achievements and failures of the court and the administration as well as the merits and offenses of the officialdom. There should be a storage place for this kind of writing. Formerly, Li Shu⁵⁷¹ burnt the drafts of all official histories of the present dynasty, after he had submitted the completed texts to the palace, and so nowadays the Historiography Bureau is nothing but an empty office. I ask the emperor to order the Longtu Cabinet to produce copies of these books and submit them to the Compilation Office (*bianxiu yuan* 編修院; my translation), to provide for research on and reading of historical precedents.”

[This suggestion] was followed.⁵⁷²

3.25

On the ninth day under the cyclical characters *jiachen* 甲辰 of the eighth month of the second year of the Yuanfeng era (September 6, 1079) Wang Cun, Joint Compiler of the Imperial Diary⁵⁷³, said:

“In the past the recorders of the left (*zuoshi* 左史)⁵⁷⁴ recorded events, and the recorders of the right (*youshi* 右史) recorded words. In the beginning of the

ted to active duty as a Senior Compiler only after he had retired from the Ministry of Justice.

⁵⁷¹ During the Qianxing era (1022) Li had compiled the *Zhenzong shilu* 真宗實錄. Li Tao (2004, 99.2302) identifies Li Wei, Yan Shu, Sun Shi, and Chen Yaozuo as the authors of the text. In 1033 Li Shu was a Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute (Tuotuo 1977, 291.9740–9741).

⁵⁷² Cheng Ju 2000a, 330. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (2.15, 77). This entry explains that once texts had been collated the material used for the collation and probably early drafts as well were destroyed so officials had no longer access to them. Therefore, Ouyang Xiu asked to provide copies of the original material at places that were accessible for officials.

⁵⁷³ In the parallel entry in Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 2.13 (2378)) Wang Cun, in addition to be identified with the position as Joint Compiler of the Court, is addressed as Junior Compiler in the Dynastic History Institute and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute.

⁵⁷⁴ According to Twitchett, Recorders of the Right and Recorders of the Left were used during 662–670 and 690–705, as alternative titles for “Court Diarists”, *qijulang* 起居郎 and *qiju sheren* 起居舍人, respectively (Twitchett 1992, 287 and 289).

Zhenguan era (627–649) of the Tang, when government matters were discussed at court, the Imperial Diarists used their brushes to record what was being proclaimed in front of the throne, and then the Historiographers followed suit.⁵⁷⁵ After the end [of the Zhenguan era], sometimes these [positions] were implemented and at other times they were abolished. From that time on, if a ruler committed himself to dedicate all his strength to the administration, these positions were implemented. And if it happened that mediocre officials acted without authority and devoted their time to covering up their offenses, these positions were abolished.⁵⁷⁶ These were the circumstances of [these positions].

Your Majesty dedicates Yourself tirelessly to government matters, and Your wisdom extends everywhere. In Your actions You are inevitably guided by precedents from antiquity and Your pronunciations are inevitably grounded in the Classics. As to Your decision-making of the innumerable matters [of government] and to Your distinguishing the doubtful from the obscure, they exceed the expectations of Your subjects.

I would like You to consider the historical example of the Zhenguan period of the Tang, and to revive the positions of Court Diarists (*qiju lang* and *qiju sheren*), in order to gather all the edicts (*deyin* 德音) of the Son of Heaven. After they have withdrawn (from court) to write them down, they should subsequently transfer their records to the historiographers.

When the two ministries (*erfu* 二府)⁵⁷⁷ are producing Records of Current Government consisting of matters ranging from memorials submitted up to the attendance of all officials at the audience hall, I am asking for permission for the Diary Officials to write down what they learn regarding the guiding principles of governance, so that statements on plans and instructions will not be lost.”⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁵ On the compilation of court diaries in the Tang see Twitchett 1992 (35–38). The process described here involved an original recording of important matters by the Imperial Diarists who then transferred their material for further editing to the Historiographers.

⁵⁷⁶ Tang Taizong attempted to interfere with the work on the Veritable Records of his father’s reign as well as his own (McMullen 1987, 171).

⁵⁷⁷ This refers to the Imperial Secretariat and the Bureau of Military Affairs.

⁵⁷⁸ A similar request for the introduction of recorders of the left and the right had been submitted by Zhang Bi at the start of the dynasty. See above under 3.18. What Wang Cun called for was a re-introduction of the positions of *qiju lang* and *qiju sheren* as independent functional official positions instead of being conferred as concurrent positions as practiced since Zhang Bi’s memorial from 994. Zhang’s suggestion had led that to the creation of the Office for the Imperial Diary that was staffed with officials working in the Three Institutes already. These officials were addressed as Compilers of

The emperor instructed Cun:

“The office of recorder already exists since the times of the Yellow Emperor and during the Han dynasty there was the Palace Court Diary (*jinzhong qijuzhu* 禁中起居注), from which the present Imperial Diary (*jijuzhu* 起居注) takes its designation. Recently bureaucratic posts have been lost indeed, yet, what the ruler talks about with his ministers inevitably relates to the running of government. What is being said publicly are therefore public statements; what is being said for selfish reasons, is, as rulers do not embrace selfishness, no secret matter. What is then the use of keeping these confidential!

For, if ministers submit memorials that contain slander or wicked sycophancy, it is assumed that the ruler inevitably should pardon⁵⁷⁹ them. If it is difficult to lay blame on them, consequently they have nothing to be afraid of. But if there are officials to the left and the right who record (these offenses), then there is no way that they can cover up their treachery.”

However, in the end (the suggestion) was not put into practice.

On the eleventh day under the cyclical characters *bingwu* 丙午 (September 8, 1079) an imperial decree ordered that officials in charge of compiling the Imperial Diary, even if they were not holding concurrent remonstrance functions, when recordable matters occurred, they were to directly state these (to the emperor) after memorials on these matters had been received by the Offices of the Recipients of Edicts at the Hall for the Veneration of Governance (Chong-

the Imperial Diary. Each position could only be held by one individual from the Chancellery (and called *qiju sheren*) and one from the Department of State Affairs (called *qiju lang*). The *Songshi* makes the affiliation of the former quite clear, while it is less precise on the latter (Tuotuo 1977, 161.3786, and 161.3780, respectively). In the Tang dynasty each position was held by two men each from the Chancellery (*qiju lang*) and the Secretariat (*qiju sheren*) (Li Linfu 1991, 8.2a (173) and 9.2a (196), respectively). The individual filling of the post does not only reflect the ancient model for the recorders, but appears to also follow a Later Tang practice instituted during 923 (Xue Juzheng 1977, 149.2000). The *Wenxian tongkao* provides a summary of the history of both posts (Ma Duanlin 1986, 51, “zhiguan” 4, 460–461).

⁵⁷⁹ The characters in the modern edition as well as in the *Song huiyao* and the *Xu Zizhi tongjian* are *hanrong* 函容. The text in the *Shiwanjuan lou congshu* reads *hanrong* 涵容 (3.16a).

zheng dian 崇政殿) and the Hall of Extended Harmony (Yanhe dian 延和殿)^{580, 581}

On the *jiayin* 甲寅 day of the eighth month (September 16) an imperial edict ordered that all offices had to submit their gazettes and the Historiography Institute all of its official documents to the Office for the Imperial Diary. These official gazettes according to old regulations comprised accounts of five days at the end of each decade (*xun* 旬), as well as accounts of ten days at the end of each month, and those for the month and for the year followed old regulations as well. All this followed what Wang Cun, Compiler of the Imperial Diary, had suggested:

“Recent regulations require that all offices have to submit reports on events directly to the Office for the Compilation of the Daily Calendar, hence there is nothing left for the Imperial Diary that could be prepared for compilation into a record. And then, during the Chunhua era (990–994), the number of days to be covered by the gazettes had been determined so they comprised five days or ten days and (the gazettes) were submitted at the end of the month or at the end of the year. However, according to recent regulations the reports for the five day period and those at the end of the month are merged into a report at the end of each decade, and those for the end of the year have been changed into reports at the end of each month. Moreover, in regard to the State Finance Commission, the fluctuations of the value of money and crops, income and expenses, the rising and decreasing [numbers recorded in] population registers and maps certainly cannot be observed every month and it is necessary to wait until the end of the year before final calculations can be made. If [the Office for the Compilation of the Daily Calendar] has to submit monthly reports, I fear that the relevant authorities will provide meaningless documents which are of no use as factual records.”

This was the reason for the imperial order (of the *jiayin* day).⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰ Hucker suggests that the Hall for the Veneration of Governance was subordinate to the Hanlin-Academy (Hucker 1988, 195). The Yanhe-Hall was a building on the palace grounds that emperors in the Northern Song retired to for reading and for talking to their officials (Tuotuo 1977, 154.3598).

⁵⁸¹ In the parallel entries in Li Tao 2004 and Xu Song 1997 this is marked as another suggestion by Wang Cun. It would have given the compilers of the Imperial Diary the initiative to notify the emperor of events that may have been missed otherwise. Wang Cun explains further below that Imperial Diarists should have access to the same information as the officials compiling the Daily Calendars.

⁵⁸² Cheng Ju 2000a, 331–332. Cf. Li Tao 2004 (299.7280) and Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 2.13–14 (2378)).

3.26

An imperial decree of the *yimao* 乙卯 day of the fifth month of the seventh year [of the Yuanfeng era] (June 22, 1084) ordered Editorial Directors to temporarily fill in vacant positions with the same authority as Editors or Correctors.⁵⁸³

Xing Shu, Assistant Editorial Director in the Palace Library⁵⁸⁴, remarked:

“According to official regulations, it is the duty of the Historiography Institute to compile the Dynastic History and the Veritable Records within the Daily Calendar Office. Therefore, the Compilation Office should be abolished and returned to the Historiography Institute.”⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸³ The latter were the higher positions as compared to the Editorial Directors. The same passage is found in Li Tao 2004 (345.8287).

⁵⁸⁴ Xing prior to his statement had assumed the position he is identified with here (Li Tao 2004, 345.8281).

⁵⁸⁵ Cheng Ju 2000a, 333. This passage appears also as part of a longer entry in Xu Song 1997 (“yunli”, 1.16 (2135)) and Li Tao 2004 (350.8382). The text in the *Song huiyao* continues: “The Institute for the Veneration of Literature as well as the Historiography Institute as the principal managing institutions for the dynastic history and the Veritable Records should be suspended, and the compilation of the calendar as well as the documents and the Records of Current Government prepared by the various offices should be re-assigned to the Section for the History of the Dynasty in the Department of the Palace Library. The Directors, Vice Directors, and Assistant Directors together with the Editorial Directors have functioned as Notaries which made it difficult for the Court Calendar Office to distinguish between them (in order of importance). Hence I ask that the documents prepared by the various offices will only be addressed to the Palace Library.’ In cases where the Directors, Vice Directors, and Assistant Directors of the Court Calendar (Office) had not participated in the compilation of documents, the Editorial Directors would open (*kaichai* 開拆) both the Records of Current Government and the Imperial Diary (*qijuzhu* 起居注), and enter them in the vault. It was ordered that in the future written reports and documents were all to be addressed to the Section for the History of the Dynasty in the Department of the Palace Library, and that events for the Records of Current Government and the Calendar were no longer to be compiled without the participation of Junior Compilers. On the sixth day of the eighth month of the eighth year (1085) by imperial decree Zeng Zhao 曾肇, Gentleman for Court Service and Director in the Ministry of Personnel and Lin Xi 林希, Gentleman for Court Audiences and Director in the Ministry of Rites, were appointed concurrent Editorial Directors. The practice of administrative officials taking over concurrent Institute positions began with this.”

Afterword

Lintai gushi in five *juan*. On the *bingwu* 丙戌 day of the second month of the first year of the Shaoxing era (March 19, 1131) [Fan 范] Zongyin 宗尹 (1098–1136)⁵⁸⁶, chancellor, [?] Shou 守, Participant in Determining Governmental Matters, and anonymous, Participant in Determining Governmental Matters explained: “Since the time of the Imperial Forefathers positions in the Institutes and the Archive have nurtured talented men and provided them with official appointments and in each era well-known dignitaries began their careers there. After the Chongning era (1102–1106) those selected for appointments were increasingly shallow. Since the beginning of the armed conflict and the running of the administration by redundant officials, the Palace Library has ceased (to function).

Now the difficulties have not ended, men with talents are worried. Daily calls should be made for outstanding men everywhere to come to court, and all functional official positions should be filled with the exception of the positions of tutors of the Heir Apparent (*taishao* 太少)⁵⁸⁷.

As matters (of state) are consolidated, there are (areas) which while being recovered remain precarious, and this is what the present situation is like. We think that the reintroduction of library positions should be considered in order to entertain the scholars within the empire.” The order (consequently issued) read: “The Palace Library shall be re-established by appointing one Vice Director as Director, as well as one Assistant Director, one Editorial Director, one Assistant Editorial Director, and two Editors and two Correc-

586 For more on Fan Zongyin see Franke 1976, 345–347.

587 The tutors of the Heir Apparent were collectively known as the *sangu* 三孤 (Three Solitaries): *taizi shaoshi* 太子少師 (Junior Preceptor), *taizi shaofu* 太子少傅 (Junior Mentor) and *taizi shaobao* 太子少保 (Junior Guardian) (Hucker 1988, 4864). See also Sun Fengji 1988 (2.26 (24)) on the *sanshao* 三少 and the same (27.5b–11a (545–548)) on *taishi*, *taifu* and *taibao*. These were prestigious titles given to high-ranking meritorious officials. Emperor Gaozong’s 高宗 (r. 1127–1162) only son had died in 1129 so there was no need to fill these posts at this time. Gaozong’s eventual successor, emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (1127–1194; r. 1162–1189), was an adopted son from the family branch of the Song founder emperor Taizu 太祖 (r. 960–976). The adoption was formalized only in 1153 (Chaffee 1999, 179–180).

tors. On the conduct of the department and the appointment of officials itemized memoranda will be submitted to the Department of State Affairs.” On the *jiachen* 甲辰 day of the third month (April 6) your subject Cheng Ju, Gentleman for Court Audiences Provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive, was assigned the post of Vice Director of the Palace Library. Your very unworthy subject has begun in the position of an Editorial Examiner of the compilation of the state regulations, and then continued as an Assistant Editorial Director. Presently taking up the (new) position in compliance with the orders and as the responsible official assuming an appointment that has been vacant for some time, I am uneasy and afraid that I will not measure up to it. When beginning my duties, I have searched for documents that were not available. I would like you to consider that I accessed the Palace Library three times previously, and each time I was there as a historiographer, I recorded precedents from the Three Institutes of the Imperial Ancestors through what I had heard and seen. Many of the old officials (employed in the library) had fled and died, but some of them had remained. We managed to recover old documents from the sludge of cinders, and after inspecting them and deciding (which ones to keep), we reported this to the Department of State Affairs. We asked to assign one clerk, twelve personnel versed in *kaishu* (cursive script), and one especially appointed subordinate official. As to those people looking after repairs and taking care of the vaults, guarding, cooking and cleaning, their number should not exceed eight. As to documents and calligraphic style, time allotted (in the library position), salary and rank, all of this should follow old regulations, in addition to what had been laid out in the new regulations.

After the Department of State Affairs had been informed about this, its order read “proceed”. Thereupon, scholars and commoners began to submit national histories, Veritable Records, imperial pronouncements, Collected Regulations and other texts, that they had privately collected, and the great ceremonies and great issues of the state because of these could be examined since. And as to the (positions) of Editor, Corrector and miscellaneous others provided for in the order of the Imperial Ancestors, on imperial order examinations were conducted in the Institute of Academicians and consequently men were appointed.

Your subject Ju respectfully lays out what the *Zhouguan* 周官 (*Zhouli*) says: “The External Recorder (*waishi* 外史)⁵⁸⁸ is responsible for the records of the four corners of the realm, and for the documents of the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors.⁵⁸⁹ The Grand Scribe (*taishi* 大史) sets right the

588 Given the actual duties described here, I have chosen the present translation rather than External Secretary (Hucker 1988, 7604) or “annalistes de l’extérieur” (Biot 1851, vol. 2. 70).

589 Ruan Yuan 1980, Vol. 1, *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏 26.182 (820)). The sovereigns referred to here are legendary rulers of early China with the Three August Ones consisting of Fu Xi 伏羲, Nüwa 女媧, and Shennong 神農, and the Five Emperors comprising

year⁵⁹⁰ by arranging matters in sequence and announces this to the bureaucratic establishment, the capital and remote areas, and he proclaims the beginning of the new year to the vassal states.”⁵⁹¹ It is said that the Left Recorder writes down the words⁵⁹², the Right Recorder writes down the actions, and presently the Palace Library holds the capacity of both. During the Han and the Wei the terminology was not unified and they were called Historiographers (*shiguan* 史官).

Therefore, the Director of the Palace Library was addressed from the middle of the Longshuo 龍朔 era (661–663) of the Tang as Grand Scribe, and the Vice Director (*shaojian*) as Vice Director (*shilang*) of the Lantai 蘭臺 (Orchid Terrace)^{593 594}.

Huangdi 黃帝, Zhuanyu 顓頊, Ku 嚳, Yao 堯 and Shun 舜. The composition of the group may vary from text to text.

590 Biot 1851 distinguished here between “l’année moyenne” and “l’année lunaire” (vol. 2, 64 and 349) for the original term *suinian* 歲年. Since it is evident that the text refers to the duration of one whole year, I have dropped the distinction from the present translation.

591 Ruan Yuan 1980, Vol. 1, *Zhouli zhushu* 26.179 (817).

592 This is most likely a reference to a passage in the *Liji* 禮記 that reads: “(The ruler’s) actions are written down by the Recorder to the Left, his words are written down by the Recorder to the Right” (Ruan Yuan 1980, Vol. 2 *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義 29.246 (1473–1474)). Couvreur 1913 (678–679) rendered *zuoshi* as “premier secrétaire”, and *youshi* as “second secrétaire”.

593 Drège 1991 (70) suggests that the appellation was chosen in reverence to the Lantai of the Former Han dynasty. For a study of the imperial collection of the Former Han see Fölster 2018.

594 The *Tang huiyao* reports on this matter as follows: “On the fourth day of the second month of the second year of the Longshuo era (February 27, 662) the name (of the library) changed to Lantai. Its director was then addressed as Lantai *taishi* 蘭臺太史, its Vice Director as Lantai *shilang* 蘭臺侍郎, and the Assistant Director as Lantai *dafu* 蘭臺大夫. On the twenty-third day of the tenth month of the first year of the Xianheng 咸亨 era (December 10, 670) all of these reverted to their old designations. On the fifth day of the ninth month of the first year of the Guangzhai 光宅 era (October 18, 684) (the name of the library) was changed to Lintai 麟臺 (Terrace of the Unicorn) and the designations for the Director and the other positions were consequently changed. On the fifth day of the second month of the first year of the Shenlong era (March 4, 705), the title was changed again to Director of the Palace Library (*bishu jian* 秘書鑿) like in the past” (Wang Pu 1989, 65.1123). The Guangzhai era was proclaimed in the ninth month of 684 as the first reign era of emperor Ruizong 睿宗 (684–690, 710–712) who ruled but in name as his mother, the famous Wu Zetian 武則天 (624–705) and later emperor (r. 690–705) Wu, took over the reins of power. The era ended in the twelfth month. It is evident that when Cheng Ju entitled his work *Lintai gushi* he was referring to the Tang precedent.

Since official writings and documents have lately been lost in large numbers, rules are recreated from memory, but if they are so handled, more deterioration will follow.

The repositories of historical records are the source for regulations, however, if they do not store any records, how are they to provide even one department with guidelines?

'In former times Sun Boyan 孫伯驥 was in charge of the documents of Jin' and 'Xinyou 辛有 had two sons called Dong 董'.⁵⁹⁵ Therefore, as the descendants of Boyan were addressed with the family name Ji in Jin 晉, and the descendants of Xinyou were addressed with the family name Dong in Jin, they were [Ji] Tan and [Dong] Hu 狐.⁵⁹⁶

Your servant hails from a family, desolate and remote, and although without pedigree, I devoted myself to the Lintai for fourteen years⁵⁹⁷, and in this time my duties also consisted in compiling precedents and supplementing fragmentary texts. Consequently, I have gathered anecdotes from the Three institutes and information from historical records, and arranged these in (chronological) order. Events are dealt with in different categories, and outlines of laws and decrees are recorded according to their evolution. I have produced a text in twelve sections that I have arranged in five chapters. I have notified the Department of State Affairs, and have sent a copy to the archive in the palace library, for officials to discuss. Your humble servant Ju respectfully submits this.⁵⁹⁸

595 These are quotations from the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan* 春秋左傳 (Ruan Yuan 1980, Vol. 2 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 47.376 (2078)). The Duke of Zhao evoked the ancestry of the record keeper in order to scold the record keeper Ji Tan 籍談.

596 The identification of Tan with Ji Tan is straightforward. The name Dong Hu is provided by the commentary to the above phrase which explains that the two sons of Xinyou in Jin assumed positions as record keepers. They were consequently known as Dong Hu.

597 According to Cheng Ju's Account of Conduct he entered the library in 1117 as a Character Examiner in the Office for the Compilation of the Collected Regulations of the Dynasty.

598 Cheng Ju 2000b, 218–219.

Titles and Institutions

Academician *xueshi* 學士

Academician Expositor-in-waiting *shijiang xueshi* 侍講學士

Academician in the Longtu Cabinet *Longtu ge xueshi* 龍圖閣學士

Academician in the Hall for Aid in Governance *Zizhengdian xueshi* 資政殿學士

Academician in the Proper and Bright Hall *Duanming dian xueshi* 端明殿學士

Academy of Scholarly Worthies *Jixian yuan* 集賢院, *Jixian shuyuan* 集賢書院

Acting *xing* 行

Acting Assistant Directors of the Palace Administration *dianzhong cheng* 殿中丞

Acting Grand Preceptor *jianjiao taishi* 檢校太師

Acting Supervisor of the Directorate for the Palace Buildings *panjiang zuojian* 判將作監

Adjunct Compiler *zuolang xiuzuan* 佐朗修纂

Adjutant *xingjun sima* 行軍司馬

Administrative Assistant in the State Finance Commission *sansi panguan* 三司判官

Administrative Assistant of a Fiscal Commissioner *zhuanyun panguan* 轉運判官

Administrator *zhi* 知

Administrator in the Law Section *sifa canjun* 司法參軍

Ancillary Official *muzhi* 幕職

Assistant *chengbu* 丞簿

Assistant *lang* 郎

Assistant Director *cheng* 丞

Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Entertainments *guanglu si cheng* 光祿寺丞

Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices *taichang cheng* 太常丞

Assistant Director of the Court of Judicial Review *dali si cheng* 大理寺丞

Assistant Director of the Court of the Imperial Clan *zongzheng cheng* 宗正丞

Assistant Director of the Court of the Imperial Regalia *weiwei cheng* 衛尉丞

Assistant Director of the Directorate of Education *guozi jian cheng* 國子監丞

Titles and Institutions

Assistant Director of the Left in the Department of State Affairs *shangshu zuo-cheng* 尚書左丞

Assistant Director of the Palace Administration *dianzhong cheng* 殿中丞

Assistant Director of the Palace Library *bishu cheng* 祕書丞

Assistant Director of the Palace Library Administration *bishu chengjian* 祕書丞監

Assistant Editorial Director *zhuzuo zuolang* 著作佐郎

Assistant Editorial Director in the Palace Library *bishu zhuzuo zuolang* 祕書著作佐郎

Assistant in the Palace Library *bishu lang* 祕書郎

Assistant in the Palace Library Administration *bishu sheng bishulang* 祕書省祕書郎

Assistant Magistrate *zhuo* 主簿

Assistant Supervisor of the Regent of Nanjing *liushou panguan gongshi* 留守判官公事

Associate Consultant *tong canxiang* 同參詳

Attendant Censor *shiyushi* 侍御史

Attendant Official *shicong guan* 侍從官

Auxiliary Censorate *liusi yushitai* 留司禦史台

Bureau Director in the Bureau of Honors *sifeng langzhong* 司封郎中

Bureau Director in the Bureau of Merit Titles *sixun langzhong* 司勳郎中

Bureau Director in the Catering Bureau *shanbu langzhong* 膳部郎中

Bureau Director in the Left Office *zuosi langzhong* 左司郎中

Bureau Director in the Ministry of Justice *xingbu langzhong* 刑部郎中

Bureau Director in the Ministry of Personnel *libu langzhong* 吏部郎中

Bureau Director in the Ministry of Revenue *hubu langzhong* 戶部郎中

Bureau Director in the Ministry of Rites *libu langzhong* 禮部郎中

Bureau Director in the Ministry of Rites in the Department of State Affairs *shangshu libu langzhong* 尚書禮部郎中

Bureau Director in the Ministry of War *bingbu langzhong* 兵部郎中

Bureau Director in the Right Office *yousi langzhong* 右司郎中

Bureau Director in the State Farms Bureau *tuntian langzhong* 屯田郎中

Bureau Director in the Tax Bureau *duzhi langzhong* 度支郎中

Bureau Director in the Treasury Bureau *jinbu langzhong* 金部郎中

Bureau Director of Studies of the National University *guozi siye* 國子司業

Bureau Director of the Criminal Administration Bureau *shangshu duguan langzhong* 尚書 s 都官郎中

Bureau Directors *langguan* 郎官

Bureau for the Editing of Medical Books *jiaozheng yishu ju* 校正醫書局

Bureau of Military Affairs *shumi yuan* 樞密院

- Bureau of Personnel Assignments *liunei quan* 流內銓
 Bureau of Personnel Evaluation *shenguan yuan* 審官院
 Bureau of Sacrifices *cipu* 祠部
- Capital Security Office *huangchengsi* 皇城司
 Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review *dali pingshi* 大理評事
 Censorate *yushitai* 御史臺
 Chancellery *menxiasheng* 門下省
 Character Examiner *jianyue wenzi* 檢閱文字
 Character Official *wenzi guan* 文字官
 Chief Compiler *jianxiu* 監修
 Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History *jianxiu guoshi* 監修國史
 Chief Minister *qing* 卿
 Chief Recipient of Edicts *dufu chengzhi* 都承旨
 Clerk *kongmu guan* 孔目官
 Clerk in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive and Palace Courier *sanguan bige neidian chengzhi* 三館祕閣內殿承制
 Commandant *wei* 尉
 Commentary Official *zhushi guan* 注釋官
 Commentator *zhushi guan* 註釋官
 Commissioner for Fostering Prosperity *zhongyi shi* 崇儀使
 Commissioner of Palace Halls and Parks *gongyuanshi* 宮苑使
 Commissioner-Councilor *shixiang* 使相
 Companion of the Heir Apparent *taizi zhongyun* 太子中允
 Compilation Clerk of the Book Collections in the Institutes and Archive *guange bianding shuji guan* 館閣編定書籍官
 Compilation Office *bianxiu yuan* 編修院
 Compiler *xiushu guan* 修書官
 Compiler of the Book Collections of the Institutes and the Archive *guange bianding shuji guan* 館閣編定書籍官
 Compiler of the Imperial Diary *xiu qijuzhu* 修起居注
 Compiler of the Dynastic History *xiuguoshi* 修國史; *guoshi bianxiu guan* 國史編修官
 Comptroller of the Tax Bureau *duzhi gouyuan* 度支勾院
 Consultant Official *canxiang guan* 參詳官
 Consultant-in-Charge *du canxiang* 都參詳
 Controller-general *tongpan* 通判
 Correcting Compiler *kanxiu* 刊修
 Corrector *zhengzi* 正字
 Court Gentleman Consultant *fengyilang* 奉議郎
 Court Gentleman for Comprehensive Duty *tongzhihang* 通直郎

Titles and Institutions

Court Gentleman for Instruction *xuanjiao lang* 宣教郎

Court of Palace Attendants *xuanhui yuan* 宣徽院

Courts for Awaiting the Morning Hour *dailou yuan* 待漏院

Daily Calendar Office *rilisuo* 日曆所

Department of State Affairs *shangshu sheng* 尚書省

Department of the Palace Library *bishusheng* 祕書省

Deputy Commissioner of the Imperial Larder *gongbei ku fushi* 供備庫副使

Deputy Commissioner of the Palace Storehouse *nei zangku fushi* 內藏庫副使

Deputy Recipient of Edicts *fu chengzhi* 都副承旨

Diary Official *jizhu guan* 記注官

Director *jian* 監

Director of the Chancellery *shizhong* 侍中

Director of the Court of Imperial Entertainments *guanglu qing* 光祿卿

Director of the Institutes *panguan* 判館

Director of the Palace Library *bishu [sheng] jian* 祕書[省]監

Director of the Secret Documents *bishu jian* 祕書監

Directorate of Education *guozi jian* 國子監

Directorate of the Palace Library *bishu jian* 祕書監

District Magistrate *zhixian* 知縣

Document Drafting Office *sheren yuan* 舍人院

Drafter *zhizhigao* 知制誥

Dynastic History Institute *guoshi yuan* 國史院

Dynastic History Official *guoshi guan* 國史官

Edict Attendant *daizhi* 待制

Edict Attendant in the Baowen Cabinet *Baowen ge daizhi* 寶文閣待制

Edict Attendant in the Huiyou Cabinet *Huiyou ge daizhi* 徽猷閣待制

Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet *Longtu ge daizhi* 龍圖閣待制

Edict Attendant in the Tianzhang Cabinet *Tianzhang ge daizhi* 天章閣待旨

Editing Clerk *jiaoshu* 校書

Editor *jiaoshulang* 校書郎

Editor *xiangding* 詳定

Editor in the Palace Library *bishu jiaoshulang* 祕書校書郎

Editor of the Books Bound in Imperial Yellow *jiao huangben shuji* 校黃本書籍

Editorial Assistant *bianjiao guan* 編校官

Editorial Assistant of the Book Collections *bianjiao shuji* 編校書籍

Editorial Director *zhuzuolang* 著作郎

Editorial Examiner *jianyue* 檢閱

Editorial Examiner of the Book Collection at the *Tangshu* Compilation Office

Tangshu suo jianyue shuji 唐書所檢閱書籍

- Editorial Service *zhuzuo ju* 著作局
 Educational Officials *xueguan* 學官
 Erudite of the National University *guozi boshi* 國子博士
 Erudite Scholar *xuejiu* 學究
 Eunuch in the Express Courier Service and Palace Servitor *runei dongtou gong-feng guan* 入內東頭供奉官
 Eunuch of High Rank *neishi gaopin* 內侍高品
 Eunuch of the High Duty Group *gaoban* 高班
 Examiner of Clerks in the Personnel Section *jianzheng kongmu lifang* 檢正孔目吏房
 Examiner of the Secretariat *jianzheng zhongshu* 檢正中書
 Examining Editing Official *jiantao guan* 檢討官
 Examining Editor *jiantao* 檢討
 Exhorter *zhengyan* 正言, Left *zuo* 左 and Right *you* 右
 Expositor-in-waiting *shijiang* 侍講
- Fiscal Commission *zhuanyunsi* 轉運司
 Fiscal Commissioner *zhuanyunshi* 轉運使
 Foreign Relations Office *libin yuan* 禮賓院
 Functional Officials *zhishi guan* 職事官
- Gentleman *lang* 郎
 Gentleman for Court Audiences *chaoqing lang* 朝請郎
 Gentleman for Court Service *chaofeng lang* 朝奉郎
 Gentleman for Discussion *chengyi lang* 承議郎
 Grand Academician in the Hall of Scholarly Worthies *jixian dian da xueshi* 集賢殿大學士
 Grand Councilor *zaixiang* 宰相
 Grand Master Admonisher *zanshan dafu* 右贊善大夫, Left *zuo* 左 and Right *you* 右
 Grand Master for Court Service *chaofeng dafu* 朝奉大夫
 Grand Master for Thorough Service *tongfeng dafu* 通奉大夫
 Grand Master of Palace Leisure *zhongsan dafu* 中散大夫
 Grand Master of Remonstrance *jianyi dafu* 諫議大夫, Left *zuo* 左 and Right *you* 右
 Grand Master of the Palace *zhong dafu* 中大夫
 Great Supplicator in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices *taichangsi taizhu* 太常寺太祝
- Hall for the Veneration of Governance *Chongzheng dian* 崇政殿
 Hall of Immortals *jixian dian* 集仙殿

Titles and Institutions

Hall of Scholarly Worthies *jixian dian* 集賢殿
Hanlin-Academician *Hanlin xueshi* 翰林學士
Hanlin-Academician Reader-in-waiting *Hanlin shidu xueshi* 翰林侍讀學士
Hanlin-Academician Recipient of Edicts *Hanlin xueshi chengzhi* 翰林學士承旨
Historiography Institute *shiguan* 史館
History Compilation Office *xiushiyuan* 修史院
History Office *shiyuan* 史院

Imperial Archive *bige* 祕閣
Imperial Commissioner *zhongshi* 中使
Imperial Diary Drafter *qiju sheren* 起居舍人; from the Chancellery
Imperial Diary Drafter *qiju lang* 起居郎; from the Department of State Affairs
Imperial Diary Office *neidian qiju* 內殿起居
Inner and Outer Drafters *nei wai zhi* 內外制
Institute for the Advancement of Literature *Hongwen guan* 弘文館
Institute for the Compilation of the Dynastic History *xiu guoshi yuan* 修國史院
Institute for the Glorification of Literature *Zhaowen guan* 昭文館
Institute for the Veneration of Literature *Chongwen yuan* 崇文院
Institute of Academicians *xueshi yuan* 學士院
Investigating Censor *jiancha yushi* 監察御史

Joint Compiler of the Imperial Diary *tongxiu qijuzhu* 同修起居注
Joint Compiler of the Dynastic History *tong xiu guoshi* 同修國史
Joint Junior Compiler *tong bianxiu* 同編修
Joint Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery *tong zhongshu men-xia pingzhangshi* 同中書門下平章事
Joint Office Manager *tong goudang* 同勾當
Judge in the Staff of a Military Commissioner *jiedu tuiguan* 節度推官
Judge in the Staff of a Surveillance Commissioner *guancha tuiguan* 觀察推官
Junior Compiler *bianxiu guan* 編修官
Junior Compiler of the *Tangshu bianxiu* *Tangshu guan* 編修唐書官
Junior Preceptor *shaoshi* 少師

Lecturer in the Directorate of Education *guozi jian zhijiang* 國子監直講
Left and Right Recorders *zuoyoushi* 左右史
Left Vice Director of the Chancellery *zuopuye* 左僕射
Libationer Director of the Directorate of Education *guozi jijiu* 國子祭酒

Magistrate *ling* 令
Manager of the Imperial Diary *dian jizhu* 典記注
Manager of the Ritual Academy *taichang liyuan* 太常禮院

Manager, Director *pan* 判
 Memorial Forwarding Office *tongjin si* 通進司
 Memorials Office *jinzouyuan* 進奏院
 Military Affairs Commissioner *shumishi* 樞密使
 Military Commissioner *jiedushi* 節度使
 Minister *shangshu* 尚書
 Minister of War *da sima* 大司馬

Nine Courts *jiusi* 九司
 Notary *qianshu* 簽書
 Notary of Two Commissioners *qianshu liangshi zhiguan ting gongshi* 簽書兩使
 職官廳公事

Observer in the Imperial Dispensary *hou yuyao yuan* 候禦樂院
 Office for Audience Ceremonies *gemen* 閣門
 Office for Daoist Records *daolu yuan* 道錄院
 Office for Separate Examinations of the Examination Office *gongyuan bieshi suo*
 貢院別試所
 Office for Supervising and Proofreading the Book Collections *tiju jiaokan shuji suo*
 提舉校勘書籍所
 Office for the Compilation of Collected Regulations of the Dynasty *bianxiu guo-
 chao huiyao suo* 編修國朝會要所
 Office for the Compilation of the Daily Calendar *bianxiu rili* 編修日曆所
 Office for the Compilation of Official Pronouncements *bianxiu chiling suo* 編修
 敕令所
 Office for the Editing of the Records with Maps of the Nine Regions *xiangding
 jiuyu tuzhi suo* 詳定九域圖志所
 Office for the Imperial Diary *qiju yuan* 起居院
 Office for the Supplementing and Completing of Previous Imperial Book
 Collections *buwan yu qian shuji suo* 補完御前書籍所
 Office of Statutes *geshi* 格式司
 Overseer-General *zongling* 總領

Palace Eunuch *neipin* 內品
 Palace Eunuch *neishi* 內侍
 Palace Eunuch *zhonggui ren* 中貴人
 Palace Library *bishu sheng* 祕書省 (since 1082)
 Palace Library Directorate *bishu sheng* 祕書省 (until 1081)
 Palace Servitor *gongfeng guan* 供奉官
 Palace Storehouses *neifu* 內府
 Participant in Determining Governmental Matters *canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事

Titles and Institutions

Policy Adviser *sanqi changshi* 散騎常侍
Prefectural Secretary *jiedu zhangshuji* 節度掌書記
Principal Grand Councilor *shouxiang* 首相
Proofreader *jiaokan* 校勘
Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive *guange jiaokan* 館閣校勘
Proofreader of Documents *jiaodui* 校對
Proofreading Official *jiaokan guan* 校勘官
Provincial Private Secretariat *mufu* 幕府
Provisional State Finance Commissioner *quan sansi shi* 權三司使
Provisional Supervisor of the Bureau of Personnel Assignments in the Ministry of Personnel *quan pan libu liuneiquan* 權判吏部流內銓
Provisionally Assigned Academician *zhi xueshi* 直學士
Provisionally Assigned to the Archive *zhige* 直閣

Reader in the Institutes and the Archive *guange dushu* 館閣讀書
Reader-in-waiting *shidu xueshi* 侍讀學士
Recorder *shiyi* 拾遺, to the Left *zuo* 左 and Right *you* 右
Remonstrance Office *jianyuan* 諫院
Remonstrance Official *jianguan* 諫官
Remonstrator *sijian* 司諫, to the Left *zuo* 左 and Right *you* 右
Revising Inspecting Officials *fu jianjian guan* 復點檢官
Revising Proofreading Officials *fu jiaokan guan* 覆校勘官
Right Grand Master Admonisher *you zanshan dafu* 右贊善大夫
Right Rectifier of Omissions *you buque* 右補闕
Ritual Academy *taichang liyuan* 太常禮院

Salt and Iron Monopoly Commissioner *yantie shi* 鹽鐵使
Secret Secretary *bishu* 祕書
Secretariat *zhongshu sheng* 中書省
Secretariat Drafter *zhongshu sheren* 中書舍人
Secretary *zhushi* 主事
Secretary of the Heir Apparent *taizi zhongshe* 太子中舍
Section for the History of the Dynasty *guoshi an* 國史案
Senior Compiler *xiuzhuan* 修撰
Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute *shiguan xiuzhuan* 史館修撰
Six Managers *liudian ju* 六典局
State Councilor in the Administration Chamber *zaizhi zhengshi* 宰知政事
State Finance Commission *sansi* 三司
Subeditor *jiaoli* 校理
Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies *jixian jiaoli* 集賢校理
Subeditor in the Imperial Archive *bige jiaoli* 祕閣校理

- Supernumerary officials *yuguan* 餘官
 Supervising Secretary *jishizhong* 給事中
 Supervisor *jian* 監
 Supervisor *panshi* 判使
 Supervisor of the Directorate of the Palace Buildings *jiangzuo jiancheng* 將作監丞
 Supervisor of the Revenue Section *hufang gongshi* 戶房公事
 Supervisor of the Revision of Books in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive *tiju sanguan bige xiejiao shuji* 提舉三館祕閣寫校書籍
 Supervisor of the Rotes Section *jianzheng lifang gongshi* 檢正禮房公事
 Supervisor of the Storehouses for Books *jian shuku* 監書庫
 Supporting Officials *congguan* 從官
 Supreme Clarity Tower *Taiqing lou* 太清樓
- Two Drafting Groups *liangzhi* 兩制
- Veritable Records Institute *shilu yuan* 實錄院
 Vice Censor-in-chief *yushi zhongcheng* 御史中丞
 Vice Chief Minister *qingshao* 卿少
 Vice Commissioner of the Bureau of Military Affairs *shumi fushi* 樞密副使
 Vice Director *shaojian* 少監
 Vice Director *shilang* 侍郎
 Vice Director in the Bureau of Equipment *jiabu yuanwailang* 駕部員外郎
 Vice Director in the Bureau of Forestry and Crafts *yubu yuanwailang* 虞部員外郎
 Vice Director in the Bureau of Honours *sifeng yuanwailang* 司封員外郎
 Vice Director in the Bureau of Operations *zhifang yuanwailang* 職方員外郎
 Vice Director in the Bureau of Provisions *kubu yuanwailang* 庫部員外郎
 Vice Director in the Bureau of Receptions *zhuke yuanwailang* 主客員外郎
 Vice Director in the Bureau of Sacrifices *cibu yuanwailang* 祠部員外郎
 Vice Director in the Criminal Administration Bureau in the Department of State Affairs *duguan yuanwailang* 都官員外郎
 Vice Director in the Directorate for the Palace Buildings *jiangzuo jian yuanwailang* 將作監員外郎
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The present text is a translation of the *Lintai gushi* by Cheng Ju, a book that deals with the imperial book collections under the Northern Song. The library collections of the early Northern Song were created from scratch, only to be partially destroyed again in the disastrous fire of 1015 and during the shift of the capital from Kaifeng to Hangzhou. Cheng Ju's *Lintai gushi* is the oldest surviving source of information on the Northern Song (960–1126) imperial libraries. The *Lintai gushi* bears witness to the various activities undertaken to rebuild comprehensive book collections and thus to fill the gap in the history of imperial Song libraries.

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