

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 quewen* 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 *jìnshi* 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).

