

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

### 2.1 Books

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>258</sup> Cheng Ju 2000a, 251.

## 2.2

In the first month of the ninth year of the Taiping xingguo era<sup>259</sup> an imperial decree proclaimed:

“The state realizes the emperor’s orders and makes public his administration, it upholds erudition and informs and guides learning, statutes of the state and regulations of the court, and it inspires education. Regulations of the state and decrees of the court together consolidate [the state]. Now, if ancient writings are scattered and destroyed, it must be our task to search for them. Nothing surpasses copying (old) texts to govern the state and care for the people. It is [therefore] appropriate to order the Three Institutes to list titles of books that are missing in the Institutes by reading through the *Kaiyuan sibu shumu* 開元四部書目.<sup>260</sup> At the exits of the Courts for Awaiting the Morning Hour<sup>261</sup> notices will be posted to inform everyone within and without the palace that when families of officials possess books which are lacking in the Three Institutes, they are permitted to purchase an official position.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 2.3

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

### 2.4

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.5

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

## 2.6

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

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

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

<sup>268</sup> Cheng Ju 2000a, 255.

<sup>269</sup> Cheng Ju 2000a, 256. See Cheng Ju 2000b (1.10, 37). See also Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.47 (2778)), and Wang Yinglin 1992 (28.4b).

<sup>270</sup> Cheng Ju 2000a, 256–257.

## 2.7

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

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

## 2.8

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.9

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.10

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

## 2.11

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.12

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And then, on another order, the State Finance Commission delegated Ding Wei<sup>294</sup> and Li Zongze to collect texts to supplement lost works.<sup>295</sup>

## 2.13

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

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

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

<sup>295</sup> Cheng Ju 2000a, 262–263.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.14

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the first month of the ninth year (February/March 1016) the Military Affairs Commissioner Wang Qinruo<sup>305</sup> was ordered to act as Chief Supervisor and a seal was cast for him, whereas Pengnian as before jointly managed [this task with him]. When Pengnian [was made] Participant in Determining Governmental Matters, he still supervised this task, but when he died, no one replaced him. When Qinruo was made Councilor, Li Di 李迪 (971–1047)<sup>306</sup> replaced him.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>307</sup> Cheng Ju 2000a, 266. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (1.6, 28).

## 2.15

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

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

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

This was followed.<sup>308</sup>

## 2.16

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

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<sup>308</sup> Cheng Ju 2000a, 268.

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

## 2.17

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

On the *jiayin* 甲寅 day of the tenth month of the third year (October 31, 1036), the Drafter Wang Juzheng was appointed to inspect and arrange the books in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive<sup>315</sup>, and from then on offi-

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>315</sup> This information is also supplied in Li Tao 2004 (119.2809).



cials were regularly selected from among the Inner and Outer Drafters<sup>316</sup> to perform this task.

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

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

This is not how the state respects the erudition of people outside the capital.<sup>318</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.18

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

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

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<sup>320</sup> For more information on this catalogue, see Hervouet 1978 (195).

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

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

<sup>323</sup> Cheng Ju 2000a, 269.

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

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

After suitable scholars had been selected, the emperor ordered them to arrange the books in the Institutes and the Archive, and a search for lost books was started and an empire wide search for books to supplement the missing copies began. And then he addressed his Councilors: “Of the official histories of [the dynasties] of the Song (420–479), Qi (480–502), Liang (503–557), Chen (557–589), Later Zhou<sup>325</sup>, and the Northern Qi (550–577), hardly any original copies are extant today and as of now they have not been circulated to Educational Officials. The Editorial Assistants shall be commissioned to diligently collate them.” From then onwards the search produced many texts and after errors had been corrected, they were consequently made into complete histories and circulated as the standard texts.<sup>326</sup>

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

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

<sup>325</sup> Later Zhou here refers to the Northern Zhou (557–581).

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

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

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

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

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

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

During the Xining era (1068–1077) Song Minqiu<sup>329</sup> said: “Even though the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive hold a multitude of books, they are grouped in many categories that are erroneous. I ask to collect the books, that are listed in the *Yiwenzhi* 藝文志 by Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), and send an order to all the Circuits to purchase original manuscripts to revise them. In the future, the catalogues in the *Hanshu* monograph (on literature) (*Hanzhi* 漢志) and the *Tangshu* monograph (on literature) (*Tangzhi* 唐志) can be used for collating texts, and all those texts that are worth to be handed down should be kept, while all the remaining texts can be done away with.”<sup>330</sup> In the end this suggestion was not followed.<sup>331</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>331</sup> Cheng Ju 2000a, 271–272.

## 2.19

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

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

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

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

## 2.20

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.21

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Liu Chenggui<sup>351</sup>, Commissioner of Palace Halls and Parks, looked after this enterprise, while Liu Chongchao, Palace Attendant, assisted him.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

## 2.22

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kan and the others were conferred gifts of vessels and bales of silk fabric<sup>364</sup> according to rank.<sup>365</sup>

## 2.23

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

## 2.24

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the fourth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1011), Li Zongze<sup>369</sup>, Yang Yi, Chen Pengnian and others were ordered to proofread the *Zhuangzi xu* 莊子序. It was printed and circulated. Before all this, the Institute for the Veneration of Literature had revised an edition of the *Zhuangzi*, but since the preface was not the text by Guo Xiang, it had been discarded. Upon this the emperor said that the structure of the text (*wenli* 文理) should be honored, and therefore the order [for the revision] was issued.<sup>370</sup>

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

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

<sup>370</sup> Cheng Ju 2000a, 285. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (2.5, 60).

## 2.25

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

## 2.26

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.27

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.28

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

## 2.29

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.30

In the ninth month of the second year of the Jing you era (October/November 1035) by imperial order<sup>396</sup> the Hanlin-Academician Zhang Guan and others were to examine and revise the *Qian* and *Hou Hanshu* as well as the *Mengzi* 孟子, and publish [the revised texts] through the Directorate of Education. People talking about [this matter] thought that in past dynasties the Classics and Histories all had been hand-written on paper, and though they contained mistakes, they could still be consulted for collating [new texts]. In the Five Dynasties period officials started to use inked wood blocks to print the Six Classics,<sup>397</sup> in the hope to establish definitive texts and characters, and thus to make scholars less suspicious of texts. Since the reign of Taizong, moreover, all the historical works of Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145–90 BCE; author of the *Shiji*), Ban Gu (d. 90 CE; author of the *Qian Hanshu*), and Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445 CE; author of the *Hou Hanshu*) had been printed<sup>398</sup>, and all of them circulated with the [print edition of] the Six Classics, and consequently existing hand written copies were

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the following year (1036), Yu Jing, Proofreader of the *Shiji* and the [two] *Hanshu* and Assistant Director of the Palace Library, was made Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and Wang Zhu, Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review<sup>402</sup> and Lecturer in the Directorate of Education, was appointed Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute, while the Hanlin-Academician Zhang Guan, and the Drafters Li Shu and Song Jiao, who had served as Editors, were conferred gifts of vessels and bales of silk fabric according to rank.<sup>403</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

### 2.31

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

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

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

<sup>405</sup> Cheng Ju 2000a, 290. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.12, 73).