

3 Editing *xiuzuan* 修纂

3.1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The emperor said: “You and the others have perused a great number of books while compiling this work, and used their merits for expounding [things in detail]. This book has nothing in common at all with the *Taiping yulan* and the *Taiping guangji* that were praised in the past.” Yi replied: “The *Taiping yulan* only reports on past events without differentiating between good and bad. The *Taiping guangji* is but trivial talk and insignificant gossip. That is where these two books differ from the present book.”⁴²⁵

The emperor consequently ordered the compilers to tackle difficult problems exhaustively during the compilation of the work. He personally changed and corrected the sequence of the topics which had not yet been decided upon. And then he said: “We are compiling this book, because We want to emphasize meritorious and good affairs between rulers and officials of preceding dynasties and make them into future norms. Reading this book to inquire about history is also useful for scholars.”⁴²⁶ From that day onwards, two chapters of the draft were submitted daily to the emperor. The emperor read through them carefully and by the next day he inevitably had noted mistakes and announced them. He said:

“The imperial decrees and commands of previous dynasties were all being issued for contemporaneous matters and there certainly were reasons to prepare them. Now that these are gone altogether and as the original circumstances (*yi* 意) are no longer recognizable, we must distinguish between good and evil, and therefore the task consists in examining and verifying. If in the former

⁴²⁵ The negative opinion of the *Taiping yulan* and *Taiping guangji* still reverberates in Haeger’s 1968 critical evaluation published almost a thousand years later as well.

⁴²⁶ Cf. the variant version of this speech in Li Tao 2004 (65.1452).

histories there was an imbalance between praise and blame, by imperial order the [description of] contemporary affairs were changed. At that time the influential ministers used their power at will and they created [the records according] to their likes and dislikes. We are retrospectively inspecting all this, and scrutinizing all available texts, we can distinguish right from wrong.

As to the compilation of books, when they referred to people of high rank, they were completed quickly, and this makes it certainly difficult to [discern] their essential facts.

Towards the end of the Daye era (605–617) there was an abundance of written works, but rarely have they been transmitted, so how is it possible that they are not deeply flawed? With the present book I want to preserve a lesson for rulers and their officials and therefore only the Classics and History, but no heterodox writings and trivial talk at all will be used. Each section (*pian* 篇) will be introduced by a preface, and this shall become the pattern to be employed. The prefaces so far written, all quote the Classics and History, and thus are fully concise, but warnings and exhortations are not comprehensive.

For instance, in the straightforward admonishments (*zhijian* 直諫) category remonstrance should not be held back in regard to the adornments of emperors and kings, for if judgement is not passed with the most fitting words, then our neighbouring states will be in doubt and accept that praise [of excessive adornments] is permissible. When in the regular running of the state accidentally errors occur, and also when emperors wantonly break the law, some people use allegories that lead to an awareness [of these conditions], and that is a laudable act. Rashly revealing [these blunders], blaming them on the ruler, publicizing them for posterity and to portray oneself as straightforward, indeed is not [the comportment of] a loyal official.”

Consequently, he conferred vessels and bales of silk fabric on the compiling officials, and copper cash on the scribes and the others, according to rank.

The original order [for the compilation] had been given to [Wang] Qinruo, [Yang] Yi and others, but abruptly Chen Congyi, an Assistant Director of the Palace Library, as well as Liu Yun, a Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, were recruited.

After [Wang] Xiyi's death⁴²⁷ and [Song] Yixu's demotion⁴²⁸, Zha Dao 查道 (955–1018)⁴²⁹, an Auxiliary Academician in the Institute of Historiography, and Wang Shu 王曙 (963–1034)⁴³⁰, an Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, were selected as collaborators. Again, sometime later, Xia Song, who was provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, was enlisted, and finally Sun Shi, Vice Director in the Bureau of Operations, was ordered to compose the phonetic commentary.

Altogether work on the text spread over a period of nine years and it was completed comprising 1,000 *juan* in the sixth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1013), when it was submitted to the throne. It consisted of thirty-one categories, which all were introduced with a general preface, while each of the 1,104 subcategories also had their own preface. Moreover, there was a table of contents and a phonetic commentary, that also comprised ten *juan* each. The ruler read the work for some time and gave it the title *Cefu yuangui*.⁴³¹

By imperial order Qinruo and the others were conferred [the privilege] to sit [in the presence of the emperor]. Qinruo and the others submitted a memorial asking for an imperial preface; the emperor modestly rejected [this suggestion] three times, [but] when the Grand Councilors asked him once more, he complied.

On the *bingzi* 丙子 day⁴³² an imperial decree conferred an official position on one son each [of the following officials]: Wang Qinruo, Military Affairs Commissioner; Chen Pengnian and Li Wei, Hanlin-Academicians; Du Hao, Academician in the Longtu Cabinet; Qian Weiyang, Drafter in the Imperial Secretariat; Sun Shi and Diao Kan, Edict Attendants in the Longtu Cabinet. Yang Yi, Vice

427 The very short biographical entry on Wang in the *Songshi* does not give an exact date for his death (Tuotuo 1977, 268.9233). It merely mentions that he participated in the compilation of the *Cefu yuangui* and that he was promoted to Vice Director of the Bureau of Sacrifices.

428 Song Yixu's offence is not further specified, but he was given the lowly position of Vice Prefect of Fuzhou 復州 (in modern Hubei) (Tuotuo 1977 (264. 9132)).

429 Zha Dao was the son of a prominent official at the Southern Tang court whose sons all were taken over into the service of the Song (Kurz 2003, 208–210).

430 Wang Shu (*jinshi* of 992) was the son-in-law of Kou Zhun and when the latter was dismissed Wang similarly lost his post in the capital. Back in the capital he was serving the later emperor Renzong, but again was demoted because of irregularities in the examinations. Wang was versed in the canonical scriptures and history and wrote a number of works on these topics (Kurz 2003, 210–212).

431 For more on the compilation process and the personnel involved see Kurz 2003 (171–219).

432 Since no month and no year are given, this date cannot be determined.

Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices was made Director of the Palace Library in the Western Capital (Luoyang) as he had been before. Diao Kan, Bureau Director in the Ministry of Justice and Auxiliary Academician in the Imperial Archive, was made Bureau Director in the Ministry of War. Jiang Yu, Vice Director of the Bureau of Sacrifices and Auxiliary Academician in the Institute of Historiography, was made Vice Director in the Revenue Section. Xia Song, Assistant Director of the Palace Library and Auxiliary Academician in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, was made Exhorter to the Left and as before acted as Assistant Director of the Palace Administration. Liu Yun, Sub-editor in the Imperial Archive, was made Exhorter to the Right and Auxiliary Academician in the Institute of Historiography. All received vessels and bales of silk fabrics according to their rank to reward them for their compilation work.

At the start of the compilation each category was submitted as soon as it was drafted, and the emperor personally inspected it and picked out errors and mistakes. Often, he would write them down in his own hand, and sometimes he would summon [the compilers] for guidance and appraisals. He ordered Liu Chenggui, Commissioner of Palace Halls and Parks, to open a register to record the tasks of the compiling officials and to list [the names of those officials, who] diligently had removed errors in memorials.

The emperor once addressed Wang Qinruo: “The *Junchen shiji* is written using the Classics and [Historical] Records as sources. Recently We found that the category on military commanders only starts with Han Xin 韓信 (d. 196 BCE), a general of the Han dynasty.” Thereupon he produced [a passage from] the *Si(yin)zheng* 嗣(胤)征 [chapter] of the *Shangshu* 尚書 that read: “To guide the six marshals means to be Minister of War”, and yet [other passages] in the *Shijing* such as the *Caiwei* 采薇 and the *Chuche* 出車 which all dealt with matters related to military commanders. As soon as the compilers had been notified in writing, they examined the *Zhengyi* 正義 (Corrected Commentaries) [of the Classics] and used [passages from them] to enter the compilation.

In the tenth month of the second year⁴³³ a letter from the imperial palace was conferred on Wang Qinruo and the others. It read:

“In the *Junchen shiji* categories do not correspond with one another. We order as of today, that Qinruo when he has finished proof reading will sign with his name at the beginning of [each] chapter, and that when Yang Yi has finished his revision, will sign with his name at the end of [each] chapter. The

433 The reign era is not specified here but since the letter is referring to the *Cefu yuangui* by its working title it is fair to assume that it was sent during the Jingde era and hence the probable date would be 1005.

officials trusted with the first compilation and the second revision will likewise sign at the end [of each chapter] in order to avoid modifications to the whole work.”

Apart from the correct Classics and Histories, only the *Guoyu* 國語, *Zhangguo ce* 戰國策, *Hanshi waizhuan* 漢詩外傳, *Lüshi chungqiu* 呂氏春秋, *Guan[zi]* 管子, *Yan[zi]* 燕子, *Han[feizi]* 韓非子, *Huainanzi* 淮南子, and the *Xiuwendian yulan* 修文殿御覽 were used [in the compilation]. Records of women were also recorded in 80 *juan*. [This work] was conferred the title *Tongguan yifan* 彤管懿範.⁴³⁴

3.4

In the first year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1008), when the emperor was about to proceed to Yanzhou 兗州 (in modern Shandong) to perform the *fengshan* 封禪 sacrifices⁴³⁵, Qi Lun, an Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet, asked for an order for the officials compiling local gazetteers (*tujing* 圖經)⁴³⁶, to first compile local gazetteers of the prefectures and districts through which the east-bound imperial procession would pass⁴³⁷ and submit them to the palace, and confer copies of these for examination to the Department of State Affairs, the

⁴³⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 294–297. The corresponding entry in the *jiben* (Cheng Ju 2000b, 2.4, 54–55) adds after the last sentence the following information: “On the *yihai* 乙亥 day of the eighth month of the fourth year of the Jingde era the emperor, having paid a visit to the Shangqing Temple at the Daxiangguo Monastery, stopped by the Institute for the Veneration of Literature, to inspect the *Junchen shiji* that was being compiled there. Wang Qinruo and Yang Yi submitted a draft copy to the emperor, and the emperor took a long time to peruse it. And then he also inspected the charts and books that were contained in the four storehouses. He addressed the councilors: ‘The compilation of books is a difficult matter. Those who talk about it praise the Veritable Records of former reigns even though they have shortcomings.’ Yi came forth and said: ‘When the historiographers write down matters, they faithfully gather all details. When I headed the compilation of the *Taizong shilu* all matters appeared in sequence based on records found in books, and these have been used to write the record.’ The emperor agreed with this and gave each of the compiling officials vessels and bales of silk fabrics according to their rank”. The date of the visit is probably incorrect and should be amended to read on the “*renyin* 壬寅 day” (September 22, 1007) (Tuotuo 1977, 7.134).

⁴³⁵ On the sacrifices to heaven and earth in the early Song period see Fong 1996 and Kuhn 2001 (146–147).

⁴³⁶ On *tujing* in the Northern Song dynasty see Hargett 1996.

⁴³⁷ The itinerary of the imperial procession and the consequent memorial by Qi Lun are contained in Li Tao 2004 (68.1536–1537).

Bureau of Military Affairs, and the Institute for the Veneration of Literature. This suggestion was followed.⁴³⁸

In the fourth year (1011) when the emperor was about to sacrifice [to the God of the Earth (*houtu* 后土)] at Fenyin⁴³⁹, he also ordered [local gazetteers of] the places he would pass through to be compiled by Qian Yi from the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, Chen Yue from the Historiography Institute, Liu Yun, a Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, and Song Shou, a Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies.⁴⁴⁰ When the emperor later proceeded to pay his respects at the Taiqing Temple (*Taiqing gong* 太清宮) (in 1014)⁴⁴¹, he also ordered officials to compile [local gazetteers of] the places he had passed through. Moreover, Yan Shu, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies,⁴⁴² was ordered to join in the compilation.⁴⁴³

3.5

In the twelfth month [of the first year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (December 1008/January 1009)]⁴⁴⁴ Chen Pengnian, Vice Director in the Ministry of Justice provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute and Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet, asked to compile the imperial edicts, memoranda, regula-

⁴³⁸ Zhenzong's religious activities also led to the compilation of a large gazetteer (*tujing*), consisting of 1,566 *juan* in 1010. Wang Yinglin 1992 (14.37–38a) provides more information on this work which is no longer extant, under the heading *Xiangfu zhouxian tujing* 祥符州縣圖經.

⁴³⁹ For more information on this sacrifice see Tuotuo 1977 (104.2534–2537).

⁴⁴⁰ The completed work is addressed as *Xiangfu tuxunlu* 祥符圖訓錄 in Wang Yinglin 1992 (15.38b–39a).

⁴⁴¹ The Taiqing gong was located in Haozhou 亳州 (in modern Anhui), the alleged place of origin of Laozi. In 1013 a delegation from Haozhou consisting of 3,316 men including priests and degree holders, petitioned the emperor to proceed to Haozhou. When the court bureaucracy similarly asked Zhenzong to do so, he agreed to visit the place the following year. The *Songshi* records this under the heading “chaoye Taiqing gong” 朝謁太清宮 (Tuotuo 104.2537–2541). All this has to be seen in the context of Zhenzong's vision of the Song imperial family being descendants of Laozi. The date of Zhenzong's visit was February 24, 1014 (Tuotuo 1977, 8.155). He left Haozhou on March 1, 1014 (Li Tao 1992, 82.1863).

⁴⁴² Yan Shu was given the position of Subeditor in the year 1005, when he was about fourteen years old (Tuotuo 1977, 311.10195).

⁴⁴³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 297.

⁴⁴⁴ The supplemented date comes from Cheng Ju 2000b (2.7, 63).

tions and so forth, [that had been circulated] after the reception of the Heavenly Letters and before the adoption of an imperial honorific title by the emperor (*shang zun hao* 上尊號),⁴⁴⁵ under the title *Dazhong xiangfu fengshan ji* 大中祥符封禪記. On imperial orders, Li Zongze, Hanlin-Academician, Ding Wei, Provisional State Finance Commissioner, Qi Lun, Subeditor in the Imperial Archive and Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet, and Pengnian compiled a record which was delivered to the Five Commissioners (*wushi* 五使)⁴⁴⁶ for inspection.⁴⁴⁷

3.6

In the ninth month of the sixth year [of the Dazhong xiangfu era (September/October 1013)] Shen Congji 慎從吉 (950–1019)⁴⁴⁸, a Provisional Supervisor of the Bureau of Personnel Assignments in the Ministry of Personnel, said the following:

“The Office of Statutes (*geshisi* 格式司; my translation) uses the *Shidao tu* 十道圖⁴⁴⁹ to determine prefectures (*jun* 郡) and districts (*xian* 縣) according to

⁴⁴⁵ The time span is from the *yichou* 乙丑 day of the first month of the first year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (February 10, 1008) to the *xinhai* 辛亥 day of the sixth month of the same year (July 29), when officials asked the emperor to adopt the title “Chongwen guangwu yitian zundao baoying zhanggan shengming renxiao huangdi” 崇文廣武儀天尊道寶應章感聖明仁孝皇帝 (Tuotuo 1977, 7.135–137).

⁴⁴⁶ According to Hucker, the Five Commissioners were all assignments for censors (Hucker 1988, 7819). The correct designation is Five Commissioners of the Censorate (*yushitai wushi* 御史台五使) and refers to irregular official assignments (Gong Yanming 1997, 384).

⁴⁴⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 300. Cf. Cheng Ju 2000b (2.7, 63).

⁴⁴⁸ Shen Congji, a nephew of the last ruler of Wuyue, arrived at the Song court after the surrender of Wuyue in 978. Unemployed for a long time, he was only recalled in 1004 by Zhenzong and then enjoyed a moderate career (Tuotuo 1977, 277.9445–9447).

⁴⁴⁹ This title may refer to a number of works first compiled during the Tang dynasty, two of which are identified by the year they were compiled in. The *Jiu Tangshu* lists a *Chang'an sinian* (704) *Shidao tu* 長安四年十道圖 in thirteen, and a *Kaiyuan sannian* (715) *Shidao tu* 開元三年十道圖 in ten *juan* (Liu Xu 1975, 46.2016). The *Xin Tangshu* lists these titles as well, but also a *Shidao tu* 十道圖 in ten *juan* by Li Jifu 李吉甫 (758–814) (Ouyang Xiu 1975, 58.1506). In his biography in the *Jiu Tangshu* Li Jifu is credited with a *Guojibu* 國計簿 in ten *juan* that dealt with households, taxes and armed forces registers (Liu Xu 1975, 148.3997). It is not clear if this is the work entitled *Shidao tu* in the *Xin Tangshu* or *Zhenyuan Shidao tu* 貞元十道圖 in the *Taiping huanyuji* (Yue Shi

the *shang* 上, *chi* 赤, *jin* 緊 and *wang* 望 classes.⁴⁵⁰ Justice officials also use this to determine punishments, but each year the numbers of [registered] families vary, and their numbers are never corrected, so that when it comes to grading the families, many mistakes are occurring.

I would like to ask that officials be detached on duty assignment to collect the copies of the *Map of the Ten Provinces* held in the Office of Statutes and the Court of Judicial Review as well as all the maps and treatises (*tujing* 圖經) of the whole empire held by the Institutes and the Archive, to compile a new work to be handed over to and disseminated among all offices for their use.”

An imperial decree ordered Shen Yong and Shao Huan, Subeditors in the Imperial Archive, and Yan Shu, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, to compile [a new work], while the Hanlin-Academician Wang Zeng⁴⁵¹ was to supervise them.⁴⁵²

This revision (*xiangding* 詳定) then was the origin of the *Jiuyu tuzhi* 九域圖志.

In the sixth month of the eighth year of the Xining era (July/August 1075) Liu Shidan 劉師旦, Vice Director in the Criminal Administration Bureau in Department of State Affairs, said: “The *Jiuyutu* is already more than sixty years old. During that time some prefectures and districts have been abolished, others have been established, names and designations have changed, classifications have been upgraded or downgraded, and ancient relics in ordinary places that it reports on cannot be found.”

On imperial orders the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive had to revise the work. Afterwards an order was sent to Zhao Yanruo, an Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly

2007, 120.23940). In August 924 an official of the Later Tang asked the emperor to compile “maps of the ten provinces” (Liu Xu 1975, 32.440). Following the organization of the territory of the Song in 993 into ten provinces, in 1007 an update of the existing *Shidao tu* was ordered, but this revision was never finished.

⁴⁵⁰ These classes of districts were based on their population since the start of the Song in 960. The *shang*-class had a size of 2,000 households and more, the *jin*-class consisted of more than 3,000 households, and the *wang*-class featured more than 4,000 households. *Chi* probably refers to one of the original classes. It may have been listed here incorrectly, since the other classes established in 960 were *zhong* 中 (more than 1,000 households), *zhongxia* 中下 (less than 1,000 households), and *xia* 下 (less than 500 households) (Xu Song 1997, “zhiguan” 11.76 (2660)).

⁴⁵¹ The bibliographical monograph in the *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 204.5153) lists a *Jiuyutu* 九域圖 in three *juan* compiled by Wang Zeng.

⁴⁵² Cf. the parallel entry in Li Tao 2004 (81.1851). The anecdote is dated there to the tenth month of that year. See also Wang Yinglin 1992 (14.35a).

Worthies, and Zeng Zhao 曾肇 (1047–1107)⁴⁵³, District Magistrate of Huojia 獲嘉 District in Weizhou 衛州 Prefecture (in modern Henan) and Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive, too, to delete [passages from] and revise the old text [as necessary], but the Imperial Archive did not establish a separate office for them. Yanruo dismissed the revision, and his advice was followed.

Since the transmitted editions of the old work did not outline the boundaries of territories, it was difficult to refer to it as a map, and thus the title was changed [from *Jiuyu tuzhi* 九域圖志] to *Jiuyuzhi* 九域志.⁴⁵⁴

3.7

In the summer of the fourth year of the Tianxi era (1020), the Hanlin-Academicians Yang Yi, Qian Weiyuan and Sheng Du; Xue Ying 薛暎⁴⁵⁵ and Wang Shu, both Academicians provisionally assigned to the Bureau of Military Affairs; Chen Yaozi 陳堯咨⁴⁵⁶, an Auxiliary Academician in the Longtu Cabinet, the Drafters Liu Yun, Yan Shu and Song Shou; and Li Xingjian 李行簡⁴⁵⁷, an Edict Attendant, asked to bring forth the “Imperial Collection” (*Yuji* 御集) [from its repository], in order to expound its substance (*jian jie qi yi* 箋解其義).

An imperial decree ordered Yi and the others to produce annotations, while the Grand Councilor Kou Zhun was the Consultant-in-Charge, and Li Di, a Participant in Determining Governmental Matters, served as Associate Consultant. [Commentary: Zhun subsequently retired, and the Councilors Ding Wei and Li

⁴⁵³ Zeng Zhao (*jinshi* of 1067) was a native of Jianchang in Jiangxi. His rise in the administration began with the submission of an Account of Conduct (*xingzhuang*) for Zeng Gongliang, which caught the attention of emperor Shenzong. Consequently, Zeng received an appointment as Junior Compiler of the dynastic history, and he subsequently served as Examining Editor for the Veritable Records of Shenzong (*Shenzong shilu* 神宗實錄) (Wang Cheng 1979, 48.721–724; Tuotuo 1977, 319.10392–10396; Franke 1976, 1066–1069).

⁴⁵⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 300–301.

⁴⁵⁵ Xue Ying who hailed from Sichuan was a career official who served the first three Song emperors. His real talents apparently lay in the areas of financial administration (Kurz 2003, 127–129).

⁴⁵⁶ Chen Yaozi (*jinshi* of 1000) was the younger brother of Chen Yaozuo (Tuotuo 1977, 284.9588–9589).

⁴⁵⁷ Li Xingjian had been appointed Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet as well as Director in the Ministry of Justice by Zhenzong (Tuotuo 1977, 301.9991–9992).

Di became Consultants-in-Charge. Later on, Feng Zheng 馮拯⁴⁵⁸ and Cao Liyong 曹利用 (?-1029)⁴⁵⁹ were also called to fill in, and Ren Zhongzheng 任中正⁴⁶⁰ and Wang Zeng, Participants in Determining Governmental Matters, and Qian Weiyan, Deputy Military Affairs Commissioner, were appointed as Associate Consultants. Sheng Du, Xue Ying, and Chen Yaozi, as Commentary Officials successively gave support from outside (the original revision team), and the Drafters Lü Yijian⁴⁶¹, Zu Shiheng 祖士衡⁴⁶², Qian Yi, as well Zhang Shixun, Academician provisionally assigned to the Bureau of Military Affairs, and the Hanlin-Academician Li Ci 李諮 (982–1036)⁴⁶³ were also brought in. Since Yijian subsequently became Magistrate of Kaifeng fu, he retired from the revision team. Shou was sent as an envoy to the Qidan, Yi unexpectedly passed away, and Li Yun similarly left to take up a post outside the capital.]

Twenty-eight officials who were either from the staff of the Three Institutes or were Subeditors served as Editorial Examiners and they completed 150 *juan*.

In the winter of that year, the Secretariat and the Bureau of Military Affairs again asked to revise the *Yuji*, and under the direction of Qian Weiyan and Wang Zeng 300 *juan* were finished. Moreover, they gathered pleasant words and good events from the Records of Current Government (*shizhengji* 時政記), the Imperial Diary (*qijuzhu* 起居注), and Daily Calendars (*rili* 日曆) from the

458 Feng Zheng had entered official service upon the recommendation of Grand Councillor Zhao Pu (Wang Cheng 1979, 49.742–744; Tuotuo 1977, 285.9608–9611).

459 Cao Liyong had been the Song emissary to the Liao when Zhenzong moved to Shanyuan for the peace negotiations with the Liao empire in 1005 (Wang Cheng 1979, 50.745–748; Tuotuo 1977, 290.9705–9708).

460 Ren Zhongzheng passed the *jinshi*-examination with distinction and upon recommendation by Wang Qinruo was appointed Assistant Editorial Director in the Palace Library by Taizong, after he had served outside the capital. In 1010 Ren was promoted to the position by which he is identified here (Wang Cheng 1979, 44.673–674; Tuotuo 1977, 288.9669–9670).

461 Lü Yijian served three times (1022–1033, 1036–1038, and 1040–43) as Grand Councillor during Renzong's reign (Wang Cheng 1979, 52.771–779; Tuotuo 1977, 311.10206–10210; Franke 1976, 713–719).

462 At the start of the Tiansheng era (1023) Zu Shiheng, who because of his erudition had enjoyed the support of Li Zongze and Yang Yi, was removed from the capital and demoted to serve as district magistrate of Jizhou 吉州 (in modern Jiangxi), on account of his close relation to Ding Wei (Tuotuo 1977, 296.9931).

463 Li Ci (*jinshi* of 1005) received the position of Hanlin-Academician by special intervention from Zhenzong (Tuotuo 1977, 292.9753–9755).

Zhidao and Xianping eras up to the ninth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era and produced a *Shengzhengji* 聖政記 in 150 *juan*.⁴⁶⁴

3.8

When the Dynastic History was completed at the end of the Tiansheng era (1023–1031)⁴⁶⁵, work was begun in the History Compilation Office (*xiushiyuan* 修史院) on the continuation of the compilation of the *huiyao*.

In the second year of the Mingdao era (1033), Song Shou, Participant in Determining Governmental Matters, was ordered to check the compilation. In the fourth month of the fourth year of the Qingli era (1044), Zhang Dexiang, Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History, submitted the newly compiled *Guochao huiyao* in 150 *juan*.⁴⁶⁶

Together with Wang Zhu, Junior Compiler, Vice Director in the Ministry of Works, Edict Attendant in the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute concurrently assigned to the Longtu Cabinet, [Zhang Dexiang] was conferred dresses of the third rank.⁴⁶⁷

3.9

In the first month of the second year of the Mingdao era (February/March 1033), the Grand Councilor Lü Yijian and the Military Affairs Vice Commissioner Xia Song submitted the imperially written texts *Sanbao zan* 三寶讚 and *Huang taihou fayuan wen* 皇太后發願文 which they had annotated. Li Shu, Examining Editor, Commentator (*zhushi guan* 註釋官), Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worth-

⁴⁶⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 301–302. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.9, 65–66).

⁴⁶⁵ The compilation of the *Sanchao guoshi* 三朝國史 (History of the (first) three reigns) began in 1027 in the Court of Palace Attendants and later moved to the Secretariat. The compilers submitted the final text in 1030 (Wang Yinglin 1992, 46.57).

⁴⁶⁶ Li Tao 2004 (148.3578) records this under the *jiyou* 己酉 day (May 17). The biography of Zhang Dexiang in Tuotuo 1977 (311.10204–10205) omits his assignment as Chief Compiler, whereas Wang Cheng 1979 (56.829) lists it. The bibliographical monograph of the *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 207.5294) credits him with authorship of the *Guochao huiyao* that covered the period from the start of the dynasty up to 1044. Moreover, he is found as the author of a work entitled *Song liuchao huiyao* 宋六朝會要在 300 *juan*, that was continued by Wang Gui (Tuotuo 1977, 207.5299).

⁴⁶⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 302. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.10, 68–69).

ies, was appointed Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute; Zheng Jian 鄭戩 (992–1053)⁴⁶⁸, Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, was transferred to the Historiography Institute. A son of Lü Yijian and Xia Song each was given an official position. However, Yijian asked to confer his son Gongbi 公弼 (998–1073)⁴⁶⁹, Assistant Director of the Court of Judicial Review, the *jinshi*-degree. This was granted.⁴⁷⁰

3.10

In the twelfth month of the first year of the Qingli era (December 1041/January 1042), the Hanlin-Academician Wang Yaochen and others submitted the newly compiled *Chongwen yuan zongmu* 崇文院總目 in sixty *juan* to the throne.⁴⁷¹ During the Jing you era (1034–1037) some of the books in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive were defective and some were surplus copies, while others were incomplete and therefore officials were ordered to determine which books were to be kept and which ones were to be discarded, following the model of the *Kaiyuan sibu lu* 開元四部錄, and thus a general catalog was compiled and submitted to the throne.

On the *gengyin* 庚寅 day [of the twelfth month of the first year of the Qingli era] (January 9, 1042) it was ordered that the following officials who had compiled the general catalogue were all promoted one rank and given grain and

468 Zheng Jian (*jinshi* of 1025), a native of Wuxian 吳縣 (in modern Zhejiang), after he had returned from a tour as Controller-general of Yuezhou 越州 (in modern Zhejiang), was appointed joint manager of the Ritual Academy in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, which is similar to the position he is identified with here. He had held the position of Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies already prior to his departure from the capital. Upon his return he participated in the compilation of the commentary for the *Fayuan wen* and the *Sanbao zan*. Afterwards he was provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute among other appointments (Wang Cheng 1979, 55.823–824; Tuotuo 1977, 292.9766–9768).

469 With the conferral of the *jinshi*-degree came appointments for Lü Gongbi as Provisionally Assigned Academician in the Historiography Institute and Fiscal Commissioner of Hebei Circuit (Wang Cheng 1979, 52.780–782; Tuotuo 1977, 311.10212–10214).

470 Cheng Ju 2000a, 302–303. The information in this paragraph is also found in Li Tao 2004 (112.2604) under the *jichou* 己丑 day (February 24, 1033).

471 On the *Chongwen yuan zongmu* see also Hervouet (1978, 195) under *Chongwen zongmu*. According to the entry there the number of *juan* of this work ranged from 64 to 66 to 67. The entry in the *Lintai gushi* makes clear that the catalogue comprised 60 *juan* of which only five remain.

property according to rank: Zhang Guan, supervisor of the compilation of the *General Catalogue*, Academician in the Hall for Aid in Governance and Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites in the Department of State Affairs; Song Xiang, Right Grand Master of Remonstrance; Wang Yaochen, Hanlin-Academician and concurrent Academician in the Longtu Cabinet, Vice Director in the Ministry of War of the Department of State Affairs, Drafter and Director of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Nie Guanqing, Hanlin-Academician and concurrent Academician Reader-in-Waiting, recalled Bureau Director in the Ministry of War in the Department of State Affairs, Director of the Institute for the Glorification of Literature; Guo Zhen, Vice Director in the Ministry of War in the Department of State Affairs and Drafter. The following officials who had served as Junior Compilers were promoted: Lü Gongchuo 呂公綽 (999–1055)⁴⁷², Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies was made Vice Director in the Ministry of Works in the Department of State Affairs; Wang Zhu, Assistant Director of the Palace Administration, Expositor-in-Waiting of the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations, and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute was made Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. Diao Yue 刁約⁴⁷³, Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive and Assistant Director in the Palace Administration; Ouyang Xiu, Companion of the Heir Apparent; Yang Yi, Assistant Editorial Director in the Palace Library; and Chen Jing 陳經, Case Reviewer in the Court of Judicial Review, were all made Subeditors in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies.

Wang Congli 王從禮, concurrently serving as Clerk in the Three Institutes and the Imperial Archive and Palace Courier, was made Deputy Commissioner of the Imperial Larder. Pei Zi 裴滋, Eunuch in the Express Courier Service and Palace Servitor, and Observer in the Imperial Dispensary was granted transfer to a different official position after the fulfillment of his present service. Yang Anxian 楊安顯, Eunuch of the High Duty Group, was made Eunuch of High Rank. Zhang Guan and Song Xiang, even though they were serving outside the capital, were supervising (the compilation) and also actively took part in it.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² Lü Gongchuo was the oldest son of Lü Yijian. None of his biographies refer to his participation in the compilation of the *Chongwen zongmu*, while the assignment to the Ministry of Works appears to have been a routine promotion. At the same time Lü was given the post of Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute which he declined as his father was in charge of the dynastic history. Only after the latter had passed, he assumed this post (Wang Cheng 1979, 52.780; Tuotuo 1977, 310.10210–10212).

⁴⁷³ Diao Yue (*jinshi* of 1030) was a descendant of Diao Kan (Tuotuo 1977, 316.10322 and 337.10784).

⁴⁷⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 303. See Cheng Ju 2000b (2.14, 75).

3.11

In the eighth month of the third year [of the Qingli era] (September/October 1044) Fu Bi 富弼 (1004–1083)⁴⁷⁵, Vice Military Affairs Commissioner, said: “I am asking to circulate the historical precedents of the imperial ancestors in a book and store it in two repositories⁴⁷⁶ to serve as models that can be observed.” The emperor was pleased with this memorial, and ordered Wang Zhu, Vice Director in the Ministry of Works in the Department of State Affairs, Reader-in-waiting of the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute⁴⁷⁷; Yu Jing, Right Exhorter and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Ouyang Xiu, Assistant Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies and head of the Remonstrance Office; and Sun Fu 孫甫 (998–1057)⁴⁷⁸, Erudite in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Subeditor in the Imperial Archive, to compile [such a work]; additionally, he gave Bi supervision of the work. In the following year the book was finished. It had altogether ninety-six categories and consisted of twenty *juan*, and it was entitled *Taiping gushi* 太平故事.⁴⁷⁹

During the Huangyou era (1049–1053) the emperor produced the *Sanchao xunjian tu*, and he called the close advisors, the imperial family, as well as the staff of the Institutes and the Censors to inspect it.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁵ Fu Bi was an outstanding scholar-official and acted as Grand Councilor several times during his successful career. An opponent of the New Laws introduced by Wang Anshi, he retired from all his positions under the pretext of illness (Wang Cheng 1979, 68.1027–1044; Tuotuo 1977, 313.10249–10257).

⁴⁷⁶ Most likely Taizong’s and Zhenzong’s Archives, the Taiqing Pavilion and the Longtu Cabinet.

⁴⁷⁷ The correct designation of the post should be *shijiang* 侍講 (Expositor-in-waiting) instead of *shidu* 侍讀. The post of Expositor-in-waiting had been introduced in 1036. This is the post that Wang Zhu is identified with in the preceding entry.

⁴⁷⁸ Sun Fu specialized in Tang history and compiled a *Tang shiji* 唐史記 in 75 *juan* which does not survive. He made himself such a name in the field that there was as saying that “reading history all day does not compare to listening to Sun talk about it for one day” (Wang Cheng 1979, 64.975–976; Tuotuo 1977, 295.9838–9842).

⁴⁷⁹ The original working title of the text, *Zuzong gushi* 祖宗故事, as well as the long version of Fu Bi’s suggestion are found in Li Tao 2004 (143.3455–3456). Excerpts of the imperial preface written by Renzong are found in Wang Yinglin 1992 (56.27a–28a) under the entry on the *Sanchao xunjian tu*.

⁴⁸⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 304.

3.12

In the fifth month of the fifth year [of the Qingli era (June/July 1045)] the following officials were appointed to serve as compilation officials for the *Tangshu* 唐書: Zeng Gongliang, Vice Director in the Tax Bureau of the Department of State Affairs, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies and concurrent Expositor-in-waiting in the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute; Zhao Shimin 趙師民⁴⁸¹, Assistant Director of the Court of the Imperial Clan, Examining Editor in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature and concurrent Expositor-in-waiting in the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations; He Zhongli 何中立 (1004–1057)⁴⁸², Assistant Director of the Palace Administration and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies; Song Minqiu, Assistant in the Palace Library Administration; Fan Zhen 范鎮 (1008–1088)⁴⁸³, Assistant Director in the Court of Judicial Review and Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive; Shao Bi 邵必⁴⁸⁴, Assistant Director in the Court of Judicial Review and Lecturer in the Directorate of Education.

In the fifth month of the third year of the Huangyou era (June/July 1051) Wang Chou 王疇 (1007–1065)⁴⁸⁵, Vice Director in the Bureau of Operations and Junior Compiler of the *Tangshu*, was provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive.

⁴⁸¹ Zhao Shimin, an imperial clansman, entered metropolitan service at the advanced age of 50. He came to be the head of the Court of the Imperial Clan (Wang Cheng 1979, 60.912; Tuotuo 1977, 294.9823–9825).

⁴⁸² He Zhongli (*jinshi* of 1034) had a career that led him to the post of Director in the Ministry of Justice (Tuotuo 1977, 302.10029–10030).

⁴⁸³ Fan Zhen who hailed from Sichuan enjoyed a long and successful bureaucratic career until he retired at the age of 63 (Wang Cheng 1979, 77.1169–1178; Tuotuo 1977, 337.10783–10790; Franke 1976, 306–308).

⁴⁸⁴ Shao Bi before being called to help compile the *Tangshu* had made a name for himself by engraving the *Classics* on stone tablets which were placed in the Directorate of Education (Tuotuo 1977, 317.10337–10338).

⁴⁸⁵ Wang Chou had been called on the *Tangshu* compilation team thanks to a recommendation by Jia Changzhao 賈昌朝 (998–1065) who was a very high-ranking official at the time. After submission of a eulogy to emperor Renzong, entitled *Shengzheng wei gong song* 聖政惟公頌, he was granted to sit in an imperial examination as a consequence of which he found himself assigned to the Imperial Archive. Neither of his biographies mentions an appointment as Vice Director in the Bureau of Operations, but both record the position of Erudite at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (Wang Cheng 1979, 55.820–821; Tuotuo 1977, 291.9746–9749).

In the second year of the Zhihe era (1055), Ouyang Xiu, Hanlin-Academician and Correcting Compiler of the *Tangshu*, said:

“Since the times of the Han dynasty, the Tang has reigned for the longest period of time. Their statutes and regulations have frequently been employed by the present, and thus the new monographs in the *Tangshu* that we are compiling shall be very detailed. Now, because since the reign of [Tang emperor] Wenzong 文宗 (r. 827–833) no Veritable Records exist⁴⁸⁶, I have examined biographical writings and variant records for fact and fiction, but still, I believe this to be a deficient strategy. I have learnt that in the departments and courts of the Palace Eunuch Service, in the Auxiliary Censorate, and in the Luanhe 鑾和 repositories in the Western Capital (Luoyang) memorials to the throne, written records and notes from the Tang to the Five Dynasties period are still surviving. I would like to detach the Compilation Official Lü Xiaqing 呂夏卿⁴⁸⁷ to go there and inspect and gather these.”

This was followed.

In the third month of the third year of the Jiayou era (March/April 1058), Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002–1060)⁴⁸⁸, Editorial Examiner of the Book Collection at the *Tangshu* (Compilation) Office, was appointed Junior Compiler of the *Tangshu*.

In the seventh month of the fifth year [of the Jiayou era (July/August 1060)] Xiu and his colleagues submitted the *Tangshu* in two hundred and fifty *juan* to the throne.⁴⁸⁹ Subsequently, Ouyang Xiu, Correcting Compiler of the *Tangshu*, Hanlin-Academician and concurrent Academician in the Longtu Cabinet and Supervising Secretary, was appointed Vice Director of the Ministry of Person-

⁴⁸⁶ Veritable Records had been compiled for Wenzong's successor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 841–847), but these survived only in one *juan* that dealt with the year 841. These were the last Veritable Records compiled and no such records for the reigns of emperors Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 847–860), Yizong 懿宗 (r. 860–873), Xizong 僖宗 (r. 873–888), as well as for Zhaozong 昭宗 (r. 888–904) and Aidi 哀帝 (r. 904–907) existed. On the Tang Veritable Records see Twitchett 1992 (119–159). The compilation of dynastic histories (*guoshi*) had ended in the middle of the eighth century. Hence Ouyang Xiu and his colleagues had very limited official historical material to work with.

⁴⁸⁷ Lü Xiaqing (*jinshi* of 1042) was an expert in Tang history and contributed genealogical information to the *Xin Tangshu* by Ouyang Xiu (Wang Cheng 1979, 65.993; Tuotuo 1977, 331.10658–10659).

⁴⁸⁸ Mei Yaochen was one of the major poets in the middle of the eleventh century who had started his official career thanks to the support of such major scholar-officials figures like Qian Weiyan and Yan Shu (Franke 1976, 761–770).

⁴⁸⁹ On the compilation process and the structure of the final *Tangshu* see also Wang Yinglin 1992 (46.32a–33b).

nel in the Department of State Affairs, and Song Qi, Academician in the Proper and Bright Hall⁴⁹⁰ and concurrent Hanlin-Academician Reader-in-waiting, Academician in the Longtu Cabinet and Vice Minister of the Ministry of Personnel, was appointed Assistant Director of the Left in the Department of State Affairs; Fan Zhen, Junior Compiler of the *Tangshu*, Bureau Director in the Ministry of Rites in the Department of State Affairs and Drafter, was appointed Bureau Director in the Ministry of Personnel; Wang Chou, Bureau Director in the Ministry of Personnel and Drafter, was made Bureau Director of the Right Office⁴⁹¹; Song Minqiu, Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, was made Vice Director in the Ministry of Works; Lü Xiaqing, Assistant Director of the Palace Library, was provisionally assigned to the Imperial Archive; Liu Xisou 劉義叟 (1017–1060)⁴⁹², Editorial Director, was made Examining Editor in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature. All were given vessels and bales of silk fabric according to rank.⁴⁹³

3.13

In the second year of the Jiayou era (1057) the Bureau for the Editing of Medical Books was set up within the Compilation Office. Zhang Yuxi provisionally assigned to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies and Examining Editor in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature, Lin Yi 林億⁴⁹⁴, Zhang Dong 張洞 (1019–1067)⁴⁹⁵ and Su Song, all of which were Subeditors in the Imperial

⁴⁹⁰ According to Ouyang Xiu 1986 (2.1030), this position was first created during the Later Tang dynasty (923–936) and was often held concurrently by Hanlin-Academicians.

⁴⁹¹ The Right Office comprised the Ministries of War, Justice, and Works.

⁴⁹² Liu Xisou was responsible for the compilation of the treatises on the calendar (*lǜlì* 律歷), astronomy (*tianwen* 天文), and the Five Elements (*wuxing* 五行) in the *Tangshu* (Wang Cheng 1979, 65.993–994; Tuotuo 1977, 432.12838).

⁴⁹³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 306–307.

⁴⁹⁴ In the section on medicinal works of the bibliographical monograph in the *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 207.5307), Lin Yi is credited with authorship of a *Huangdi sanbu zhenjiujing* 黃帝三部鍼灸經 in 12 *juan*.

⁴⁹⁵ Zhang had received his first appointment thanks to the support of high-ranking officials who were impressed by his literary abilities. After he had passed the required examination by the Institute of Academicians, he entered the Imperial Archive as a Subeditor (Tuotuo 1977, 299.9933).

Archive, as well as Chen Jian 陳檢, a Secretary of the Heir Apparent, were appointed Editors of Medical Books.⁴⁹⁶

3.14

In the third month of the sixth year [of the Jiayou era (March/April 1061)] Guo Gu 郭固, an Assistant Director of the Court of Judicial Review was appointed to edit the military books that had recently been stored in the Imperial Archive.⁴⁹⁷

3.15

In the tenth month of the third year of the Xining era (November/December 1070) Wang Cun and Gu Lin 顧臨⁴⁹⁸, Proofreaders in the Imperial Archive; Qian Zhangqing 錢長卿, Assistant Editorial Director in the Palace Library; and Liu Fengshi 劉奉世 (1041–1113)⁴⁹⁹, Assistant Director of the Court of Judicial Review were given the imperial order to compile the *Jingwu yaolie* 經武要略.⁵⁰⁰ As they had been concurrently tasked with the revision of law books of

⁴⁹⁶ Cheng Ju 2000a, 310. Cf. Jiang Shaoyu 1981 (21.396) and Wang Yinglin 1992 (63.33b). Li Tao 2004 (186.4487) specifies the titles that needed to be re-examined and corrected.

⁴⁹⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 311. After Guo Gu had collated texts into 172 volumes (*ce* 冊) bound in imperial yellow in the summer of 1067, he was appointed Vice Director-in-chief of the Palace Storehouse (Xu Song 1997, “chongru” 4.8 (2234)). He had started his career as a lowly official, but upon submission of a memorial on the use of war chariots, he was appointed Assistant Director of the Court of the Imperial Regalia (Tuotuo 1977, 12.237). In 1072 Guo held the position of Deputy Commissioner of the Palace Storehouse (Tuotuo 1977, 157.3679). In 1074 Guo was a Commissioner for Fostering Prosperity. The bibliographical treatise of the *Songshi* (Tuotuo 1977, 207.5288) attributes two military works to Guo, namely the *Junji juesheng licheng tu* 軍機決勝立成圖 (1 *juan*) and the *Bingfa gongshou tushu* 兵法攻守圖術 (3 *juan*).

⁴⁹⁸ Gu Lin began his career as a Lecturer of the Directorate of Education. Emperor Shenzong was aware that Gu had an interest in military matters and therefore assigned him to the compilation team (Tuotuo 1977, 344.10939).

⁴⁹⁹ During the Yuanfeng era Liu served in the Bureau of Military Affairs (Wang Cheng 1979, 76.1158–1159; Tuotuo 1977, 419.10388–10390).

⁵⁰⁰ According to the *Wenxian tongkao* the first such compilation was produced by Wang Shu and the otherwise unknown Dan Shining 單士寧 in 1044 under the auspices of the Bureau of Military Affairs. It included documents relating to all things military

all offices, Chief and Deputy Recipients of Edicts were ordered to take care of this.⁵⁰¹

The dynastic history (*guoshi* 國史)

3.16

At the start of the dynasty scholars provisionally assigned to the Institutes separately compiled the Daily Calendars (*rili* 日曆) and sent them quarterly to the Historiography Institute. Afterwards only Senior Compilers assumed that task.

In the eighth year of the Taiping xingguo era (983) Li Fang, Chief Compiler, submitted a memorial asking for the re-introduction of the Records of Current Government (*shizhengji* 時政記) of the Tang.⁵⁰² [Following] this historical precedent, every month these were forwarded to the Institutes entitled events (*shijian* 事件), and at the start of the Duangong era (988) they were renamed Records of Current Government.⁵⁰³

In the second year (989) the Secretariat-Chancellery submitted a memorial: “Every time the emperor is approaching the main [audience] hall, the Military Affairs Commissioners are the first to present matters to the emperor. The Grand Councilors have no way to learn about the commendations for instructions by the imperial government, and once these considerations have ended, they are omitted [from the record].” Consequently, an imperial decree ordered the Vice Military Affairs Commissioner to make a monthly record in an attachment of historical matters (*shishi* 史事) to be send to the Secretariat for editing.⁵⁰⁴

and under the responsibility of the Bureau of Military Affairs (Ma Duanlin 1986, 58, 525). These works were compiled in irregular intervals for individual reigns, so that by 1254 seven *Jingwu yaolüe* (*Qichao Jingwu yaolüe* 七朝經武要略) existed (Tuotuo 1977, 44.853).

⁵⁰¹ Cheng Ju 2000a, 312. Cf. Cheng Ju 2000a (2.16, 78). The parallel passage in Li Tao 2004 (216.5268) reads: “... hence Chief and Deputy Recipients of Edicts were ordered to submit (law books) for revision.”

⁵⁰² On these see Twitchett 1992 (51–56). See also the entry on the Song *shizhengji* in Wang Yinglin 1992 (48.44a–46a).

⁵⁰³ According to Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 6.30 (2511)) Hu Meng initiated the re-introduction of the *shizhengji*. Hu Meng’s memorial concerning these is found in Li Tao 2004 (15.326) and a translation of it is provided in Kurz 2012 (15–16).

⁵⁰⁴ For a complete text of the consequent order issued by the Chancellery, see Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 6.30 (2511)). Cf. also Li Tao 2004 (30.691).

In the fifth year of the Xianping era (1002) the request of Wang Sizong 王嗣宗 (944–1021)⁵⁰⁵, Salt and Iron Monopoly Commissioner, was followed that all matters that had been submitted by the State Finance Commission should be written down, and that one Supervisor (*panshi* 判使) should compile records to be forwarded to the Institutes quarterly.⁵⁰⁶

In the fifth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1012) Wang Qinruo and Chen Yaosou 陳堯叟 (961–1017)⁵⁰⁷, Administrators of the Bureau of Military Affairs, began compiling separate Records of Current Government.⁵⁰⁸

When the official system of the Yuanfeng era was initiated, [compilation] of the Calendar returned to the Section for the History of the Dynasty of the Department of the Palace Library, to be solely the task of Editorial Directors and Adjunct Compilers, and the Dynastic History Institute or the Veritable Records Institute were separately established to compile the Veritable Records and the Dynastic History of former reigns. With this the Dynastic History and the Daily Calendars became separated into two.

In the ninth month of the fourth year of the Yongxi era (September/October 987) Hu Dan 胡旦 (fl. 976–1008)⁵⁰⁹, Right Rectifier of Omissions provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, said the following:

“Our dynasty from the first year of the Jianlong era (960) to the third year of the Yongxi era (986) has not announced the completion of either Veritable Records nor Daily Calendars. When the Daily Calendars ceases as bulletins and no agencies at all have access to gazettes (*wu guan bao* 無關報), it comes to the point where words and actions of emperors will not be compiled because no

⁵⁰⁵ Wang Sizong, a *jinshi* of 975, since the year 1001 had held the position of Salt and Iron Monopoly Commissioner (Wang Cheng 1979, 43. 658; Tuotuo 1977, 287.9648).

⁵⁰⁶ This section is found in Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.78 (2793)) with a quotation from Wang Sizong’s memorial as well as in Li Tao 2004 (53.1155).

⁵⁰⁷ Chen Yaosou (*jinshi* of 989), prior to being appointed as Joint Manager of the Bureau of Military Affairs during the Jingde era (1004–1007), had served as Assistant Director of the Palace Library. Thereafter he worked mainly in military positions, such as Pacification Commissioner of the two circuits of Guangnan dong and Guangxi (Wang Cheng 1979, 44.663–664; Tuotuo 1977, 284.9584–9588).

⁵⁰⁸ The record that the two officials compiled was entitled *Shumiyuan shizhengji* 樞密院時政記 and this established an example for compiling the *shizhengji* directly in the Bureau of Military Affairs rather than submitting material to the Secretariat. Cf. also Wang Yinglin 1992 (48.44b (322)).

⁵⁰⁹ Hu Dan (*jinshi* of 978) had a great interest in history and expressed that interest in writing a number of works, among them the *Han chunqiu* 漢春秋, *Wudai shilüe* 五代史略, *Jiangshuai yaolüe* 將帥要略 and others (Wang Cheng 1979, 38.595–596; Tuotuo 1977, 432.12827–12830).

news of ongoing matters in the Secretariat and the Bureau of Military Affairs can be accessed, and no records will be available of the documents and memorials received by the Office for Audience Ceremonies and the Memorial Forwarding Office. And if promotions of civil and military officials are not made known, and Accounts of Conduct of those who received merits and those that were buried, are not recorded, then the historiographers ultimately have nothing to rely upon for compiling [historical records].

I have examined the reign of Emperor Mingdi 明帝 of the Han (r. 58–75) who had the *Guangwudi ji* 光武帝紀 compiled, as well as Tables (*biao* 表), Monographs (*zhi* 志), Biographies (*liezhuan* 列傳), and Contemporary Records (*zaiji* 載記), and forthwith under each [succeeding] reign these were compiled as well, so that during the reign of emperor Lingdi 靈帝 (r. 168–189) already one hundred and seventeen *juan* were completed. Even though these were not the complete events of the whole dynasty, at all times records were continuously written, and these now form the *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記.⁵¹⁰

During the times of emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) of the Tang records similarly existed dating from the very start of the dynasty, assembled in Annals, Biographies, and the Ten Treatises⁵¹¹, and as under each [successive] reign records were compiled, during the reign of Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779) already 130 *juan* were completed, which now form the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書.

I hope that the historical precedents of the Han and Tang are made the standard and that forthwith orders will be given for the compilation of Imperial Annals (*diji* 帝紀), Tables, Treatises, and Biographies. When these are gathered as records, they will provide [material] for the Dynastic History in the future.”⁵¹²

Dan also listed events (*shijian* 事件): The conferral of [posthumous] titles on the four imperial ancestors and consorts, and the Prince of Yong 邕 [Zhao 趙] Guangji 光濟⁵¹³ of the imperial family and three more people; the Grand Prin-

510 Until the compilation of the *Hou Hanshu* several hundred years later, the *Dongguan Hanji* served as the main official history of the Han together with the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* (Wilkinson 2013, 623).

511 This term refers to the treatises typically found in dynastic histories that deal with such subjects as astronomy, law, Five Elements, geography, book collections and so forth.

512 A slightly variant form of this memorial is found in Wang Yinglin 1992 (168.15).

513 Zhao Guangji, the oldest brother of Taizu and Taizong born from the same mother, received the title of Prince of Yong in 962 (Tuotuo 1977, 1.11 and 242.8606). He was already dead at the founding of the dynasty (Tuotuo 1977, 244.8666).

cess of Chen (Chenguo chang gongzhu 陳國長公主)⁵¹⁴ and another person; [Zhao 趙] Dezhao 德昭 (?-979)⁵¹⁵, Prince of Wei 魏, son of Taizu, and another person; the royal relative Du Shenqiong 杜審瓊 (897-966)⁵¹⁶ and two more persons; the former Grand Councilor Li Gu 李穀 (903-960)⁵¹⁷ and two more people; the Grand Councilor Fan Zhi and three more people; the former military official Han Tong 韓通 (?-960)⁵¹⁸ and thirty-four more people; the rebellious general Murong Yanjian 慕容延釗 (?-963)⁵¹⁹ and four more persons; the commanding general Zhang Guanghan 張光翰⁵²⁰ and fifteen more people; the meritorious official Li Chuyun 李處耘 (920-966)⁵²¹ and two more people; the border general He Jijun 何繼筠 (921-971)⁵²² and four more people; the military official Ju Tingzuo 具廷祚⁵²³ and five more people; the civil official Zhao Shangjiao 趙上交 (895-961)⁵²⁴ of the previous dynasty and six more people;

514 The Grand Princess of Chen was a sister of Taizu (Tuotuo 1977, 242.8606).

515 Zhao Dezhao was the second son of Taizu (Tuotuo 1977, 244.8676-8677).

516 Du Shenqiong was a maternal uncle of Taizu (Tuotuo 1977, 463.13536).

517 Li Gu had served as a general under the Later Zhou and had been one of their commanders in the Huainan campaign in 955 (Tuotuo 1977, 262.9051-9056). On the Huainan campaign see Kurz 2011b (72-87).

518 Han Tong, a military official, had made himself a name in the invasion of the Southern Tang state, when he led the vanguard of the Later Zhou army into Yangzhou. He was killed at the time of the takeover of power by Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 (927-976), the founder of the Song dynasty (Tuotuo 1977, 484.13968-13970).

519 Murong Yanjian in 963 had been one of the Song commanders in charge of the campaign in Hunan. He died there in the same year (Tuotuo 1977, 251.8834-8835).

520 The *Songshi* contains a very short biographical note on Zhang Guanghan (Tuotuo 1977, 250.8824).

521 Li Chuyun was instrumental in the suppression of the rebellion of Li Zhongjin 李重進 in 960, and participated in the conquest of Jingnan in 963 (Wang Cheng 1979, 20.348-350; Tuotuo 1977, 257.8960-8963).

522 He Jijun has biographies in Wang Cheng 1979 (29.471-472) and Tuotuo 1977 (273.9326-9327).

523 The first character is probably wrong and should be replaced with Wu 吳. Wu Tingzuo 吳廷祚 (918-971) had served the Later Zhou and at the start of the Song played an important part in quelling the rebellions of Li Yun 李筠 (?-960) and Li Zhongjin (Wang Cheng 1979, 25.421; Tuotuo 1977, 257.8947-8948). On the founding of the Song dynasty and early uprisings against it see Lorge 2015 (102-130).

524 Zhao has a biography in Tuotuo 1977 (262.9065-9067).

and also Dou Yi 竇儀 (914–966)⁵²⁵ and eight more people; the regular official Zhang Xi 張錫 (?–961)⁵²⁶ and ten more people; the (imperial) promoted official Lü Yuqing 呂餘慶 (927–976)⁵²⁷ and four more people; the official Yang Zhongxiong 楊重熊, who submitted to enlightened rule⁵²⁸, and five more people; the official Li Hao 李昊 (892–after 965), who surrendered, and nine more people; the villainous official Zhang Qiong 張瓊 (?–963)⁵²⁹ and two more people; the rebel Li Yun⁵³⁰ and another person; the rebellious official Lu Duoxun 盧多遜 (934–985)⁵³¹; the specialist (*fangshu* 方術) Wang Chune 王處訥 (915–982)⁵³²; the hermit Wang Zhaosu 王昭素⁵³³ and another person; the hegemon who accepted the rule (of the Song) Gao Baorong 高保融 (920–960)⁵³⁴ and

525 Dou was an expert in law and participated in the compilation of the *Xingtong* 刑統, that he submitted with his colleagues in 963 (Wang Cheng 1979, 30.490–492; Tuotuo 1977, 262.9092–9094).

526 Zhang Xi, a native of Fujian, has a biography in Tuotuo 1977 (262.9068).

527 Lü Yuqing was a close associate of Taizu and eventually was appointed Grand Councilor (Wang Cheng 1979, 31.504–505 and Tuotuo 1977, 263.9098–9101).

528 Zhao Sheng (2007, 3.67) defines “submission to enlightened rule” (*guiming* 歸明) as a subaltern official title given to people belonging to ethnic groups in the southwest of the empire.

529 Zhang Qiong was a member of the retinue of Taizu when the latter served as commander of the Later Zhou in the war against the Southern Tang. He was sentenced to death after insulting Taizong (Tuotuo 1977, 259.9009–9010).

530 Li Yun in 960 rebelled against the recently established Song dynasty, but he was swiftly dealt with by emperor Taizu’s commanders (Wang Cheng 1979, 22.381; Tuotuo 1977, 484.13970–13975).

531 Lu Duoxun (*jinsi* of 954), having been accused of forming a faction, was dismissed from his post as Grand Councilor in 982 and exiled to Hainan (Wang Cheng 1979, 31.510–512; Tuotuo 1977, 264.6116–6120; Twitchett and Smith 2009, 258–259).

532 Wang Chune upon imperial order compiled a new calendar for the dynasty which he submitted in 963 (Li Tao 2004, 4.89). In 981, he again presented a new calendar to the throne (Tuotuo 1977, 461.13497–13498).

533 Wang Zhaosu not only specialized in the Nine Classics, but also in Daoist scriptures, and was a teacher of the later Grand Councilor Li Mu. At the age of 77, Wang who had never wanted an official career was invited to an audience where he impressed Taizu with his knowledge. Since he did not want to stay in the capital Taizu gave him generous gifts and permission to return home where he lived to the venerable age of 88 (Wang Cheng 1979, 113.1739–1740; Tuotuo 1977, 431.12808–12809).

534 Gao Baorong ruled over the tiny state of Jingnan on the middle Yangzi from 948–960, and submitted to the Song in 960 (Tuotuo 1977, 483.23952–13953).

three more people; the order receiving barbarian Ding Xuan 丁璿⁵³⁵ and three more people; the usurper Li Jing 李景 (916–961)⁵³⁶ and nine more people; Yutian 于闐 (Khotan)⁵³⁷ from among the Four Barbarians and twelve more countries.

He arranged Jiangnan, Guangnan, Hedong, Xichuan, Jingnan, Liang Zhe, Zhang[-zhou and] Quan[-zhou] and Xiazhou into Tables (*biao* 表)⁵³⁸, and Calendar (*lǜlì* 律曆), Astronomy (*tianwen* 天文), Geography (*dìlǐ* 地理), Five Elements (*wǔxíng* 五行), Rites (*lǐyue* 禮樂), Penal Law (*xíngfǎ* 刑法), Economy (*shíhuo* 食貨), Field Irrigation (*gōuxu* 溝洫), Books (*shūjī* 書籍), Buddhism (*shì* 釋) and Daoism (*dào* 道) into Treatises.

Moreover, as none of the illegitimate states had left any written records one could have compiled from, and as there was Li Hui 李暉, Adjutant of Xuzhou 許州, who formerly was an illegitimate Grand Councilor of Hedong (Northern Han) and who now was of venerable age and could no longer walk, [Hu] hoped that a scholar provisionally assigned to the Institutes be dispatched to go to the district in question to compile records (for the Northern Han) together with Li Hui.

Xiao Cui 蕭催, Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices assigned to Xijing (Luoyang), in the past had served the illegitimate Guang (Southern Han) as Left Vice Director [of the Chancellery].⁵³⁹ He asked for his posting to the Institutes

⁵³⁵ Ding Xuan served as an envoy of the ruler of Jiaozhou 交州, in modern day north Vietnam, to the court of Taizong. Originally the position as Military Governor of Jiaozhou had been Ding Xuan's, but he lost it due to his youth (Tuotuo 1977, 488.14058–14062).

⁵³⁶ Li Jing had ruled the state of the Southern Tang since 943, and died shortly after he had submitted to Song rule in 961 (Kurz 2011b, chap. 3).

⁵³⁷ A description of Yutian is found in Tuotuo 1977 (490.14106.14019).

⁵³⁸ The geographical designations are synonymous with the states of Wu (902–936) and Southern Tang (937–976) (Jiangnan), Southern Han (917–971) (Guangnan), Northern Han (951–979) (Hedong), Former Shu (907–925) and Later Shu (934–965) (Xichuan), Jingnan (924–963), Wuyue (907–978) (Liang Zhe), the autonomous territory of Qingyuan (Zhangzhou and Quanzhou), and the Xixia or Tanguts (Xiazhou). With the exception of the latter, these states belong to what historiographers in the early Northern Song came to refer to as the Ten States. Descriptions of these are found in chapters 478–483 of the *Songshi*. The Xixia who founded their state in 954 are treated in Tuotuo 1977 (485.13981–14003) as a foreign country.

⁵³⁹ Xiao Cui 蕭催 had served in 971 as an envoy of the Southern Han ruler to the Song (Tuotuo 1977, 2.32).

so that he could compile together with the provisionally assigned scholars of the Institutes the record of events (*shiji* 事跡) for that state (Southern Han).⁵⁴⁰

Furthermore, both the illegitimate *Shu shilu* 蜀實錄 and the *Jiangnan lu* 江南錄 recorded [events] not faithfully⁵⁴¹; neither Jingnan, nor Hunan (Chu, 926–951) nor Xiazhou had any written records, and no one was knowledgeable about their historical events. He then asked that court officials, who had knowledge about those places, work together with scholars at the Institutes and compile [historical] records.

Many officials had been buried without their Accounts of Conduct having been submitted, and he hoped that from then on when civil and military official were buried, the Censorate would be ordered to notify their families to provide Accounts of Conducts, stelaie inscriptions (*beiwén* 碑文), tomb inscriptions (*muzhi* 墓誌), family genealogies (*jiadie* 家牒), and clan genealogies (*pulu* 譜錄) and to submit these to the Historiography Institute. The Court of Palace Attendants from the Inner Posts⁵⁴² should prepare these regulations to be put in force (*shixing* 施行) accordingly.

He furthermore requested that all memorials from inside and outside (the Imperial City) submitted by the Office for Audience Ceremonies and the Memorial Forwarding Office should be recorded in books which he asked again to be forwarded to the Historiography Institute.

The routine dispatches (*xingqianzhe* 行遣者) from the Department of State Affairs and the Bureau of Military Affairs, he likewise asked to be sent down for copying. As for the remaining government gazetteers and writings from the Institute of Academicians, the Document Drafting Office, and other agencies, [he suggested] to establish registers (*ji* 籍) with copies of confidential documents for checking.

Submissions brought from foreign countries that had entered the Foreign Relations Office gradually should be reported to the [Historiography] Institute

⁵⁴⁰ If such a history indeed was compiled for which there is no other evidence, it is lost today. The separate histories for the Southern Han were compiled at the start of the nineteenth century from material across a number of older sources that did not specifically deal with the Southern Han

⁵⁴¹ The *Shu shilu* most likely refer to the *Hou Shu Meng xianzhu shilu* 後蜀孟先主實錄 (30 *juan*), the *Hou Shu zhu shilu* 後蜀主實錄 (40 *juan*), and the *Hou Shu houzhu shilu* 後蜀後主實錄 (80 *juan*), compiled by Li Hao. The *Record of Jiangnan* is the work commissioned by Taizong on the history of the Southern Tang state and compiled by Xu Xuan and Tang Yue 湯悅 (fl. 940–983), which they submitted to the throne in 979 (Kurz 2016). None of these works are surviving (Kurz 2003, 221–223).

⁵⁴² The Inner Posts refer to the Bureau of Military Affairs, the Court of Palace Attendants, and the State Finance Commission (Hucker 1988, 4150).

one by one. Once officials serving as envoys to foreign countries and those assigned to punitive campaigns, had returned (to the capital), the [Historiography] Institute should be permitted to ask them for submission of one official report each on conduct of affairs as well as on the customs of each country.⁵⁴³

An imperial order was issued following the petition, and in a room in the western corridor of the Historiography Institute the History Office was installed which received five hundred cash strings from the Bureau of Sacrifices as a budget, and seven imperial copyists as personnel.

Within a short while Hu Dan had compiled three *juan* which he first submitted to the emperor. Since Dan was shortly thereafter made Drafter and dismissed from working as a historiographer, Kong Wei 孔維 (928–991)⁵⁴⁴, Director of Studies of the National University, and Li Jue 李覺 (?-after 991)⁵⁴⁵, Erudite of the *Liji* 禮記 provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, replaced him in this position. Those who discussed this, said that since both Wei and Jue were classical scholars (*ruchen* 儒臣), they should not have been called (*cheng* 稱) to the Historiography Institute. Consequently, the compilation ceased.⁵⁴⁶

3.17

In the fourth month of the fifth year of the Chunhua era (May/June 994) Li Zhi, Vice Minister of the Ministry of Personnel and Concurrent Director of the Imperial Library; Zhang Ji, Hanlin-Academician, Secretariat Drafter and Compiler of the Dynastic History; together with Zhang Bi and Fan Gao, Right Grand Masters of Remonstrance and Senior Compilers in the Historiography Institute compiled the court history of Taizu.

Before these events, the emperor had addressed his Grand Councilors:

⁵⁴³ I am using here the translation (including footnotes) with some slight changes of Hu Dan's memorial published in Kurz 2012 (27–31) with friendly permission of the editors of the *Journal of Asian History* and the publisher Otto Harrassowitz.

⁵⁴⁴ Kong Wei was a specialist of the *Zhouyi* 周易 (Wang Cheng 1979, 113.1740; Tuotuo 1977, 431.12809–12812).

⁵⁴⁵ Li Jue had passed the Nine Classics examination in 980 and is known for his participation in the revision of the *Shijing* (Wang Cheng 1979, 113.1741; Tuotuo 1977, 431.12820–12822).

⁵⁴⁶ Cheng Ju 2000a, 312–315.

“The writing of history is extremely difficult. I have once read the *Taizu shilu* 太祖實錄 and they were very deficient.⁵⁴⁷ In regard to the interactions between Heaven and Man, omens manifesting [Taizu’s] Mandate of Heaven, and the duration of years, these are known to everyone. Furthermore, I have personally witnessed these events. Zhi and others shall be ordered to revise and re-edit [the work].”

Su Yijian replied:

“The scholar Hu Meng had been entrusted to compile the history in recent times. Meng was faint-hearted and intimidated by the powerful and influential; he was often evasive [in his writing] and this is not at all what one refers to as the upright brush [of the historian].”

The emperor said:

“The position of the historiographer consists in unconditionally reporting good and bad without restrictions. In the past emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) of the Tang wanted to burn the history of Empress Wu 武’s reign (r. 690–705), but his advisors argued that this was not permissible, for they wanted later generations to learn about it using it as a lesson.”⁵⁴⁸

Shortly afterwards both Zhi and Bi resigned as historiographers, and Song Bai, Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites, stood in for them.

In the winter of the same year, Ji and the others finished the compilation of the *Taizuji* 太祖紀 in one *juan*. Everything that the emperor had advised about and all the events that the historiographers had selected, was separately written down in vermilion and in black ink, to distinguish one from the other. Later, after Ji had been transferred, the history as a result was not completed.⁵⁴⁹

The emperor was interested in learning (*rushu* 儒術). Every time someone submitted a finished text to the throne, he would invariably treat him with generous courtesy, confer an official dress, vessels and brocade as a favour on him, and have his book entered in the Institutes and the Archive. For this reason, scholars urged themselves on a lot.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁷ On the problems involved in compiling the *Taizu shilu* see Jiang Fucong 1965.

⁵⁴⁸ The imperial monologue in the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* continues with the emperor arguing that the Song founder was not a usurper, but a loyal servant of the preceding Later Zhou (Li Tao 2004, 35.7770).

⁵⁴⁹ See also Xu Song 1997 (“yunli” 運曆 1.29, 2142) and Li Tao 2004 (35.777).

⁵⁵⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 318–319.

3.18

In the same month⁵⁵¹ Zhang Bi, Right Grand Master of Remonstrance and Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute in a memorial to the throne asked to introduce [the position] of Imperial Diary Drafter (my translation) to fill the duties of Left and Right Recorder, who were to write down the daily words and actions [of the emperor], and submit [these records] at the end of each month to the Historiography Institute.⁵⁵²

Upon imperial order, the request was followed, and Liang Zhouhan 梁周翰 (929–1009)⁵⁵³, Imperial Diary Drafter and Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute assumed the affairs of the Imperial Diarist, whereas Li Zongze, Assistant Director of the Palace Library provisionally assigned to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature, assumed the affairs of the Imperial Diary Drafter.⁵⁵⁴

3.19

In the third year of the Zhidao era (997) the *Taizong shilu* 太宗實錄 were compiled, but the Grand Councilor Lü Duan, even though he carried the title of Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History, did not actively participate in it. Afterwards, when the *Taizong shilu* underwent a revision, an imperial order named Lü Duan and Qian Ruoshui 錢若水 (960–1003)⁵⁵⁵ as joint compilers. When

⁵⁵¹ In the *Song huiyao* (Xu Song 1997, “zhiguan”, 2.10 (2376)) Zhang Bi submitted his memorial on May 17, 994 (fifth day of the fourth month of the fifth year of the Chunhua era).

⁵⁵² For a translation of the memorial in Li Tao 2004 (35.778–779) see Kurz 2012 (26–27).

⁵⁵³ Liang Zhouhan received his *jinshi*-degree under the Later Zhou in 952. He has biographies in Wang Cheng 1979 (38. 591–594) and Tuotuo 1977 (439.13000–13005).

⁵⁵⁴ Cheng Ju 2000a, 321–322.

⁵⁵⁵ Qian Ruoshui (*jinshi* of 985) in his *Songshi*-biography is portrayed as an expert in border defense (Wang Cheng 1979, 35.558–563; Tuotuo 1977, 266.9165–9171).

Duan had retired as Councilor, Li Hang 李沆 (947–1004)⁵⁵⁶ continued with the completion of the work.⁵⁵⁷

3.20

In the second year of the Jingde era (1005) Bi Shian⁵⁵⁸, Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History, died.⁵⁵⁹ At the same time Kou Zhun had ceased to be a Grand Academician in the Hall of Scholarly Worthies, and consequently Wang Dan 王旦 (957–1017)⁵⁶⁰, Participant in Determining Governmental Matters, was ordered to take over the administration of the Historiography Institute, which in fact meant the post of Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History. After Dan had been appointed Councilor, he kept the position as historiographer as before although he no longer was holding the post of Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History concurrently.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁶ Li Hang (*jinshi* of 980) had an impressive career that saw him appointed Vice Grand Councilor in 992, a post that Zhenzong reconfirmed him in after his accession. He soon afterwards was promoted to Grand Councilor (Wang Cheng 1979, 40.615–617; Tuotuo 1977, 282.9537–9541; Franke 1976, 556–557).

⁵⁵⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 322. Cf. Wang Yinglin 1992 (48.15a-16a) and Li Tao 2004 (42.889) both of whom date the imperial order for the *Taizong shilu* to the *yisi* 乙巳 day of the eleventh month (December 10, 997).

⁵⁵⁸ Bi Shian (*jinshi* of 966) previously had been in charge of the revision of the *Sanguo zhi*, the *Jinshu* and the *Tangshu*. He defended the *Jinshu* against some officials who wanted to erase some “base” passages from the text in a memorial to Zhenzong, who followed his argumentation. Hence the *Jinshu* survived in its original form (Wang Cheng 1979, 41.629–631; Tuotuo 1977, 281.9517–9522).

⁵⁵⁹ On October 10, 1007, an imperial decree had been issued ordering the compilation of the official histories of the reigns of Taizu and Taizong (*Taizu Taizong zhengshi* 太祖太宗正史) (Li Tao 2004, 66.1485). The mention of Bi Shian’s death accounts for the two years between his passing and the appointment of Wang Dan as the new Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History. He was in charge of Wang Qinruo, Chen Yaosou, Zhao Anren, Chao Jiong and Yang Yi. Wang Yinglin 1992 (46.35a) added Lu Zhen 路振 (957–1014) and Cui Zundu 崔尊度 (954–1020) to the compilation team. The compilation process of the histories for both Taizu and Taizong is dealt with in Kurz 2003 (143–148) and Kurz 2012 (20–25).

⁵⁶⁰ Wang Dan started his official career when, aged 23, he passed the *jinshi*-examination in 980. He became one of the most influential officials at the court of Zhenzong until his death in 1017. He has biographies in Wang Cheng 1979 (40.618–622) and Tuotuo 1977 (282.9542–9553). In addition, see Franke 1976 (1147–1153) and Kurz 2003 (133–136).

⁵⁶¹ Cf. Li Tao 2004 (66.1485) and Wang Yinglin 1992 (46.55a-56a).

Senior Compiler

According to historical precedents the Historiography Institute every month compiled the daily calendars which consisted of records that all the Supervisors of the Institute together with the Senior Compiling Officials and the officials assigned to the Institute had compiled separately, and which were stored in the same Institute. At the start of the dynasty all Senior Compilers and officials assigned to the Institute compiled [records] separately for every quarter following old regulations. Afterwards only the Senior Compilers and the Supervisors of the Institute compiled these.

During the Taiping xingguo era Zhao Linji 趙鄰幾 (921–979)⁵⁶², Left Grand Master Admonisher provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, as well as Lü Mengzheng and Fan Gao, Left Reminders provisionally assigned to the Historiography Institute, were all given [posts] as Senior Compilers, and as thereafter there were many officials provisionally assigned to the Institute, consequently only the Senior Compilers did compilation work.

In the fourth year of the Chunhua era (993) the Hanlin-Academician Song Shi as a mere Compiler of the Dynastic History also was often involved in the compilation of the Daily Calendars.⁵⁶³

3.21

In the eighth month of the fourth year of the Xianping era (August/September 1001) the Memorials Office was ordered to submit an official gazette (*baozhuang*

⁵⁶² Zhao Linji who hailed from a peasant family in Shandong passed the *jinshi*-examination in 955 and entered the service of the Later Zhou. He was interested in preserving and collecting all extant Veritable Records from Tang times, and after his death his son had to submit all his father's manuscripts to the court where they were compiled into a calendar of the Tang dynasty starting with the reign title Huichang (841–846). This work is entitled *Huichang yilai rili* 會昌以來日曆, comprised 26 *juan* (Tuotuo 1977, 439.13010) and may be considered an attempt to account for the loss of the Tang dynastic histories since the eighth century and the Veritable Records since 841. Li Tao 2004 (35.779) reports that Qian Xi was dispatched in the summer of 994 to collect all of Zhao Linji's writings for which his family was rewarded with 100,000 copper cash. Wang Yinglin 1992 (48.11b) refers to the text as *Bu Huichang yilai rili* 補會昌以來日曆 which in the context makes more sense as there was no other material left, and hence a "Supplement" to or "Supplementary" of a calendar was a more apt description of the work.

⁵⁶³ Cheng Ju 2000a, 324. Cf. the parallel entries in Wang Yinglin 1992 (168.18a) and Xu Song 1997 ("zhiguan" 18.78 (2793)).

報狀) in a sealed envelope every five days to the Historiography Institute.⁵⁶⁴ The History Compilation Office in the past was situated in the first corridor of the Secretariat; later it moved to the Court of Palace Attendants. Formerly the History Compilation Office had compiled the Collected Regulations (*huiyao* 會要).

In the sixth month of the fifth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (July/August 1012) the Institute for the Compilation of the Dynastic History reported:

“In regard to the Treatise on Rites (*lizhi* 禮志) which is presently being compiled [we would like to state the following]: In the past the Daily Calendars preserved auspicious matters only and the Ritual Academy should [thus] be ordered to specify matters relating to the alternating influence of ritual texts on the evolution of regulations, as well as on written judgments and deliberations since the start of the dynasty. Above all it must be considered, that discarding (texts) will result in defective state statutes.

Sun Shi, Edict Attendant in the Longtu Cabinet, should be made supervisor of the Ritual Academy (*liyuan* 禮院)⁵⁶⁵. He is profoundly versed in the Classics and his knowledge of rites is extensive. We expect him to be expressly commissioned as Examining Editor to submit reports.”⁵⁶⁶

This was followed.

Moreover, an imperial decree ordered the Bureau of Military Affairs to submit Records of Current Government to the Historiography Institute every month. Before this, the monthly report prepared by the Bureau of Military Affairs to which were attached historical events, was sent to the Secretariat to be included in the Records of Current Government. When it had come to this, Wang Qinruo and Chen Yaosou were the first to ask for separate compilations [of the Records of Current Government and historical records].⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁴ In Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 2.45) the order for the submission of the gazettes is dated to July/August 999. De Weerd 2009b provides a study of court gazettes especially during the Southern Song.

⁵⁶⁵ This is the short form for the *Taichang liyuan* 太常禮院 within the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (Gong Yanming 1997, 97).

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. the parallel entry in Li Tao 2004 (78.1771–1772).

⁵⁶⁷ Cheng Ju 2000a, 326. In the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* the start of the compilation of the “Shumiyuan shizhengji” is dated to July 17, 1012 (Li Tao 2004, 78.1772).

3.22

In the eleventh month of the first year of the Qianxing era (November/December 1022) Wang Juzheng, Subeditor in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, and Li Shu, Proofreader in the Institutes and the Archive, were both appointed Junior Compilers in the Historiography Institute. At that time the Senior Compilers Li Wei and Song Shou said:

“The Historiography Institute in the past has had four Senior Compilers, but recently Zu Shiheng has left for a post outside [the Institutes]. We want to present the case of the Daily Calendar of the former reign, when after the first year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (1008) no more [daily calendars] had been compiled. We hope that two officials from the Institutes and the Archive may be selected as Junior Compilers [of the Daily Calendar].”

Consequently, the order for the appointment [for the two Junior Compilers] was given.⁵⁶⁸

3.23

In the eighth month of the ninth year of the Dazhong xiangfu era (September/October 1016) Gao Shen 高紳, Director in the Ministry of Justice, was appointed Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute. Shen, a partisan of the Military Affairs Commissioner Wang Qinruo, did not receive orders to do compilation work, but only supervised the placement examination of the Ministry of Personnel. Only when Shen petitioned the throne shortly afterwards to be posted to an outside commandery, did he take over as Senior Compiler.⁵⁶⁹

In the first year of the Tiansheng era (1023), when Shi Zhongli as Director in the Ministry of Revenue acted as Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute, the authorities referred to the case of Shen, and thus he did not compile the Daily Calendars.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁸ Cheng Ju 2000a, 329. See Cheng Ju 2000b (3.4, 111). Cf. Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.79 (2794)). This source provides the date for the entry in the *Lintai gushi* that has been missing there.

⁵⁶⁹ Gao Shen in Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 18.79 (2794)) first became attached to the Institute for the Glorification of Literature and then supervised Senior Compilers of rank five and above in the Secretariat and the Chancellery. The parallel entry in the *Xu Zizhi tongjian* makes it clear that Gao Shen’s promotion to Senior Compiler did not include any actual work in this function (Li Tao 2004, 87.2008).

⁵⁷⁰ Cheng Ju 2000a, 329. As Directors (*langzhong*) in Ministries both Gao and Shi could not actively be involved in compilation work. Gao’s example shows that he was permit-

3.24

In the ninth month of the fourth year of the Jiayou era (October/November 1059) Ouyang Xiu, Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute, said:

“Historiographers have produced books to record the achievements and failures of the court and the administration as well as the merits and offenses of the officialdom. There should be a storage place for this kind of writing. Formerly, Li Shu⁵⁷¹ burnt the drafts of all official histories of the present dynasty, after he had submitted the completed texts to the palace, and so nowadays the Historiography Bureau is nothing but an empty office. I ask the emperor to order the Longtu Cabinet to produce copies of these books and submit them to the Compilation Office (*bianxiu yuan* 編修院; my translation), to provide for research on and reading of historical precedents.”

[This suggestion] was followed.⁵⁷²

3.25

On the ninth day under the cyclical characters *jiachen* 甲辰 of the eighth month of the second year of the Yuanfeng era (September 6, 1079) Wang Cun, Joint Compiler of the Imperial Diary⁵⁷³, said:

“In the past the recorders of the left (*zuoshi* 左史)⁵⁷⁴ recorded events, and the recorders of the right (*youshi* 右史) recorded words. In the beginning of the

ted to active duty as a Senior Compiler only after he had retired from the Ministry of Justice.

⁵⁷¹ During the Qianxing era (1022) Li had compiled the *Zhenzong shilu* 真宗實錄. Li Tao (2004, 99.2302) identifies Li Wei, Yan Shu, Sun Shi, and Chen Yaozuo as the authors of the text. In 1033 Li Shu was a Senior Compiler in the Historiography Institute (Tuotuo 1977, 291.9740–9741).

⁵⁷² Cheng Ju 2000a, 330. See also Cheng Ju 2000b (2.15, 77). This entry explains that once texts had been collated the material used for the collation and probably early drafts as well were destroyed so officials had no longer access to them. Therefore, Ouyang Xiu asked to provide copies of the original material at places that were accessible for officials.

⁵⁷³ In the parallel entry in Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 2.13 (2378)) Wang Cun, in addition to be identified with the position as Joint Compiler of the Court, is addressed as Junior Compiler in the Dynastic History Institute and Examining Editor in the Historiography Institute.

⁵⁷⁴ According to Twitchett, Recorders of the Right and Recorders of the Left were used during 662–670 and 690–705, as alternative titles for “Court Diarists”, *qijulang* 起居郎 and *qiju sheren* 起居舍人, respectively (Twitchett 1992, 287 and 289).

Zhenguan era (627–649) of the Tang, when government matters were discussed at court, the Imperial Diarists used their brushes to record what was being proclaimed in front of the throne, and then the Historiographers followed suit.⁵⁷⁵ After the end [of the Zhenguan era], sometimes these [positions] were implemented and at other times they were abolished. From that time on, if a ruler committed himself to dedicate all his strength to the administration, these positions were implemented. And if it happened that mediocre officials acted without authority and devoted their time to covering up their offenses, these positions were abolished.⁵⁷⁶ These were the circumstances of [these positions].

Your Majesty dedicates Yourself tirelessly to government matters, and Your wisdom extends everywhere. In Your actions You are inevitably guided by precedents from antiquity and Your pronunciations are inevitably grounded in the Classics. As to Your decision-making of the innumerable matters [of government] and to Your distinguishing the doubtful from the obscure, they exceed the expectations of Your subjects.

I would like You to consider the historical example of the Zhenguan period of the Tang, and to revive the positions of Court Diarists (*qiju lang* and *qiju sheren*), in order to gather all the edicts (*deyin* 德音) of the Son of Heaven. After they have withdrawn (from court) to write them down, they should subsequently transfer their records to the historiographers.

When the two ministries (*erfu* 二府)⁵⁷⁷ are producing Records of Current Government consisting of matters ranging from memorials submitted up to the attendance of all officials at the audience hall, I am asking for permission for the Diary Officials to write down what they learn regarding the guiding principles of governance, so that statements on plans and instructions will not be lost.”⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁵ On the compilation of court diaries in the Tang see Twitchett 1992 (35–38). The process described here involved an original recording of important matters by the Imperial Diarists who then transferred their material for further editing to the Historiographers.

⁵⁷⁶ Tang Taizong attempted to interfere with the work on the Veritable Records of his father’s reign as well as his own (McMullen 1987, 171).

⁵⁷⁷ This refers to the Imperial Secretariat and the Bureau of Military Affairs.

⁵⁷⁸ A similar request for the introduction of recorders of the left and the right had been submitted by Zhang Bi at the start of the dynasty. See above under 3.18. What Wang Cun called for was a re-introduction of the positions of *qiju lang* and *qiju sheren* as independent functional official positions instead of being conferred as concurrent positions as practiced since Zhang Bi’s memorial from 994. Zhang’s suggestion had led that to the creation of the Office for the Imperial Diary that was staffed with officials working in the Three Institutes already. These officials were addressed as Compilers of

The emperor instructed Cun:

“The office of recorder already exists since the times of the Yellow Emperor and during the Han dynasty there was the Palace Court Diary (*Jinzhong qijuzhu* 禁中起居注), from which the present Imperial Diary (*jijuzhu* 起居注) takes its designation. Recently bureaucratic posts have been lost indeed, yet, what the ruler talks about with his ministers inevitably relates to the running of government. What is being said publicly are therefore public statements; what is being said for selfish reasons, is, as rulers do not embrace selfishness, no secret matter. What is then the use of keeping these confidential!

For, if ministers submit memorials that contain slander or wicked sycophancy, it is assumed that the ruler inevitably should pardon⁵⁷⁹ them. If it is difficult to lay blame on them, consequently they have nothing to be afraid of. But if there are officials to the left and the right who record (these offenses), then there is no way that they can cover up their treachery.”

However, in the end (the suggestion) was not put into practice.

On the eleventh day under the cyclical characters *bingwu* 丙午 (September 8, 1079) an imperial decree ordered that officials in charge of compiling the Imperial Diary, even if they were not holding concurrent remonstrance functions, when recordable matters occurred, they were to directly state these (to the emperor) after memorials on these matters had been received by the Offices of the Recipients of Edicts at the Hall for the Veneration of Governance (Chong-

the Imperial Diary. Each position could only be held by one individual from the Chancellery (and called *qiju sheren*) and one from the Department of State Affairs (called *qiju lang*). The *Songshi* makes the affiliation of the former quite clear, while it is less precise on the latter (Tuotuo 1977, 161.3786, and 161.3780, respectively). In the Tang dynasty each position was held by two men each from the Chancellery (*qiju lang*) and the Secretariat (*qiju sheren*) (Li Linfu 1991, 8.2a (173) and 9.2a (196), respectively). The individual filling of the post does not only reflect the ancient model for the recorders, but appears to also follow a Later Tang practice instituted during 923 (Xue Juzheng 1977, 149.2000). The *Wenxian tongkao* provides a summary of the history of both posts (Ma Duanlin 1986, 51, “zhiguan” 4, 460–461).

⁵⁷⁹ The characters in the modern edition as well as in the *Song huiyao* and the *Xu Zizhi tongjian* are *hanrong* 函容. The text in the *Shiwanjuan lou congshu* reads *hanrong* 涵容 (3.16a).

zheng dian 崇政殿) and the Hall of Extended Harmony (Yanhe dian 延和殿)^{580, 581}

On the *jiayin* 甲寅 day of the eighth month (September 16) an imperial edict ordered that all offices had to submit their gazettes and the Historiography Institute all of its official documents to the Office for the Imperial Diary. These official gazettes according to old regulations comprised accounts of five days at the end of each decade (*xun* 旬), as well as accounts of ten days at the end of each month, and those for the month and for the year followed old regulations as well. All this followed what Wang Cun, Compiler of the Imperial Diary, had suggested:

“Recent regulations require that all offices have to submit reports on events directly to the Office for the Compilation of the Daily Calendar, hence there is nothing left for the Imperial Diary that could be prepared for compilation into a record. And then, during the Chunhua era (990–994), the number of days to be covered by the gazettes had been determined so they comprised five days or ten days and (the gazettes) were submitted at the end of the month or at the end of the year. However, according to recent regulations the reports for the five day period and those at the end of the month are merged into a report at the end of each decade, and those for the end of the year have been changed into reports at the end of each month. Moreover, in regard to the State Finance Commission, the fluctuations of the value of money and crops, income and expenses, the rising and decreasing [numbers recorded in] population registers and maps certainly cannot be observed every month and it is necessary to wait until the end of the year before final calculations can be made. If [the Office for the Compilation of the Daily Calendar] has to submit monthly reports, I fear that the relevant authorities will provide meaningless documents which are of no use as factual records.”

This was the reason for the imperial order (of the *jiayin* day).⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰ Hucker suggests that the Hall for the Veneration of Governance was subordinate to the Hanlin-Academy (Hucker 1988, 195). The Yanhe-Hall was a building on the palace grounds that emperors in the Northern Song retired to for reading and for talking to their officials (Tuotuo 1977, 154.3598).

⁵⁸¹ In the parallel entries in Li Tao 2004 and Xu Song 1997 this is marked as another suggestion by Wang Cun. It would have given the compilers of the Imperial Diary the initiative to notify the emperor of events that may have been missed otherwise. Wang Cun explains further below that Imperial Diarists should have access to the same information as the officials compiling the Daily Calendars.

⁵⁸² Cheng Ju 2000a, 331–332. Cf. Li Tao 2004 (299.7280) and Xu Song 1997 (“zhiguan” 2.13–14 (2378)).

3.26

An imperial decree of the *yimao* 乙卯 day of the fifth month of the seventh year [of the Yuanfeng era] (June 22, 1084) ordered Editorial Directors to temporarily fill in vacant positions with the same authority as Editors or Correctors.⁵⁸³

Xing Shu, Assistant Editorial Director in the Palace Library⁵⁸⁴, remarked:

“According to official regulations, it is the duty of the Historiography Institute to compile the Dynastic History and the Veritable Records within the Daily Calendar Office. Therefore, the Compilation Office should be abolished and returned to the Historiography Institute.”⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸³ The latter were the higher positions as compared to the Editorial Directors. The same passage is found in Li Tao 2004 (345.8287).

⁵⁸⁴ Xing prior to his statement had assumed the position he is identified with here (Li Tao 2004, 345.8281).

⁵⁸⁵ Cheng Ju 2000a, 333. This passage appears also as part of a longer entry in Xu Song 1997 (“yunli”, 1.16 (2135)) and Li Tao 2004 (350.8382). The text in the *Song huiyao* continues: “The Institute for the Veneration of Literature as well as the Historiography Institute as the principal managing institutions for the dynastic history and the Veritable Records should be suspended, and the compilation of the calendar as well as the documents and the Records of Current Government prepared by the various offices should be re-assigned to the Section for the History of the Dynasty in the Department of the Palace Library. The Directors, Vice Directors, and Assistant Directors together with the Editorial Directors have functioned as Notaries which made it difficult for the Court Calendar Office to distinguish between them (in order of importance). Hence I ask that the documents prepared by the various offices will only be addressed to the Palace Library.’ In cases where the Directors, Vice Directors, and Assistant Directors of the Court Calendar (Office) had not participated in the compilation of documents, the Editorial Directors would open (*kaichai* 開拆) both the Records of Current Government and the Imperial Diary (*qijuzhu* 起居注), and enter them in the vault. It was ordered that in the future written reports and documents were all to be addressed to the Section for the History of the Dynasty in the Department of the Palace Library, and that events for the Records of Current Government and the Calendar were no longer to be compiled without the participation of Junior Compilers. On the sixth day of the eighth month of the eighth year (1085) by imperial decree Zeng Zhao 曾肇, Gentleman for Court Service and Director in the Ministry of Personnel and Lin Xi 林希, Gentleman for Court Audiences and Director in the Ministry of Rites, were appointed concurrent Editorial Directors. The practice of administrative officials taking over concurrent Institute positions began with this.”

