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Fringes and Seams: Boundaries of Erudition in Early Medieval China

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by

Evan Vincent Nicoll-Johnson

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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by

Evan Vincent Nicoll-Johnson

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Professor Jack W. Chen, Chair

In China's early medieval period, scholastic erudition and refined self-expression were requisite talents of the literate elite, and achievement in both areas depended on the production, circulation, and consumption of texts. This dissertation examines several methods of textual organization and compilation that arose and flourished in this period. Although such works served as testaments to the broad erudition of their compilers, they were also criticized for their unrestrained ambition, disorderly structure, and problematically "miscellaneous" contents.

The first two chapters address bibliographic treatises compiled during the Han and early Tang dynasties, showing how these ambitious scholarly projects relegated complexly organized works to categories reserved for "miscellaneous" texts. I find that the earlier treatise, contained in *Han shu*, is inconsistent in the qualities it assigns to texts it describes as *za*, or "miscellaneous," while the later treatise, found in *Sui shu*, displays the influence of the centuries

of intervening textual production and circulation through a new interest in scribal practices and compilation techniques, which is also apparent in its critiques of all its "miscellaneous" texts.

Each of the remaining three chapters addresses a different method of textual reuse that arose in the centuries between these two bibliographies. In chapter three, I discuss the extensive historiographic annotations to *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*, which have themselves been criticized for their disorderliness, and also make frequent use of texts bibliographies describe as "miscellaneous." Chapter four is focused on *Jinlouzi*, a uniquely structured compilation of private writings and gathered anecdotes, showing how its distinctive approach to textual reuse and organization has influenced its complex transmission and reception. Chapter five discusses collections of *liezhuan* biographies compiled for several dynastic histories, using analysis of phrases that describe reading and erudition to examine the development of a standard biographical style. By combining digital analyses of patterns within these texts with investigation of their structure and contents, I show how these texts, though maligned for their disorderliness and "miscellaneousness," are all attempts to bring a quickly expanding corpus to order, and to find new ways to make use of the many texts to which their compilers had access.

The dissertation of Evan Vincent Nicoll-Johnson is approved.

Natasha Heller

Todd Presner

David Schaberg

Jack W. Chen, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

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For my family

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VITA

Degrees

MA: University of Southern California, Los Angeles CA. Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, emphasis in Chinese Literature. 2008–2010. MA Thesis: "The Many Voices of the Lan ting Poems: Society and Seclusion in the Eastern Jin."

BA: Occidental College, Los Angeles CA. Art History and Visual Arts. Minor: Asian Studies. 2001–2005.

Selected Presentations

- "Patterns of Citation in *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*." Conference: 228th Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society, Los Angeles, California. March 18, 2017.
- "Memories of the Jade Man: Wei Jie and the River Crossing of the Jin Dynasty." Conference: RMMLA 2016, Salt Lake City Utah. October 7, 2016.
- "How to remember lost books: Historiographic annotations and the troubled transmission of early medieval Chinese texts." Conference: Forgotten Books and Cultural Memory, National Taipei University of Technology. May 27, 2016.
- 中國中古古籍注釋、圖書分類法與「數位漢學」("Early Medieval Chinese Textual Commentary, Bibliographic Classification, and 'Digital Sinology'"). Invited Lecture: Special Topics in Chinese Studies series, National Taiwan University. December 22, 2015.
- "On Reading the *Quan Tang shi*." (With Jack W. Chen, Yunshuang Zhang, and Ruichuan Wu). Workshop: Reading, Information, and Quantification in Traditional China: A Luce/ACLS Collaborative Reading Workshop, UCLA. May 30, 2014.
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Introduction
Broad Knowledge of Texts and Texts of Broad Knowledge

0.1 Overview: Erudition and Textual Circulation in Early Medieval China

Erudition is a moving target. As the collective knowledge to which a society has access changes and expands, so too does the standard one must reach to be considered well-read. This is not merely a question of breadth, of the constant growth of the corpus with which one must be familiar to be considered erudite, but of how certain aspects of that corpus are privileged above others. New texts may render older works outdated, while new disciplines and methods of reading may revitalize interest in old subjects. Changing dynamics of availability and circulation may render certain works unobtainable, but this rarity can make knowledge of them all the more precious. New approaches to the organization of text are an important part of this equation, as they determine how efficiently readers are able to access information, and even determine what sorts of information are available. New organizational strategies can make it easier to keep pace with a rapidly expanding corpus, but they often do so by privileging certain types of information over others, becoming the media through which attitudes about the nature of erudition itself are expressed.

The purpose of this project is to examine the ways scholars in China defined, developed, and displayed erudition in the early medieval period, from roughly third through the seventh centuries of the common era. During this period, the number of texts in circulation grew rapidly, and numerous new approaches to the organization of text were developed. These included bibliographic treatises used to sort entire books into hierarchies of interrelated categories and subcategories, as well as compilation methods that enabled scholars to draw excerpts and fragments from myriad other sources and reorganize them into new works. Though different in form and function, each of these methods required detailed knowledge of a vast array of texts to

produce. By making use of different elements of the same large shared corpus, these scholarly works became the staging ground for discourse about which texts were worth reading, and how one should cope with the overwhelming number of texts to which scholars had access. This increase in textual production was thus accompanied by an increase in attention to *how* information was gathered, organized, and circulated in books. Growing awareness of the compiled book as the venue through which knowledge could be stored and shared had a profound effect on what it meant to be considered a well-educated scholar. Of course, writing and books certainly existed and were an important part of intellectual life long before the period in question. But discussion the circulation and organization of books comes to occupy a much more prominent position in discussions of broad learning and knowledge in the early medieval period.

It is difficult to point to a single historical factor that led to this increase in textual production. Indeed, the explosion of book-writing in the early medieval period appears overdetermined, and it is difficult to separate cause from effect. The simplest explanation is technological. During the 3rd and 4th centuries, paper began to overtake bamboo and silk as the dominant medium on which writing could be preserved and circulated, and it was both cheaper and more compact than any alternative.[1] But paper had existed for some time before its use in bookmaking caught on, and it is difficult to say whether access to paper allowed more books to be written, or if the need to create and consume more books necessitated the adoption of a new medium.[2] The growing presence of what Howard Goodman has termed "polymath scholars" in

[1] Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 131, 150.

[2] Though its invention is traditionally attributed to the Han dynasty official Cai Lun (48–121), archaeological evidence suggests rudimentary papermaking had been practiced as early as the 3rd

the 2nd—4th centuries may have also contributed more widespread interest not only in broad reading, but also in conducting research and producing texts on a variety of fields, such as musicology, archaeology, and mathematics.[3] Goodman focuses on the development of skills by those who "strove to produce new writings and to synthesize researches" rather than simply obtain knowledge through mastery of pre-existing sources.[4] Meanwhile, the way scholars gathered and evaluated such pre-existing sources also changed. Lu Yaodong 逯耀東 has discussed how developments in the reading and interpretation of classical texts led to the emergence of an independent tradition of historiography in the Wei-Jin period, resulting in the composition of new redactions and studies of older texts, as well as an increased interest in documenting and analyzing more recent events.[5] At the height of both of these trends, the excavation of a collection of texts from in a tomb in Ji commandery 汲郡 in 279 changed the way historians understood the distant past and created a complex problem for their editors. This discovery of buried texts also influenced perspectives on contemporary literature, provoking new considerations of how contemporary scholarly methods related to those of the distant past.[6] These intellectual and scholarly developments were bolstered by consistent efforts by the state to

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century BCE. The earliest surviving paper bearing writing dates to around the 2nd century BCE. For further discussion of early uses of, see Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk*, 147–51.

[3] Howard Goodman, "Chinese Polymaths, 100–300 AD: The Tung-kuan, Taoist Dissent, and Technical Skills," *Asia Major*, third series, 18. 1 (2005): 101–74.

[4] Goodman, "Polymaths," 103.

[5] Lu Yaodong, *Wei Jin shixue de sixiang yu shehui jichu* 魏晉史學的思想與社會基礎 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 2000).

[6] Ji commandery was located in what is now northeastern Henan province. For further discussion of the discovery and editing these texts, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 131–84.

consolidate knowledge and produce new texts. Though the period between the Han and the Tang saw the rise and fall of many short-lived dynastic powers and is typically characterized as a "period of disunion," each of these competing powers established offices for recordkeeping and textual production, and devoted resources to commission large compilation projects and sponsor the work of individual private scholars.[7] Technological developments made bookmaking easier, intellectual trends contributed new fields of study and new textual topics, and consistent imperial interest in knowledge preservation and consolidation ensured that books continued to be produced even in times of political turmoil.

The development of poetic techniques and forms, and the emergence of a culture of connoisseurship surrounding the composition and circulation of poetry also changed the way people gathered, read, and created books. Stephen Owen has discussed the role of editorial mediation in the reception of lyric poetry in the early medieval period, analyzing the relationship between lyrics traditionally thought to have been gathered from among the people by the governmental "Music Bureau" (*yuefu* 樂府) and the corpus of poetry that was foundational to the development of the literary lyric voice.[8] Others have continued to explore the relationship between the composition of lyric poetry and other aspects of reading and textual circulation in early medieval culture. Robert Ashmore has explored the connection between the poetry of Tao

[7] Though only a fraction of these works survives, details of the establishment and functioning of the various institutions, academies, and archives for each of the many imperial powers are preserved in dynastic histories. For an overview of imperial publishing activities during this period, compiled largely from these descriptions in surviving dynastic histories along with archaeological evidence, see Zhou Shaochuan 周少川 et al., *Wei Jin Nanbeichao juan* 魏晉南北朝卷, edited by Shi Zongyuan 石宗源 and Liu Binjie 柳斌杰, vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhongguo guji chubanshe, 2008).

[8] Stephen Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006).

Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427) and contemporaneous hermeneutic approaches to classical texts, uncovering the "readerly" aspects of Tao Yuanming's complex poetry.[9] Xiaofei Tian, on the other hand, addresses the reception of Tao Yuanming's poetry by later readers, focusing on how its transmission within a manuscript culture created opportunities for editorial and hermeneutic reinventions, which had consequences not only on the value and popularity of Tao Yuanming's poetry, but on the reception of all early medieval poetry.[10] She has also examined the literary coteries of the Liang 梁 dynasty (502–557), showing how the new poetic forms they developed were related to the era's thriving culture of knowledge gathering and literary connoisseurship.[11] These studies address different topics and themes in early medieval literary history, but they all share an interest in understanding how approaches to collecting and reading texts were intimately connected to the creation and dissemination of new works. In all cases, the transformation of older texts through editing was not an anomaly, but a fundamental aspect of the process through which new texts were created.

This project contributes to this body of work by examining editorial and compilation practices related to a contemporaneous corpus of prose narratives and descriptions. The texts cover a broad range of topics. Though many would come to be regarded as works of history, they detail not only the distant past, but also more recent events. Some concern familiar names from the elite families that were active in the literary and scholarly coteries of the capital, while others

[9] Robert Ashmore, *The Transport of Reading: Text and Understanding in the World of Tao Qian 365–427)*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010).

[10] Xiaofei Tian, *Tao Yuanming and Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).

[11] Xiaofei Tian, *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star: The Literary Culture of the Liang (502–557)*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007).

describe bizarre and fantastic phenomena occurring on the frontiers and wildernesses at the margins of the known world. They range in length from brief adages and pithy anecdotes to longer biographies that span entire lifetimes. These stories and records appeared alongside one another in various combinations within many compilations and anthologies, which highlighted the similarities and differences among their contents with a variety of organizational tactics. This provides an opportunity to consider how the ongoing dissemination and circulation of texts affected the ways readers conceived of appropriate reading habits: what information is worth knowing, how it should be organized and consumed, and what one should do with it once one has it.

Despite their separation by wide gulfs of both time and space, there are compelling reasons to consider this situation in relation the cultures of book making and book collecting in Western Europe from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, a period that spans the invention and proliferation of the printing press. Roger Chartier has characterized the enterprises related to the organization and classification of texts in this period as an "immense effort motivated by anxiety," one that was inspired and necessitated by the vast quantities of texts produced in late manuscript and early print culture.[12] Chartier's discussion revolves primarily around the issue of authorship as both a legal concept and a method for categorizing texts, a situation for which it is difficult to draw direct parallels in early medieval China.[13] It is his

[12] Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), vii.

[13] This is not to say that the concept of the author is not relevant to the discussion of early medieval Chinese literature, or that there is no reason to seek parallels and contrasts between this situation and other aspects of Chartier's conception of the role played by authorial attributions in Europe. The relationship between authorship and patronage, for example, is a particularly important one in both medieval China and early modern Europe. In terms of authorship and textual classification, however, Chartier focuses primarily on the function of author's names in

discussion of "libraries without walls" that resonates most clearly with early medieval Chinese patterns of textual production and circulation. Chartier writes of the ways that the impulse to gather a comprehensive library, a collection that extended to the very limits of textual production itself, was given focus and make manageable by a variety of other concerns, the broadest among them perhaps simply the ability to distinguish between "the books that one absolutely must possess and those that might (or must) be left aside." [14] In a discussion of the many literal and figurative connotations of the word *bibliothèque*, Chartier describes a host of new textual forms that allowed collectors to channel their desire to seek out and acquire a hoard of physical texts into the pursuit of knowledge *about* texts, and by combining the contents of multiple works into a single compilation. Large collections that gathered all works in a given genre into a single volume were joined by other compiled and distilled texts, from lists of books organized by author, to encyclopedias, abridgements, collections of epitomes, and even bibliographies of bibliographies. These new approaches to the classification of textual information offered ways to mitigate "the tension between comprehensiveness and essence."[15] The same tension was very much present among the scholars of early medieval China, and to resolve it they employed many of the same tactics.

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alphabetized lists, and on working through issues related the legal status of author, two cases that are embedded firmly within a Eurpoean linguistic and legal context. For studies of authorship in Chinese texts in the period immediately prior to the one considered in this dissertation, see Alexander Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), and Hanmo Zhang, "Models of Authorship and Text-making in Early China" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2012), ProQuest (3540361). For a discussion of issues of authorial attribution of *ci* lyrics in the Northern Song, see Stephen Owen, "Who Wrote That? Attribution in Northern Song *Ci*," in *Reading Medieval Chinese Poetry: Text, Context, and Culture*, ed. Paul W. Kroll (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 202–20.

[14] Chartier, *Order*, 65.

[15] Chartier, *Order*, 69.

As Chartier notes, however, such works "constituted a major part of the great publishing ventures of the eighteenth century," a situation that may have relieved the pressure to acquire a comprehensive personal library, but did little to mitigate the actual number of texts in circulation.[16] In a study of a slightly earlier period, the manuscript culture of renaissance Europe, historian Ann Blair describes the effects of what she refers to as "information overload," asserting that in this context scholars and readers responded to the anxiety brought about by the sense that there was "too much to know," paradoxically, through the creation of more and more texts, each intended to summarize and organize this abundance of information more effectively than the last.[17] The manuscript culture of early medieval China presents an analogous situation, in which the impulse to control and organize a rapidly expanding corpus led to the development of new techniques of organization and compilation, in turn leading to the production of even more texts. The new methods of textual organization, and the cycle of textual circulation and reuse of which they were a part, also inspired greater scrutiny of the practical matters of textual production and organization. Ironically, texts that took up the task of consolidating, classifying, and organizing the contents of many other works were often themselves quite difficult to categorize, and scrutiny of their own structures of organization frequently inspired an attitude of dismissiveness and scorn.

0.2 Scholarly breadth and scholarly efficacy: Zichan of Zheng and Zhang Hua

Within this dissertation I use "erudition" to refer specifically to breadth and depth of knowledge: the acquisition of expertise on a variety of topics, primarily but not exclusively through extensive reading. This can perhaps be distinguished from the criteria Howard Goodman

[16] Chartier, *Order*, 67.

[17] Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

uses to identify "polymath scholars," in that in these cases "erudition" does not necessarily refer to mastery of technical skills or the development of new disciplines, it refers only to the development of an impressive storehouse of information.[18] Nevertheless, the ability to recall and make use of this information is in many cases a skill that has its own practical benefits, and, as we shall see, the question of why one should develop this sort of erudition and how it should be stored and deployed often plays a direct role in the discussions of textual organization and composition that will be detailed in this dissertation.

The novelty of the early medieval relationship between textual expressions of erudition and the growing concern for material features of textual production may be illustrated through the cases of two of the most famously learned men of their respective eras, the Springs and Autumns-era statesman Zichan of Zheng 鄭子產 (d. 522 BCE), and the Western Jin scholar Zhang Hua 張華 (232–300 CE). Zichan of Zheng is known largely through narratives detailing his life and accomplishments recorded in *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (Zuo tradition). Though many figures represented in *Zuo zhuan* display an impressive degree of erudition, he is the only individual to be described in that text as *bowu* 博物, a phrase that may be roughly translated as "broadly knowledgeable about things." Zichan earns this accolade after diagnosing the cause of an illness

[18] Goodman contrasts active, productive polymathy with polydidacticism, which he describes as "the impulse of self-conscious intellectuals to establish encompassing programs of reading and learning," which is "passive and focused on wholeness of mind," as opposed to polymathy. This is an accurate description of the type of erudition I discuss here, although throughout this dissertation I will discuss various anecdotes in which a vast storehouse of memorized knowledge proves to be an effective tool for demonstrating worth and solving problems, and many texts that put old knowledge to new use in other ways; I do not see it as entirely passive and unproductive. For discussion of this distinction, see Goodman, "Polymaths," 101–3.

suffered by the Lord of Jin.[19] The knowledge that Zichan displays in this situation is not merely medical, it encompasses many fields. His diagnosis is prompted by information revealed through divination that suggests that two obscure spirits, Shishen 實沈 and Taitai 臺駘, are responsible for the illness. Though no one else can identify the significance of these names, Zichan begins by providing a lengthy discussion of their historical origins, the asterisms with which they are currently associated, and the proper situations in which they may be placated with offerings. He continues, however, by claiming that Shishen and Taitai in fact have nothing to do with the ruler's illness, which allows him to present an equally lengthy discourse on the ill-effects of the ruler's excessive interest in female companionship. Not only has this preoccupation with women caused him to disrupt the schedule of duties appropriate for a man his status, causing an imbalance of internal energies that lead to illness, he has also introduced to his inner chambers four women who share his surname, an offense that Zichan argues may have equally dire consequences.

Zichan's display of knowledge does not end here. Though his diagnosis earns the recognition of the Lord of Jin's subordinate Shuxiang, Zichan is not described as a "noble man with broad knowledge of things" (*bowu junzi* 博物君子) until he makes a prognostication of his own, one based on an evaluation of civil affairs rather than divination. When Shuxiang asks him about the future of a minister from his own state, Zichan notes the individual in question's recent display of impropriety and aggression, and remarks that his career is thus not likely to last much

[19] *Zuo zhuan* Zhao 1.12 (1217–21). For this and subsequent references to *Zuo zhuan*, I use general references containing the reign period, year, and number in the sequence of events recorded in that year, followed by the page number in Yang Bojun's redaction in parentheses. These events occur in the first year of the reign of Lord Zhao of Lu (541 BCE), the tenth of the twelve Lords of Lu whose reigns establish the structure of the text, and the specific passage falls on pages 1217–21 in Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, ed. *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注, rev. ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006). Henceforth ZZ.

longer. This comment is eventually relayed to the Lord of Jin himself, who then commends Zichan's wisdom and knowledge. The range of expertise Zichan demonstrates in this sequence is truly broad, spanning history, mythology, astronomy, ritual conduct, the interplay between health and conduct, and concludes with his analysis of contemporary civil affairs. What Zichan provides is not merely information, but the application of that information to solve specific problems. His knowledge about the origins of Shishen and Taitai may be the most spectacular due to the obscurity of the topic, but ultimately proves irrelevant to the situation at hand. Moreover, although the breadth of knowledge he displays is impressive, no reference is made to its source. Likewise, despite Zichan's reputation as a wise statesman and erudite scholar, he appears to have left behind no textual traces of his own, neither attributed as the author of any text nor acknowledged as the founder of any lineage of scholarship.[20] Zichan's brilliance is known primarily through the *Zuo zhuan* narratives that describe it.

The situation is quite different in the case of Zhang Hua, a scholar of a much later era who is described in his *Jin shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin) biography as Zichan's equal:

> [Zhang] Hua was strong of mind and quietly perceptive.[21] All within the four seas was as familiar to him as his fingers and palms. Emperor Wu once inquired about the system of

[20] Michael Hunter, *Confucius Beyond the Analects* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 52.

[21] The phrase *mo shi* 默識 likely alludes to *Lunyu* 7.2, in Yang Bojun, *Lunyu yizhu* 論語譯注 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 66. In other appearances of the term in the annotated *Shishuo xinyu*, a text that will be addressed in much greater detail in the third chapter of this dissertation, *mo shi* refers to those who can perceive subtle details through observation alone, but the range of application is broad: One man is able to silently recognize an esteemed statesman in a crowd simply by noticing that there was something different about him, another is able to silently perceive numerous technical details about troop encampments, strategic geographical advantages, supply levels, and so on, and recall them from memory to demonstrate his knowledge. For these uses, see Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444), *Shishuo xinyu jiaoshi* 世說新語校釋, annot. Liu Xiaobiao 劉孝標 (462–521), ed. Gong Bin 龔斌 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), 7.16, Gong Bin, 777; 8.28, Gong Bin, 846. Henceforth SSXY; Liu Yi-ching, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü A New Account of Tales of the World*, Richard Mather, trans., 2nd edition (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2002), 217, 235. Most

> chambers in Han palaces, and spoke of the many doors and entryways of the Jianzhang Palace. Hua responded fluently, his audience neglecting their fatigue; he sketched out a map on the floor, and all in the emperor's retinue were drawn to it. The emperor thought that this was quite extraordinary, and his peers all compared him to Zichan.
>
> 華強記默識，四海之內，若指諸掌。武帝嘗問漢宮室制度及建章千門萬戶，華應對如流，聽者忘倦，畫地成圖，左右屬目。帝甚異之，時人比之子產。[22]

Like Zichan, Zhang Hua astounds his audience with his recollection of numerous minute details on topics entirely obscure to others. Both have not only acquired an astounding array information, but are also able to recall it perfectly in the appropriate situation. In this case, Zhang Hua's detailed memorized floor plan of the Han palace is much like Zichan's understanding of Shishen and Taitai: It is impressive, and situationally appropriate, but ultimately trivial. In this particular anecdote, Zhang Hua does not use his encyclopedic knowledge to solve a problem or answer a specific question, but other cases are different. Robert Campany has located and described over a dozen anecdotes that feature Zhang Hua as protagonist. These short narratives portray him using divination techniques, revealing concealed or disguised spirits and demons, acquiring ancient swords, displaying not only rare knowledge but also mastery of many skills and techniques.[23] Many of these anecdotes feature supernatural elements, and appear in texts that

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editions of *Shishuo xinyu* number the anecdotes in each chapter. Subsequent references to SSXY anecdotes will first provide this general reference, e.g. the first passage cited above is the 16th anecdote of the 7th chapter, or 7.16, followed by page numbers for Gong Bin's edition and Mather's translation. All translations are my own, though they have benefitted greatly from Mather's.

[22] Fang Xuanling 房玄靈 (579–648), *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 36.1070. Henceforth, JS.

[23] Robert Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 284–86. For translations of several of these anecdotes, see Roger Greatrex, *The Bowu zhi: An Annotated Translation* (Stockholm: Akademitryck AB, Täby, 1987), 17–24.

postdate Zhang Hua's life by a generation or more. Other anecdotes concern Zhang Hua's knowledge and expertise on mundane affairs, especially concerning the history of the Han dynasty, his career as an official, and his penchant for book-collecting.[24] Although contemporary readers may be tempted to separate the factual from the fictional based on their presumed dates of composition and the presence or absence of supernatural elements, no firm distinctions of this type are made within the texts in which they appear. All of these tales collectively developed and sustained Zhang Hua's reputation as a man of great talent and far-ranging erudition among many generations of readers.

Unlike Zichan, Zhang Hua is credited as the author of a well-known text, constituting another important part of this context in which Zhang Hua's reputation developed and spread. The title of this text is *Bowu zhi* 博物志 (Treatise on myriad things), employing the same reference to broad knowledge of things used to describe both its compiler and his predecessor Zichan of Zheng. As its translator has amply illustrated, *Bowu zhi* is not a unique composition authored solely by Zhang Hua, but a compilation of material that arranges unique entries alongside those that may also be found in a broad assortment of other, earlier works.[25] The text even includes several excerpts from the texts discovered in the Ji tumulus, which in Zhang Hua's time would have been very recent discoveries.[26] This is the first and most essential element of Zhang Hua's erudition that is connected to the production and circulation of text in a manner that Zichan's is not. *Bowu zhi* is a textual manifestation of the fruits of Zhang Hua's lifelong study,

[24] Greatrex, *Bowu zhi*, 7.

[25] Greatrex, *Bowu zhi*, 59.

[26] Shaughnessy, *Rewriting*, 147–48.

containing not only details with obscure origins, but information that can be explicitly connected to reading. No narratives involving either Zichan or Zhang Hua contain an explicit discussion of how they came to possess such rare knowledge, they focus instead on how each individual made use of it. But, as Greatrex notes, Zhang Hua's own large book collection must surely have contributed to his personal storehouse of facts, a conjecture made all the more plausible considering *Bowu zhi*'s own reliance on earlier textual sources.[27] Zichan, of course, may well have consulted many texts in developing his own knowledge, but descriptions of these activities do not appear in the extant narratives describing his life. Likewise, while Zhang Hua's knowledge can be made known to readers both through narratives describing his activities as well as through their textual manifestation in the form of *Bowu zhi*, Zichan's erudition is proven entirely through performance and action.

There is also the matter of the textual sources of the anecdotes that describe Zichan and Zhang Hua's breadth of knowledge. The earliest known source of most, if not all, narrative anecdotes concerning Zichan is *Zuo zhuan*. These stories are occasionally repeated in pre-Han texts like *Han Feizi* 韓非子 and *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (*The Annals of Lü Buwei*), sometimes with significant emendations and alterations.[28] They are also recounted and referenced in a

[27] Greatrex cites an incident that testifies to the immense size of Zhang Hua's library, in which the curator of the Jin imperial library must visit that of Zhang Hua in order to consult works absent from the imperial collection. See Greatrex, *Bowu zhi*, 17; 167n86; JS, 36.1074.

[28] See, for example, *Lüshi chunqiu* 16/5.3, which corresponds with ZZ Xiang 30.13 (1181), and *Han Feizi* 19.50. The *Han Feizi* anecdote is only loosely related to events described in ZZ Zhao 4.6 (1254). See Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷, ed., *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋校釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 989; it is translated in John Knoblock and Jeffrey Rigel, trans. *The Annals of Lü Buwei – A Complete Translation and Study* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 389–90. For the corresponding *Han Feizi* entry, see Chen Qiyou, ed. *Han Feizi xin jiao zhu* 韓非子新校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 2000), 1147.

handful sources from the Han and beyond, most notably *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the historian).[29] Zhang Hua anecdotes are dispersed throughout a much more eclectic collection of texts. His *Jin shu* biography repeats anecdotes that appear in earlier sources, such as those cited in the annotations to *Shishuo xinyu*, and that text also contains several more passages that relate to Zhang Hua's erudition, as does the annotated history of the Three Kingdoms period, *Sanguo zhi zhu* 三國志注.[30] Meanwhile, the anecdotes described by Robert Campany are distributed across a wide variety of anomaly account collections, a textual genre within which Campany also includes *Bowu zhi* itself.[31] Some of these collections, such as *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (Record of a search for spirits) and *Yi yuan* 異苑 (Garden of the strange) have been transmitted to the present in sequences of manuscript and print editions with varying degrees of completeness and editorial intervention.[32] Others, like *Youming lu* 幽明錄 (Register of the light and dark) are known only via recompiled versions put together based on citations in various encyclopedic sources.[33] Each

[29] A number of narratives from Zichan's life are strung together in the Zheng chapter of *Shi ji*'s "Hereditary Houses" 世家 section. The *Shi ji* version of Zichan's speech described in detail above repeats *Zuo zhuan*'s account of Zichan's description of Shishen and Taitai, but condenses the later segment on the Lord of Jin's indulgences into a single line, leaving the reader with the impression that Zichan's recognition as a *bowu junzi* is inspired primarily by his knowledge of the two deities. See Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145–86 BCE), *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 42.1772. Henceforth, SJ.

[30] Greatrex, *Bowu zhi,* 6–7. Note that in the passage quoted in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations, Zhang Hua is compared to the Han figure Zhang Anshi 張安世 rather than Zichan.

[31] Campany, *Strange Writing*, 49–52.

[32] Campany, *Strange Writing*, 284–86; 55–56; 78.

[33] Campany, *Strange Writing*, 75–77. Greatrex also notes anecdotes from partially extant anomaly account collections that are repeated in the same later encyclopedic collections of anecdotes that would be used to reconstruct texts that had been completely lost, such as the Song dynasty collection *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記. See Greatrex, *Bowu zhi*, 5.

of these texts were compiled by people not unlike Zhang Hua, who gathered and combed through many texts, selecting anecdotes and passages to adapt for inclusion into their own newly compiled works, which would then circulate in a similar fashion among subsequent reader-compilers. This situation, in which anecdotes concerning a given topic are not gathered in a single, authoritative source and then repeated in later versions that are clearly derivative of that source, but rather are distributed throughout a great variety of texts, with adaptations, variant versions, and word-for-word citations forming a tangled web of intertextual connections, characterizes the distinctive features of early medieval textual circulation, organization, and transmission.

This is not to say that these issues of textual circulation and transmission emerged fully formed only after the fall of the Han dynasty, or that scholars of earlier periods were utterly unconcerned with textual organization and compilation. *Zuo zhuan*, to name just one example, is likely to have been compiled from a combination of orally transmitted narratives and a variety of previously compiled textual materials, which, like countless other texts from all periods in Chinese history, have neither been independently transmitted nor recorded in any bibliographic source.[34] Moreover, as Mark E. Lewis has demonstrated, the consolidation and organization of

[34] The compilation and editing of *Zuo zhuan* will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3. For an overview of the history of *Zuo zhuan* and summaries of the main methods scholars have used to distinguish oral and written antecedents in the text see David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 315–24. Two recent volumes have provided great insight into the issues of textual production and consumption in Early China, focusing on the relationship between text and ritual in one case, and on textual production and the spread of literacy in the other. See Martin Kern, ed., *Text and Ritual in Early China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005); and Li Feng and David Prager Branner, eds., *Writing & Literacy in Early China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011).

texts was a priority for the imperial court in both the Qin and Han dynasties.[35] Though many of the phenomena I will describe have antecedents in earlier periods, the focus of this study is on their continued development in the period following the dissolution of the Han dynasty. Although textual consolidation and production remained a priority of the state, in this era textual production is best conceived as a broad collaborative effort between scholars working in imperially established academies, those working independently but with state support, and those creating texts entirely outside the auspices of the state. Text traveled among volumes produced in all three scenarios, leading to a situation in which books were circulating on such a scale that scholars began to develop new methods for storing and organizing them, new perspectives on the value of text in such large quantities, and new attitudes towards the distinctly textual form of erudition that their consumption afforded. In other words, the continual growth of the corpus of texts to which readers had access not only made it necessary for scholars to familiarize themselves with an even greater variety of topics in order to be considered erudite, it also elevated the importance of discourse on how this vast sea of texts could be organized. This new interest in the organization of text brought with it a host of new anxieties and concerns about how proper boundaries could be established both within and between books.

The reception of *Bowu zhi* illustrates the nature of these new anxieties. One anecdote, itself found in a later anomaly account collection, describes Zhang Hua's presentation of his newly completed compilation to Emperor Wu of the Jin dynasty:

> Zhang Hua, styled Maoxian, exhibited the virtue of clever intelligence, and was fond of reading esoteric texts with secret, extraordinary charts. He gathered passed-down writings from throughout the land, beginning at the very dawn of writing, investigating spirits and oddities, and continuing to include even the contemporary chatter of the lanes and alleys, to create *Bowu zhi* in four hundred fascicles, which he presented to the emperor.

[35] Mark E. Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

張華字茂先，挺生聰慧之德，好观秘異圖緯之部，捃採天下遺逸，自書契之始，考驗神怪，及世間閭里所說，造《博物志》四百卷，奏於武帝。

The emperor summoned him and said, “Your talent spans ten thousand generations, the breadth of your knowledge is unparalleled, surpassing that of Fuxi and matched only by Confucius. And yet among the matters and sayings you’ve gathered there are many trifling and nonsensical things, which would best be edited out. One should not compose a text of excessive length. In ancient times, when Confucius edited the *Odes* and *Documents*, he did not address the obscure matters of ghosts and spirits to speak of ‘oddities, displays of force, disorder, or spirits.’ Now, your *Bowu zhi* will shock with that which is unheard of, and mystify with that which has not been seen, and will perpetuate this fear and delusion among later generations, cluttering and overwhelming their senses. It would be best to prune away the trivial and suspect, and divide it into ten fascicles.”

帝詔詰問：“卿才綜萬代，博識无倫，遠冠羲皇，近次夫子。然記事採言，亦多浮妄，宜更刪翦，无以冗長成文。昔仲尼刪《詩》、《書》，不及鬼神幽昧之事，以言怪力乱神。今卿《博物志》，驚所未聞，異所未見，將恐惑乱於後生，繁芜於耳目，可更芟截浮疑，分為十卷。”

Then, before the emperor, Zhang Hua was presented with an ink stone of dark iron. This iron was from the kingdom of Khotan, sent as tribute and then cast into an ink stone. He was presented with a Qilin-horn brush, its stalk crafted from the horn of a Qilin, sent as tribute from Liaoxi, and with ten thousand pieces of slanted-pattern (*celi* 側理) paper, this was a tribute from Nanyue. Later people would call this *zhili* 陟里, confusing it with slanted-pattern paper. The southerners used sea algae to make paper, and its grain would form a crisscrossing, slanted pattern, this is the source of the name.[36] The emperor would keep the ten-fascicle *Bowu zhi* in its case, and browse through it on days of leisure.

即於御前賜青鉄硯，此鉄是于闐国所出，献而鋳為硯也。賜麟角筆，以麟角為筆管，此遼西国所献。側理紙萬番，此南越所献。後人言“陟里”，與“側理”相乱，南人以海苔為紙，其理縱横邪側，因以為名。帝常以《博物志》十卷置於函中，暇日覽焉。[37]

[36] The precise meaning of this odd digression is unclear. While the confusion between *celi* and *zhili* seems to be based primarily on pronunciation, *zhili* 陟里 may also be an alternative way of writing *zhili* 陟釐, a type of freshwater algae that other sources claim is also used to make paper. Thus, this passage could be asserting that it is sea algae rather than freshwater algae that is used for paper making.

[37] Originally found in *juan* 9 of *Shi yi ji* 拾遺記 (Record of neglected matters) , attributed to Wang Jia 王嘉 (d. before 393) and re-edited several generations later in the Liang dynasty by the otherwise obscure Xiao Qi 蕭綺. For more on this text and a translation of this passage, see Campany, *Strange Writing*, 64–65, 127–28; another partial translation may be found in Greatrex,

Though both Greatrex and Campany also translate and discuss this passage, it is worth reproducing in full here to illustrate the important role that practical matters of textual production play in the narrative. The dialogue between the emperor and Zhang Hua is framed with an introduction and conclusion, the former detailing Zhang Hua's habits of textual acquisition and consumption, and the latter describing the emperor's consumption of Zhang Hua's text, as well as the tools that Zhang Hua will use to compose more texts in the future. The centerpiece of the narrative, the emperor's critique of Zhang Hua's text, is also phrased in textual terms. As Campany argues, the problem that the emperor identifies with the contents of *Bowu zhi* is reflective of "ongoing uneasiness about anomalous material" during the early medieval period, and the placement of this narrative within a text that is itself a representative of the anomaly account genre suggests that it be read as a defense of the genre, offering "a persuasive strategy to legitimate the writing and reading of such accounts," and "a model of the way in which a ruler might respond when presented with one."[38] It is significant, though, that the emperor's solution involves a second round of editing to drastically shorten the text, and is justified with a different textual value—that a text of any kind should not be "excessive" in length.

The title of *Bowu zhi* may recall Zichan of Zheng's display of erudition in his diagnosis of the Jin ruler's illness, but in this scenario the roles are reversed. While Zichan identifies the excesses of the Lord of Jin as the cause of his illness, here the emperor identifies Zhang Hua's

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Bowu zhi, 49–50. For this translation, which varies slightly from those of Greatrex and Campany, I have consulted the collated and punctuated version in Wang Genlin 王根林 et al., eds. *Han Wei liuchao biji xiaoshuo daguan* 漢魏六朝筆記小說大觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), 554–55.

[38] Campany, *Strange Writing*, 128–29.

textual excesses as the malady in need of a remedy. In contrast, the emperor's strategy for managing the superfluity of *Bowu zhi* is first to recommend that it be dramatically shortened, and then to consume the text in moderation, only in times of leisure, perhaps as a means of preventing the same misdirection and squandering of energies that afflicted the Lord of Jin. The excess material in *Bowu zhi* is problematic not just because it describes unfamiliar and implausible phenomena, but because this same material is also thought to be trivial and useless, not just misleading or frightening, but overwhelming and superfluous. These problems are also be diagnosed among other texts, even those that lack discussion of oddities or spirits.

Earlier studies of anomaly accounts have noted their distribution throughout a variety of bibliographic subcategories in the early medieval period, but have tended to focus either on the anomaly account's status as distinct subgenre—albeit one that is not formally defined as such in the early medieval period—or on later developments in textual analysis and categorization that would lead to anomaly accounts being retroactively understood as examples of *xiaoshuo*, and hence as a step towards the recognition of the literary value of deliberately fictional writing.[39] This dissertation considers the anomaly account instead as one example among many approaches to the gathering and organization of text. These were ambitious projects that manifested the results of their compilers' far-ranging reading habits and illustrated their erudition, but were also subject to severe critique for their superfluity, triviality, and disorderliness. Again, *Bowu zhi* provides an illustrative example. Its title expresses the breadth of its contents with the term *bowu*, which carries a positive connotation thanks to its association with figures like Zichan of

[39] For two differing perspectives on the bibliographic categorization of anomaly accounts and their relationship to *xiaoshuo*, see Kenneth J. DeWoskin, "The Six Dynasties *chih-kuai* and the Birth of Fiction," in *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays*, ed. Andrew H. Plaks (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 21–52; and Campany, *Strange Writing*, esp. 21–32, 129–33, and 154–56.

Zheng, who were renowned not only for their erudition but for their ability to deploy that knowledge to positive ends. But bibliographers in the early medieval period relegated *Bowu zhi* to a category labeled with a term that reflects a very different understanding of the value of its broad range of contents. In the bibliographic treatise of the *Sui shu* 隋書 (History of the Sui), *Bowu zhi* is filed in the subcategory of *za* 雜 texts within the Masters (*zi* 子) division of the treatise's four-part system. The bibliographic connotations of *za* are complex, and will be explored in depth throughout this dissertation, but in its most basic sense the term connotes the "mixed" or "miscellaneous," and in the case of the "Miscellaneous Masters," it is used to describe texts that, like *Bowu zhi*, combine excerpts from earlier sources with unique elements not found in any other text, and coordinate these contents through the use of complex organizational schema. But the bibliographic system that classifies these texts as *za* is itself the result of an ambitious, comprehensive textual project.

Ultimately, the unease incited by these texts is not just anxiety about texts of excessive length, but instead results from more nuanced consideration of which lengthy texts may be considered truly *bo*, laudably broad and comprehensive, and which are merely *za*, cluttered and "miscellaneous." In other words, texts are judged not just on the basis of their length or the nature of their contents, but by how effectively these contents are organized and deployed. Likewise, the interest in organizing textual material more efficiently did not lead to universal acceptance of the maxim that a text should not be overlong, but, on the contrary, inspired the creation of more and more varied ways to organize and coordinate large quantities of text. Such texts were then subject to criticism for their "miscellaneousness," criticisms that are often articulated in lengthy, comprehensive texts that would themselves be decried as miscellaneous by others. Each of these organizational strategies presents its own response to the question of

appropriate boundaries within and between texts. The "fringes" and "seams" of this dissertation's title refer to ways of understanding the nature of such boundaries: They may represent the edges of acceptable textual structure, beyond which only frayed and tangled disorder are found, or they may establish regions of common ground, where threads from very different types of text are woven together to create new patterns.

0.3 Early medieval expressions of erudition: Chapter summaries

Each chapter of this dissertation addresses a different approach to the definition and implementation of such porous textual boundaries. The first two chapters of my dissertation address the bibliographic treatises included in the *Han shu* and *Sui shu*. These lengthy bibliographic treatises were the result of the two most ambitious attempts to organize textual information in the early medieval period. Both began with efforts to consolidate and organize books in the imperial collection and follow a similar format: By arranging texts into numerous categories and subcategories, these bibliographies create boundaries between texts, and also establish relationships among texts that are grouped together. Bibliographic scholarship also contributes to the ongoing definition of individual texts, providing the occasion to not only establish a text's relationship to other works by classifying it according to a schema of textual types, but also to standardize its length, title, and the individual to whom it is attributed—aspects that may fluctuate among individual copies of these texts in circulation. The bibliographic treatise of the *Sui shu* was heavily influenced by its predecessor in the *Han shu*, but it was also influenced by the work of generations of bibliographic scholars in the intervening period. One of the most striking distinctions between the two treatises is the *Sui shu* treatise's increased concern for the practical matters of textual production and circulation missing from the *Han shu* treatise, including attention to details about the institutions and individuals responsible for compiling and

disseminating texts, and the relationship between these processes and the contents and structure of texts themselves.

My analysis focuses on the bibliographic categories with titles bearing the prefix *za* 雜, to illustrate how bibliographers dealt with texts they determined where organizationally unorthodox or cluttered. *Za* appears in the titles of three subcategories in each treatise, but only one of these subcategories appears in both treatises. In other words, between the composition of the *Han shu* and *Sui shu* treatises, the bibliographic connotations of *za* had changed significantly. I show that these changes reflect not just a transformed attitude towards textual "miscellaneousness," but an entirely different understanding of the nature and origins of all books. In the first chapter, I discuss the three *za*-prefixed subcategories of the *Han shu* treatise: "Zafu" 雜賦 ("Miscellaneous *fu*"), "Zazhan" 雜占 ("Miscellaneous Divination"), and "Zajia" 雜家 ("Miscellaneous School"). *Za* is deployed inconsistently in these three subcategories, in some cases referring to the "mixed" nature of the texts recorded, and in others referring to the "mixed" nature of the texts themselves. These three categories also reflect a broader anxiety about the tension between orality and textuality that recurs throughout the *Han shu* treatise, which ultimately conceives of written texts as flawed attempts to capture and make durable the products of what the treatise presents as a more authoritative and legitimate tradition of oral transmission.

In the second chapter I show how the treatise appended to the *Sui shu* transforms the textual anxiety of Han bibliographers into a more pronounced interest in textual production itself, incorporating many details that relate specifically to scribal offices, textual organization, and archival practices that are not addressed in the *Han shu* treatise. This is also apparent in the *Sui shu* treatise's *za*-prefixed subcategories: "Zashi" 雜史 ("Miscellaneous histories"), "Zazhuan" 雜傳 ("Miscellaneous biographies"), and the "Za" subcategory of Masters texts. As with other

subcategories of the Sui treatise's Masters section, this subcategory does not use the term *jia* in its title. Nevertheless, it is a direct successor to the *Han shu* treatise's "Miscellaneous School," combining the contents of this older subcategory with a host of new textual types. I argue that the two miscellaneous subcategories of history are in fact closely related to this new incarnation of the "Miscellaneous School." Together, these three *za*-prefixed categories exemplify the *Sui shu* bibliographers' heightened interest in textual organization and circulation, and illustrate the vast and unruly corpus of documents and records that necessitated these newfound concerns.

In the third chapter, I consider this large corpus of documents from a different perspective, by reevaluating the bibliographic value of annotations appended to *Shishuo xinyu* and *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms). Since at least the Song dynasty, scholars have treated both sets of annotations as windows into the textual landscape of the early medieval period. Most of these studies conceive of bibliographic information in the same manner as the bibliographic treatises discussed in the first two chapters—they record the title of each text cited in annotations, supplement these titles with additional data about the author and sometimes length of the work, and organize them into discrete bibliographic categories. But these studies vary significantly in the system of categories used to arrange cited titles. Some rely on the categories proposed in the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise, while others look to more obscure treatises produced by bibliographers living at the same time as the annotator, or devise their own, unique set of categories specific to the annotated text in question. These discrepancies serve as a reminder that each imposition of a system of categories on the text cited in each set of annotations is an argument about the bibliographic value of those annotations, and a statement about the boundaries and relationships perceived among cited texts that overlooks and supersedes the intertextual relationships manifested through the annotators' arrangement of

citations throughout the annotated works. By conceiving of these clusters of textual relationships as a network, I reveal patterns obscured by traditional bibliographic studies of these annotations. These patterns present a conception of how texts relate to one another that is not entirely consistent with the way textual relationships are presented in bibliographies, but is equally crucial to understanding how early medieval readers understood the vast landscape of texts to which they had access.

The fourth chapter continues this examination of texts that create boundaries and connections between older works by considering the forms of citation used in *Jinlouzi* 金樓子 (Master of the golden tower), a unique compilation attributed to Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508–555), who reigned briefly as one of the final emperors of the Liang dynasty. *Jinlouzi*, perennially categorized as a "Miscellaneous" text, has been criticized severely for its derivativeness and disorganization. Such critiques are not necessarily inaccurate: many passages throughout the text have parallel versions in other preexisting texts, and the structure of the work is unprecedented and idiosyncratic. But because of this appropriation and manipulation of material from other sources, *Jinlouzi* makes a fascinating example of an anthological text that manages its contents according to a wholly unique system. I connect the *Jinlouzi*'s unique arrangement of materials to compiler Xiao Yi's status as a book collector and literary critic, to show how *Jinlouzi* can be read as an attempt to create a more precise system of genres for prose anecdotes and narratives that has no counterpart in either imperial bibliographic treatises or literary anthologies. *Jinlouzi* does not blindly appropriate pieces of other works. Its borrowed passages are heavily edited according to the role they are meant to play in their new positions within the text. The patterns *Jinlouzi* establishes through its complex citationality have also played a role in its transmission and reception. Like the annotations to *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*, the value of *Jinlouzi* among its

recipients has shifted with time. While later readers of *Jinlouzi* evaluated and critiqued its contents in new works of scholarship, those responsible for editing and transmitting the text in earlier periods altered the organization and contents of the text itself. Though these editorial interventions have made it impossible to determine how much of the transmitted text truly represents Xiao Yi's original work, by rearranging and rewriting the contents of the text, *Jinlouzi*'s many generations of editors inherit Xiao Yi's role of arbiter and manipulator of gathered passages, continuing to shape and reshape the text according to the categories and principles outlined within the text.

The final chapter returns to the matter of erudition, addressing the ways biographers described the talents and reading activities of the many erudite individuals who contributed to the production, circulation, and organization of text in the early medieval period. These articulations of erudition, too, take place within the context of a vast enterprise of rewriting and textual organization, in this case the imperially commissioned historiographic project of the early Tang dynasty, the same process through which the bibliographic treatise of *Sui shu* was also compiled. Like the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise, Tang historians relied upon an older tradition of narrative and biography writing to edit and compile the works that would go on to become the imperially recognized, standard histories of the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Some of these works were originally composed in earlier periods, while others were first compiled in the early Tang, but all relied upon a vast corpus of earlier biographical material not unlike that used to compile the annotations to *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*, or used as fodder for *Jinlouzi*'s various categories of anecdotes and prose. These biographies, however, make no reference to the earlier textual sources from which they are derived, instead concatenating material from multiple sources into linear but episodic individual biographies, which are then grouped together

according to familial, thematic, and professional ties among their subjects. The result is a corpus that is too vast and too complex to be reduced to its constituent parts. Moreover, as is the case with *Jinlouzi*, most of the materials from which it was derived are no longer extant on their own, making it impossible to thoroughly map out the network of cited sources as in the annotations to *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*. Instead, this concluding chapter focuses on tracing the appearances of a single pattern used to construct simple phrases to describe the erudition of their subjects. The most familiar versions of the phrase all make use of the word *bo*, the same term used to describe Zichan's erudition and borrowed for the title of Zhang Hua's *Bowu zhi*. But when paired with other words to construct four and five-character phrases, new phrases can be coined that follow a familiar pattern but vary subtly in nuance. Charting the development of these phrases throughout the corpus illustrates how this pattern first appears in older collections of biographies from the Han dynasty and becomes more and more prevalent in the histories devoted to the Northern and Southern Dynasties. As this phrase pattern becomes more prevalent, it is joined by several new variations that replace *bo* with other words, but otherwise follow the same pattern, allowing for the expression of a variety of different attitudes towards the value of the extensive reading and study.

0.4 Methodology

Though different in format and purpose, these texts all present ways to process a quickly expanding corpus. They identify patterns and correlations among a vast sea of texts, to impose upon it an intelligible sense of order and thus make it easier to put it to use. Their most distinctive features are found in the broad patterns that define the structure of each type of text. These distinctions mean that they must each be approached differently. The hierarchical categories and subcategories of the *Han shu* and *Sui shu* consist of both lists of titles and authors,

as well as descriptive summaries of each category and subcategory. My approach involves both considering how the listed titles and descriptive summaries of single categories relate to one another, but also how similar interests and themes recur throughout the subcategories with *Za* in their titles, and how these issues relate to the overall purpose of each treatise as articulated in their prefaces.

In the case of both *Jinlouzi* and the annotations to *Shishuo xinyu*, I have found it helpful to incorporate discussion of the body of scholarship related to these texts produced by scholars of subsequent eras, especially those of the Song, Ming, and Qing dynasties. Though these discussions move away from the concerns specific to early medieval culture and into those of the later eras, their interests and concerns help to illustrate features of each text that are easy for contemporary readers to overlook. Moreover, echoes of the early medieval anxiety towards textual disorder are quite perceptible within later efforts to manage and reorganize these unwieldy sources, providing the opportunity to consider how the concerns that arose in the age of the manuscript remained present in China's next epoch of textual production. Likewise, most of the texts considered in the final chapter are products of the Tang dynasty, created through an imperially commissioned historiographic project larger and more coordinated than anything that existed in the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Although the overarching patterns into which these biographies were organized were created in the Tang, the corpus of texts that provided the raw material for this endeavor was produced within the earlier, much less closely supervised community of scholars and writers of the preceding era, meaning the imperially sanctioned standard histories of the Tang dynasty remained dependent on the disorderly corpus they were intended to coordinate.

To address the distinguishing organizational features of these texts, I have adopted a different analytical approach for each. In the cases of historiographic annotation and biography, this also involves the use of digital analysis that would, of course, not have been possible until very recently. For the annotations to *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*, this involves the creation and analysis of network diagrams based on the location and frequency of citations of specific titles throughout the text. My use of networks is inspired by the networks of character interactions in novels pioneered in the work of Franco Moretti, an approach that has been further developed by numerous studies by scholars of literature at large, and within the field of Chinese literary studies as well.[40] Jack W. Chen, for example, has employed large, complex networks to analyze social interactions in base text of *Shishuo xinyu*, making it possible to not only identify which historical figures appear most often in the text and who they interact with, but also to consider how the anecdote set within different periods tend to focus on individuals of different classes and backgrounds.[41] The network diagrams I have created in the third chapter are designed according to the same logic as earlier studies of social networks, representing co-occurrences of data points in close proximity within a text as connections between nodes on a network, but my focus is on intertextual connections created through citation rather than social networks. This approach is loosely inspired by citation analysis techniques used to track influence and impact in academic

[40] Franco Moretti, "Network Theory, Plot Analysis," *New Left Review* 68 (March–April, 2011): 80–102.

[41] The network of anecdotes set in the Han, for example, has a group of "exemplary moral figures" at its center, while that of Wei and early Jin anecdotes revolves primarily around literary figures, the famed "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove." Later in the Jin dynasty, however, the most central figures are all those with high-ranking bureaucratic positions. Jack W. Chen, Zoe Borovsky, Yoh Kawano and Ryan Chen, "The *Shishuo xinyu* as Data Visualization," *Early Medieval China* 20 (2014): 23–59.

journals.[42] In studies more relevant to Chinese literature, a similar approach has been employed by Richard Jean So and Hoyt Long, who used networks to visualize publications by dozens of authors across many early 20th century literary journals in China, America, and Japan.[43] The fact that my corpus is limited to the sets of annotations contained in two large texts, rather than in hundreds of documents of similar length, necessitates a different set of goals and expectations. Rather than detect communities of frequently co-cited texts across many publications, changing citation trends over time, or the ways certain concepts come to be associated with specific texts, the networks employed in the study of *Shishuo xinyu* and *Sanguo zhi* annotations are more useful for understanding how the distribution of cited texts correlates with the internal structures of both citing texts, and how citation patterns in both relate to the divisions of textual types imposed in bibliographical treatises.

The final chapter addresses an even larger corpus, and also relies on a reading method not available to scholars in earlier periods. My approach here is a variation of a tool most likely employed by virtually all literary scholars working in the age of digitized texts, even those who would be reluctant to associate their work with the amorphous field of "digital humanities." Access to digitized versions of premodern texts in databases, like the institutionally sponsored Scripta Sinica and CHANT, or the open-access Chinese Text Project, has made it possible to conduct full-text searches that locate every occurrence of a specific word or phrase across entire

[42] For an early discussion of the uses of studying scholarly citations on a large scale, see Henry G. Small, "Cited Documents as Concept Symbols," *Social Studies of Science* vol 8 (1978): 327–40.

[43] Richard Jean So and Hoyt Long, "Network Analysis and the Sociology of Modernism," *boundary 2* 40.2 (Summer, 2013): 147–82. So and Long also provide a helpful discussion of the history of network visualizations in the humanities and the "sociology of literature," including an overview of the basic terminology and concepts of network visualization, see especially 149–55.

corpora.[44] The use of full-text search capabilities, however, is rarely noted as a key component of an analytical methodology. Perhaps this is because full-text search itself is only the most recent version of a process that has a much longer history. Prior to the widespread availability of digitized texts, scholars had access to print concordances that enabled the identification of, for example, every occurrence of a certain word within a single text.[45] Even before the first concordances, the arrangement of textual excerpts according to topics found in *leishu* 類書, an innovation of the early medieval period that will be discussed in more detail in chapters two and three, also allowed readers to examine the frequency of occurrences of specific words and concepts throughout large corpora. Digitization, however, also creates the potential for more sophisticated analysis of the lexicons employed in various corpora, beyond full-text searches and concordances of words in context.[46] To study common expressions that describe reading habits and laud breadth of study, rather than work with a predetermined set of phrases, I have used a simple algorithm to locate not only all occurrences of the character *bo* 博 across a large corpus of early medieval biographies, but also all groups of three and four characters that follow it in each

[44] Scripta Sinica 漢籍全文資料庫, http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/; CHANT (CHinese ANcient Texts) 漢達文庫, http://www.chant.org; Chinese Text Project, ed. Donald Sturgeon, http://ctext.org/. All accessed July 17, 2017.

[45] Databases and concordances are closely related. The CHANT database, for example, began as a project to create concordances to premodern Chinese texts with computer assistance. For a list of concordances and indexes compiled without the aid of computers, see David McMullen, *Concordances and Indexes to Chinese Texts* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1975). For a history of the development of a particularly influential series of sinological concordances, see Russell McLeod, "Sinological Indexes in the Computer Age: The ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series," *China Review International* 1.1 (Spring, 1994): 48–53.

[46] My perspective here is influenced by Matthew Jockers, who provides a more thorough discussion of the history of humanities computing, and an extended critique of the limitations of full-text searches. See Matthew Jockers, *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 6–10, 12–13.

occurrence. It is then possible to determine which four and five character phrases that begin with *bo* occur most frequently, and use the phrases "discovered" through this process to understand how *bo* usage patterns differ among the various texts in the corpus. This, too, is an approach that would technically be *possible* without access to digitized texts, but the amount of time required to parse each text and tabulate occurrences in all their variations would have made it inconceivable to earlier readers. Nevertheless, such approaches are still quite valuable in the study of premodern texts for the perspective they afford on large corpora, and especially because they make it possible to consider evidence from more texts than a single reader could reasonably consume in a lifetime.

Regardless of how overwhelmed early medieval readers were by the quantity of texts available to them, the corpus of early medieval biographies considered in this study is in fact relatively small in comparison to the databases of thousands of 19th century English novels, for example, that available to contemporary scholars employing more sophisticated methods of computational analysis of literary texts.[47] Studies on this scale can illustrate much more through the use of data mining and statistical analysis in isolation from traditional hermeneutic and analytical approaches. There is surely a place for studies of this type of premodern Chinese texts on a large scale, but in the case of the early medieval texts that are the topic of this dissertation, they are most useful as supplements to other forms of traditional textual analysis. These new techniques make it possible to detect and illustrate patterns in ways that would be extremely labor intensive to conduct in any other way, but they also provide the opportunity to consider the continuities among attempts to manage textual information on a large scale throughout history.

[47] As in the Stanford Literary Lab's database of over 3,000 19th century American, English, and Irish novels, described in Jockers, *Macroanalysis*, 105.

The core concern of this dissertation is the study of the efforts of early medieval scholars to do so, but in order to understand their approach it is necessary to make use of a whole host of later attempts to solve the same problems, from the bibliographic treatises of early Tang historians, to the massive *leishu* of the Song dynasty, to the efforts scholars to locate fragments of lost works like *Jinlouzi* and weave them back together again, and compile supplementary bibliographies based on the contents of much older scholarly annotations. The work of contemporary annotators and editors, too, is an important aspect of this study. Without thoroughly annotated critical editions of premodern texts, the task of identifying allusions and coping with variants and lacuna would be much more difficult. Digital methods are the latest in a long history of efforts to cope with textual scale. While their novelty demands that they be accompanied by a longer methodological justification, I hope that this study will show that they can be used in concert with more familiar approaches to reading and analysis, as a way to continue and contribute to a long conversation, rather than to interrupt or end it.

Although the texts considered in this study differ significantly in terms of their broad organizational structures, a common element informs the way all of them were written. The feature that all of these texts share is their tendency to repeat text borrowed from pre-existing works. This is of course most apparent in the annotations to *Shishuo xinyu* and *Sanguo zhi*, which openly cite the titles of the works with which they share content. Meanwhile, *Jinlouzi* is notorious for its recycling of older materials, but many standard biographies for early medieval figures, too, can be shown to have relied on earlier materials. Even the bibliographic treatise attached to *Sui shu*, though it is a catalogue of titles rather than an anthology of excerpts, is largely a patchwork of easily identifiable fragments of other works. In addition to relying on the bibliographic efforts of early medieval scholars and imitating many aspects of the *Han shu*

treatise, both its preface and its individual descriptions of categories and subcategories frequently employ large passages from other works, most notably the classical texts *Yijing* 易經 and *Zhouli* 周禮. Much of my closer analysis of these texts, then, involves the consideration of how these borrowed and rewritten passages relate to their earlier sources.

In these cases, "allusion" is too limited a term. Conversely, it is rarely useful to consider these as examples of "plagiarism," that is, the deliberately deceptive appropriation of the work of another passed off as one's own. To navigate this spectrum of rich intertextual practices, I have found the work of narratologist Gerard Genette to be particularly helpful. In *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, Genette analyzes a host of what he calls "hypertextual" practices, cases in which preexisting texts are reworked into new forms: Short texts can be extended through the addition of new passages, or simply through the amplification of vocabulary, long texts can be truncated, abridged, or condensed, texts written in a low register can be rewritten in higher register, or vice-versa, for both comedic and dramatic effect, and so on. Using examples drawn primarily from French prose and theater, Genette arranges this array of techniques into a relatively precise taxonomy, associating each with a distinct genre or form and grouping them together based on their similarities and differences. The precise categories that Genette uses, then, are not applicable in to the case of medieval Chinese texts, nor does it seem particularly useful (or possible) to devise a complementary taxonomy of Chinese hypertextual practices. But Genette's broader reflection on the nature of hypertextuality is certainly relevant to the collection of texts presented here. As with the examples Genette discusses, these textual manipulations never fully disassociate their borrowed text from its older point of origin, nor do they intend to. And yet, even the most benign alterations—the removal or addition of a single character, the splicing of two clauses together that originally occurred

paragraphs apart—create interpretable differences, and are part of a process that allows text crafted for one purpose to serve different functions when introduced to new contexts. Genette concludes by drawing a connection between hypertexuality and the bricolage of Claude Lévi-Strauss:

> Hypertextuality, in its own way, pertains to bricolage. This term generally carries derogatory connotations but had been given some credentials by Claude Lévi-Strauss's analyses. I shall not dwell on the matter. Let me simply say that the art of "making new things out of old" had the merit, at least, of generating more complex and more savory objects than those that are "made on purpose"; a new function is interwoven with an older structure, and the dissonance between these two concurrent elements imparts its flavor to the resulting whole.[48]

It is rarely appropriate to dismiss such cases of textual reuse as derivative. They are almost always inventive and constructive, and must be considered as integral parts of the new situations in which they appear, without losing sight of the significance of their earlier origins. In addition to the "dissonance" between the new and old, we will also see many situations in which textual reuse offers instead a resonance: A borrowed fragment can be made pertinent to the current situation through the deft manipulation of the compiler who borrows it, but its palpable connection to an older, more authoritative source can still lend it a sense of legitimacy and credibility.

Whether every one of these cases would be immediately recognizable to the average early medieval reader must remain a matter of speculation. On one hand, this was after all a time in which readers struggled to keep up with the large volume of texts in circulation, and compilations existed to provide readers with access to fragments of text that would otherwise not have been widely available. On the other hand, the pervasiveness of these borrowed passages

[48] Gerard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 398.

throughout the corpus of early medieval texts indicates that, even if the precise point of origin for a given excerpt could not be identified, the notion that it was derived from some other source would most likely have been the prevailing assumption. Finally, despite the range of knowledge deployed in these works, it must be noted that the actual community of readers responsible for producing, circulating, and consuming these texts was relatively small, and there were unlikely to be very many highly literate readers that did not also participate in textual production and transmission in some way. Possessing a text means possessing the ability to reproduce it. In a manuscript culture, the technical skill to create one's own copies and the resources to employ (or coerce) someone else to do so were both held only by a select few.

There is also a fairly strict regional restriction at play among the texts considered. All of the texts described at length in this dissertation can be described broadly as products of the Southern Dynasties, the sequence of political regimes that took Jiankang (modern Nanjing) as their capital. But the dichotomy of the North and South and the cultural divide that it implies is not entirely helpful here. In truth, these should be considered texts not of the broad region of "the South" that encompassed all territory south of the Yangzi river, but texts produced within the specific context of the literary and scholarly coteries of the capital in Jiankang. Moreover, these "Southern" networks of textual production and knowledge exchange extended to their northern counterparts as well, especially in the later and marginally more stable phases of the early medieval period, perhaps with even greater regularity than they reached less densely populated southern regions.[49] The gradual spread of these texts, and the techniques used to create them,

[49] Contemporary scholar Wang Yunliang 王允亮, has written an illuminating study of cultural and literary exchange between writers and scholars living in the capitals of the Northern and Southern Dynasties. The cases Wang describes largely concern the influence of writers active in Jiankang on the work of Northern writers—Wang finds comparatively little Northern influence on Southern writers—and involve the travel of both texts and people between the capitals of

would continue during the Sui and Tang dynasties, bringing them into contact with a larger audience, and thus a larger pool of collaborators.

During this transition, however, many of these books would also disappear completely. The preface of the *Sui shu* treatise discusses the expansion of the textual record through textual production and imperial book collection projects. It also discusses the concurrent depletion of the textual record, chronicling devastating textual loss from fire, flood, war, and even deliberate bibliocausts. Many more works must have been lost through simple neglect. The book lists it contains are filled with notes that indicate when texts were held in imperial collections of past regimes, but no longer extant. Bibliographic treatises, then, are not just catalogs of texts in current collections, they are also catalogs of absences. As we shall see, while many of these texts were compiled as ways of coping with textual excess, in the context of the drastic devastation of the textual record, many of them would be repurposed by scholars of later generations as ways of coping with textual deficiencies. Historiographic annotations provide data that can be used to imagine the size and scope of lost libraries, and compilations of excerpts and fragments become tools with which to cobble together new versions of the lost texts from which they were originally compiled. Although the goal of this study is to examine the culture of textual production and circulation of the early medieval period, it is often not possible to do so without consulting these later sources. This is thus by necessity also a study of the inheritors of this tradition, who, like their predecessors, borrowed old tools and used them for new purposes.

Northern and Southern regimes. See Wang Yunliang, *Nanbeichao wenxue jiaoliu yanjiu* 南北朝文學交流研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010).

Chapter One
Disorderly Texts and the Textual Order: *Za* in the *Han shu* Bibliographic Treatise

1.0 Bibliography in historical context, and the problem of the "miscellaneous"

In the middle of the Han dynasty, an expansive bibliographic treatise was compiled to categorize, describe, and evaluate hundreds of books. A similar project was undertaken at the beginning of the Tang dynasty.[1] In between the completion of these two massive, collaborative bibliographic enterprises, there was a gradual transformation of the ways writers and readers conceived of the textual landscape to which they had access. These treatises, now found within works of imperial historiography, make effective bookends for this period of development, and offer unprecedented insight into the ways the boundaries between and among texts were conceived in their respective eras. The vast majority of texts recorded in both treatises are no longer extant. In many cases, an entry in these treatises is the only remaining evidence of a text's existence. In others, they provide details of attributed authorship and length for works that are otherwise only known through brief fragments in other collections. Even for texts that are extant,

[1] Throughout this dissertation, I refer to these two texts as the Han treatise and the Sui treatise. The Han treatise is titled the "Treatise on the Arts and Texts" ("Yiwen zhi" 藝文志, found in *juan* 30 of *Han shu*) and the Sui as the "Treatise on Classics and Texts" ("Jingji zhi" 經籍志, *juan* 32–35). Though Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE) is credited as the author of the Han treatise, it relies heavily on earlier bibliographic scholarship, most notably that of Liu Xiang 劉向 (77 BCE–6 CE) and his son Liu Xin 劉歆 (50 BCE–23 CE). Like the Han treatise, the Sui treatise was put together based on earlier bibliographies. Furthermore, it was compiled as one of several collaborative historiographic projects in the early Tang, thus authorship is difficult to determine. Some attribute it to the lead compiler of the *Sui shu*, Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643), while other sources indicate that primary compilation duties were performed by either Zhangsun Wuji 長孫無忌 (594–659), as lead compiler of the *Wudai shi zhi* 五代史志 (*Treatises for the Histories of the Five* [Northern and Southern] *Dynasties*) or Li Yanshou 李延壽 (fl. 7th century) and Jing Bo 敬播 (d. 663). For an overview of the histories of these texts and their authorship, see Lai Xinxia 來新夏, *Gudian muluxue* 古典目錄學, rev. ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 82–92; 143–56.

bibliographic treatises remain an invaluable resource for textual criticism, providing information that clarifies the state in which these texts were transmitted to the present. In this sense, they provide a glimpse into a corpus of texts that would otherwise be unreadable in the present.

The perspectives these treatises offer are not neutral. Each organizes books into categories and subcategories, and provides postfaces that evaluate the contents of these categories, which require both interpretation of contents and judgment of their value. Moreover, these are not exhaustive lists of every book produced or available during the period in which they were composed. Whether due to negligence, deliberate avoidance, or both, it has been amply illustrated that bibliographers failed to list the titles of numerous texts that had been composed at the time of their completion, some of which are quite well known.[2] Finally, we must also consider the circumstances in which each treatise was produced, and the methods used to complete them. In the case of the Han treatise, the compilation of texts was itself a part of the bibliographic process. In other words, the treatise represents the final step of a project that began with the organization of materials held in the Han imperial archives.[3] Before entire texts were

[2] Since at least the Qing dynasty, considerable effort has been devoted to the composition of "supplemental" bibliographic treatises to these and other works. To complete these texts, scholars scour the pages of contemporaneous works and later bibliographic treatises searching for references to titles that are not recorded in the bibliographic treatise in question. Bibliographic treatises for works of imperial historiography that originally lacked them, such as *Hou Han shu* and the histories of the individual Northern and Southern dynasties, have also been compiled through similar methods. Many of these are found among the works included in *Ershiwu shi bu bian* 二十五史補編. A more recent series, *Ershiwu shi yiwen jingji zhi kaobu cuibian* 二十五藝文史經籍考補萃編, has produced punctuated editions of many of these supplemental bibliographies with helpful introductions, including both Qing efforts and those compiled within the past several decades.

[3] The close association between textual compilation and bibliography can be seen in the identification of *muluxue* 目錄學, the compilation and study of bibliographic treatises, as a branch of *wenxianxue* 文獻學 ("documentation studies"), a broad field encompassing collation, annotation, text criticism, the history of writing technology, and, notably, the compilation of texts like literary anthologies, encyclopedias, and collectanea. Pioneering modern scholar Zhang

organized into discrete categories, many had to be compiled and collated from multiple editions and collections of disorganized documents and records held in the imperial collection. The brief descriptions of this process of collation and compilation contained in transmitted historiographic texts are even more significant when considered alongside the state of excavated texts dating from roughly the same period. Rather than providing pristine, bound editions of texts that can be closely identified in relation to transmitted works and titles known from bibliographic treatises, archaeological evidence provides a glimpse of a world of texts almost entirely different from the transmitted record, in which organizational features such as chapter headings and even titles are rare, and the range of subject matter is more varied and diverse than what is represented in the bibliographic treatises. By stabilizing the conceptual framework used to organize and assign value to texts, filtering out those that were undesirable or unavailable, and consolidating disparate collections of documents into discrete texts, the bibliographic treatise is essentially responsible for the creation of the corpus that it documents.

Thus, while it is problematic for contemporary scholars to treat historical bibliographic treatises as tools with which to distantly read the lost texts of the past, it is very productive to consider the bibliographies themselves as the result of much earlier attempts to engage in a form of distant reading of their own. Bibliography is an effort to identify patterns and assert the value of the written record on a grand scale, rather than through the analysis of individual texts. Bibliographic treatises, then, are not merely records of books that existed at certain points in time, but attempts to alter the textual landscape by editing, arranging, and evaluating its contents,

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Shunhui, for example, relates the modern field of *wenxianxue* to what had in earlier times been referred to as "collation studies" (*xiaochouxue* 校讎學), and frequently cites Han scholar Liu Xiang as the progenitor of many of its techniques. See Zhang Shunhui 張舜徽, *Zhongguo wenxianxue* 中國文獻學, *Shi ji renwen xilie congshu* 世紀人文系列叢書 edition. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), 187–89.

and finally by promoting the resulting treatise as the authoritative statement of the significance and appropriate usage of the texts that it contains. The bibliographic treatise transforms the written record from a vast and undifferentiated sea of text into a limited and rationally organized corpus of discrete and unique books, grouped together based on the presumption of common origins or the recognition of shared textual features, and distinguished from one another through the assignment of titles, authors, and standardized lengths.

These lists conclude with brief descriptions that account for the origins, contents, and appropriate usage of each type of text they contain. The bibliographic process is thus largely prescriptive: It does not describe an existing textual hierarchy, rather, it creates its own hierarchy and uses it to determine which texts are worthy of inclusion and the sequence in which they should appear. Nevertheless, the hierarchy of categories and subcategories employed in the Han treatise owes much to earlier attempts to taxonomize intellectual history. Recent studies have analyzed the bibliography's place in the long-term development of knowledge organization techniques, treating the positions taken within individual bibliographic treatises as voices from the specific political and philosophical discourses of the periods in which they were composed.[4] Befitting the expansive nature of their subject, these studies often take a comprehensive approach, attempting to cover either the entire history of bibliography from antiquity to the present, and analyze the entire range of categories and subcategories presented by the treatises. Though this approach has its advantages, the results tend to focus on the bibliographic treatment of texts that are important to historical and literary studies for other reasons, such as the

[4] Though more recent works offer clearer organization and more up-to-date information, they remain indebted to the breadth of scholarship offered in two early modern works of *muluxue*, Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 (1884–1955), *Muluxue fawei* 目錄學發微 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), and Yao Mingda 姚名達 (1905?–1942), *Zhongguo muluxue shi* 中國目錄學史 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002).

Confucian classics, at the expense of addressing topics related to sections of the treatises that include less prominent texts, but which nevertheless pose intriguing questions about the nature and development of the traditional bibliographic system. The subject of this chapter is the use of the term *za* 雜 in three bibliographic subcategory titles in the Han treatise, is an example of one such frequently overlooked topic. The following chapter will address the very different application of the same term to bibliographic subcategories in the Sui treatise. In the contrast between how these two sets of *za* categories are constructed and conceived that the most significant differences between the Han and Sui treatises may be found.

Za is typically translated as "miscellaneous" or "various." In both modern and classical Chinese, the term often carries a negative connotation, with the implication that things that are *za* are disorganized, cluttered, and impure, as opposed to, for example, the broad erudition implied with the term *bo* 博. Thus, it is easy to assume that the application of *za* in the bibliographic context is meant to signal a category that is similarly disorderly and impure, a kind of multi-purpose container for misfit texts. But determining why such texts were judged unworthy of their own bibliographic categories or simply impossible to categorize is a much more difficult problem, one that cannot be solved without reckoning with the principles informing the development of the entire system of bibliographic categories. Considering the generally prescriptive nature of the treatises, it is important to consider that the identification of a text as *za* is not the result of a neutral observation of its contents (if such a thing is ever possible), but of an attempt to evaluate the text according to certain standards and in relation to the perceived value of other texts.

Some aspects of the use of *za* in bibliographic subcategories are consistent from the Han to the Sui treatise, but several notable differences reflect the transformation of the textual

landscape that occurred in the several centuries between the completions of the two treatises. In this intervening period, paper gradually overtook bamboo and silk as the dominant medium for the written word, literary composition began to play an even larger role in the socio-political world of the scholarly elite, and numerous short-lived dynastic regimes sponsored ambitious scholarly projects, to name just a few major developments. Whatever the causes, the result was a society in which the production and circulation of books was a far more pronounced part of daily life than it had been in the past, at least for the literate elite. While precise figures of the total number of books written or the size of book collections and archives will always be limited by the absence of comprehensive, trustworthy data, the tremendous difference in number of texts listed is at least enough to show that bibliographic record keeping had become a greater priority between the Han and the early Tang. This heightened interest in the documentation and evaluation of textual production can also be seen in the narrative and descriptive portions of the Sui treatise, where the Han treatise's emphasis on the legacy of the classical tradition and the difficulties of knowledge transmission in general are joined by attention to more immediate historical concerns, and a heightened interest in the material aspects of textual production throughout the ages.

In other words, many of the arguments in the Han treatise are primarily concerned with the development of ideas and concepts in the ancient past, and the ability of this content to be faithfully transmitted and correctly implemented by the emperor and the court throughout history. The fact that this content was documented materially in written texts plays a surprisingly minor role in the Han treatise. These concerns with transmission and implementation remain central to the evaluations of texts provided in the Sui treatise, but there they are joined with more concrete discussion of the texts themselves as the vessels of transmission. Here texts are material

objects that are written, organized, distributed, and destroyed both within and apart from imperial scholarship and policy. In the *za* sections anxieties about the bibliographic system and the nature of the textual record itself are addressed in particular detail. In the Han treatise, the *za* subcategories are each constructed quite differently. By contrast, the Sui treatise's *za*-prefixed subcategories present a relatively unified conception of "*za*-ness" that has similar consequences for the texts in all three of the treatise's *za*-prefixed subcategories.

Each treatise has three *za*-prefixed subcategories, but only one of these subcategories is the same in both treatises. The "Miscellaneous School" of the Han treatise is adapted in the Sui treatise as the "Miscellaneous" subcategory of the Masters section, while the Han treatise's "Miscellaneous Divination" and "Miscellaneous *fu*" subcategories are exchanged in the Sui treatise for two very different new *za*-prefixed subcategories, "Miscellaneous Histories" and "Miscellaneous Accounts." *Zajia* is occasionally translated in the plural, as "Miscellaneous Schools." Such a translation suggests that it was the place for all "schools" without enough texts to receive bibliographic categories of their own.[5] Attention to the way both bibliographies treat this subcategory, however, reveals that it is in both cases presented, much like any other "school," as a distinct and unified school of its own, implying that the texts it contains bear certain similarities to one another and that those who composed them were somehow affiliated with one another. *Zajia* could thus perhaps also be translated as "Eclectic School," to provide some sense of the qualities bibliographers assigned to the texts found therein. Yet, as I will

[5] See, for example, Jean-Pierre Drège, *Les Bibliothèques en Chine au Temps des Manuscrits (Jusqu'au X^e Siècle*) (Paris: École Français d'Extême-Orient, 1991), 125. Drège translates "*za*" as *diverses* ("various") throughout. In a discussion of the Sui treatise's "Miscellaneous" subcategory of Masters texts, he writes, "La subdivision de l'ècole des Etudes diverses, *zajia*, tend, de plus en plus depuis les Han, à devenir une subdivision commode pour y fourrer tous les essais inclassables ailleurs."

discuss in greater detail below, it is apparent that this category was not representative of an actual organization of people who defined their own philosophical positions through deliberate eclecticism. It is a title later historians and bibliographers imposed upon a group of texts that were not necessarily produced in relation to one another. Thus, translating *zajia* as "Eclectic School" is appropriate only with the caveat that "eclectic" should be treated as an etic rather than an emic term.[6] The same is true for the other "schools" listed in bibliographic treatises and other texts. In particular, the problems associated with the construction of the "Confucian" (*rujia* 儒家) and "Daoist" (*daojia* 道家) schools have been thoroughly discussed in recent scholarship. But using *za* as a label for a "school" provides a different sort of problem, because of the term's connotations in reference to methods of divination and collections of patterned literary writing. Its usage in these categories can hardly be understood as an example as the same type of "eclecticism" implicit in its use in the "Miscellaneous School" subcategory. On the contrary, its deployment in these two categories illustrates the broad range of the term's connotations as a bibliographic descriptor in the Han treatise.

1.1 *Za* as an alternative to authorial attribution: "Miscellaneous *Fu*"

The Han treatise is divided into six major categories. The third in this sequence is devoted to literature in the *fu* 賦 and *shi* 詩 traditions, prose poetry and lyric poetry.[7] Though the

[6] Sarah Queen's discussion of the emic and etic usages of "Daojia" are equally applicable in the case of the "Zajia," which she translates as "Eclectic School." See Sarah Queen, "Inventories of the Past: Rethinking the 'School' Affiliation of the *Huainanzi*," *Asia Major* Third Series, 14.1 (2001): 3n6.

[7] Ban Gu, et al., *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 30.1747. Henceforth, HS. Numerous translations of *fu* have been suggested, including "rhapsodies," "prose poems," and "poetic expositions." For the sake of space and convenience, and as my interest here is in divisions within the *fu* genre rather than the nature of the genre itself, I have opted to leave *fu* untranslated.

documentation of bibliographic data related to collections of *shi* and *fu* would become a priority for those participating in the compilation of the Sui treatise, this was not the case for the Han treatise's compilers, even though compilers Liu Xiang and Ban Gu are both known to have composed *fu* of their own.[8] As such, it differs from other sections of the bibliography both in scope and in the standards of organization it employs. In fact, while *za* is at times treated as a designation of disorder and imprecision, the "Miscellaneous" subcategory is in many ways the most clearly organized part of the "Shifu" section.

"Shifu" is divided into five subcategories. The fifth is devoted to works identified as *shi*, while the four preceding categories are all devoted to *fu*.[9] In comparison, the treatise's first section on the academic traditions devoted to the classics contains eight subcategories, and the "Zhuzi" 諸子 ("Various Masters") section is split into ten subcategories. The sections of the treatise devoted to military and medical texts are closer in scope to "Shifu." Unlike "Shifu," however, even these more limited sections preserve the same basic organizational structure as their more extensive counterparts. For instance, throughout the treatise, each subcategory concludes with a tabulation of the number of texts and fascicles listed in that category, and

[8] Though the preliminary records compiled by Liu Xiang and Liu Xin are no longer extant, they formed the basis for the treatise included in Ban Gu's *Han shu*. Scholars concur that the *Han shu* treatise's text must follow these earlier works closely, but beyond the treatise's limited references to texts compiled after the death of Liu Xiang, and a few surviving fragments from the earlier prototypes, little can be said about what exactly Ban Gu contributed to the structure and contents of the treatise. For a brief history of the *Han shu* bibliographic treatise and related works, see Fu Rongxian 傅榮賢, *Han shu Yiwen zhi yanjiu yuanliu kao* 漢書藝文志研究源流考 (Hefei: Huangshan chubanshe, 2007), 2–10.

[9] The Han treatise's apparent lack of interest in *shi* and limited representation of *fu* is not anomalous, but reflective of the general status of these genres at this early stage of their development in the mid-Han dynasty. For a discussion of the status of *fu* in the Han dynasty, including analysis of the connotations of the term and a contrast of its prominence with that of *shi* poetry, see Martin Kern, "Western Han Aesthetics and the Genesis of the *Fu*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63.2 (December, 2003): 383–437.

additionally records the title of each subcategory. The "Shifu" section's subcategories include figures indicating the total number of titles and fascicle totals, but fail to give unique names for each subcategory. The first three of these subcategories are labelled simply *fu*, while the fifth is named "Geshi" 歌詩 ("Songs and Poems"). The fourth *fu* subcategory is clearly distinguished from the rest through the addition of the prefix *za*. The organizational principle behind the first three *fu* subcategories is further obscured by the fact that all "Shifu" section subcategories lack the concluding passages of descriptive prose common to all other sections of the treatise, which in those cases explain the origins, content, and didactic value of each bibliographic section.

Without either subcategory titles or summaries of the categories, scholars have been left to speculate about the reason the treatise's *fu* listings are divided into separate categories. Moreover, it is not clear that "Shifu" section entries are meant to represent books, that is, discrete collections of text with unique titles, which would have been expected to continue to bear those titles as they circulated, of which copies could be made that matched with relative precision the structure and contents of their antecedents. Rather, the entries in these sections appear to represent a third layer of thematic category divisions, clusters of individual literary pieces grouped together based on shared characteristics. For the first three unlabeled *fu* subcategories, groups of literary pieces are grouped together based on their association with a specific individual. This pattern is broken in "Miscellaneous *fu*," where entries most frequently refer to clusters of topics.[10] Although there are no other references to texts that take the entries in the "Shifu" section as their titles, it remains possible that they represent obscure works that were not

[10] There are two exceptions to this pattern. One refers to a group of officials serving under the Prince of Huainan (*Huainan wang qunchen fu* 淮南王群臣賦, almost certainly a reference to the court of Liu An 劉安) and another attributed only to the "Palace Scribe of Wei" (*Wei nei shi fu* 魏內史賦). See HS, 30.1747, 30.1750.

transmitted in those forms. But other organizational features, which I will discuss below, suggest that this is not the case, and that the entries in these lists represent an inventory of individual pieces grouped into categories, rather than books that would have been expected to circulate and be reproduced with the same sequence and contents. Beyond this, the preceding three categories are structurally identical, each lacking a unique subcategory title. Although nothing in the treatise explains why these entries are nevertheless divided into three subcategories, there is strong evidence to suggest that the first three subcategories are not entirely random, and yet the precise principle behind this division remains mysterious.

Many of the individuals attributed with works in the first subcategory are also associated with texts contained in *Chu ci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu), although that title is not used in the treatise. This has prompted further speculation about the overall organizational structure of these three subcategories, even though very few of the texts they list are extant. It has beome commonplace to refer to these subcategories by the first text listed in each subcategory, even though the subsequent texts in these subcategories are attributed to a multitude of different authors. Thus many modern studies of the Han treatise insert the headings "Qu Yuan *fu* group" 屈原賦之屬, "Lu Jia *fu* group" 陸賈賦之屬, and "Xun Qing *fu* group" 荀卿賦之屬. These are meant as abstract reference points for the different parts of the text—when it comes to interpreting the significance of these groupings, it is more difficult to reach a definitive conclusion. Scholars have made a few tentative observations based on qualities of the remaining texts from each subcategory. For example, many see the groupings as indicative of shared thematic or technical features but differ slightly in their explanations of these qualities, while Li Ling 李令 emphasizes

shared geographic origins of the figures with which texts in each group are associated.[11] Without overt indications from the text of the treatise itself or access to the vast majority of texts listed in these subcategories, however, it is difficult to make any further evaluations of the differences among them. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that texts in these subcategories are given titles that refer only to their purported authors, with no further discussion of their contents. Arguments that discuss the contents of these subcategories in terms of thematic or formal similarities are based entirely on the small fraction of surviving works attributed to the individuals credited with *fu* collections in the Han treatise, even when those specific *fu* titles are not mentioned in the treatise, and the entries indicate many more pieces than the scant few that have been preserved.

The titles identified as "Miscellaneous *fu*," on the other hand, record information about their contents rather than their authors, providing a clearer sense of the specific qualities that set the texts listed there apart from those of the preceding three sections. No individual names are associated with any text in this subcategory. Rather, the entries in this section refer to either a single topic, or group of related topics. Some of these subject-based titles, such as "Miscellaneous *fu* on birds, beasts, the six domesticated animals, and bugs" 雜禽獸六畜昆蟲

[11] Liu Shipei 劉師培 (1884–1919), Gu Shi 顧實 (1878–1956), and Jiang Shuge 姜書閣 (1907–2000) each discuss thematic and technical similarities, though they differ slightly in their evaluations of each subcategory. For summaries of arguments by Liu and Jiang, see Wang Jinmin 王錦民, *Gudian muluxue yu guoxue yuanliu* 古典目錄學與國學源流 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 96–97. Gu Shi discusses these categories in his commentary to the Han treatise, which is excerpted in Zhang Shunhui, *Han shu yiwen zhi tongshi* 漢書藝文志通釋 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990), 212, 219, 224. Li Ling, on the other hand, suspects that the "Qu Yuan" and "Lu Jia" sections are meant to be combined, and were separated only for clarity of organization. In his reading, these subcategories both contain works by writers from the Chu region in the south, while the "Xun Qing" *fu* represent the works of authors from the Qin-Jin region in the north. Li Ling, *Lantai wan juan: Du Han shu Yiwenzhi* 蘭臺萬卷：讀漢書藝文志 (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2011), 128, 130.

賦 are relatively straightforward, but others prove more difficult to interpret. Martin Kern has addressed many of the issues surrounding the translation of these titles. He uses this list of thematic groups as further evidence of the broad range of subjects addressed in Han *fu* (or, more precisely, the range of subjects addressed in texts that Han bibliographers referred to as *fu*).[12] Here I would like to call attention to the features of the list itself, in contrast to less discernable pattern of organization employed in the three preceding sections.

Eight of the twelve entries follow the same naming conventions. They begin with the word *za*, followed by a list of related subjects, followed finally by the term *fu*. Furthermore, there are no repetitions in the range of subjects listed in these entries—topics that appear in one title in this list do not reappear in others. The result is a miniature corpus of *fu* arranged according to topic. Just as the treatise itself is organizes individual texts into different categories through the recognition of internally shared characteristics among those texts, the items on this subcategory's list function as groups of interrelated topics, providing another layer of categorization that is absent from the preceding three subcategories. This internal consistency suggests that these groups were all formed at the same time, possibly as part of the collation and organization efforts that preceded the completion of the Han treatise. The lack of redundancy and uniformity of naming conventions suggests that the "Miscellaneous *fu*" were deliberately organized and set apart from the other three subcategories, rather than hastily thrown together based on whatever texts were not listed previously. In this sense, the subcategory resembles a coordinated table of contents for a larger corpus, rather than a list of individual titles.

Li Ling argues that, in the case of these eight uniform titles, *za* should be read as a near synonym of the term *ji* 集, noting its occasional use to connote gathering and combining, rather

[12] Kern, "Western Han Aesthetics," 407–9.

than merely as an indicator of disorganization.[13] In this case, the title of the first of these eight texts, for example, could be translated as "Gathered *fu* on topics ranging from excursions to eulogies of virtue." Though the use of the word *za* as a verb in this manner is considerably rarer than its use as a descriptor of miscellaneousness or clutter, this reading calls attention to the fact that the texts may be gathering together the works of multiple writers, providing a contrast between these texts and those assigned to individuals in the earlier sections. It is difficult to prove that the texts listed in the first three categories were produced solely by the historical individuals to whom they are attributed, or that the topic-based collections certainly contained the work of more than one writer. It is equally possible that the individual pieces contained within the "Miscellaneous *fu*" titles were anonymously composed, lacking any authorial attribution whatsoever and thus necessitating the use of different criteria to distinguish among them. The contrast between the patterns of titles in the two earlier of subcategories is enough to illustrate that association with an individual and association with a set of topics were two distinct methods of categorizing this type of literature. Though not all the titles in the subcategory follow this pattern, it is not unlikely that they, too, gather works based on shared features of the texts themselves, rather than based on attributions to individuals.

The four entries that are exceptions to the "*za*...*fu*" pattern are "Kezhu fu" 客主賦 (Guest and host *fu*), "Da zafu" 大雜賦 (Great miscellaneous *fu*), "Yinshu" 隱書 (Writings of concealment), and "Chengxiang zaci" 成相雜辭. The meaning of "Chengxiang zaci" is controversial. Kern translates *chengxiang* as "Accomplished assistance," but additionally suspects that the title is a reference to the people who composed the contents of the text, as opposed to a designation of a literary form or topic. He argues that the title could thus be read as

[13] Li Ling, *Lantai*, 131.

"Miscellaneous compositions by accomplished ministers."[14] Others relate the "Chengxiang zaci" to the "Cheng xiang" chapter of *Xunzi*, arguing that the contents of this chapter are evidence of a type of rhymed chant or song.[15] Both possibilities are speculative, but whether the texts were composed by various accomplished ministers or through anonymous oral composition, attribution to a single author-figure is impossible.[16] As for "Yinshu," early *Han shu* commentator Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645), quoting from Liu Xiang's own bibliographic record, explains that this refers riddles, and further explanation of the use of the term *yin* in this context can be found in *Wenxin diaolong*.[17] Even less can be said conclusively about "Da zafu" or "Kezhu fu," but it is certainly the case that these titles do not refer to named individuals.

Li Ling further compares the contrast between the preceding subcategories and the "Miscellaneous *fu*" to the distinction between the single-author literary collections (*bieji* 別集) and multi-authored anthologies (*zongji* 總集).[18] These two types of literary collection would

[14] These translations follow those in Kern, "Western Han Aesthetics," 407–8.

[15] For a summary of this argument, see John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*, Vol. 3 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 169–70.

[16] It does not seem likely that this listing is meant to refer only to the pieces contained in *Xunzi*'s "Cheng xiang" chapter. *Xunzi* has its own entry inthe Han treatise, and a collection of ten *fu* attributed to Xunzi is the first text listed in the third *fu* subcategory. Zhang Shunhui argues that these ten *fu* are the same as those included in the received version of *Xunzi*'s "Cheng xiang" and "Fu" chapters, based on the standard division of these chapters into six and four separate pieces, respectively, in Zhang Shunhui, *Han shu Yiwenzhi tongshi*, 220. Even if the text contains separate entries for *Xunzi*, the collected *fu* of Xun Qing, and the *fu* in the "Cheng xiang" style, the Han treatise claims *Cheng xiang za ci* consists of 11 pieces and is thus longer than the entirety of all *fu* attributed to Xun Qing. Thus I suspect that the title *Xun Qing fu* represents a text unrelated to the received version of *Xunzi*, and that *Cheng xiang za ci* is a third text that contained either works attributed to a variety of authors (perhaps with Xun Qing among them), or those without authors.

[17] Zhang Shunhui, *Han shu Yiwenzhi tongshi*, 226.

[18] Li Ling, *Lantai*, 131–2.

become popular only in the subsequent Northern and Southern Dynasties. However, while later anthologies of works by multiple authors may also contain a variety of subjects and genres of writing, each individual entry on in the "Miscellaneous *fu*" section is limited to a small number of related topics. It is only when they are considered in relation to one another that the analogy to later anthologies is applicable. In fact, if the collection of texts comprised by the "Miscellaneous" subcategory was to be considered a single corpus, its structure would resemble *Wen xuan*'s own collection of *fu* quite closely, at least in their shared tendency to separate *fu* by topic rather than author. This similarity remains even though the nature of composition and the range of potential topics changed drastically in the period between the early Han and the Southern Liang. The complexity of the broader organizational pattern of *Wen xuan*, as well as significant differences in the specific *fu* topics employed there make it difficult to assert the direct influence of the "Miscellaneous" subcategory on the organization of that text. Nevertheless, "Miscellaneous *fu*" is an early attempt at the categorization of literary works based on topic rather than author, providing a point of contact between the structure of the bibliography and the structure of the literary anthology.

The question of how to interpret the use of *za* as a title for this subcategory remains puzzling. It is possible to read the *za* here as describing the common feature shared by each text it contains: All the texts in this category are alike in their "*za*-ness," by virtue of the fact that each gathers pieces on one or more topics, and labels them accordingly rather than with reference to a single author-figure. This is certainly what distinguishes the titles in this subcategory from those in the other *fu* subcategories. And yet, paradoxically, it is still possible to read *za* here not as a reference to this shared quality of *za*-ness, but to the absence of shared features among the texts it contains. In other words, *za* may indicate that the category is itself gathered or mixed

together, containing texts that are all outliers and yet otherwise unrelated to each other. This may very well be how casual readers of the treatise understood the general significance of the term, yet in this case it does not hold up to scrutiny when considered alongside the other "Shifu" subcategories. The use of *za* to distinguish works composed by multiple or unnamable author figures, and the need for a separate category just for these works, invites the assumption that single-author collections are the typical or even preferred format for *fu* collections. But without more specific topic headings, the features that determine the contents of the "non-miscellaneous" subcategories have remained mysterious, allowing these subcategories to appear even more cluttered and disorganized than the "Miscellaneous" one. "Miscellaneous *fu*" is no less organized than the other subcategories, but it does arrange its contents according to a different principle.

An understanding of *za* as a reference to the eclectic contents of the individual entries within the "Miscellaneous *fu*" subcategory does not adequately account for the specific contrasts between the "Miscellaneous" and "non-miscellaneous" subcategories. Rather, it signals a feature used to organize all "Miscellaneous *fu*," those more appropriately categorized according to topic rather than through association with an individual author-figure. Elsewhere in the treatise, the use of *za* in a heading does appear to refer to a collection of texts whose only relationship to one another is their inability to be contained in any other more specific category. Closer scrutiny, however, will again reveal more complex notions of normative textual types and exceptions to these patterns are at play. In the case of divination texts, whether or not a text adheres to a single-author organizational structure does not affect its inclusion in the *za*-prefixed subcategory. Instead, what makes texts in this subcategory exceptional is their perceived disconnection from the authoritative lineages of transmission and practice that inform the composition of the other types of divination text.

1.2 *Za* as a descriptor of an untethered category: "Miscellaneous Divination"

A variation on the naming convention employed in the "Miscellaneous *fu*" subcategory can be found frequently throughout the fifth of the Han treatise's six overarching textual categories, which is entitled "Shushu" 數術 ("Calculations and Techniques") and contains primarily texts related to various methods of divination. In this case, the titles that follow this pattern suggest the recognition of multiple author-figures even more clearly than those of the "Miscellaneous *fu*" subcategory, in which the possibility of multiple authors is suggested merely via contrast with the contents of the other *fu* subcategories. However, these titles are not confined to the "Miscellaneous Divination" subcategory. In fact, most are found in the subcategory of texts related to the observation of celestial phenomena, entitled "Tianwen" 天文 ("Celestial Patterns").[19] Other titles with the term *za* can be found throughout the "Shushu" category. "Miscellaneous Divination" is organized by a different principle, and appears to employ the term *za* to signify that the category contains texts on several different subjects, without any apparent relationship to either the topical variety or the multiple authors of the texts it contains.

Four entries in the "Tianwen" subcategory and two in the "Miscellaneous Divination" subcategory follow a naming convention that implies recognition of contributions of text from multiple figures, and their uniformity again suggests that they are not discrete books, but corpora of documents with shared features. They do so through the use of the term *zazi* 雜子 (various masters). For instance, the first entry in the "Tianwen" subcategory is "Taiyi and various masters, on asterisms" 泰壹雜子星. Though Taiyi occurs most commonly as a name for the Pole Star or the deity associated with it, scholars since at least the time of Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗

[19] HS, 30.1763–65.

(1842–1906) have associated it with a "Taiyi school" (*Taiyi jia* 泰壹家). Yao advances this theory based on the appearance of other texts attributed to Taiyi throughout the Han treatise, such as "Taiyi and various masters, on clouds and rain" 泰壹雜子雲雨 in the same subcategory, and "Taiyi and various masters, on phases of the year" 泰壹雜子候歲 in the "Miscellaneous Divination" subcategory. He additionally notes the presence of other titles following the same naming convention in the treatise, and glosses the phrase *Taiyi zazi* as "The various masters of the Taiyi school" 泰壹家之諸子.[20] Yao's use of the term *zhuzi* here is not incidental. *Zazi* is far more common in book titles throughout the treatise, but there is an entry for *Huangdi zhuzi lun yinyang* 黃帝諸子論陰陽 (Huangdi and various masters' discourses on Yin and Yang) in the "Shushu" section's "Wuxing" 五行 ("Five Phases") subcategory. I suspect that the connotations of both terms in this context are roughly the same, but it is not possible to determine if Yao is correct in assuming the title is a reference to other associates of the "Taiyi school." It may also refer to the presence of contents associated with other "schools" in addition to those with Taiyi affiliation. Without such limited surviving information on either the contents of these texts or the nature (or existence) of divinatory "schools" in the Han and earlier, both possibilities must be considered.[21] In either case, however, the title refers to the presumption that the text has multiple contributors, whether they are individuals or discrete groups.

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[20] Yao Zhenzong, *Han shu yiwenzhi tiaoli* 漢書藝文志條理, *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 edition (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002) 99. Li Ling also points out a brief reference to a *Taiyi jia* 太一家 in SJ, 127.3222. See Li Ling, *Lantai*, 174.

[21] An interesting document excavated from Mawangdui does indeed contain comments attributed to different people, which occasionally contradict each other. However, the strips on which this text is written do not record a title, so any relationship to the sort of text described in the Han treatise is purely speculative (contemporary scholarship refers to it as *Tianwen qixiang za zhan*

Elsewhere in the treatise, numerous titles employ the term *za* for purposes that are not possible to discern. In fact, "Shifu" is the only section of the treatise that confines all titles with the term *za* to a single subcategory.[22] The "Miscellaneous Divination" subcategory, then, does not serve as the category for all texts whose titles contain the character *za*, nor does it specifically gather texts that cannot be attributed to a nameable author-figure. A glance at some of its titles reveals that it contains texts related to a number of different forms of divination, among them works on divination through dreams, and on the interpretation of the prophetic significance of anomalous events and creatures. While scholars have developed several persuasive theories to explain how the author-figures listed in the three unnamed categories of *fu* are connected to one another, the same is not been possible for the texts in the "Shushu" category. In fact, many of the same names, whether they refer to individuals, "schools," or even looser conceptual categories, recur throughout its various subcategories. If textual topics are the only criteria considered when determining the contents of "Shushu" subcategories, it would follow that the individual topics covered by the "Miscellaneous Divination" subcategory would be given their own subcategories, as is the case with texts devoted to divination based on celestial phenomena, tortoise shells and milfoil, and so on. In order to understand the specific criteria that define the subcategory, it is necessary to first consider the organizational principles of "Shushu" as a whole. The category is not determined simply through the construction of a group of discrete topic-based subcategories. Luckily, unlike "Shifu," "Shushu" contains both a general postface as well as individual

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天文氣象雜占). This document is described in Liu Lexian 劉樂賢, *Mawangdui tianwen shu kaoshi* 馬王堆天文書考釋 (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 2004), 115–17.

[22] *Za* is used in dozens of entries throughout the Han treatise, and most of these are no longer extant. Except in the case of titles that clearly follow the same naming convention, it is very difficult to speculate about the connotations of these titles.

subcategory postfaces, which help to clarify how it is organized. These passages show that historical concerns continued to play a role in the assessment of a text's value, even in cases when authorship was unknown or obscure.

They do so by relating the value of a text or type of text to its purported origins within the bureaucratic system of the idealized Zhou state, or to techniques that are otherwise attested in authoritative classical texts such as the *Shi jing* 詩經 and *Yi jing* 易經. The historicity of the processes of composition and transmission described in these passages is suspect, but they do show how ideas about the transmission of information were important even in bibliographic categories that appear to be derived from textual topics alone. According to the general preface of the Han treatise, the "Shushu" section was compiled not by Liu Xiang but by Yin Xian 尹咸, who served as head of the office of the grand astrologer towards the end of the former Han.[23] Noting this association, Marc Kalinowski argues that the contents of this section are closely related to the responsibilities of that office, which he summarizes as "astrocalendrical, divinatory, and ritual," in contradistinction to forms of divination and other techniques performed beyond the auspices of the court.[24] As I will discuss below, this tendency to connect textual types to the output of various bureaucratic divisions, real or imagined, pervades the treatise, and is particularly visible in the subcategories of the "Zhuzi" section. Furthermore, in the postfaces of both "Shushu" and "Zhuzi" sections, activities and ideas that are beneficial to the court and the functions of the government are given priorty over those that are not. As

[23] HS, 30.1701.

[24] Marc Kalinowski, "Technical Traditions in Ancient China and *Shushu* Culture in Chinese Religion," in *Religion and Chinese Society*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: CUHK, 2004), 223–48.

Kalinowski writes of its postfaces, "Those procedures deemed useful to governance and the public welfare met with approval, while those thought to serve personal interests, spread confusion, encourage commerce with deities, and lead to disorder were condemned."[25] While the actual lists of texts included in these sections may very well have been influenced by the immediate concerns of the office of the Grand Astrologer in Han times, the justifications provided by the treatise itself use speculation about the historical origins of types of divination to argue for the validity of certain forms over others.

The various postfaces to this section affirm the authoritative role of court-related divination, but also attempt to account for the presence of many other methods and types of texts by treating them as misunderstood or corrupted forms of these state-sanctioned traditions. This is an important distinction: Though "Shushu" may exhibit clear preferences for the calendrical and astrological forms of divination most closely associated with the functions of the state, it does not limit itself to these types of text. Rather than allow for the possibility of new forms of divination entirely removed from state-approved traditions, the complexity of the textual record is treated as the result of misinterpretation and misuse of preexisting traditions. The account provided in the general postface accounts for such deviation by explaining that thorough understanding of the classical traditions of divination cannot be conveyed through text alone, and that traditions of non-textual transmission are necessary to supplement understanding of divination techniques. This history of transmission and the resulting complications of interpretation are central concerns of the postface:

[25] Kalinowski, "Technical Traditions," 226.

All the calculations and techniques were responsibilities of the Xi and He scribes of the Bright Hall.[26] The Office of the Scribe has fallen out of use for long, and the writings associated with it cannot be consulted in full. Even so, some of the writings remain, but the people do not. As the *Yi jing* says, "Without people, the Way cannot be transmitted on its own." In the Spring and Autumns period, there was Zi Shen in the state of Lu, Pi Zao in the state of Zheng, Bu Yan in the state of Jin, and Zi Wei in the state of Song.[27] During the time of the Six Kingdoms, there was Lord Gan in the state of Chu, Sir Shi Shen in the state of Wei. In the Han there was Tang Du.[28] Only coarse details of these figures can be understood. When there is something to rely on, this is easy to accomplish, but when there is not it is difficult. Thus, we have relied upon the old texts to divide the "Calculations and Techniques" into six types.

數術者，皆明堂羲和史卜之職也。史官之廢久矣，其書不能具，雖有其書而無其人。《易》曰："苟非其人，道不虛行。"春秋時魯有梓慎，鄭有裨竈，晉有卜偃，宋有子韋。六國時，楚有甘公，魏有石申夫，漢有唐都，庶得麤觕。蓋有因而成易，無因而成難。故因舊書以序數術為六種。[29]

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[26] The array of responsibilities assigned to the *shi* 史 ("scribe") in various texts and points in history, from divination to transcription, will be discussed in greater detail in chapter two. The exact connotations of the "Xi and He scribes" in this case is unclear. It is likely to be a bureaucratic office rather than a specific individual, derived either from Xi- and He- surnamed hereditary lines legendarily believed to have been responsible for calendrical affairs, or from a legendary charioteer of the sun named Xi He. See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 227.

[27] Zi Shen 梓慎 (fl. ca. 550 BCE), Pi Zao 裨竈 (fl. ca. 550 BCE), Bu Yan 卜偃 (fl. ca. 650 BCE), and Zi Wei 子韋 (fl. ca. 450 BCE) are all Springs and Autumns-era figures. The first three make several appearances in *Zuo zhuan* and will be discussed in greater detail below. Zi Wei is mentioned in various *Han shu* antecedents, including *Lüshi chunqiu* 6/4.3, which identifies Zi Wei as a advisor to Lord Jing of Song 宋景公 (d. 469 BCE) on astrological matters, see Chen Qiyou, *Lüshi chunqiu*, 347–48, translated in Knoblock and Rigel, 165–66. The first entry in the "Yinyang" 陰陽 subcategory of the Han treatise's "Zhuzi" section lists a *Song sixing Zi Wei* 宋司星子韋 (Song Astrologer Zi Wei), credited to the scribe of Lord Jing 景公之史, in HS, 30.1733. As with other Han treatise entries, it is unclear if this is a title or a general reference to a category of documents.

[28] Lord Gan 甘公 and Sir Shi Shen 石申夫 are obscure, but are likely to be the individuals identified elsewhere in *Han shu* as "Mister Gan" and "Mister Shi," see 62n33, below. For the Western Han *fangshi* and calendar developer Tang Du 唐都 (fl. ca. 100 BCE), see SJ, 26.1250, 130.3288.

[29] HS, 30.1775. Lisa Raphals translates and provides additional references to figures in this passage, mostly in texts that postdate *Han shu*, in Raphals, "Divination in the *Han shu* bibliographic treatise," *Early China* Vol. 32 (2008–9), 82–83.

The general sentiment of this passage is expressed in its citation from *Yi jing*. In its context in this text, the line "Without people, the Way cannot be transmitted on its own" refers to the fact knowledge of the significance and application of the text depends on knowledge of methods that can only be carried out by certain people—without them, the true significance of the text cannot be determined, and accurate divinations cannot be performed, even if one has access to the text itself.[30] Quoting this passage not only implies that *Yi jing* is a source of authoritative knowledge about other forms of divination, it also applies the same principle of the importance of correct interpretation to these other forms. In other words, it is not surprising that none of these figures are mentioned in the titles of texts the bibliographic portions of the "Shushu" section.[31] They are singled out not for their role in compiling new texts, but for being able to transmit what were presumed to be the appropriate or correct methods and techniques of the past and apply them in new circumstances.

A passage in the "Tianguan shu" 天官書 (Monograph on Celestial Positions[32]) of *Shi ji* reinforces the importance of these figures as skilled practitioners applying using divination in service to the state, rather than as innovators or compilers of texts. This passage lists several prominent figures associated with various historical periods and states. The passage begins, "Of

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[30] The cited passage of *Yi jing* is found in *Xici xia* 繫辭下, in Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫, *Zhou yi yizhu* 周易譯注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 270–71.

[31] There is one possible exception, see discussion of Gan De 甘德 below. Others may be attributed with texts listed elsewhere in the treatise, as in the case of Zi Wei discussed above.

[32] The Tang annotator Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (679–732) suggests that the title of this section is as a reference to the stars and planets and their positions in the sky, rather than a reference to a branch of the government. Though *tianguan* is also used as a bureaucratic term, it does not appear to be relevant to the chapter. See SJ, 27.1289. For the bureaucratic term, see Charles Hucker, *Dictionary*, 509.

old, those who transmitted celestial enumeration [were as follows]," and goes on to list names of various legendary and historical figures from antiquity through the Xia and Shang. This is followed by a sequence of individuals very similar to that provided in the "Shushu" postface, including Zi Wei of Song, Pi Zao of Zheng, and Shi Shen of Wei. In place of "Lord Gan" (*Gan Gong* 甘公) of Chu, *Shi ji* lists a Lord Gan 甘公 of Qi 齊, but this has not stopped scholars throughout history from identifying both as Gan De 甘德.[33] This *Shi ji* passage follows a similar pattern to its counterpart in the Han treatise, and even mentions some of the same figures, making it a likely precedent for the later text's own grouping of authoritative diviners.

The *Shi ji* passage and its equivalent in the Han treatise are also alike in their emphasis on divination practice over textual composition. But while the *Shi ji* passage serves mainly to highlight a number of prominent figures, the Han treatise takes the same information and uses it to suggest that the number of authentic transmitters of classical traditions of divination is extremely limited, and even suggests that even with knowledge of these exemplary figures it is only possible to grasp at the "coarse" (*cucu* 麤觕) details of the classical tradition, elements not present in equivalent *Shi ji* passage. They do not allow a complete and unbroken transmission that can be traced directly to the accomplishments renowned historical and legendary diviners, but are nevertheless recognized for their ability to preserve some of their traditions. Without such experts on hand during the compilation of the bibliography, the task of determining how to organize and interpret vast quantities of divination texts, which bear no discernable connection to

[33] SJ, 27.1343. The *Han shu*'s own "Treatise on Celestial Patterns" ("Tianwen zhi" 天文志) repeatedly cites a "Mister Gan" (甘氏) and a "Mister Shi" (石氏), suggesting that astrological texts associated with Gan De and Shi Shen existed in the Han, but they are not listed in the bibliographic treatise, throughout HS, 26.1280–91. Gu Shi interprets this as a reference to Gan De and Shi Shen, even though the treatise does not mention the full name of either individual. These comments are reproduced in Zhang Shunhui, *Han shu Yiwenzhi tongshi*, 289.

these authoritative figures, becomes virtually impossible. The preface concludes with the concession that texts alone have been consulted in order to develop the structure of the "Shushu" section, recalling the dilemma of having the writing but not the people addressed in the postface.

The "Shushu" postface's list of authoritative transmitters, and the section itself, can be further distinguished from the *Shi ji* predecessor through its attention to forms of divination that are unrelated to celestial observation or calendrical calculation. Kalinowski's observation that the bibliography privileges these forms may be apt, but it does not do so simply by excluding all other forms of divination from consideration, as is the case in the "Tianguan shu" monograph. The text distinguishes itself from the "Tianguan shu's" narrower focus not only by including a greater variety of texts, but also through additions to its list of authoritative practitioners of divination. Little can be said about the reputations of the figures included in either list, but a number of anecdotes concerning some of these figures in *Zuo zhuan* provide a few helpful details. Most of these anecdotes involve the interpretation of the movement of celestial bodies. Interestingly enough, in this text Zi Shen of Lu and Pi Zao of Zheng both offer predictions based on perceived irregularities in the movement of Jupiter in the same year.[34] At least as far as *Zuo zhuan* is concerned, the figures mentioned in the *Shi ji* passage are exclusively concerned with astrological divination.

The postface also includes Zi Shen and Pi Zao, reinforcing the notion that it too privileges astrological and calendrical divination, but the addition of figures like Bu Yan of Jin complicate matters. Bu Yan 卜偃 (or perhaps simply "Diviner Yan") of Jin appears in the postface's list of credible diviners, but not the corresponding *Shi ji* passage. His appearances in *Zuo zhuan* offer a portrait of a diviner with a much more complex repertoire of techniques,

[34] ZZ Zhao 28.1 (1143–44).

making his addition to the postface notable. In his first *Zuo zhuan* appearance, Bu Yan makes a prediction by interpreting the significance of several names.[35] Later, he predicts the exact date of a Jin military victory by interpreting the astrological terms used in a children's ditty, discusses the portentous significance of a natural disaster, performs tortoise-shell and milfoil divination at the request of the prince of Jin, and finally provides an explanation for an ominous, anomalous sound emanating from the coffin of the Lord of Jin.[36] During this varied sequence of successful divinations, Bu Yan also proves to be talented and accomplished in other ways. In another appearance in the text, he observes the continuing aggression of the state of Guo in spite of their recent defeats, and predicts that this arrogance will lead them to underestimate Jin in their upcoming confrontation.[37] Here the only "divination" performed is the result of a nuanced interpretation of actual events. Much like Zichan of Zheng, Bu Yan is also a careful observer of human portents. Later, Bu Yan refuses to serve the newly established Lord Huai. Huai had previously executed a man who had refused to call his sons home to face punishment for associating with his enemy, Chong'er. Bu Yan claims illness as an excuse to retire from service, and uses a quote from what are identified only as "Zhou Documents" to explain his unwillingness to serve a wanton ruler.[38] True to his word, he does not appear again in the text

[35] ZZ Min 1.6 (259). Yang Bojun explains here that *bu* is a reference to this figure's status as a diviner, and that other texts, including *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Han Feizi*, refer to the same person with the name Guo Yan 郭偃. Nevertheless, this name is not used in either *Zuo zhuan* or *Shi ji*, so I refer to him only as Bu Yan.

[36] ZZ Xi 5.8 (310–11), Xi 14.3 (347–48), 25.2 (431–32), 32.3 (489).

[37] ZZ Xi 2.5 (283–84).

[38] ZZ Xi 23.4 (403).

until Lord Huai falls from power and Chong'er assumes the position of Lord Wen of Jin.[39] Bu Yan's appearances in *Zuo zhuan* characterize him as a multi-talented master of divination, but also as wise and honorable official.

It is not possible to say whether these specific narratives provided the motivation to include Bu Yan in the list of capable transmitters of divination traditions, but their presence in a text as central to the historiographic tradition as *Zuo zhuan* would have certainly made them familiar to the compilers of the Han treatise and its early readers. Bu Yan illustrates that it was possible for individuals known primarily for technical skills such as divination to also gain recognition for their wisdom and virtue, in a manner quite similar to the more familiar examples of archetypically incorruptible officials. More importantly, Bu Yan possesses a broad range of divination skills, not merely astrological and calendrical techniques. Court approval for these practices may have lapsed in the Han dynasty, but the historical record illustrates that this was not always the case. The narratives of decline and the disappearance of legitimate transmitters throughout the section postfaces help to provide an explanation for this incongruity between the past and present, and justify the presence of bibliographic subcategories devoted to types of divination that did not meet the approval of the Han court. Furthermore, Bu Yan's use of *multiple* divination methods helps to clarify the dilemma faced by bibliographers when determining how to organize books related to divination. The postface discusses the difficulty of understanding divination texts without access to the people who practiced and transmitted divination. Rather than follow the precedent set by practitioners such as Bu Yan, and attempt to develop textual categories based on lineages of transmission without regard for the variety of techniques employed in each case, the bibliographers "relied upon the old texts to divide the

[39] ZZ Xi 25.2 (431–32).

'Calculations and Techniques' into six types." Though the general postface stresses the importance of multi-talented diviners like Bu Yan in the preservation of a legitimate tradition of divination, their complex repertoires do not accord with the patterns present in the divination texts to which the Han bibliographers had access, which are comparatively limited in their range of topics.

The result is a catalog of texts organized by topic, apparently without regard for the traces of the extra-textual tradition of transmission that the postface insists are so vital for true understanding. The recurrence of the "*zazi*" pattern throughout the section further illustrates the difficulty of dividing texts based on lineage affiliation, as these titles appear to gather information from various "schools" that relate to individual forms of divination. Though the historicity of these lineages may be suspect, such texts reinforce the notion that a divination "school" is not congruent with a single form of divination as defined in the treatise. A single "school" can encompass multiple forms of divination, and likewise the same form of divination can be associated with multiple "schools." However, these categories are not entirely devoid of influence of these lineages and notable historical or legendary diviners. In the postfaces to these subcategories, various forms of divination are located within the idealized bureaucratic structure of the Zhou dynasty, even when lineages of transmission cannot be traced from these legendary points of origin through the ages. These passages preserve the notion that a historical, orthodox lineage, or at least the suggestion of one, is an important criterion in the judgment of divination texts, even when the specific details of such lineages are untraceable.

The absence of such a lineage is what sets the texts included in the "Miscellaneous Divination" subcategory apart from the other "Shushu" subcategories. Though vague on the details of the transmission of techniques, other postfaces in this section insist that both a

connection to the affairs of the state and the presence of enlightened practitioners and patrons are necessary components of legitimate divination practice. This is true of both the styles of divination that fall within the responsibilities of the Han Grand Astrologer as well as those that do not. The "Celestial Patterns" postface, for example, confines discussion of astrological divination entirely to its application in a political context. Texts are praised as the means by which sage kings governed, while fault arises if incapable subordinates attempt to use them to remonstrate unheeding rulers.[40] The potential for shortcoming is not within the texts themselves, but the capabilities of those employing them. Likewise, the "Lipu" 歷譜 ("Calendars and Chronologies") section presents the sage kings as the ideal practitioners of calendrical arts, and declares that illegitimate examples of this tradition occur when the transmission is interrupted:

> When the Way was corrupted, disaster was wrought by those who were petty, yet nevertheless forcefully desired to know the ways of the cosmos. They destroyed the great in their pursuit of the petty, and abandoned the distant in pursuit of the near. This is how the techniques of the Way became scattered and difficult to understand.
>
> 道之亂也，患出於小人，而強欲知天道者。壞大以為小，削遠以為近，是以道術破碎而難知。[41]

If illegitimate examples of this type of divination exist, the postface claims, they are the result of corruption and distortion by later practitioners, and not innate weaknesses of the tradition itself.

The same pattern is followed throughout the "Shushu" section. The "Wuxing" 五行 ("Five phases") category of divination texts itself poses a significant bibliographic problem, thanks to its connection to cosmological concerns addressed in both the "Zhuzi" and "Bingshu" 兵書 ("Military Texts") sections of the treatise, which each have a subcategory entitled

[40] HS, 30.1765.

[41] HS, 30.1767.

"Yinyang" 陰陽, as well as those in the *Han shu*'s additional "Wuxing zhi" 五行志 (Treatise on the Five Phases).[42] Nevertheless, the postface to this section circumvents any potential ambiguities in the usage of the term by insisting that the proper application of methods based on the patterns of the Five Phases consists of nothing more than focused development of "five virtues" (*wu de* 五德). It does so through an exegesis of a passage from the "Hongfan" 洪範 (Great plan) chapter of *Shang shu* 尚書 (Documents from antiquity). The postface begins with a partial citation of the passage in question, stating "The [*Shang*] *shu* says, 'First are the five phases, second are the five duties" 書云：初一曰五行，次二曰五事.[43] It goes on to paraphrase this chapter's explanation of the "five duties" as "countenance, speech, perception, attention, and thought," and offers its own conclusion, suggesting that personal failings in these five traits can cause the disruption of natural and cosmic patterns. This is in keeping with what Michael Nylan describes as the interest in the relations between "the ruler and the cosmos" that occupied Han readings of the "Hongfan," under the influence of Five Phases cosmology that developed after the original text's composition.[44] The text of the "Wuxing" subcategory postface may assert a

[42] For a discussion of *yinyang* / five phases theory and its relationship to other bibliographic categories of the Han treatise, see Raphals, "Divination," 73–74, 80–81, 88.

[43] The original context of the directly quoted passage is as a prefatory sketch of the main contents of the chapter, describing each of the nine groups of five qualities or phenomena to be discussed. The "wuxing" postface's subsequent identifications of the "five duties" are drawn from this subsequent section of "Hongfan."

[44] Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center: The Original "Great Plan" and Later Readings*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 24 (Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1992), 47. Note that in both what Nylan describes as the original context of the text as well as later interpretations, "Hongfan" is focused on the actions and character of the sovereign, not humans in general. Though this is never specifically articulated in the "Wuxing" postface's exegesis of the five phases and duties, it does provide one possible explanation of why the efforts of "minor technicians" are so inappropriate.

relationship between human actions and the cosmos, but fails to articulate how this cosmic correspondence can be appropriately explored through divination or divination texts. It ends with a statement that, like earlier examples, questions the legitimacy of deviant or lesser texts. In this case, however, the judgment is so severe that it seemingly dismisses any divination texts based on the Five Phases, castigating any "minor technicians" 小術家 who would attempt to use the five phases to predict auspicious and inauspicious events.[45] As in the "Lipu" and "Tianwen" subcategories, the legitimate origins of the textual and divinatory traditions in question are associated with the idealized model provided by texts and concepts associated with the Zhou. The "Hongfan's" moralized discussion of the Five Phases, or at least a Han interpretation of that text, appears to be enough to validate the presence of a "Wuxing" subcategory of divination texts, yet it is unclear how this idealized model can be related to the actual texts included in the subcategory, if not simply to discredit them entirely.

Despite its placement beneath the "Wuxing" subcategory, the "Shigui" 蓍龜 ("Yarrow Stalk and Tortoiseshell") postface treats its subject with more balance. As with the prior three subcategories, classical models are cited as the authoritative points of origin for these forms of divination. The postface cites passages from *Yi jing* and *Shang shu* as evidence of the high esteem for these methods and their efficacy in the time of the sage kings, yet goes on to claim that in the "era of decline" 衰世 lax standards of ritual, combined with the over-indulgence in such methods of divination, have resulted in a corresponding decline in their efficacy.[46] This

[45] HS, 30.1769. Raphals, "Divination," 86–87 translates this passage and describes the actual contents of the subcategory, but does not to reconcile the overtly critical nature of the postface with its bibliographic contents.

[46] HS, 30.1771.

critique is itself couched in the language of the classics, and the postface concludes by stating, "Thus impertinent divination by yarrow stalk will yield no response—this is that which the *Yi* shuns; divination with exhausted tortoise shell will yield no response—this is that which the *Shi* critiques" 故筮瀆不告，易以為忌；龜厭不告，詩以為刺.[47] This postface, like the others, posits classical models of divination styles as the authoritative, appropriate versions, and casts unorthodox approaches to the same style of divination as abuses of these techniques rather than as competing traditions with independent origins. In the case of the *shi gui* category, nearly all of the titles listed also announce (or feign) some kind of affiliation with either the Xia and Shang dynasties, or with the *Yi jing* itself.[48] Yet the postface makes it clear that regardless of these associations, divination texts are rife with potential to be misused, and as in other cases the postface concludes with an admonition rather than an endorsement.

The "Miscellaneous Divination" subcategory follows *shi gui*. As in the preceding sections, the postface is used to express ambivalence about the value of the texts the subcategory contains. The biggest difference comes from how these "*za*" texts are positioned in relation to the classics and the legitimate tradition of divination they represent. About a third of the postface is dedicated to explaining the value of oneiromancy, and it does so according to the familiar pattern

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[47] Ibid. The referenced passage of *Yi jing* is from the text related to the *meng* 蒙 hexagram, which reads "Upon the first divination there will be a response, a second and third time are impertinent, if one is impertinent there will be no response." 初筮告，再三瀆，瀆則不告, in Zhou Zhenfu, *Zhou yi*, 25. The referenced passage of *Shi jing* is the third stanza of the poem *Xiao min* 小旻 ("Foreboding"), which reads "Our tortoise shells are exhausted, / They do not offer good counsel" 我龜既厭、不我告猶. For this and other citations of *Shi jing* I follow the translations in Arthur Waley, trans. *The Book of Songs*, ed. Joseph R. Allen (New York: Grove Press, 1996), 175. For the original text of the poem, see Wang Xianqian, 王先謙, *Shi sanjia yi jishu* 詩三家義集疏, ed. Wu Ge 吳格 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 689.

[48] For a description of the various titles in this section, see Raphals 89n148, Li Ling, *Lantai*, 189–91.

established in the earlier postfaces. In this case, the text explicitly claims that oneiromancy was among the divination forms performed by Zhou officials, and refers to two prophetic dreams described in *Shi jing*:

> Miscellaneous divinations record portentous signs from the myriad affairs, and examine the omens of good and evil. *Yi jing* says, "Divine from affairs to understand the future." The many varieties of divination are not equal, and that of dreams is the greatest. And so, the Zhou had an officer for this. *Shi jing* records dreams of "black bears and brown" and of "snakes and serpents," of the "locusts and fishes," and of "the reptile banner and the falcon banner," illuminating the way great men perform divinations, making the examination of the auspicious and inauspicious an accompaniment to divination by bone-cracking and yarrow stalks.
>
> 雜占者，紀百事之象，候善惡之徵。《易》曰："占事知來。"眾占非一，而夢為大，故周有其官。而《詩》載熊羆虺蛇眾魚旐旟之夢，著明大人之占，以考吉凶，蓋參卜筮。[49]

Oneiromancy is treated as the most legitimate of this group of texts, roughly defined as those having something to do with the observation and interpretation of signs and omens. This definition creates a clear contrast from those that involve interpreting the significance of the results of deliberately conducted performances, as is the case with divination by yarrow stalk and bone. The distinction is less clear when it comes to the *tianwen*, *li pu*, and *wuxing* sections, which also appear to relate to the interpretation of naturally occurring events and patterns. In the case of astrological and calendrical studies, it is perhaps possible to assume that the bias afforded by the involvement of the Grand Astrologer was enough to distinguish the interpretation of celestial bodies and broader natural patterns (such as seasonal change) from the many affairs of

[49] HS, 30.1773. Raphals' partial translation varies slightly from mine. See Raphals, "Divination," 89–90. The *Yi jing* passage referenced is found in the *Xici xia*, in Zhou Zhenfu, *Zhou yi*, 274. The *Shi jing* poems referenced are *Si gan* 斯干 ("The Beck") and *Wu yang* 無羊 ("No Sheep?)", both lesser odes. I follow Waley and others in reading *zhong* 眾 as a substitute for *yuan* 蝝, meaning "locusts," but replace Waley's more general "flags and banners" with descriptions of their imagery as implied by the terms used. See Waley, *Songs*, 162, 164; Wang Xianqian, *Shi sanjia*, 652, 654.

mundane life such as those described in this subcategory. Yet two texts apparently related to the observation of Jupiter are listed as works of "Miscellaneous Divination." As the preface does not address these issues directly, and none of these texts are extant, it is best to treat this as another instance in which the organizational patterns of the treatise are more evaluative than they are systematic. The aforementioned praise of oneiromantic texts appears in this context, suggesting once again that such methods are only appropriate when performed by "great men," rather than simply those who have access to the necessary texts but lack deeper understanding.

The text does not report whether the "great men" responsible for dream interpretation may also employ the lesser methods of divination included in the category. But passage that follows clarifies the problematic and unorthodox nature of the rest of the "Miscellaneous" methods. It is is dedicated specifically to the interpretation of "anomalies" (*yao* 訞):

> *Chunqiu* says of anomalies, "When a person harbors some resentment, his *qi* flares up and draws it out—anomalies are incited by people. When people lose their standards, then anomalies will arise. If there are no rifts among people, then anomalies will not manifest themselves."[50] Thus it is said, "Virtue conquers the inauspicious, and uprightness pacifies the disharmonious." The mulberries and millet grew together, and yet Taiwu rose to power; the crying pheasant perched upon the tripod, and yet Wuding became exalted. However, the deluded will fail to investigate things to the fullest, and detest the appearance of anomalies.[51] This is what *Shi jing* criticizes [by stating] "We call in the elders for counsel, / Ask them to divine our dreams." Those who abandon the root and yet still worry about the branches will be unable to conquer misfortune.
>
> 《春秋》之說訞也，曰："人之所忌，其氣炎以取之，訞由人興也。人失常則訞興，人無釁焉，訞不自作。"故曰："德勝不祥，義厭不惠。"桑穀共生，大戊以興；鴝雉登鼎，武丁為宗。然惑者不稽諸躬，而忌訞之見，是以《詩》刺"召彼故老，訊之占夢"，傷其舍本而憂末，不能勝凶咎也。

[50] The passage cited here is ZZ Zhuang 14.2 (197).

[51] Accounts of these two appearances of anomalies can be found throughout both *Shi ji* and *Han shu*. For the longest accounts, see SJ, 3.100, 3.103.

Though oneiromancy is singled out as occasionally appropriate and properly rooted in Zhou traditions, the rest of the postface is devoted to the interpretation of anomalies, a practice that is given no authorized precedent in the classics. Instead, passages from both *Zuo zhuan* and *Shi jing* are used to discredit the validity of such practices and to discourage their use entirely. The relationship between anomalous events and misfortune is not denied entirely, but the examples provided are all cases in which portended misfortune is averted through the cultivation and performance of virtue. These anomalies are not to be treated fatalistically as signs of impending doom, but as reminders that fate can be altered through good behavior rather than appeals to supernatural forces. This passage, essentially a diatribe against over reliance on divination, concludes with another reference to the *Shi jing* poem "Zheng yue 正月 ("The First Month"), which, in the line that follows the one cited in this passage, criticizes those who repeatedly seek the advice of diviners without first attending to disorder among the people: "They all say 'we are sagely,' / But who can tell the cock-raven from the hen?" 具曰予聖、誰知烏之雌雄.[52] While earlier allusions are more direct, here the postface presumes that quoting a single line of the poem will cause its readers to recall the critique of diviners that follows.

Only two texts included in this subcategory's list of books relate to dream interpretation, despite the postface's preoccupation with the subject. One of these happens to be the only "Shushu" entry that is attributed to a figure from the general postface's list of divination masters, the "Long-willow dream interpretations of Gan De" ("Gan De changliu zhanmeng" 甘德長柳占夢), the other has a similar title, but is associated with the Yellow Emperor, or perhaps a Yellow

[52] Waley, *Songs*, 168; Wang Xianqian, *Shi sanjia*, 668.

Emperor tradition ("Huangdi changliu zhanmeng" 黃帝長柳占夢).[53] Five are concerned with anomalies. In keeping with the concerns expressed in the postface, several of these entries appear to be specifically concerned with dispelling or exorcising anomalous entities. As with other entries, these are authorless and resemble a coordinated list of topic clusters rather than a series of discrete titles: "Zhenxiang bianguai" 禎祥變怪 (Auspicious omens and calamities), "Rengui jingwu liuchu bianguai" 人鬼精物六畜變怪 (Calamities of human spirits, enchanted things, and the six livestock), "Bianguai gao jiu" 變怪誥咎 (Calamities and the banishment of disaster), "Zhi bu xiang he guiwu" 執不祥劾鬼物 (Controlling the inauspicious and suppressing ghastly things), and "Qing guan chu yaoxiang" 請官初訞祥 (Imploring officials to do away with anomalies).[54] Though not specifically related to anomalies, additional texts concerned with pursuing good fortune and controlling the weather similarly address the manipulation of future events rather than simply predicting them, subjecting them to the critiques made in the section's postface. The consultation of texts related to varieties of divination such as these is given no justification from the classics. Allusions are deployed only to denigrate such practices, rather than praise their most authentic and appropriate applications and dismissing corrupted successors. The only positive comments in the postface are reserved for the two oneiromantic

[53] The exact connotations of the term *changliu* 長柳 (long-willow) here are unclear. Chen Shiyuan 陳士元 (1516–1595) devotes a short chapter of his encyclopedic treatise on dream interpretation, *Mengzhan yizhi* 夢占逸旨 (*Lofty Principles of Dream Interpretation*), to the "long-willow" method, but there Chen only reports that details about the method are no longer known, and goes on to describe Zhou-era dream divination practices in relation to other forms of divination (by tortoiseshell, hexagrams, and so on) as described in *Zhouli*. See Richard Strassberg, trans., *Wandering Spirits: Chen Shiyuan's Encyclopedia of Dreams* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 58–59.

[54] For all of these entries, see HS, 30.1772.

texts included. The oneiromantic texts bring other methods of divination into order in another sense, by providing an anchor to classically sanctioned traditions of divination to which these less reputable forms can be bound. Yet unlike the other subcateories, the difference between praised and criticized texts is not expressed as part of a narrative of decline and deterioration. The various methods described in other "Miscellaneous" texts may resemble oneiromancy in some ways, but no attempt is made to incorporate them into a lineage of approved dream interpreters that supposedly stretches back to the Zhou bureaucracy.

This explains why the various topics listed together as "Miscellaneous Divination" were not given their own individual subcategories. Even though many texts in the broader category are subject to criticism and skepticism, "Miscellaneous" texts are only relatable to authoritative predecessors in the idealized past through the inclusion of two oneiromantic texts. The bibliographers' reliance on the authority of these presumed lineages is fundamental to the arrangement of texts on divination within the Han treatise. Texts that are grouped together based on a shared relationship to an extra-textual lineage that stretches back to the classical era receive their own subcategories, even in cases in which many contemporaneous texts related to these lineages are described as corrupted, distorted versions of their antecedents. The classical precedents for oneiromancy are used to justify the "Miscellaneous Divination" subcategory, yet the remainder of this subcategory's postface uses classical allusions to criticize the rest of the texts it contains, and divorce them entirely from any approved extra-textual lineages.

This pattern is complicated by the final *shushu* subcategory, "Xingfa" 形法 ("Methods of form"), which lists only six titles. Each is related to divination based on form, from geomancy to phrenology. This subcategory's postface does not use textual allusions to criticize or endorse these texts. It is, in fact, the only postface in the category that does not make overt reference to

the classics.[55] Reading the sequence of subcategories in this section hierarchically, it would appear to rank beneath "Miscellaneous Divination," but its postface is far less critical than that of the preceding subcategory. What sets it apart from the other subcategories is not the supposed value of the texts it contains, but its status as an exception to the patterns of diachronic evaluation exhibited in the other "Shushu" postfaces. This explains its placement at the end of the section despite the neutral tone of its postface, as well as the position of "Miscellaneous Divination" immediately before it, which utilizes the diachronic perspective not to construct a narrative of decline but to illustrate that certain divination techniques were always disreputable and divorced from orthodox procedures.

While the primary interest of these postfaces is divination that is useful to and approved by the Han, the treatise also presents a concurrent interest in tracing the roots of divination back through the ages to legendary figures and other aspects of the idealized Zhou state. In the intervening period, figures who perform many different types of divination are recognized as having maintained these canonical traditions. A narrative of decline and deterioration from the Zhou standard is used to justify changing attitudes towards the value of divination to the state, and also to address the numerous problems in the textual record. "Miscellaneous" exists as a hybridized subcategory for methods of divination, which can be linked to this historical narrative only through their tangential relationship to oneiromancy, and are otherwise lacking any relationship to the imagined classical traditions of divination, not even as unworthy successors.

The miscellaneous *fu* and divination subcategories are each "Miscellaneous" in their own ways. In the first, *za* refers to the mixed nature of each text within the subcategory, contrasting the single-author works contained in the other subcategories of the same section. Texts found

[55] HS, 30.1775.

throughout the "Shushu" section include the *za* in their titles for similar reasons, yet this trend is unrelated to the organizational pattern of that section's "Miscellaneous" subcategory. The variety of texts found here show that it is used as a container for groups of texts that were considered worthy of inclusion in the treatise, yet not deserving of individual bibliographic subcategories. The prefaces to this and the other "Shushu" subcategories help to illuminate the values that led to the formation of this composite category, showing that disapproval of certain divination methods was expressed through anxiety over the discontinuous and untraceable transmission of divination techniques from the classical era to the present, and the subsequent fallibility of the texts that were the supposed product of these problematic lineages. This gives the neutral "miscellaneousness" implied by *za* a more specific, critical undercurrent: If these texts are merely miscellaneous, rather than worthy of their own categories, it is only because the Han bibliographers' interpretation of the model provided by the Zhou provides no justification for creating such categories.

1.3 The theorized "Miscellaneous School"

As in the two other "Miscellaneous" subcategories, the historical and intellectual framework that governs the larger textual category in which the "Miscellaneous School" appears plays a major role in establishing the criteria with which the subcategory is defined. In this case as well, this model is inherited and adapted from earlier sources. The final fascicle of *Shi ji* contains a brief sketch of six traditions, sometimes referred to as "schools" (as in "schools of thought) or "lineages of thought" [56] (*jia* 家) composed by Sima Tan 司馬談 (d. 110 BCE) with a

[56] This is the translation suggested by Sarah Queen and Harold Roth, in "A Syncretist Perspective on the Six Schools," in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. 1, 2nd ed., edited by Wm. Theordore DeBary and Irene Bloom (New York, Columbia University Press, 1999), 278–82.

brief preface possibly written by his son and completer of *Shi ji*, Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145 - ca. 86 BCE).[57] The six lineages discussed therein are *Yinyang* 陰陽 (Naturalists), *Ru* 儒 (Classicists or "Confucians"), *Mo* 墨 (Mohists), *Fa* 法 (Legalists), *Ming* 名 (Terminologists), and *Dao* 道 (Daoists). This basic structure is borrowed by the Han treatise and used to organize texts into groups based on each "school." Unlike its successor in the *Han shu*, however, Sima Tan's discussion of these lineages is not bibliographic in nature. In this treatment lineages are discussed not as categories of texts, but as ideological and philosophical perspectives, from which one can formulate theories of political, social, and cosmic order. Throughout the brief treatise, no specific texts or historical figures are explicitly connected to any of these philosophical categories. Furthermore, Sima Tan's comments are highly judgmental, offering both positive and negative comments about each school rather than neutrally summarizing their positions. For instance, though the treatise locates basis of the Ru school in the Six Classics, it also notes that the multiple divergent redactions of these texts in Sima Tan's time make it difficult to understand them thoroughly. The exception is the Daoist lineage, which is given a longer explanation that is both more complex and almost entirely positive. The result is a polemical text that positions Daoism as a superior philosophical and political perspective, with all of the advantages of the other schools and none of their faults.

The critical appraisals of these lineages presented here should be understood in the context of the argumentative philosophical discourse of the period, rather than as a failed attempt to present neutrally describe philosophical doctrines. The text does not offer a descriptive survey of pre-existing, well-defined "schools," it exemplifies the process through which, in the absence of thorough historical documentation, disparate texts and figures of earlier periods came to be

[57] SJ, 130.3288–92.

associated with one another through the contrivance of abstract conceptual categories. As Mark Csikszentmihàlyi notes, "the early Chinese conception of what constituted a 'tradition' was, to a large extent, contingent on when the judgment was being made."[58] In other words, while it has become commonplace to identify certain pre-Han texts as "Confucian," "Daoist," and so on, articulations of lineage affiliation are not typically made within the texts themselves, nor do they represent cohesive groups that deliberately produced a collection of related texts. Rather, they are constructed by later scholars and bibliographers attempting to bring order to a complicated textual record. Furthermore, as Michael Nylan illustrates in her analysis of the complex nature of the connotations of the term *ru* 儒 during the Han, such conceptual categories were neither adequate tools for understanding the past, nor a perfect mirror of the immediate context in which they were first conceived, and are not employed consistently outside of specific contexts, such as the bibliography.[59] Hence, contemporary scholars are right to treat such categorizations with skepticism and attempt to develop new ways of explaining the origins and ideological positions of these texts based on their actual contents.[60] And yet, the abstract categories such as those employed in *Shi ji* were inherited by the compilers of the Han bibliographic treatise, even as the textual landscape continued to grow more complex.

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[58] Mark Csikszentmihàlyi, "Traditional Taxonomies and Revealed Texts in the Han," in *Daoist Identity: Cosmology, Lineage, and Ritual*, ed. Livia Kohn and Harold David Roth (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 84.

[59] Michael Nylan, "A Problematic Model: The Han 'Orthodox Synthesis,' Then and Now," in *Imagining Boundaries: Changing Confucian Doctrines, Texts, and Hermeneutics*, ed. Kai-wing Chow, On-cho Ng and John B. Henderson (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 50n82.

[60] See, for example, the approach to *Huainanzi*, which has at times been recognized as a Daoist text and at others as a "Miscellaneous" one, in Queen, "Inventories," 51–72.

The addition of a "Miscellaneous School" to this group of ideological categories constitutes a particularly interesting case. Here I will discuss how Han bibliographers developed the concept of a "Miscellaneous" school to form a new ideological and bibliographic category. The purpose of this new category was not simply to provide a multi-purpose container for misfit texts of all types, but to contain and potentially even limit the influence of texts that threatened the integrity of the system of lineages of which it was a part. The basic structure of the *Shi ji* treatise's taxonomy of philosophies is maintained in the Han treatise's "Zhuzi" section. Each of these subcategories concludes with a paragraph that describes and evaluates not the qualities of specific texts it contains, but the intellectual and institutional traditions with which those all those texts are affiliated. Like *Shi ji*'s evaluations of the six lineages, these concluding paragraphs treat their subjects as unitary and discrete ideological platforms. In other words, the Han treatise positions "Miscellaneous" texts not as an assortment of texts that share only their uncategorizability in common, but as a group of texts produced by members of the same lineage of thought. The Han treatise gives this "school" a brief evaluation:

> The current of the Miscellaneous School is likely to have emerged from the advising officials.[61] They combine the Ru and Mo, and blend the Names and Laws. They knew that the basis of the state included these, and saw that there is nothing that the kingly order does not penetrate—this is their greatest strength. When the unstable craft them, they will become formless and digressive, with no point to which the mind can return.
>
> 雜家者流，蓋出於議官。兼儒、墨，合名、法，知國體之有此，見王治之無不貫，此其所長也。及盪者為之，則漫羨而無所歸心。[62]

[61] Dictionaries gloss *yiguan* 議官 as synonymous with the Speaking Officials (*yanguan* 言官) and Remonstrance Officials *jianguan* 諫官, in other words as a reference to the officials in charge of managing remonstrance and advice to the throne.

[62] HS, 30.1742. Mark Lewis also translates this passage, reading *Za jia zhe liu* 雜家者流 as "the current of 'mixing' the schools," dismissing the potential of "mixing" (which I translate as "miscellaneous") to constitute a school or lineage. Yet there is nothing in the text to indicate that *za jia* should be read any differently than the other "*jia*" among the "Zhuzi." Though we differ

This passage establishes the benefits of comprehensive and wide-ranging scholarship texts within the political realm, and even introduces a theory of the origins of such texts within the bureaucratic paradigm to strengthen this connection between the textual and the political. On the other hand, it also addresses the potential of *za* texts to lead readers astray if they are not compiled appropriately, hinting at the ambivalent attitude towards of this group of texts in later scholarship.

Discussion of "Miscellaneous" as a distinct intellectual tradition does not occur in any detail prior to the Han treatise, but the value of comprehensiveness that it is associated with in this context has at least one striking precedent. One must look no further than the *Shi ji* treatise on intellectual lineages to find a passage with striking parallels to the Han treatise's description of texts it associates with the "Miscellaneous School." In this context, the ability to "Select the excellent from Ru and Mo, and gather the essentials from the [schools of] Names and Laws" 采儒墨之善，撮名法之要 is attributed to the Daoist lineage.[63] This endorsement of Daoism's interdisciplinary qualities, positioned among the exact same referents as that of the *za* texts, accompanies the more familiarly Daoist attributes of effortless accomplishment and adaptability to circumstance, forming a crucial pillar of the *Shi ji*'s advocacy of Daoism. Though this stance would be outmoded by the Han court and academy's subsequent endorsement of Ruist textual scholarship, the essential value of comprehensive, interdisciplinary scholarship remained. The numerous genres of text included in *Han shu* bibliographic treatise are but one piece of evidence among many that the "Ruist orthodoxy" did not result in the total elimination of other intellectual

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here, I have borrowed his felicitous use of "current" for *liu* 流. See Lewis, *Writing and authority*, 478n52. See also Sarah Queen's translation in Queen, "Inventories," 63–64.

[63] SJ, 70.3289.

lineages. But the structure of the *Han shu* treatise also presents a perspective on textual types and ideological categories that is compatible with the official endorsement of the Six Classics, envisioning other traditions and other types of text as subordinate to the study of the classics, and integrated into an idealized conceptualization of the state's role as the both the audience for and originator of all textual traditions.

The Han treatise prioritizes texts related to the study of the classics within their own bibliographic category, referred to as the "Outline of the Six Arts" ("Liu yi lüe" 六藝略). The first subdivisions of this category are each devoted to one of the six classics, and include editions of the classics themselves as well as texts from the various exegetical traditions that had developed around them. Additionally, texts related to the study of *Lunyu*, *Xiaojing*, and a selection of primers and reference works related to the study of the Classics are given a privileged position among the "Six Arts," even though this brings the number of subcategories to nine rather than six. By placing this category at the front of the treatise, the Han bibliographers established a group of texts exempt from the sets of nested genre divisions that follow, even though the Ruists are also represented among the groups included in the subsequent "Zhuzi" section.

This is where the intellectual categories inherited from the *Shi ji* treatise appear, accompanied by "Miscellaneous" and three additional categories. Where *Shi ji* presents a group of abstract ideological categories, the *Han shu* goes a step further by asserting that such lineages emerge from concrete institutional departments. For instance, in addition to the supposed origins of the "Miscellaneous Tradition" among the advisory officials, Ruist texts are believed to have emerged from teachers ("educator officials," *situ zhi guan* 司徒之官), Legalist texts from regulatory officials (*liguan* 理官), and texts from the school of Names (*mingjia* 名家, sometimes

referred to as the "Essentialist" or "Nominalist" lineage) from ritual officials (*liguan* 禮官), and so on.[64] The Han treatise literalizes *Shi ji*'s vision of discrete intellectual "schools" by linking each textual genre to a specific bureaucratic institution. This makes it possible to envision the positions and traditions of each lineage as the product of organized and controlled development, concealing the complexity and unpredictability of textual compilation and transmission. As such, the presumed ideological uniformity of the texts they contain can be attributed to their emergence from the same bureaucratic institutions, not merely shared philosophical perspectives. Furthermore, this induction of the "Various Masters" into the bureaucratic paradigm presents differences among texts as representing different aspects of a multifaceted but coordinated scholastic enterprise, rather than a battlefield of ideologies or a marketplace of ideas.

Compilers of "Miscellaneous School" texts are distinguished from the other traditions for their consultation and absorption of the contents of texts from a variety of other disciplines. As the passage claims, this comprehensive approach has the potential to be of great benefit to the management of the state, as the order accomplished by a well-informed ruler will extend to all things. The ideal outcome of the study of these texts—a comprehensively well-informed ruler—is also a goal of the project of bibliography itself. And yet, where bibliographic scholarship insists on maintaining distinctions between genres or lineages and ordering them into a hierarchy, by the Han treatise's definition, these texts combine elements of the other schools into new texts rather than preserve their genre distinctions. This gives them the potential to cause great harm. The consequence of this boundary-blurring is disorderliness. More seriously, it may also cause one "lack a point to which the mind can return" 無所歸心. This phrase implies not merely the absence of a consistent ideology, but the absence of qualities that can inspire the

[64] HS, 30.1728, 30.1736, 30.1737.

loyalty and trust of the people. Just as the potential positive effects of studying the "Miscellaneous School" texts is a well-ordered state, the negative potential also has implied consequences in the political realm. The phrase "a point to which the mind can return" appears in *Lunyu*, where it refers to the positive effect of good governance. If a leader is able to restore disbanded states, revive cut-off lineages, and bring recluses back into government, "All of the people in the land will *turn their minds* to him" 天下之民歸心焉.[65] Later, in *Han shu*, the phrase is in a speech that describes the discord that results when a monarch improperly delegates power to ministers:

> …*Yin* and *yang* will be out of balance, cool and warm weather will lose their patterns, mutations and prodigies will appear in succession, there will be avalanches and earthquakes, rivers and springs will overflow and drown people, the people will wander *with no point to which their minds can return*…
>
> 陰陽不調，寒暑失常，變異婁臻，山崩地震，河決泉涌，流殺人民，百姓流連，無所歸心…[66]

The "point to which the mind returns" can be conceived of as either a figurative place, in the sense of a leader who inspires confidence and thus loyalty among his subjects, or a literal one, as in a stable environment within which one's mind can be at rest. In both situations, however, the outcome hinges upon the qualities of the ruler.

Han bibliographers borrowed a framework of philosophical traditions from *Shi ji*, adding their own understanding of how the bureaucratic divisions of the state participated in the creation of these traditions and created texts that document their ideas, texts which ultimately also ensure the ongoing stability of the state. Though these theories are not necessarily reliable as historical

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[65] *Lunyu* 20.1. My translation differs slightly from that of D.C. Lau. See Yang Bojun, *Lunyu yizhu*, 208; D.C. Lau, trans. *Confucius: The Analects*, 2nd edition (1992; repr., Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2000), 201.

[66] Emphasis mine. HS, 86.3507.

descriptions of textual production, they do show how the preservation of certain texts could be rationalized based on their potential value to statecraft. In other words, though they speak of textual origins, these brief descriptions of bibliographic categories are more useful for what they tell us about how texts were received, and how their reproduction and circulation could be justified. In the case of the "Miscellaneous School," the result is a fabricated school of thought with imaginary bureaucratic roots, which serves as a label for a group of texts that have the potential to either inform or mislead the ruler based on their tendency to draw from a wide range of source material. This value of comprehensiveness had previously been associated with the Daoist School in the *Shi ji* treatise, where it was understood as an unproblematically positive attribute. The disassociation of this value from Daoism and relocation to the newly conceptualized "Miscellaneous School" is joined by mounting suspicion of its negative potential. Both developments should be considered when evaluating what effect identification with the "Miscellaneous School" subcategory would have had on the interpretation of a text's value. In this respect, the treatment of the various traditions can be compared to the treatise's approach to forms of divination in the "Shushu" section. Both sections consistently attempt to link the origins of various textual traditions to the idealized Zhou state, and to associate their proper implementation with the realization of the same ideals in the present. Yet "Zhuzi" and "Shushu" organize their texts around this concept in different ways. The "Shushu" postface admits the difficulty of reconciling extra-textual traditions and lineages with the available textual, and uses the "Miscellaneous" category to contain the texts that are perceived as the most distant from these lineages. In contrast, the "Zhuzi" section reinforces boundaries between supposed lineages by confining those determined to violate these boundaries within a lineage of their own.

The list of texts that are listed in the subcategory illustrates the consequences of constructing an imagined tradition around the concept of "miscellaneousness." Though many of the texts on this list are not extant, enough can be gleaned about their contents to provide a perspective on their shared qualities. These qualities create an impression that is somewhat different from the one suggested by the subcategory's postface. In his study of the Han treatise, Li Ling divides the texts located here into six groups.[67] These groups are based on patterns in the ordering of books in the original text of the treatise, but these patterns are not announced within the original text. The following table lists the twenty texts in this category, arranged according Li's categories and numbered according to their order of appearance in the treatise.

Table 1.1: "Za jia" texts in the Han Treatise

"Vanguard" texts[68]	Pre-Qin Texts	Han Texts	Pre-Qin Texts (2)	Han Texts (2)	Other
1. *Kongjia panyu* 孔甲盤盂	3. *Wu Zixu* 伍子胥	9. *Huainan nei* 淮南内	14. *Wuzi* 吳子	16. *Boshi chen Xian dui* 博士臣賢對	18. *Jie zi bushu* 解子薄書
2. *Da Yu* 大禹	4. *Ziwanzi* 子晚子	10. *Huainan wai* 淮南外	15. *Gongsun Ni* 公孫尼	17. *Chen Yue* 臣說	19. *Tui za shu* 推雜書
	5. *You Yu* 由余	11. *Dongfang Shuo* 東方朔			20. *Zajia yan* 雜家言
	6. *Wei Liao* 尉繚	12. *Boxiang xiansheng* 伯象先生			
	7. *Shi zi* 尸子	13. *Jing Ke lun* 荊客論			
	8. *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋				

[67] Li Ling, *Lantai*, 108–13.

[68] Li notes that categories in the "Zhuzi" section often begin with one or two "vanguard" texts (*paitou shu* 排頭書), which are those the bibliographers considered to be the most ancient examples of the genre. Most have titles and brief descriptions that seem to indicate origins in antiquity, though of course in virtually all cases there is good reason to suspect the listed texts date from much later. Unfortunately, very little information about the first two Eclectic texts mentioned, the *Kong Jia panyu* 孔甲盤盂 and *Da Yu* 大禹, is known, making it difficult to say whether these two texts set any meaningful precedent for the remaining items on the list. See Li Ling, *Lantai*, 72–73.

Works associated with the "Miscellaneous School" follow the same basic naming conventions as other works in "Zhuzi." Most are named for a figure associated with the text, though, as with other Masters texts, it is not always clear whether this person is the author, compiler, patron, or teacher at the center of a collection of conversations or lectures.[69] In other words, with a few interesting exceptions, they are not given titles that overtly signal their "eclecticism" or influence from multiple philosophical disciplines, but are given titles that relate their contents to the names or epithets of individuals. It is not common for the titles in other subcategories to name the intellectual tradition with which they are associated, owing perhaps to the fact that these associations were often made long after such texts were in circulation. In this regard "Miscellaneous School" texts are no different. In contrast, there are works in other categories throughout the treatise that do contain the term *za* in their title, such as those of the "Miscellaenous *fu*" subcategory.[70] The term *za* was certainly also used in the titles of books, and could have implied any number of things, but naming conventions are distinct from the factors that would lead a text to be placed within the "Miscellaneous School" subcategory. This subcategory was not merely a receptacle for any text that exhibited the disorderliness sometimes associated with the word *za*. The specific texts identified with the "Miscellaneous School" do not use their titles to advertise their comprehensiveness, nor claim to gather and arrange material

[69] Even some of the texts that do not immediately appear to be related to a single specific individual have been connected to one by later commentators. For example, Yan Shigu's *Hanshu* annotations associate *Chen Yue* with an unknown person with the given name Yue, based on the presence of a text bearing the same name in the *fu* 賦 section of the Han treatise, though the title could otherwise be read as *Chen shuo* and translated roughly as "Persuasions [or sayings] of Royal Subjects." See Zhang Shunhui, *Han shu Yiwenzhi tongshi*, 188–89.

[70] HS, 30.1752–53.

associated with more than one thinker or intellectual tradition. The clearest pattern in their titles, the use of an individual's name or epithet, is present in other subcategories of "Zhuzi."

There are a few titles that, in violation of this pattern, do not receive their names from named individuals. Like others, none have been transmitted to the present. The thirteenth entry, *Jing Ke lun* 荊軻論, is named for the famed assassin of the Warring States period, but is a collection of writings *about* this figure attributed in the bibliography to "Sima Xiangru and others" 司馬相如等, as opposed to one meant to represent the teachings or scholarship of the assassin himself.[71] The final three entries in the category may in fact be texts that do in fact purport to gather the teachings of multiple distinct "schools." The first half of the title *Jie zi bushu* 解子薄書 can be roughly translated as "dissection of the masters," with the word *jie* carrying connoting both the division into separate parts as well as analysis of content, as in the word "dissect." On the other hand, *jie* can also be read as a name or title, making "Jiezi" an individual master like Kongzi, Zhuangzi, and so on. The final two entries are unambiguously labelled as "*za*" texts, but beyond this very few conclusive statements can be made. Yao Zhenzong connects the final text, the *Zajia yan*, to other similar entries: *Rujia yan* 儒家言, *Fajia yan* 法家言, and *Daojia yan* 道家言.[72] Each appears near the end of its list: *Zajia yan*, *Fajia yan*, and *Daojia yan* are the last entries listed in their subcategories, while *Rujia yan* is followed by three more, each dating from the late Western Han.[73] No author for any of these texts is listed.

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[71] Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873–1929) claims that the only reason this text is listed here is because the *Han shu* treatise lacks a separate section for anthologies. Liang's comments are quoted from an unnamed source in Zhang Shunhui, *Han shu Yiwenzhi tongshi*, 187.

[72] Ibid.

[73] HS, 30.1727.

Furthermore, the *Daojia yan* is followed by a statement that indicates the text was composed recently.[74] These details all indicate that the texts following this naming convention were composed at a relatively late date. While it is difficult to speculate based on titles alone, these texts may have gathered excerpts from various materials believed to relate to the schools with which they are associated, just as the *Han shu* treatise assigns entire books to categories bearing these names. In this case, *Zajia yan* would not have been a compilation of material from throughout the various "schools," but a compilation of material that had already somehow been associated with the "Miscellaneous" as a school of its own.

While the possibilities suggested by these titles of lost texts are intriguing, much more conclusive statements can be made about the so-called Eclectic texts that can still be read today. I will limit discussion here to *Huainanzi* 淮南子, a text that has received significant attention from scholars throughout history, and whose bibliographic categorization has remained a source of controversy. Sarah Queen offers a succinct summary of this debate, showing that some have attempted to locate a Daoist perspective in the *Huainanzi* while others are content to accept its bibliographic categorization as a "Miscellaneous" text.[75] Queen also addresses the text's perspective, drawing on the notion of the artificial, normative nature of such categorizations within polemical bibliographies and taxonomies to suggest that the text's own contents, organizational structure, and claims to authority should be given more consideration than bibliographic categorization. In the process, she makes several important points about the hierarchy of texts established within the Han treatise vis-à-vis the *Shi ji* treatise and the

[74] HS, 30.1731.

[75] Queen, "Inventories," 52–53.

Huainanzi itself. While the Han treatise gives precedence to the Six Arts, followed by the "nine lineages" represented within the "Zhuzi" category, and Sima Tan privileges Daoism, the *Huainanzi* considers that "all sources of wisdom could be used to restore the Way."[76] Each of these approaches can also be understood as one that claims to be "comprehensive," but Queen also shows that the "arbiter of comprehensiveness" differs in each case:

> Sima Tan associated that task with scholar-officials like himself serving the central government; Liu Xiang linked the honor to the emperor alone as "sagely-ruler and enlightened king"; while Liu An reserved that role for the imperial relatives like himself in the capacity of sagely-advisor.[77]

I concur with Queen that the polemical rhetoric of the Han treatise should not be ignored, and likewise that the "Miscellaneous School" should not be understood as an actual historical entity with which the compilers of the *Huainanzi* should be associated. At the same time, confining a text like *Huainanzi* to the "Miscellaneous" subcategory also represents a polemical gesture. By doing so, the *Han shu* treatise diminishes the supposed "comprehensiveness" of the *Huainanzi* by subsuming it within a different definition of comprehensiveness inherent in the broad scope of the bibliographic project. It positions the text as a tool to be incorporated into the wide-ranging repertoire of texts employed by the emperor, rejecting the claim that it alone can serve as the basis for government. But the Han treatise also implies that the *Huainanzi* is but *one* "Miscellaneous" text among many: Its contents are dwarfed by the contents of the bibliography, and are joined by numerous other texts that, bibliographically speaking, are no different from it. The description of the subcategory offers criteria that can be used to judge the value of these texts versus the texts of other "schools," and the fact that these negative qualities are not

[76] Queen, "Inventories," 71.

[77] Queen, "Inventories," 71–72.

assigned to *all* eclectic texts makes internal hierarchy possible. The potential for inferiority is described in terms of the "instability" (*dang* 盪) of their creators leading to the "disorganized and digressive" (*manxian* 漫羨) nature of their contents. These texts can err not simply by failing to be comprehensive, but through haste or imbalance in their selection of contents or by failing arrange them in an organized fashion. This presents an implicit comparison between the approach of the imagined "*Za* school" scholar and others who would attempt a comprehensive, multi-disciplinary textual compilation—including the bibliographers themselves.

Each of the text's twenty main chapters (*xun* 訓) has its own title, but neither the relationship between these titles and their contents nor the order in which they appear is immediately apparent. The structure of the text is explained in its short final chapter, which describes purpose of the text, the contents of each chapter, and the rationale behind their sequence. What it does not do is comment on the fact that these chapters are dense with material that can also be found in many other texts, texts that the Han treatise identifies as belonging to different schools. These sources of shared material range from the similarly "*za*" *Lüshi chunqiu* to *Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Daode jing* 道德經, *Han Feizi* and even *Li ji* 禮記 (Record of rites), *Mengzi*, *Xunzi* and so on. In the *Huainanzi*, this material is synthesized into something new, and engagement with the text depends on the readers' willingness to concur that this whole is greater than the sum of its divergent parts. But it is not difficult to imagine how such a text would cause discomfort to the Han bibliographers, who had labored to create a system that gave each text a neatly defined place in a complex nested hierarchy of genres and subgenres. After all, the Han treatise submits that the best a "Miscellaneous" text can hope to accomplish is to "combine the Ru and Mo, and blend the Names and Laws." *Huainanzi*, though it certainly includes passages that may be identified with these traditions, does not do anything to signal their presence or

indicate the distinctions among them. In short, texts like the *Huainanzi* represent a synthetic approach to textual organization that is antithetical to the equally comprehensive but entirely compartmentalized approach offered in the Han treatise. By constraining these texts to their own subgenre, and implying that their compilers are at work on the same syncretistic project, which is subsumed within the bibliographic and institutional hierarchy, the unique organizational systems offered by works like *Huainanzi* can be written off as flawed attempts to do exactly what the bibliography itself accomplishes.

There is no evidence to suggest that early writers or compilers of texts ever identified themselves as members of a "Miscellaneous School," nor are there any strong indications that texts were grouped together under this category prior to the bibliographic endeavors that began with Liu Xiang. At the same time, the Han treatise's construction of the "Miscellaneous School" consolidates a group of texts under the auspices of their shared characteristics and origins. In other words, this bibliographic category is not simply a repository for texts that are too unique to be associated with any other group, but an attempt to identify patterns that can relate all texts in the category to one another. The fabrication of the "Miscellaneous School" is in fact doubly reliant on the tradition of abstract formulation of schools or lineages inherited from the *Shi ji*. First, the treatise crafts its "Miscellaneous School" with the same patterns used to define the other schools. Its formulation of the hypothetical lineage or school includes discussion of origins in the idealized bureaucratic system of an imagined past, and a specific function to the government of the present, in a manner quite like the text's own characterizations of Confucians, Daoists, and so on. Second, without some pre-existing sense of the boundaries between these other schools, the characteristic synthesis and boundary crossing that is used to define philosophical "miscellaneousness" would have been impossible to identify. Crafted with its own

intricate patterns, *Huainanzi* does not employ the same disciplinary boundaries as the Han treatise to organize its diverse contents. This presents one explanation of the source of the perceived "disorganization" that enabled bibliographers to relate these texts to one another, and to provide justification for their incorporation within the hierarchy of imperial bibliography.

This is not to say that texts of other lineages do not similarly draw from diverse sources. After all, in *Shi ji* the comprehensiveness of the Daoist lineage is described in quite similar terms, to say nothing of intertextual or conceptual connections among these texts that have been revealed by scholars who are not bound by the tautology of lineage boundaries. I suspect that, at least in the cases of *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*, it is not so much the diverse origins of the contents of each text that incited the suspicion of Han bibliographers, but rather their repeated insistence on comprehensiveness and universality. Other texts found among the various masters may draw from the shared corpus of anecdotes, but they do not make overt claims to have successfully coordinated their contents into a coherent, universal pattern, nor are they accompanied by origin narratives that stress the collaborative efforts of a diverse array of scholars and compilers. Mark E. Lewis identifies a conceptual and disciplinary connection between "encyclopedic" texts like *Huainanzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu* and the Han treatise itself, stating that the treatise's account of its own production "echoes the creation of such works…in which the completeness which it claims for itself was achieved by rulers who gathered the scholars needed to put together a comprehensive, composite work."[78] However similar this group of texts may be in scope and even methodology, in its finished form the Han treatise presents a model for the organization of textual knowledge that is entirely different from what is offered by either earlier encyclopedic texts. It accomplishes this by establishing sharp boundaries between

[78] Lewis, *Writing and authority*, 328.

groups of texts, and by insisting that these boundaries are the result of independent lineages of transmission and specialized bureaucratic institutions, rather than coordinating these constituent parts into a single synthetic discourse. When treated as part of an evolutionary process, the Han treatise is indeed a logical progression from the approach offered by *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*, but those earlier texts (and potentially others like them) did not disappear with the completion of the Han treatise. Their claims to comprehensive authority and unique approach to the concatenation of textual excerpts remained accessible to readers as an alternative approach to the management of textual knowledge, one that claimed universality without adhering to the textual boundaries established in the Han treatise. The absorption of these texts in an imagined "Miscellaneous School" and the problems that Han bibliographers ascribed to this category illustrate the tension between their model of textual organization and that of the bibliography.

1.4 Conclusion: Transmitted lineages and reorganized texts

The Han treatise presents three unique applications of the term *za* to bibliographic subcategories, and each is concerned with issues of lineage and transmission. From the postfaces to these subcategories, details about how bibliographers understood the compilation processes of individual texts can be inferred, but are not addressed directly. The "Shushu" section presents an account of the disparate relationship between the contents of extant texts and perceived lineages of transmission, struggling to arrange its contents in the absence of reliable records of transmission and lineage association. It uses the "Miscellaneous" subcategory to confine texts that cannot be connected to such lineages, even as mutations or inferior derivatives. In the case of divination texts, the compilation of texts is secondary to the activity of divination itself, and the very existence of divination texts is treated as problem that can only be reconciled with recourse to extra-textual lineages of transmission. "Miscellaneous" *fu* can be distinguished from

those of the other subcategories based on the absence of attributions to single authors. In this case, however, there are no evaluative postfaces to characterize this disconnection from an identifiable "lineage" as a flaw. Rather, the titles identified as in this subcategory suggest that they are not texts that are problematically *without* authors—they are texts that have been assembled with different principles of organization. Though the identification of lineage affiliation plays a role in the distinction between miscellaneous and "non-miscellaneous" *fu*, the result is a group of texts that share their composite, topic-based nature in common. There is no direct discussion of either those who were responsible for compiling the actual texts contained within the other two "Miscellaneous" subcategories, or of the processes used to determine their organization or contents. The "Miscellaneous School" addresses the nature of its contents in a different manner, suggesting that the texts listed therein are the product of a distinct and traceable lineage of textual compilers, whose defining activity was the recombination of various elements from the texts and concepts of other intellectual lineages. This presentation of the act of textual composition combines both the "Miscellaneous Poetic Exposition" subcategory's incorporation of material from various sources as well as the "Miscellaneous Divination" texts' precarious position on the margins of orthodoxy. Though the "Miscellaneous School" postface's description of the "miscellaneous" textual compilation process seems intent on negating the status of texts like *Huainanzi* as uniquely comprehensive works, it articulates a vision of compilation-based scholarship that would prove to be useful to bibliographers in the subsequent Sui treatise and beyond, as they reckoned with a very different corpus of texts.

Chapter Two
Redefining Disorder:
Za in the *Sui shu* "Treatise on Classics and Texts"

2.0 The *Sui shu* "Treatise on Classics and Texts" as a history of bookmaking and archives

The *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise was compiled as part of an ambitious imperially sponsored scholarly project to create a series of official histories for the period between the fall of the Han and the founding of the Tang dynasty. Requested by Emperor Gaozu in 622 but not initiated until the reign of Emperor Taizong, the initial efforts of the court historians resulted in the completion of histories of the Liang, Chen, Northern Qi, Zhou, and Sui dynasties by 636.[1] These works initially lacked their own monographs or treatises on specific topics (*zhi* 志), so a team of scholars produced ten treatises on various subjects intended to cover the period spanned by these five dynasties. These treatises, including the "Treatise on Classics and Texts" ("Jingji zhi" 經籍志), would eventually be attached to the *Sui shu* rather than circulate independently. [2] Due to the collaborative nature of this project, there is no scholarly consensus as to who was actually responsible for the production of the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise.[3] Furthermore, the compilers of the treatise, like Ban Gu and the *Han shu* before them, drew on the work of past bibliographers, making the *Sui shu* treatise the culmination of both private and imperially sponsored bibliographic scholarship.[4] The result is a text that reflects development in

[1] For further discussion of the history of the text, see On-cho Ng and Edward Wang, *Mirroring the Past: The Writing and Use of History in Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i press, 2005), 117–18.

[2] Ng and Wang, *Mirroring the Past*, 119.

[3] Lai Xinxia, *Gudian muluxue*, 144.

[4] The preface to the *Sui shu* treatise briefly discusses the major works of this type. Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643), *Sui shu* 隋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 32.906–8. Henceforth, SS. Modern scholars have further explored the specific contributions offered by each. For the history of

bibliographic technique over several centuries, but also exemplifies the early Tang attempt to coordinate these divergent materials.

The Sui treatise retains the "Miscellaneous" category of Masters texts, but discards both "Miscellaneous *fu*" and "Miscellaneous Divination." Instead, there are two new *za*-prefixed categories, "Miscellaneous Histories" ("Zashi" 雜史) and "Miscellaneous Accounts" ("Zazhuan" 雜傳), both located within the newly formed Histories ("Shi" 史) category. The Sui treatise's "Miscellaneous" Masters section owes much to its direct predecessor in the Han treatise, and it includes virtually the same Han and pre-Han texts as the Han treatise's "Miscellaneous School." Texts compiled after the completion of the Han treatise, however, have been selected with different criteria. These new criteria are a development of some of the same concepts expressed in the Han treatise's explanation of the "Miscellaneous School," but they additionally reflect the influence of the ideas that also inform the two subcategories of "miscellaneous" histories. The overarching category for Masters texts that houses the *za* subcategory is also different from its *Han shu* predecessor. While the Han treatise's "Zhuzi" section is comprised almost entirely of subcategories based around the lineages of thought, the Sui treatise's equivalent "Masters" category contains a greater variety of subdivisions.

The Sui treatise reconfigures the contents of Han treatise categories for technical and medical texts as subcategories of the Masters section, and adds subcategories absent from the Han treatise. Similarly, the "Miscellaneous" Masters subcategory expands to include numerous texts that deviate from the lineage model even more than their Han predecessors. Were these texts placed here by bibliographers based on the recognition of shared characteristics with earlier

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Northern and Southern Dynasties bibliographic scholarship, see Tang Mingyuan 唐明元, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao muluxue yanjiu* 魏晉南北朝目錄學研究 (Chengdu: Ba-Shu shushe, 2009).

"Miscellaneous School" texts? Or had the subcategory transformed into a general receptacle for texts bibliographers simply did not know what to do with, as those who translate the title in the plural as "Miscellaneous Schools" would imply? As we shall see, there are elements of truth to both possibilities. But both should be considered secondary consequences of a new concern for textual production and preservation that affected more than just the constitution of the "Miscellaneous Masters" and the other *za*-prefixed subcategories. It represents a shift in bibliographic priorities whose consequences can be observed throughout the entire treatise.

This interest in textual production and circulation is apparent in the general preface to the entire treatise. The Han treatise similarly opens with a long preface, but this earlier counterpart is very different in its contents and their implications. Both offer a summary of the history of textual production, preservation, and organization, and conclude with the composition of the bibliographic treatises themselves. The Sui treatise, of course, covers several more centuries of history, narrating developments in bibliography and archival work that took place after the composition of the Han treatise. But this is not the only, nor the most important difference. The Sui preface's coverage of the period also addressed in the Han preface is longer, and contains many new details, providing a very different perspective on the same period. In keeping with the Han treatise's emphasis on lineages of authentic transmission discussed in chapter one of this dissertation, the Han preface begins with Confucius' death, and a discussion of the subsequent division of the traditions of interpretation of the *Yi jing*, *Shi jing*, and *Chunqiu*. This is followed by a brief explanation of the origins of the "Zhuzi," which succinctly presents the emergence of differing philosophical perspectives in the Warring States period: "Among the persuaders of the Warring States, the truthful and the duplicitous struggled and contended, and the words of the various masters became numerous and contradictory" 戰國從衡，真偽分爭，諸子之言紛然殽

亂.[5] This summary provides only a rough view of historical events, relying on the topos of the disintegration and corruption of the orthodox lineage of transmission that recurs frequently throughout the Han treatise. In this view, the existence of many traditions is treated as evidence of disunity, without concern for the fact that this diverse textual record is the only source of knowledge about the distant period of unity that supposedly preceded their emergence. Moreover, in this part of the preface physical texts are only addressed through synecdochal terms that refer to both people and texts—the "Masters" responsible for their creation and the "transmissions of the several schools" 數家之傳. Any details related to the physical existence of texts as books and documents are postponed until later in the preface.

The Sui preface begins quite differently, with a discussion of the value of writing itself. This passage is laden with references to *Yi jing* and other classical texts. The opening section uses language used to describe the *Yi jing*'s hexagram in that text's *Xici* commentary. In its new context in the preface to the Sui treatise, however, they describe the wondrous, transformative power of "classics and texts" (*jingji* 經籍) in general. The opening passage concludes that "Those who study them will prosper, those who do not will perish 學之者將殖焉，不學者將落焉.[6] Next, the preface describes the role of textual knowledge in the establishment of an orderly empire, as part of the process through which the transformative influence of virtuous rulers is imparted to their subjects. Mastery of textual knowledge is thus required for leaders, in order to

[5] HS, 30.1701.

[6] SS, 32.903. This section does not quote directly from *Xici shang*, but in their annotations to the Sui treatise Kōzen Hiroshi and Kawaii Kozo gloss many terms in this passage with reference to that text. Later, the preface quotes *Xici shang* directly. Kōzen Hiroshi 興膳宏 and Kawaii Kozo 川合康三, *Zuisho keisekishi sho ko* 隋書經籍志詳攷, (Tokyo: Kyuko shoin, 1995), 4–5.

earn the trust of their subjects, but cultivating knowledge of their own also enables these subordinates to earn the respect of their superiors. Although similar sentiments are expressed throughout the Han treatise, they are not articulated so directly in that work's general preface. This section concludes with an unattributed quotation from *Li ji*, which clarifies the preceding section's broad assertions by spelling out which ideal traits and characteristics can be developed through the study of each of the six classics: The sense of compassion taught through the poems of *Shi jing*, the comprehensive knowledge afforded by *Shang shu*, the breadth and balance of *Yue jing*, the purity and depth of *Yi jing*, the reverence and dignity of the *Li ji*, and the eloquence of the *Chunqiu*.[7] This creates a slight ambiguity, as the passage purports to establish the value and purpose of "classics and texts" in general, yet this is accomplished through references only to well-established parts of the canon. Whether this is done to further prioritize classical studies over all other fields, or to suggest that the six fields of study implied through the classics encompass the entirety of the written record as in the Han treatise, the Sui treatise here presents the entirety of the written record in relation to the model provided by classical texts.

The next passage moves from this abstract discussion of the intellectual and political value of texts to the material concerns that ground the subsequent portion. It begins as a continuation of the prior section's rumination on the ideal qualities that can be cultivated through study of the classics, describing the importance of adhering to the mean (*zhong yong* 中庸) and of responding appropriately to circumstances. The *Xici* commentary is quoted directly to sum up the message of this section, but after this the passage takes an unexpected turn:

> Thus, it is said, "Not hurried and yet swift, not in motion and yet arrived." That by which those of the present can understand the ancients, and that by which those of the future

[7] SS, 32.903. This passage opens the *Jing jie* 經解 chapter of *Li ji*, and is attributed in that text to Confucius. See Sun Xidan 孫希旦 (1736–1784), *Li ji jijie* 禮記集解, ed. Shen Xiaohuan 沈嘯寰 and Wang Xingxian 王星賢 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 1254.

> will understand the present, is none other than this. This is the why when the great Way was extended throughout the world, [then] the patterns of tortoises were observed to create the trigrams, and [then] how the later sages observed the tracks of birds to create writing. Once the methods of writing and inscription had been transmitted, knots and ropes and notches on wood were abandoned and no longer used. Once the office of the scribes had been established, the texts and classics thereupon flourished.
>
> 故曰：「不疾而速，不行而至。」今之所以知古，後之所以知今，其斯之謂也。是以大道方行，俯龜象而設卦，後聖有作，仰鳥跡以成文。書契已傳，繩木棄而不用，史官既立，經籍於是興焉。[8]

The abrupt transition to the development of record-keeping technologies casts the preceding paragraphs in a new light. Though ostensibly concerned with the value of *textual* knowledge, there is very little in the content of the preface's first section that would be out of place in any discussion of the cultivation of virtue. In these earlier portions, allusions and citations of classical texts absorb issues related to text-based learning into a broader discourse of virtuous transformation. The passage that follows, made up of familiar elements of other accounts of the legendary origins of the *Yi jing* and writing itself, establishes a new connection between the values of effortless adaptability and timeliness stressed in the preceding passage, and the epochal transformations of record-keeping technology over time. The ability to transform in response to circumstances and yet in other ways remain constant is not only a quality of *Yi jing* hexagrams and a value to be embodied through the cultivation of the Mean. It is also the principle that has ensured that it is possible to transmit the Way in spite of developments and changes in the methods and tools used in the transmission process: The texts produced by "offices of the scribes" of later periods are inheritors of the tradition initiated by the inventors of writing in antiquity.

[8] SS, 32.903–4. Though the title is not mentioned, the quoted passage following "Thus, it is said," is also from *Xici shang*. See Zhou Zhenfu, *Zhou yi*, 245.

The use of *Xici* discourse and associated classical values to describe both the importance of erudition through textual studies as well as the origins and transformations of material textual production techniques makes for a somewhat perplexing argument. But this passage succeeds in setting the stage for the next section of the preface, which more clearly mirrors the Han preface's chronological account of the transmission of the Way. Like the Han preface, the Sui treatise is concerned with the maintenance and transmission of orthodox lineages of scholarship and thought, as well as their decline, corruption, and dispersal. Despite this thematic similarity, the Sui preface's treatment of this process is different from its predecessor. The Han treatise treats the period between the death of Confucius and the founding of the Han dynasty as one in which the methods and teachings of the sages were in decline. It suggests that the textual record swelled thanks to the subsequent appearance of competing ideologies and misguided interpretations. The Sui treatise's chronological portion begins with a more detailed description of what was supposedly lost with the decline of the Zhou, and extinguished with the death of Confucius. It begins with a brief description of role played by the legendary "Dragon Charts" (*longtu* 龍圖) and "Phoenix Chronicles" (*fengji* 鳳紀) used by the early sage kings, quickly moving on to an in-depth discussion of the Zhou scribal offices and their ability to produce and organize vast quantities of records and documents.[9] Elements of this imagined vision of Zhou textual order also appear in the Han treatise. That work, however, offers no definitive statement on the Zhou system with which to coordinate these comments. The Sui preface offers an elaboration and

[9] SS, 32.904. This is assembled from well-known passages of the *Zhouli*, *Shang shu* and other familiar texts, and offers little in the way of new or trustworthy information about the historical Zhou state, so I will not discuss its contents in depth here. The Sui treatise frequently engages in selective citation of *Zhouli*. I will discuss one such case in detail, in the section on the Sui treatise's "Miscellaneous Accounts" subcategory below.

systematization of the same values and positions evident in the Han treatise, but it accomplishes this through an emphasis on textual production and the dissemination of knowledge through texts in a manner that is absent from the Han treatise.

The Sui preface's treatment of Confucius signals this quite clearly. Rather than simply take Confucius' position as a sage for granted and begin from his death and the turmoil it wrought on the transmission of the Way, the Sui treatise identifies his specific contributions as an editor and compiler of texts:

> As the onset of collapse was imminent, Confucius, with his great sagely talents, sighed because the phoenix failed to arrive, and, pitying the oncoming collapse of our culture, thus described the methods of the *Yi jing*, compiled the *Shi jing* and *Shang shu*, edited the *Chunqiu,* and brought the odes and eulogies order.
>
> 孔丘以大聖之才，當傾頹之運，歎鳳鳥之不至，惜將墜於斯文，乃述易道而刪詩、書，修春秋而正雅、頌。[10]

These are by no means new details in the story of Confucius' editorial involvement with the classics, but they are new additions to the bibliographic treatises' narrative account of their own history and purpose. Like the metaphysical discussion on the value of text that opens the preface, these familiar details are brought to bear upon a new narrative of the history of bibliography and compilation, reflecting the Sui treatise's expanded interest in textual production. Where the Han preface presents the growth of the textual record as a symptom of dissolution and chaos, the Sui preface constructs an orthodox history of text organization projects, beginning from the Zhou and extending through the editorial scholarship of Confucius. Thus, while the following section narrates the Warring States and Qin periods in a fashion nearly identical to the Han treatise's own description of that period, the Han treatise's presentation of the chaos of the period's many

[10] Ibid.

competing textual traditions is here contextualized within a much longer history of orderly management of the textual record on a large scale.

It also establishes a foundation for detailed description of the management of texts during the Han dynasty, including extended descriptions of the scholarly activities that led to the production of the Han treatise itself. Before this, the Sui treatise also briefly introduces archival and textual production activities of Western Han court officials that are omitted from the Han preface, and are not directly related to the grand scholarly endeavor initiated by Liu Xiang that resulted in the creation of the Han treatise. These include Shusun Tong's 叔孫通 (fl. ca. 200 BCE) supervision of the compilation of ritual texts on bamboo and silk, Zhang Cang's 張蒼 (256–152 BCE) ordering of calendrical and musical texts, Lu Jia's 陸賈 (ca. 240–170 BCE) composition of the *Xinyu* 新語, and Cao Shen's 曹參 (d. 190 BCE) promotion of Huang-Lao.[11] These early Han scholarly projects are striking additions to the Sui preface. They represent a spectrum of texts that, while still confined to topics of importance to the state, extends beyond the six classics. This brings the Sui treatise closer to providing a general history of all "classics and texts," even though its earlier sections are primarily concerned with classical works. They also illustrate that the creation of new texts is not always the unwelcome result of the disintegration of orthodox lineages. Moreover, though the Han treatise offers only itself as a solution to the disorder of the textual record, the Sui treatise shows that a wide variety of

[11] SS, 32.905. For Shusun Tong, see SJ, 99.2723. For Zhang Cang, see SJ, 96.2681. For Lu Jia, see SJ, 97.2699. For Cao Shen, see SJ, 130.3319. Note that Cao Shen's promotion of Huang-Lao teachings is described only briefly in the *Shi ji*'s general postface, despite lengthy coverage of his political activities elsewhere in the text. This section of the *Shi ji* postface also references the same accomplishments described in this part of the Sui preface in a description of the numerous documents that ended up among the responsibilities of Sima Tan and Sima Qian. Though the wording is slightly different, it is the probable source for this section of the Sui preface.

scholarly projects can contribute to this task. Finally, it is no coincidence that these incidents are all from the early Han. After the end of the Han, it became increasingly common for dynastic founders to consolidate resources of textual knowledge and institutions by commissioning grand scholarly projects. Many bibliographic projects described in subsequent portions of the treatise were initiated during the first years of the dynasty with which they are associated. The same is not true for the Han treatise itself, whose earliest phase of composition began over 150 years after the founding of the dynasty during the reign of Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 51–7 BCE). By singling out this assortment of scholarly activities in the early Han, the Sui preface crafts a precedent for later cases in which the commissioning of scholastic projects constituted an important step in the establishment of a new dynasty.

The rest of these imperially commissioned bibliographic projects are described in the remainder of the preface, which concludes with an overview of the Early Tang compilation of the Sui treatise itself. This section forms the basis of virtually every history of bibliography in the Northern and Southern dynasties, as it offers many details about numerous bibliographies that have not been transmitted. It is especially useful in tracing the roots of the Sui treatise in earlier works, as it illustrates the influence of earlier bibliographic work, particularly that of the Han, Jin, and Liang dynasties.[12] However, the Sui preface, unlike its earlier counterpart in the Han treatise, is not merely an account of its own genesis and importance. The Han preface treats the history of textual production as one in which authoritative lineages of transmission are corrupted by both the disappearance of old texts as well as the generation of new ones, and posits

[12] This passage is a major source of information about Northern and Southern Dynasties bibliography, as only a handful of other sources describing imperially commissioned bibliographies of this era survive. See, for example, Yao Mingda, *Zhonguo muluxue shi*, 174.

itself as the culmination of this process and the singular solution to the problem of textual authority. The Sui treatise, on the other hand, attempts a multi-faceted approach to the history of textual production and bibliography, chronicling imperial efforts to contain and organize the textual record even when they have no direct connection to the structure or contents of the Sui treatise. It differs from the Han preface in its scope, in its prioritization of specifically *textual* history, and by omitting discussion of the divide between oral and textual transmission.

This increased attention to the materiality of text pervades the Sui treatise, a departure from its Han predecessor of the same import as the more easily observed changes in the two bibliographies' systems of categories. It can also be seen in the wealth of information included in the Sui treatise's entries for individual texts. In a discussion of the value of the Sui treatise's annotations to modern scholars, Lai Xinxia 來新夏 summarizes the most novel features of Sui treatise entries: In addition to basic information about the title and length of each work, Lai points out that the Sui treatise also includes biographical details about both authors and editor-commentators, records multiple entries for versions of the same text with different commentaries, identifies texts with different titles that share the same contents, notes the existence of variant copies with different lengths or with included tables of contents, and indicates whether a text has been transmitted in full, exists only in partial form, or was once known but no longer available to the compilers of the Sui treatise.[13] The Han treatise occasionally includes similar information, such as details about commentators, missing contents, or whether a text is suspected of being a forgery, but is in general less concerned with physical

[13] Lai Xinxia, *Gudian muluxue*, 151–52.

characteristics or variations among co-existing copies of the same text.[14] Lai focuses on the relevance of these added details to modern textual historians (noting that the information they provide is not always reliable), but their inclusion in the Sui treatise is equally important for what it reveals about the changing interests of bibliographers.

These changes reflect innovations in bibliographic practice, innovations necessitated by the transformation of textual production and circulation that occurred in between the completion of the Han and Sui treatises, and the much more complex corpus of texts generated by this transformation. Though material texts were already of vital importance in the Han dynasty, in the Han bibliographic treatise issues directly related to the production, circulation, and preservation of texts are treated as secondary to more abstract concerns about lineages of transmission and schools of thought. Aspects of these concerns also inform the Sui treatise's explanatory postfaces and influence its tactics of categorization, but they are complicated through the introduction of new values and strategies that reflect this new emphasis on the relationship between textual production and textual form. The *za*-prefixed subcategories once again make for instructive examples of the significant consequences of this reconfiguration, and they too use a selective reading of the classics to craft a new perspective on the historical importance of textual organization and circulation.

2.1 From *zishu* to *leishu*: The new "Miscellaneous School"

The longer preface to the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise contains a detailed history of the rise and fall of imperial archives, adding a new focus on the material details of textual transmission that are missing from the *Han shu* bibliographic treatise, whose preface is focused

[14] For a complementary summary of features of annotations in the Han treatise see Lai Xinxia, *Gudian muluxue*, 84–85.

on the relationship between language and the written word. This newfound attention to textual materiality is also evident in the book lists themselves. The Han treatise frequently uses extra-textual phenomena as the basis for bibliographic categories, such as lineages of instruction and schools of political theory. These groupings influence the new array of bibliographic categories and subcategories in the Sui treatise, but they are joined by new criteria for the division of texts into bibliographic categories. This is evident in the descriptions that conclude the lists of books in each subcategory, which include new discussions of textual production, such as the gathering and arrangement of documents, the work of copyists and archivists, and the internal organizational structures shared by groups of books. These new criteria for categorization often replace the Han treatise's focus on textual traditions' origins in lineages of oral transmission. By insisting that the "Miscellaneous School" was and remains a distinct tradition of scholarship made up of compilers with a shared an interest combining elements of other pre-existing traditions and shaping them into new texts, the Han treatise's "Miscellaneous School" is a rare case in which editorial practices provide the framework for a bibliographic category.

The Sui treatise's incarnation of the *za* subcategory of Masters texts builds on this attention to editorial practice, maintaining much of the original postface while adjusting certain details to make them even more focused on compilation practice and organization. While the adjustments to the description of the subcategory are subtle, the range of texts included in its list of titles is much broader, offering an even clearer picture of how notions of the miscellaneous had developed in the intervening period. This subcategory's postface maintains the Han treatise's insistence on the emergence of "Miscellaneous Masters" texts from within the bureaucratic system, while subtly altering the details of this origin:

> "Miscellaneous" texts combine the ways of the Ru and Mo, encompassing the ideas of the many traditions. They can be used to observe the transformative effects of the

> sovereigns—there is nothing they do not cover. In ancient times, scribal record keepers recorded past words and deeds, and whether they led to fortune or disaster, success or failure. This being the case, "Miscellaneous" texts probably emerged from the efforts of the scribal offices. When the reckless among them did this, they did not seek the basis, so their talents were meager but their studies extensive, their words were incorrect yet sweeping. Hence, they are disorderly and digressive, with no unifying concept.
>
> 雜者，兼儒、墨之道，通衆家之意，以見王者之化，無所不冠者也。古者，司史歷記前言往行，禍福存亡之道。然則雜者，蓋出史官之職也。放者為之，不求其本，材少而多學，言非而博，是以雜錯漫羨，而無所指歸。[15]

The *Sui shu* treatise's summary is heavily indebted to its Han predecessor, but the modifications in a few key places ensure that the new postface is more than an arbitrary expansion of the older text. Like the Han treatise before it, it functions quite poorly as a trustworthy historical account of the origins of the texts it includes. It does, however, establish a very broad set of values upon which these later texts can be evaluated—and the results are quite different from the perspective offered in the Han treatise.

The summary of the *Sui shu* treatise's "Miscellaneous Masters" section opens with a similar focus on the traditions that are combined within eclectic texts, but rather than limit the scope to that implied by the schools of Ru, Mo, Laws, and Names, here Ru and Mo are indicated as poles that mark the boundaries within which *all* potential lineages (*zhong jia* 衆家) can be found. More significantly, the connection between "Miscellaneous" texts, the offices of the court, and the process of governance is altered. The Han treatise posits vaguely that "Miscellaneous School" texts were composed through the advisement and remonstrance process, and suggests that their comprehensiveness makes them a potential source of wisdom for would-be rulers. The Sui treatise relates them to the process of record keeping in the court, suggesting that the texts in question are useful only as remnants of court activity to be consulted as

[15] SS, 34.1010.

precedents by later readers. Furthermore, the texts themselves are presented as an undesired byproduct of this documentation process, an aberration of the normative historiographic process of recording courtly deeds, speeches, successes, failures and so on. In other words, though their attention is meant to be on the actions and proclamations of leaders, and the consequences that follow, scribe-historians nevertheless have also been known to produce less focused works, which in this case are the "Miscellaneous" texts. This account of their origins within the context of court recordkeeping does not hold up to scrutiny. The actual texts marked as "Miscellaneous" can quite easily be shown to originate from a variety of different sources, and represent the products of both private and officially sponsored scholarship. It does, however, manifest a relationship with the texts in the "History" section of the bibliography, and the imagined history of the scribal offices (*shiguan* 史官), an interest that recurs in many Sui treatise passages. The treatise's presentation of *za* texts as the unwanted byproducts of the imperial historiographic process provides a scapegoat for the numerous perceived faults of the texts that follow.

The Sui treatise does not identify comprehensiveness as a strength of "Miscellaneous" works, instead offering an elaboration on the faults that can be found among such texts. Where the Han treatise presents the vague "instability" as the root cause of such flaws, the Sui treatise addresses specifically lack of focus, lack of talent, and the emphasis of breadth over accuracy and depth as the potential shortcomings of the texts. Likewise, subtle but important differences distinguish the terms used by the Sui and the Han treatises to indicate the nature of the flaws found in poorly composed eclectic texts. To the Han treatise's "formless and digressive" (*manxian* 漫羨) the *Sui shu* adds "disorderly" (*zacuo* 雜錯), creating a four-character phrase with roughly the same connotation as the original two-character one, that also incorporates the term *za* itself. This subtly confirms the notion that *za* here refers not to the principles of synthesis

projected on to the "Miscellaneous School" texts by Han bibliographers, but also to the more dubious qualities of disorganization and clutter that can connote outside of this specific bibliographic context. Finally, the Sui treatise text replaces the politically loaded "lacking a place to which the mind can return" (*wu suo gui xin* 無所歸心) with the less ideologically loaded "lacking a single unifying concept" (*wu suo zhi gui* 無所指歸). The overall effect is a summary that treats "Miscellaneous" texts with greater aesthetic and structural scrutiny, focusing on the potential for these texts to be flawed in form and content from their very origins, rather than emphasize their potential to either lead or mislead the political process.

An even more significant shift in priorities can be observed among the texts that the subcategory includes. The clearest difference is the sheer number of texts identified in the Sui treatise as "Miscellaneous Masters." Only 20 are associated with the Han "Miscellaneous School," while the Sui treatise includes 106, over five times as many.[16] This is not simply the result of an overall increase in number of texts produced or more effective methods textual preservation, as none of the original "Zhuzi" subcategories experience anything close to this level of expansion. In fact, many of these categories contain fewer texts than their *Han shu* counterparts, reflecting perhaps the fifth century decline in the attention to Masters texts observed by Xiaofei Tian.[17] In a sense, the Masters section of the *Sui shu* treatise also illustrates a distortion of the connotations of Masters literature, in that it includes several types of text with no relation to the Han conception of lineages of thought that form the divisions of its "Various

[16] SS, 34.1006–10. Tabulations at the end of this section incorrectly state that only 97 titles are listed. The reason for this discrepancy is unknown, but such miscalculations are common in the *Sui shu* treatise.

[17] Xiaofei Tian, "The Twilight of the Masters: Masters Literature (*zishu*) in Early Medieval China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126.4 (October–December 2006): 47–48.

Masters," and were in fact categorized in entirely different sections of the Han treatise. These categories are also substantially enlarged, suggesting that they and the "Miscellaneous" subcategory both benefitted from its compilers' broader survey of texts, and the Masters category's disassociation from the stricter definition of Masters Literature.

Most notably, the Sui Masters section includes subcategories for texts on celestial patterns, divination, and calendrical/mathematical studies, representing a reconceptualization of the Han treatise's "Shushu" section as a group of discrete categories falling under the much broader Masters label. As discussed in the prior chapter, in the Han treatise texts on divination were divided into several subcategories, which were derived from a complex combination of perceived relationships of lineage and observed characteristics of individual texts. The "Miscellaneous Divination" subcategory contains a handful of textual types whose perceived disconnection from such lineages made them problematic. The Sui treatise abandons this set of subcategories, retaining separate subcategories only for celestial observation and calendrical/mathematical texts, and collapsing the remaining subcategories together under the heading "Wuxing" 五行.[18] In comparison with the Han treatise's more granular distinction among various types of divination, the new "Wuxing" category is arguably even more "Miscellaneous" than any part of the earlier "Shushu" section. A clear precedent for the division of divination texts existed in the form of the Han treatise's subcategories, yet this pattern was ignored during the compilation of the Sui treatise, and yet Sui treatise editors do not signal the hybridity of the newly formed "Wuxing" category with the character *za*. This suggests that the Sui treatise, like the Han treatise, does not use *za* simply and universally as an indicator of a

[18] Additionally, a number of texts from the Han treatise's "Xingfa" subcategory have been removed from the Masters section entirely, and used to establish a dedicated "geographic records" ("Dili ji" 地理記) subcategory in the History section. See SS, 33.982–88.

bibliographic category with diverse contents. Rather, it is another reminder that the very notions of diversity or "miscellaneousness" depend entirely on the standards by which more precise categories are formed. What appear as mixed or disorganized sections by modern standards may not have been considered as such during the compilation of the Sui treatise. Likewise, the standards for subcategories that *are* labeled with *za* must also be considered in historical context as well as in relation to their neighboring groups of subcategories.

This is especially true for a group of "Miscellaneous Masters" texts that later bibliographers would come to recognize as the earliest examples of *leishu* 類書 (roughly, "categorized writings") often treated as equivalent to encyclopedias). Efforts to normalize the definition of the term *leishu* have been concerned with establishing an objective description that can be applied to texts written at any point in history, regardless of contemporaneous bibliographic systems, and as such have treated the grouping of apparent *leishu* among the Miscellaneous Masters as little more than a trivial footnote, or a failure of early medieval bibliographers to recognize the uniqueness of *leishu*. My goal here is not to contribute to the ongoing discourse on the emergence of *leishu* as an independent genre, but to examine the factors that led to the placement of these "proto-*leishu*" among the "Miscellaneous Masters." By disregarding the later development of the independent *leishu* bibliographic category and focusing instead on the complexities of *za* as a bibliographic term in the contemporaneous period, it is possible to see how the contributors to the Sui treatise reimagined the Han precedent to contain and describe texts with no clear analogues in earlier periods. In turn, this redefined "Miscellaneous Masters" category offers additional context to the contents of the Sui treatise's other *za*-prefixed categories.

As with the contents of the corresponding section of the Han treatise, the sequence of titles in the Sui treatise's *Za* section suggest further subdivisions, even though these groups are not distinguished with additional subtitles. Here it seems that thematic or structural affinities have guided the organization of the list rather than presumed date of completion. Yao Zhenzong divides the Sui "Miscellaneous Masters" into four smaller groups: texts that correspond with the contents of the Han "Miscellaneous School" texts, post-Han works that gather text together without adhering to a specific form, texts that organize contents according to category, and a final group of Buddhist texts.[19] In an explanation of why the subcategory grew so drastically in the *Sui shu* treatise, contemporary scholar Gao Luming 高路名 simplifies this division by identifying three basic types of text: those that inherit their classification from the Han treatise's "Miscellaneous School," Buddhist texts, and what Gao refers to as the earliest examples of *leishu*.[20] Gao reasons that Buddhist texts have been shoehorned into this category because the sections of the bibliography reserved for such works are dedicated specifically to scripture (*jing* 經). However, this is not likely the only reason for the inclusion of a handful of Buddhist texts in this subcategory. Their appearance alongside several "proto-*leishu*" is the strongest evidence to suggest that in the Sui treatise the "Miscellaneous Masters" is not a multi-purpose, all-encompassing category for stray texts that could not be placed elsewhere, but rather uses the

[19] Hu Daojing 胡道靜, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu* 中國古代的類書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 2. Yao's comments on the unmarked subdivisions within the text are found in his study of the Sui treatise. Yao Zhenzong, *Sui shu jingji zhi kaozheng* 隋書經籍志考證, *Xu xiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 vols. 915, 916 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 30.489.

[20] Gao also mentions the presence of Daoist texts in this category, but identifies far fewer examples, and the evidence to support their connection to Daoism is quite thin. See Gao Luming 高路明, *Guji muluxue yu Zhongguo gudai xueshu yanjiu* 古籍目錄學與中國古代學術研究 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1997), 251.

parameters of the Han treatise's imagined "Miscellaneous School" as the foundation for a bibliographic category designed to contain a variety of compiled texts.

As the term would not be used as a formal bibliographic category until the Song dynasty, it is perhaps anachronistic to refer to earlier texts as *leishu*.[21] Yet based on the sequence of texts in the Sui treatise, it is clear its compilers were aware of similarities among them, many of which would be recognized by later bibliographers as early examples of *leishu*. These texts are listed together immediately before the Buddhist works, and comprise entries eighty-three through ninety-three. The unmarked subgroup begins with *Huanglan* 皇覽 (Imperial reader), the text widely recognized as the earliest *leishu* and the inspiration for many imitations, and ends with *Beitang shu chao* 北堂書鈔 (Transcribed texts from the Northern Hall). However, later bibliographers do not recognize all of the texts in this small group as *leishu*, and additional pre-Tang "Miscellaneous Masters" texts not found here would also be included in later *leishu*

[21] "Shilei" 事類 was added to the Masters section of the bibliographic treatise of *Jiu Tang shu*. The *Jiu Tang shu* bibliographic treatise is made up of components compiled between roughly 721 and 940, and it is unclear when its new sequence of subcategories was created. In turn, the contents of the *leishi* subcategory serve as the basis for the first bibliographic subcategory entitled *leishu,* which is found in *Xin Tang shu*. Most major bibliographies from then on also featured a separate category for *leishu*. Discussion of what exactly should be considered a *leishu*, however, continues even in the present, particularly for recently recovered texts that failed to attract the attention of premodern bibliographers, e.g. for several manuscripts discovered at Dunhuang. As such, a more thorough discussion of the complexity of defining *leishu* from a modern perspective can be found in Wang Sanqing 王三慶, *Dunhuang leishu* 敦煌類書 (Gaoxiong, Taiwan: Liwen wenhua shiye gubin youxian gongsi, 1993), 1–9. For the *leishi* section of *Jiu Tang shu*, see Liu Xu 劉昫 (887–946) et al., *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 47.2045–46. Henceforth, JTS. For the *leishu* subcategory of *Xin Tang shu* see Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) et al., *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 59.1562–64. Henceforth, XTS. For a brief history of the compilation of the bibliographic treatise in *Jiu Tang shu*, see Denis Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History Under the Tang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 231–32.

categories.[22] In other words, the titles here are distinguished from others in the Sui treatise, yet the group they comprise is not entirely consistent with later definitions of *leishu*, which are not consistent with one another.

Table 2.1: Sui treatise texts 83–93 in Jiu Tang shu *and* Xin Tang shu *treatises:*[23]		
#. Title	*Jiu Tang shu*	*Xin Tang shu*
83. *Huanglan* 皇覽	Shilei	Leishu
84. *Diwang jiyao* 帝王集要	Not Listed	Zajia
85. *Lei yuan* 類苑	Shilei	Leishu
86. *Hualin bianlue* 華林遍略	Shilei	Leishu
87. *Yao lu* 要錄	Shilei	Leishu
88. *Shouguang shuyuan* 壽光書院	Shilei	Leishu
89. *Ke lu* 科錄	Zazhuan	Zazhuan
90. *Shutu quan hai* 書圖泉海	Shilei	Leishu
91. *Shengshoutang yulan*[24] 聖壽堂御覽	Shilei	Leishu
92. *Changzhou yujing* 長州玉鏡	Shilei	Leishu
93. *Shuchao*[25] 書鈔	Shilei	Leishu

Owing to the ambiguity of *leishu* as a bibliographic category, I refer to these eleven texts as "proto-*leishu*" as a matter of convenience, not to imply that the Sui treatise itself acknowledges

[22] These are *Yufu ji* 玉府集 and *Yu li* 語麗. Both are lost, and are identified as *leishu* only in later Song dynasty bibliographies. *Yufu ji* is identified as a *leishu* in *Tong zhi* 通志, and *Yu li* is identified as a *leishu* in the bibliographic treatise of *Songshi*, *Tongkao* 通考, and the Song private bibliographic catalog *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題. Other major bibliographies, including both *Tangshu* treatises, treat them as *Zajia*. These later bibliography listings are provided in Kōzen and Kawaii, *Zuisho keisekishi sho ko*, 548, 551.

[23] SS 30.1009.

[24] The text here called *Shengshoutang yulan* was referred to by several titles during its compilation, and is more commonly known by its final title, *Xiuwen dian yulan* 修文殿御覽. Subsequent bibliographies use this title, but the Sui treatise uses its second title. This may be because the copy in the imperial collection at the beginning of the Tang was merely a draft. For this theory, see Hu Daojing *Zhongguo gudai de leishu*, 47–48.

[25] *Shuchao* is a common abbreviation of *Beitang shu chao* 北堂書鈔. Though no compiler is listed in the Sui treatise, based on the *juan* count and other early uses of *Shuchao* as a reference to *Beitang shuchao*, it is likely that this entry refers to *Beitang shu chao*. See Hu Daojing, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu*, 64–65.

the existence of such a category. On the contrary, it is more productive to first investigate what this group of texts shares with the rest of the "Miscellaneous Masters," before considering why they are grouped together in distinction to the rest of those texts.

Qing scholar and compiler Ma Guohan 馬國翰 (1794–1857) argues that the origins of the *leishu* can be traced to the Qin and Han dynasty, and points to the compiled nature of *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi* as the earliest examples of *leishu*.[26] Hu Daojing notes that we may treat these texts as an important part of the origins of *leishu* without accepting Ma's anachronistic projection of the category *leishu* itself into the distant past. I agree with his conclusion, but disagree with his assertion that the reason these two texts do not qualify as *leishu* is that their contents appear adhere more closely to Ruist or Daoist ideology. Though later readers may draw different conclusions, bibliographers in the Han and Tang dynasties positioned the early encyclopedic texts *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi* within the "Miscellaneous" subcategory, not as Ruist or Daoist texts. The fact that the "proto-*leishu*" appear alongside the early encyclopedic works lends credence to Ma's comments about the relationships among these texts. Ma's argument is based primarily on the features of citationality and organizational structure shared among *Lüshi chunqiu*, *Huainanzi*, and later *leishu*. He notes a few cases in which both earlier texts draw content from familiar, canonical works, and also ponders whether these texts failed to be recognized as *leishu* simply because the vast majority of the works they cited were not available to later bibliographers, or, indeed, to modern readers.[27] This shared trait—the recontextualization afforded by the reorganization of excerpts from other texts—is a more

[26] Ma Guohan, "Zizhu nang xu" 錙銖囊序, *Qing dai shi wen ji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編 vol. 586 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), 3.6–7. Also quoted in Hu Daojing, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu*, 7.

[27] Ibid.

important aspect of the Sui treatise "Miscellaneous Masters" than the deliberate syncretism and blending of the traditions as asserted in the Han treatise's definition of "Miscellaneous School." This similarity not only joins the "proto-*leishu*" with *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*, it also helps to explain the presence of certain Buddhist texts within the "Miscellaneous" Masters subcategory.

Although none of them are identified as sutras, the 94th through the 106th entries are nearly all related to Buddhism.[28] They also all appear to be compilations or compendia. This section of the treatise includes numerous collections of biographies of eminent monks, including the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Accounts of eminent monks) compiled by Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554), as well as texts bearing similar titles but attributed to different compilers. These texts were composed through processes of collation and compilation.[29] The treatise on Buddhist texts *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記 (Records of the three treasures throughout the ages) is also found among these "Miscellaneous" Buddhist texts, along with another text that also appears to be a work of bibliographic scholarship.[30] Not only are these texts not sutras, as compiled texts they would have shared several characteristics with other early medieval texts found in this subcategory.

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[28] Though few of the texts listed here are extant, as with the *leishu* above, association with Buddhism is possible either based on the title alone or by tracing how the texts are categorized in later, more intricately organized bibliographies. For more details see annotations of Kōzen and Kawaii, *Zuisho keisekishi sho ko*, 557–8.

[29] John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 10.

[30] *Lidai sanbao ji* is also known as *Kaihuang sanbao ji* 開皇三寶記 (The Kaihuang record of the three treasures), for the Kaihuang reign period (581–600) of the Sui dynasty, during which Fei Changfang 費長房 compiled the text at imperial behest. Though it is no longer extant, I suspect *Baotai sifa zang mulu* 寶臺四法藏目錄 is also a bibliography or book list of some kind based on its title. For more on this text and other Buddhist bibliographies, see Kyoko Tokuno, "The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures in Chinese Buddhist Bibliographic Catalogs" in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 31–74.

The presence of "proto-*leishu*" and these Buddhist texts in the subcategory is more than a simple oversight. Gao Luming asserts that these extra books show that by the time the *Sui shu* treatise was completed, the connotation of "Miscellaneous" had undergone a drastic change, from a category reserved for texts that internally blended philosophies, to a category that itself contained multiple essentially unrelated genres.[31] In this reading, the term had thus shifted from connoting a deliberately synthetic mode of textual compilation, to reflecting the presumed disorderliness and heterogeneity of the written record. This anticipates the later characterization of the subcategory as one in which there was "nothing that it did not encompass" 無所不包, and lacking a specific organizational principle of its own.[32] But the presence of *leishu* and other compiled texts here in fact suggests that certain parameters were still limiting which Masters texts could be identified as Miscellaneous, and that it was more than just a receptacle for uncategorizable texts. This is because their compiled nature is precisely what makes them unfit to be placed in any other category.

Scholars have not failed to note that the manifold contents of *leishu* made them difficult to categorize. The *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* states that *leishu* are "Texts that categorize affairs, drawing from all four bibliographic groups (*bu* 部), and yet are neither Classics nor History nor Masters nor Anthologies. Within the four bibliographic groups, there is no category (*lei* 類)

[31] Gao, *Guji muluxue*, 251.

[32] This phrase appears frequently in later descriptions of the subcategory, including the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* description of the section discussed below. Incidentally, in the same catalog the phrase is also used to describe the expressive potential of the lines of *Yi jing* hexagrams. See Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805), et al., eds, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933), 135.2451, 6.104.

within which they can find a home."[33] This evaluation captures some of the challenges bibliographers must have faced when deciding where to locate these texts, but it is a judgment made from a period in which the four major bibliographic divisions had been the norm for many generations. The same is not true of the Sui treatise, which blended elements of several centuries of private and imperial bibliographic scholarship to modify the bibliographic system of the Han treatise. Though the categories employed in these bibliographic systems varied, they continued to treat texts as discrete, holistic objects that could be separated into groups according to their similarities and differences. Earlier, I posited that texts such as *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi* not only resemble the bibliographic treatise in scope and methodology, but that this similarity in fact makes the encyclopedic text and the bibliographic treatise competitors, as evidenced by *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*'s marginalization through their incorporation within the "Miscellaneous School." Proto-*leishu*, along with Buddhist compendia and bibliographies, have been subjected to the same treatment in the Sui treatise. The types of texts that they draw from had changed, as had the way their citations were organized. But in each case these "Miscellaneous" texts present a form of textual organization that is at odds with the bibliographic model of division by textual type. It is not simply the fact that they draw from a broad range of sources that makes them difficult to categorize, but that they present this broad range of contents in a way that undermines the principles of organization central to the bibliographic treatise, and even the concept of the book as an object bound by certain topical limitations, that such treatises present. The early encyclopedic works do so with their own elaborate metaphysical patterns, while proto-*leishu* do so according to ontological categories (at times with attention to literary genre, but not bibliographic category). This shared tendency to subvert the bibliographic system provides a

[33] Ji Yun, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao,*135.2781.

clearer sense of what caused bibliographers compilers to identify *Za* texts as "disorderly and digressive."

The presence of *Lidai sanbao ji* presents an apparent contradiction to this pattern. As a list of book titles and associated authors and translators arranged into a sequence of categories, it is in some respects quite like the Sui treatise itself. While the text does adhere to the notion that books should be treated as distinct and static objects rather than storehouses of content that can be extracted and rearranged into new configurations, its differences from the bibliographic model offered by the Han and Sui treatises offer even stronger evidence that bibliographers used the presence of an exceptional organizational structure to justify relegating a text to the "Miscellaneous Masters" subcategory. As its contents are primarily translations of Buddhist texts, it is not surprising that it exhibits few if any traces of influence from the Han treatise or any of its successors. But it is also quite different from other, earlier extant bibliographies of Buddhist texts. Its most surprising departure from the dominant model for bibliographies, both Buddhist and otherwise, is the fact that it makes no attempt to group its texts into categories based on similarities and differences in their contents, associated lineages of transmission or instruction, or genre.

In the received version, the first section of the text is not a bibliography at all, but an attempt to synchronize key moments in Buddhist history with the reign periods of the kings and emperors of the Zhou through Sui dynasties.[34] The second section is more typically

[34] *Lidai sanbao ji*, T.49 No. 2034, *juan* 1–3. *Li dai sanbao ji* is a problematic text for numerous reasons. The bibliography tends to treat as authentic texts that had already been recognized as apocryphal or forgeries by earlier bibliographers and bears signs of emendations by later scholars. On this, see Yao Mingda, *Zhongguo muluxue shi*, 226. Moreover, the Sui treatise, as well as the two Tang treatises and that of *Tong zhi*, list it as a text of only three *juan*, the bibliographic treatise of the *Song shi* lists fourteen *juan*, and the received version is fifteen *juan*, which is also the amount given in Fei Changfang's in *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 biography.

bibliographic, but retains the chronological structure. It groups texts together by their (purported) translators, and places these translator-groups into a rough chronological order with additional divisions based on dynasty, spanning from the Eastern Han to the Sui.[35] This is a radical departure from the model provided in other bibliographies. Despite the uncertainties of textual transmission, based on the use of the phrase *li dai* in the title I suspect that this chronological system of organization was also employed in the version of the text consulted by Sui treatise compilers. This alone is enough to distinguish *Li dai sanbao ji* from other bibliographic texts recorded in the Sui treatise. The Sui treatise introduces a bibliographic category for "Registers and Records" (*bulu* 簿錄), and it is here that other bibliographies, such as Liu Xiang and Liu Xin's Han treatise predecessors and the various bibliographies of the Northern and Southern Dynasties that influenced the Sui treatise, can be found.[36] These texts, too, undoubtedly draw from many other types of text, but they do so in a way that is broadly consistent with the bibliographic logic employed by the Sui treatise itself. The third section of *Li dai sanbao ji* lists only the texts held in the imperial archive at the time of its compilation.[37] In spite of other

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For these figures see Kōzen and Kawaii, *Zuisho keisekishi sho ko*, 558–59. This could mean that either the text was significantly enlarged at some point, or simply that different versions of the text were arbitrarily divided into different numbers of *juan*. While there is no other extant evidence to suggest the existence of three *juan* version, fragments of the text found at Dunhuang (Pelliot 3739 and 4673) at least illustrate that differently ordered versions of the text circulated at some point. See Lu Jing 逯靜, "'Lidai sanbao ji' de shixue, wenxianxue jiazhi ji xiaoli yu yanjiu" 《歷代三寶記》的史學、文獻學價值及校理與研究, *Nanyang shifan xueyuan xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 南陽師範學院學報（社會科學版）13.8 (2014), 46.

[35] *Li dai sanbao ji*, *juan* 4–12.

[36] SS, 33.991–92.

[37] *Li dai sanbao ji*, *juan* 13–14. This section does feature limited topical categorization, dividing texts according to association with the "lesser" and "greater" vehicles (*xiaocheng* 小乘 and *dacheng* 大乘, epithets for Theravada and Mahayana texts).

problems with the text, this section has been acknowledged as an influential innovation.[38] The final section provides a table of contents for the text, and also lists numerous other sutra catalogs and Buddhist bibliographies, many of which are not recorded in any other source.[39] The long, received version of *Lidai sanbao ji* does not employ a consistent system of classification for the entirety of its contents, but presents a succession of different organizational tactics that provide multiple perspectives on the history of Buddhist textual composition and translation. The result is a text that provides a wealth of bibliographic information, yet arranges this content in a format that is radically different from that of the Sui treatise. Thus, it is placed alongside other texts with complex and "disorderly" organizational patterns.

In the Han treatise, the "Miscellaneous School" follows the intellectual lineage model of the rest of the section that contains it, but is also influenced by the treatise's broader emphasis on extra-textual lineages of dissemination and instruction. The result is the construction of a school that takes compilation and combination as its defining activities. In contrast to the other schools, defined by philosophical principles, ideological concepts, or ritual standards, the Miscellaneous School's defining feature is highly suggestive of, if not entirely reliant on, practices that are distinctly textual. In this sense, the subcategory anticipates the heightened attention to aspects of textual production that would permeate the Sui treatise. Ramifications of this increase in attention to textual matters can be seen in the Sui treatise's expansion of the category beyond the spectrum of lineages of thought. The subgroups within its "Miscellaneous Masters" category, though poorly delineated, similarly reflect the expansion of the parameters of the subcategory, yet closer inspection reveals the continued influence of the same features that defined its

[38] Yao Mingda, *Zhongguo muluxue shi*, 225.

[39] *Lidai sanbao ji, juan* 14.

equivalent in the Han. Citationality and intertextuality can be found throughout many different types of early medieval text, not all of which are found within the "Miscellaneous Masters" subcategory. These qualities alone do not sufficiently distinguish "Miscellaneous" texts from the rest of the Sui treatise. As the example of *Lidai sanbao ji* makes clear, these texts are further distinguished by their unconventional approach to the organization of their collected material. Unfortunately, these features are both poorly defined and insufficiently articulated in the subcategory's preface, leading many to interpret the subcategory as a hodge-podge of unrelated texts rather than as a collection of texts that share the same unconventional organizational features. Moreover, the Sui "Miscellaneous Masters" category is porous. Some of its texts also appear in other subcategories of the Sui treatise. These points of intersection between the "Miscellaneous Masters" and other bibliographic categories illuminate the broader contours of early medieval intertextuality, and offer a clearer illustration of how attention to textual structure offered bibliographers a solution to the problems such intertextuality posed. More precisely, these points of intersection connect the "Miscellaneous Masters" subcategory to the other *za*-prefixed subcategories of the Sui treatise. This relationship, which spans the "Masters" and "Histories" divisions of the Sui treatise, provides the clearest sense of the attention to textual composition and varying organizational tactics in the Sui treatise, in contrast to the Han treatise's reliance on the extra-textual concepts of lineage and school.

Consider the early bibliographic treatment of the Wei dynasty text *Huanglan*. Though the Sui treatise treats it as a "Miscellaneous" text, and it would later be recognized as the progenitor of the *leishu* genre, the Sui treatise's general preface suggests that soon after its completion it was treated quite differently. In the chronological discussion of bibliographic practice that follows the portion of the general preface discussed above, the Sui treatise reports that the

bibliographic catalog devised by prominent Western Jin scholar Xun Xu 荀勗 (d. 289) grouped *Huanglan*, or perhaps generally "imperial readers and registers," (*huang lan bu* 皇覽簿) along with *Shi ji* 史記, as well as texts documenting "old matters" (*jiu shi* 舊事) and "various matters" (*za shi* 雜事).[40] The Sui treatise reports that these texts belonged to the third of Xun Xu's four-part bibliographic system. Modern scholars of bibliography, eager to illustrate the deep roots of the *sibu* bibliographic system that would persist from the Sui treatise until the end of the imperial era and beyond, have identified this category as the earliest incarnation of the "Histories" section, even though in this case all four parts are labelled only with the abstract ordinal sequence *jia yi bing ding* 甲乙丙丁. The relationship between Xun Xu's four-part system to its later, more familiar incarnation is not simple. A number of other bibliographic works with completely different organizational systems also informed the patterns of the Sui treatise.[41] Though Xun Xu's catalog played in the history of bibliography, it should be possible to acknowledge the problems of understanding Xun Xu's *bing* section according to later definitions of "History" as a bibliographic field, and consider instead commonalities among the group of texts located in the *bing* section that potentially contributed to their placement in the same group. In other words, it is more helpful to consider *Huanglan* as an important component that

[40] SS, 32.906.

[41] One important bibliographic work composed between the time of Xun Xu and the completion of the Sui treatise is the *Qi lu* 七錄 (Seven records) of Liang scholar Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479–536). Though the text has been lost, its preface and table of contents are preserved in the Buddhist anthology *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (The expanded collection of texts to explain and disseminate) (T. 52.2103). Even though *Qi lu* presents seven major definitions rather than four, many of the subcategories from these sections correspond to new subcategories of the Sui treatise. For a comparison of the category and subcategory headings in these two bibliographies, see Lai Xinxia, *Gudian muluxue*, 149.

contributes to the cohesion of Xun Xu's *bing* category, rather than treat it as an exception and wonder why a "*leishu*" like *Huanglan* was grouped among works of "History."

Though details about both Xun Xu's catalog and *Huanglan* are scarce, there is enough evidence to suggest that Xun Xu's *bing* section can be understood as containing what are essentially archival collections of documents, rather than as an early articulation of history as a distinctive scholarly and bibliographic field. *Huanglan* was compiled at the behest of Cao Pi soon after he assumed leadership of the Wei, by a group of scholars including (and likely led by) Wang Xiang 王象 (d. 222).[42] As for its contents and organization, *Sanguo zhi* reports that its creators "gathered and organized classical texts (*jing* 經) and accounts (*zhuan* 傳), and arranged them by category," and that the resulting text occupied one thousand sections (*pian* 篇). While the term *zhuan* in the phrase *jing zhuan* can imply specifically commentaries to classical texts, elsewhere, *Sanguo zhi* states that the contents were drawn from the "Five classics and the many texts" 五經群書, a more general term.[43] This offers only a vague representation of the contents of the text, but the compiled nature of the text is clear. Lu Yaodong uses the presence of *Huanglan* in this category as part of an argument about the changing bibliographic status of historiographic work in the early medieval period. He argues that before the Eastern Han the production and study of historiographic texts were considered an aspect of classical scholarship, and that, before emerging as a distinct discipline of its own, what is now recognized as historiography came to be associated more closely with manuscript production, archive

[42] Hu Daojing, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu*, 40. Wang Xiang's involvement is discussed in his *Sanguo zhi* biography, in Chen Shou 陳壽 (233–297), *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, rev. ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 23.664. Henceforth, SGZ. Additional contributors include Huan Fan 桓範 (d. 249) and Liu Shao 劉劭 (d. ca. 239), in SGZ 9.288, 21.618.

[43] SGZ, 9.288.

management, the collation of documents, and editorial scholarship.[44] His conclusion addresses the emergence of aesthetic and literary values specific to the appraisal of historiographic writing near the end of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, but he convincingly illustrates that in the intervening period scholars were primarily concerned with the complexity of managing large quantities of documentary material. After all, even the most heavily embellished historiographic narratives rely on some foundation in documentary evidence, and scholars must take the additional step of assembling these pieces of writing to create a coherent text. Whether the result is a dynastic history or an anthology of court documents, the prerequisite of access to a large corpus of text and subsequent acts of collation and rearrangement are largely analogous to the steps required to produce any other form of compilation.

Through the basic structure of Xun Xu's bibliographic system, it is possible to see the emerging role played by details related to textual production in the categorization of texts. These elements are central to the organizational pattern of the Sui treatise as well, but while Xun Xu's system grouped these compiled texts together, later bibliographers would distinguish among various types of compiled texts based on differences in their organizational structure.[45] Yet this

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[44] Lu notes that historiographic texts such as *Shi ji* and others were formerly grouped within the "Chunqiu" division of the "Classics" section of the Han treatise, and also analyzes shifts in commentarial style, reorganization of institutions, and the changing connotations of the term *shi* throughout history. See Lu Yaodong, *Wei Jin shixue*, 51–70.

[45] For another approach to the relationship between the Histories and Masters divisions of the Sui treatise, which maintains that the two broad categories were unrelated and used to separate narrative from discursive works, see Kenneth J. DeWoskin, "The Six Dynasties *chi-kuai*," 4–9. Robert Campany offers another interpretation of some of the titles contained in *xiaoshuo*, suggesting that they may have indeed contained narratives rather than "collected sayings" in Campany, *Strange Writing*, 38. As these texts are no longer extant, it is difficult to draw definite conclusions about their former contents. Though DeWoskin's narrative/non-narrative distinction may apply to the "Miscellaneous Accounts" and "Minor Talk" (*xiaoshuo* 小說) subcategories, there are numerous exceptions throughout other subcategories of Histories and Masters, from the non-narrative calendrical texts, bibliographies, and catalogues of official titles in the Histories

connection between the complex and problematic patterns of compilation and organization, as in those identified among "Miscellaneous Masters," and those that came to be accepted forms of historiographic arrangement remained. This connection is evident not only from the attribution of both groups of texts to members of the "scribal offices" (*shiguan* 史官), but also from the presence of subcategories dedicated to "Miscellaneous" material within the "Histories" section of the Sui treatise, and especially because several texts found in the "Miscellaneous Accounts" subcategory are also identified as "Miscellaneous Masters."

There are four texts listed in "Miscellaneous Masters" that also appear in "Miscellaneous Accounts." This is something that could not have occurred within the Han treatise, where the parameters of the *za*-prefixed subcategories are defined primarily through their contrast to their respective neighboring subcategories, rather than through any shared conception of their "*za*-ness." Moreover, the presence of these texts in both the "Masters" and "Histories" categories is another reminder of the similar methods of citation and reorganization required to produce both historiographic texts and compiled texts in general. The four texts in question are all examples of *zhuan* anthologies. Their titles are *Xinjiu zhuan* 新舊傳 (New and old accounts), *Ganying zhuan* 感應傳 (Accounts of sympathetic response), *Zhongseng zhuan* 眾僧傳 (Accounts of the many monks), and *Gaoseng zhuan*.[46] Though "Miscellaneous Accounts" is a complex category, it is not surprising to find these texts located there. As I will discuss below, most texts found in this

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section, to the narrative texts listed as both "Miscellaneous Masters" and "Miscellaneous Accounts" discussed below.

[46] Apart from *Ganying zhuan*, of which a scant number of fragments survive, none of these texts has been transmitted in any form. The *Gaoseng zhuan* listed here is not the more familiar text of Huijiao, which is only found in the "Miscellaneous Accounts" subcategory, but a text with the same title attributed to a Yu Xiaojing 虞孝敬.

subcategory contain the word *zhuan* in their titles, and many of these can be identified as collections of biographies. This is certainly the case for both *Gaoseng zhuan* and *Zhongseng zhuan*. Based on surviving fragments, *Ganying zhuan* has been identified as a collection of "miracle tales," a type of text that is also well represented in "Miscellaneous Accounts."[47] The contents of the lost *Xinjiu zhuan* are unknown, but as its title follows the same basic conventions as these texts, its categorization as a "Miscellaneous Account" is not surprising.

If their placement in "Miscellaneous Accounts" is unproblematic, what features allow these texts to also be categorized alongside the "Miscellaneous Masters?" Perhaps the feature they share is "disorderly and digressive" contents, resulting from what were perceived by some as lax or unscrupulous methods of compilation and organization. Reliance on the concatenation of information from diverse collections of documents alone is a feature shared by many texts from an array of bibliographic subcategories. Indeed, as Xun Xu's bibliographic system implies, it is a fundamental aspect of record-keeping itself. But not all compiled texts are equal. The presence of *za*-prefixed sections within the "Histories" category, and the small overlap between "Miscellaneous Accounts" and "Miscellaneous Masters," suggests that as bibliographers became more concerned with the material aspects of textual production, evaluation of these methods of organization and compilation became an important component of bibliographic categorization. This new style of evaluation is even more evident in the two *za*-prefixed subcategories of the "Histories," which are even more explicitly defined through attention to organizational structure and textual production than the "Miscellaneous Masters."

[47] For more on *Ganying zhuan*, see Donald Gjertson, *Miraculous Retribution: A Study of T'ang Lin's Ming-pao Chi* (Berkeley: Centers for South and Southeast Asia Studies, 1989), 22–23.

2.2 Bibliography, biography, and narrative: "Miscellaneous Accounts"

The Sui treatise's "Miscellaneous Accounts" subcategory presents a problematic but compelling bibliographic solution to one of the most confounding problems in early medieval literary-historiographic texts. In this case, the difficulty relates more to the connotations of *zhuan* than its *za* prefix. In the titles of Han and pre-Han texts, *zhuan* appears most frequently as a reference to a tradition of commentary or annotation appended to an authoritative classical text, as in the case of the famous trio of annotations to the *Spring and Autumn Annals.* This appears to be the case for virtually all of the appearances of the term in the Han treatise.[48] Long before the completion of the Han treatise, it had already been used as a reference to a specific variety of biographical writing, with the biographical accounts (*liezhuan* 列傳) of *Shi ji* serving as the most well-known and earliest example.[49] The significance of this collection of biographies on the Han treatise is apparent in frequent notes throughout the text, which indicate the authors (or figures otherwise associated with a text, i.e. editors or representatives of schools) that have entries in *Shi ji* or *Han shu liezhuan*. But this use of the term in the title of a biography or collection of biographies appears only once, in *Lie nü zhuan* 列女傳, compiled by none other than Han bibliographic innovator Liu Xiang.[50] In other words, in the Han treatise *liezhuan* are significant

[48] See chapter three of this dissertation for further discussion of *zhuan* as a form of textual commentary.

[49] There are several theories concerning the precise origins of this usage of *zhuan*. An early understanding, mentioned by Tang historiographer Liu Zhiji, is that the *liezhuan* bear the same relationship to the chronological portions of *Shi ji* and *Han shu* as the Gongyang, Zuo, and Guliang *zhuan* commentaries do to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. For further discussion, see Denis Twitchett, "Chinese Biographical Writing," in *Historians of China and Japan*, eds. W.G. Beasley and E.G. Pulleyblank (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 96–98.

[50] At first glance the titles of two "Rujia" texts, the *Gaozu zhuan* 高祖傳 and *Xiaowen zhuan* 孝文傳 would appear to represent individual biographies of these two Han emperors. However, the

as a source of historical information, but evidence of the form's impact on subsequent traditions of writing and scholarship is not yet apparent.

By the completion of the Sui treatise, the circumstances had changed considerably. "Miscellaneous Accounts" records more than 200 titles, and of these 140 include the term *zhuan* in their title.[51] Though this of course indicates that *zhuan* had become common as a naming convention and as a bibliographic category, it sheds little light on what exactly was accomplished by identifying a text as a type of *zhuan*. As with the other categories examined thus far, later bibliographies would continue to refine the range of *zhuan*, defining it more precisely as a form of historiographic narrative and dividing it into several subcategories.[52] Though antecedents of these distinctions can be seen in both naming conventions and contents, the Sui treatise itself does not recognize them in its organization of texts. Rather, the treatise groups all texts it identifies as *zhuan* together in the same subacategory. Though the term *za* would in this case appear to reflect this hybridity of topics and structures even more so than in the "Miscellaneous Masters" subcategory, the subcategory's postface relates the complexity of its contents to the problematic nature of the processes of compilation and organization that led to their creation. As with the historicizing elements of other bibliographic postfaces, the explanation provided is not reliable as an objective history of *zhuan* composition. Attention to

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treatise indicates that these are not narrative biographies, but collections of proclamations and other official writings of these two figures. See HS 30.1726.

[51] The tabulations at the end of the "Miscellaneous Accounts" section claim the section contains 217, but only 207 are actually listed. See SS, 32.981.

[52] The *zhuanji* 傳記 section of *Siku quanshu zongmu,* for example, includes subcategories for biographies of sages ("Shengxian" 聖賢), notable people ("Mingren" 名人), gathered records ("Zonglu 總錄"), its own subcategory of *za* records ("Zalu" 雜錄), and a final subcategory intended as a sort of quarantine for biographies of historical villains, entitled "Separate Records" ("Bielu" 別錄). See Ji Yun, *Siku quanshu zongmu*, 57.513.

the postface does reveal, however, how the compilers of the Sui treatise rationalized their use of *zhuan* to refer to a distinctive tradition of writing, while at the same time acknowledging the source of the "Miscellaneousness" of that tradition in their own time. At the expense of historical accuracy and clarity, this rationalization not only imagines a deep history behind the practice of biographical writing as an aspect of official historiography, but also explains its own inclusion of texts that appear to be only marginally related to the historical scholarship of court scribes.

To establish a sense of historical continuity for the tradition of *zhuan* writing, the postface attempts to incorporate the composition of biographical narratives within the broader history of the scribal offices. To do so, it relies on the same idealized representation of the Zhou textual order as manifested in the treatise's general preface, using a collage of citations from the *Zhouli* and other classical texts to cobble together an account of a unified tradition of biographical writing stretching back to the Zhou dynasty. As with other attempts to historicize textual categories in the Han and Sui treatises, from a contemporary perspective, this vision is historically inaccurate, at times spectacularly so. These inaccuracies stem from a projection of an early medieval understanding of the term *shi* 史 into earlier times, and from a simplified reading of the relationships among bureaucratic institutions within *Zhouli*, and their connection to those apparent in the administrative systems of other governments as described in anecdotes from texts like *Zuo zhuan*.[53] But when considered alongside the contents of the "Miscellaneous Accounts"

[53] *Zhouli* has been at the center of controversy in modern scholarship. Scholars have debated the origins of the text, with a minority arguing that it is an authentic Zhou text, and others arguing that it is a forgery created only to support the Wang Mang interregnum. Many now suspect the text was composed in the Qin dynasty. Despite these late origins, it has been shown that at least some elements of the *Zhouli* are indeed likely to reflect elements of Zhou-era institutions. In treating the Sui treatise's usage of *Zhouli* passages with suspicion, I do not mean to discredit the entirety of the *Zhouli* itself as a potential source of historical information, but rather to illustrate the ways the Sui treatise's selective excerptions and interpretations create a reading of the *Zhouli* that owes more to the treatise's early Tang compilers, and their particular rhetorical emphasis on

category and the treatise's general attitude towards compiled texts, the rhetorical value of this presentation can be clarified.

The "Miscellaneous Accounts" postface begins by discussing the scribes (*shi* 史 or *shiguan* 史官) of Zhou times. With the establishment of the bureau of historiography (*shiguan* 史館) in the early Tang, the term *shiguan* 史官 became inseparable from the practice of historiography. In earlier texts, it appears occasionally as a general reference to the various scribal positions, in which the scribes were responsible for a much broader range of duties.[54] This is not quite the sense in which the early *shiguan* are discussed in the "Miscellaneous Accounts" postface. It begins, "The *shiguan* of the ancient times were expansive in their record-keeping, not merely [recording] the conduct of leaders of men" 古之史官，必廣其所記，非獨人君之舉, contrasting the *shiguan* of the past with those of the treatise's present.[55] The "*shi guan*" of ancient times were concerned with a broad variety of events, while those of the later periods were concerned solely with affairs directly related to the imperial court. Though this appears at first glance to be an acknowledgment of the former breadth of the term *shi*, as the postface continues it becomes clear that the Sui treatise employs a later understanding of the term's relevance as a specific institution related to court record-keeping. The text goes on to gather a number of references to types of scribes and their responsibilities, citing only passages

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the importance of textual organization and archival management, than it does to any serious consideration of Zhou history. For an overview of some of the issues surrounding the dating and study of *Zhouli*, see Benjamin Ellman and Martin Kern, "Introduction," in *Statecraft and Classical Learning: The Rituals of Zhou in East Asian History* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 14–20.

[54] Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 610.

[55] SS, 32.981.

that relate specifically to tasks related to the management of documentary materials: "According to the *Zhou Offices* (*Zhou guan* 周官, aka *Zhouli*), 'Scribes of the exterior took charge of writings from the four corners of the earth.' Only then were the scribal records of the various feudal lords complete" 周官，外史掌四方之志，則諸侯史記兼而有之.[56] This is followed by two references to events described in *Zuo zhuan*, each pertaining to the management of archives.[57] The text then returns to *Zhouli*, reproducing a passage from that text that describes how scribes with varying titles and degrees of authority "all received and stored" 皆受其貳而藏 copies of covenants produced by ministers of justice.[58] The implied relationship among these various roles is made explicit in the conclusion to this section, which states:

> This being the case, when kings punished or praised, the matter would be recorded fully and proclaimed to the spirits. The scribe-ministers of the many offices each archived these texts. Thus, from the dukes, high officials, and feudal lords down to the many officers, all traces of good and evil were fully gathered by the scribes.
>
> 是則王者誅賞，具錄其事，昭告神明。百官史臣，皆藏其書。故自公卿諸侯至于群士，善惡之迹，畢集史職。[59]

[56] The portion I have placed in single quotation marks quotes from the *Zhouli* entry for *waishi* 外史 (outer scribes), part of the *Chunguan zongbo* 春官宗伯 section. See Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908), *Zhouli zhengyi* 周禮正義, eds. Wang Wenjin 王文錦 and Chen Yuxia 陳玉霞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 2137.) Though *shi ji* may be a general term for scribal or historical records, here it also calls to mind the abbreviated title of Sima Qian's work.

[57] ZZ Xi 5.8 (308), Xiang 23.5 (1083). The first passage describes the use of "covenant archives" (*meng fu* 盟府) to store (*cang* 臧) records of the merit of two ministers to King Wen of Zhou, the second relates how a *waishi* 外史 of Lu is summoned to discuss the wording of a new covenant. When the *wai shi* appears, he produces several examples of earlier covenants to use as models. Note that while *Zuo zhuan* identifies this scribe as a *waishi*, the Sui treatise refers to this person as a *taishi* 太史.

[58] This passage closely follows the *Zhouli* entry on *Da sikou* 大司寇, of the *Qiuguan sikou* 秋官司寇 section, in Sun Yirang, *Zhouli zhengyi,* 2756.

This creates the impression of a comprehensive network of archivist-scribes, working together to ensure that documentary materials pertaining to all aspects of government, within and beyond the central court, were gathered and stored to await consultation facilitated by later scribes. Referring to all types of scribes collectively with the term *shi guan* lends a sense of cohesion to the subsequent references to various tasks of different types of scribes drawn from *Zhouli* and *Zuo zhuan*, and creates continuity with the historiographic offices of the Tang. The postface establishes the scribes as far more than mere copyists. But this early medieval conceptualization, in which scribes function primarily as archivists and collectors of documents in concert with one another, is at odds with what modern scholarship has revealed about the host of duties performed by the variety of officials with *shi* in their titles. Much has been written about the changing connotations of the term *shi* throughout history, chronicling the transition of the term from a reference to a multi-faceted position encompassing ritual performance, the recitation of texts, and astronomical observation, to one associated most prominently with the keeping of records and the writing and study of history.[60] These passages of the Sui treatise offer a glimpse of the results of this complex transformation, in which values that would only have been strongly associated with the term in more recent times were projected into antiquity.

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[59] SS, 32.981.

[60] The ritual functions of the *shi* are alluded to only briefly in this section, through reference to the proclamation of the records before the "spirits" (神明 *shenming*) prior to their archival. This phrase, however, is not borrowed from any description of the *shi*'s ritual function. it is likely to have been cribbed from the Grand Preface (*Da xu* 大序) to the *Mao* commentary to *Shi jing*. This is noted in Kōzen and Kawaii, *Zuisho keisekishi sho ko*, 412n8. For the numerous tasks performed by scribes see for example Martin Kern, "Offices of Writing and Reading in the *Rituals of Zhou*" in *Statecraft and Classical Learning*, edited by Benjamin A. Elman & Martin Kern (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 64–93 and David Schaberg, "Functionary Speech: On the Work of *Shi*," in *Facing the Monarch: Modes of Advice in the Early Chinese Court*, edited by Garrett P.S. Olberding (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013): 19–41. For the origins of the use of the term in reference to historiography see Lu Yaodong, *Wei Jin shixue*, 27–29.

Whether this is the result of misunderstanding or a deliberate contrivance, the anachronistic presentation of the early scribes as archivists makes it possible for the postface to subsequently claim that a wide variety of texts detailing the accomplishments of individuals were among the documents gathered by the scribes, and that these formed the basis for the tradition whose textual products are documented in the list of "Miscellaneous Accounts." Yet in these early sections, the postface has still not specifically addressed this collection of "miscellaneous" texts, nor has it elaborated on exactly what sets "accounts" apart from the other forms of writing associated with this constructed network of archivist-scribes. The next section again uses *Zhouli* to assert the existence of government officials dedicated to the collection of biographical writings, selectively quoting from passages related to three types of regional administrator to emphasize their role in the reporting of accomplishments worthy of merit or critique.[61] Not coincidentally, the types of accomplishment mentioned in these passages are roughly consistent with the variety of commendable acts one might find in a typical *liezhuan* narrative: loyal and diligent service, filiality, virtuous acts, scholarly accomplishment, and so on. The term *zhuan*, however, is not mentioned in any of these texts. In their original context, they are concerned only with individual instances of good and bad behavior, with no mention of the arrangement of these singular events into narrative biographies. Furthermore, the text does not describe how these reports made their way to the hypothetical archivist-scribes. The description of the last of the

[61] These are the "village assistant" (*lüxu* 閭胥), the "master of the community" (*zushi* 族師) and the "head of the ward" (*dangzheng* 黨政), which appear in the *Diguan situ* 地官司徒 section of *Zhouli*. Curiously, the "Miscellaneous Accounts" postface reverses their order. My translations of these titles follow Kern's. In addition to reporting on the accomplishments of individuals, an important role of each of these positions is their responsibility for reading laws aloud to their constituents, as noted in Kern, "Offices of Writing," 90. This detail is omitted from the "Miscellaneous Accounts" postface's citations of these sections. For the *Zhouli* entries on these three roles, see Sun Yirang, *Zhouli zhengyi,* 868, 877, 884.

three positions, the "head of the ward" (*dangzheng* 黨政), asserts that these officials delivered their biographical reports to the "district administrator" (*xiang dafu* 鄉大夫), who was responsible for presenting them to the sovereign, whereupon they would be copied by the "scribes of the interior" (*neishi* 內史). These elements all appear at various points in *Zhouli*, but in that text they are separated by sections describing additional intermediary roles, and by extended descriptions of duties of these offices not related to the acquisition and submission of documents pertaining to virtuous behavior. As Kōzen and Kawaii note, *Zhouli* places an additional office between the head of the ward and the district administrator, and while the district administrator is credited with the submission of documents to the king, the transmission of texts up the chain of command is never explicitly mentioned.[62] By concatenating these selected excerpts, the postface simplifies the administrative system represented in the *Zhouli*, and gives the impression of a dedicated system for the collection of biographical materials, ending with a scribal officer overseeing the processes of duplication and storage in the archive. Through this streamlined process, the postface concludes, "The deeds and sayings of gentlemen, living in poverty in narrow lanes, would certainly be passed on, and each would be transmitted by scribes" 窮居側陋之士，言行必達，皆有史傳.[63] It is also possible to read the final four characters of this sentence with a medieval understanding of the term *shi,* as "…each would have its own historical record." Here the divisions between scribe and historian, and between transmission (*chuan* 傳) and textual composition (*zhuan* 傳) are blurred, leaving the impression that the scribes had always been at the center of a dedicated historiographic process.

[62] Kōzen and Kawaii, *Zuisho keisekishi sho ko*, 413n11.

[63] SS, 33.981.

The Sui treatise synthesizes an idealized Zhou system to provide a classical precedent for the composition of biographic narratives. The various types of officials are connected as much by their mutual reliance on the production and dissemination of text as they are in their shared interest in the accomplishments and failings of the individuals in their regions. Even if the relationships among these positions would not necessarily have been recognized in earlier periods, this creates the impression of a coherent historiographic discipline, providing the basis for an idealized vision of bureaucratic order with which to contrast the apparent disorganization of later eras. Despite the priority suggested by this lengthy introduction, the texts listed as "Miscellaneous Accounts" are not those produced through this well-defined network of officials and scribes, but those composed long after this supposed system had been eliminated. The postface transitions to a discussion of more recent history by returning to the now-familiar trope of the destruction of Zhou order that accompanied the rise of the Qin: "Ever since the *shiguan* was eliminated, this way has been abandoned in ruin" 自史官曠絕，其道廢壞.[64] In the following discussion of the Han and subsequent eras, the preface finally addresses the miscellaneous accounts themselves.

This section first describes early Han practices as roughly similar to the record-keeping and archiving of official documents above, and then addresses Han Wudi's creation of the title of "Worthy, Excellent and Learned," (*xian liang wenxue* 賢良文學) following the advice of scholar Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒. As this title was given to those recognized as being worthy of consideration for official positions, the reference to it here maintains the postface's emphasis on the government apparatus for acknowledging the accomplishments of the people, while also suggesting the ways the Han court's attitude towards the purpose of archives and libraries

[64] Ibid.

differed from the model established in the classics.[65] While scholarly erudition had already been mentioned as a criteria for official recognition of worth in the pre-Han period, through his well-known association with the founding of the imperial academy and the imperial recognition of the preeminence of classical studies, the appearance of Dong Zhongshu here serves as a reminder of the growing importance of scholarly and literary accomplishment among government officials during the Han, also implied by the title *xian liang wenxue*.[66] Thus, while the postface implies that the Zhou model required archives primarily to keep records composed by officials *about* worthy individuals and the documents produced through the courts acknowledgement of their worth, the expansion of imperial education and the value associated with classical studies signal that literary and scholarly texts produced *by* such individuals could illustrate their talents, and function as evidence of their value to the imperial court. The scope of the archives themselves would also need to expand to accommodate these newly important texts. Rather than address this development directly, the postface follows the familiar pattern of assigning all institutional change to the collapse of the idealized classical model. The consequences of this become apparent in the following section.

The postface then identifies oversights in the Han system of recording and storing biographical texts. These omissions are attributed to editorial choices. The text declares that Sima Qian and Ban Gu were not comprehensive in their coverage of those of "lofty and pure conduct, who did not become mired in the world" 操行高潔，不涉於世者. They only recorded a few prominent examples, and "the remainder were all edited out, and not recorded" 其餘皆略

[65] For details on the title *Xian liang wen xue* see Hucker, *Dictionary*, 247.

[66] For Dong Zhongshu's association with the expansion of the education system see Howard Galt, *A History of Chinese Educational Institutions*, vol. 1 (London: Arthur Probstein, 1951), 203–4.

而不說.[67] It is ambiguous whether this is intended as a fault or a sign of discernment, but the next group of texts mentioned fill in the gaps left by these omissions:

> Also in Han times, Ruan Cang compiled a chart of arrayed immortals; Liu Xiang, while editing the classics and texts, first crafted records (*zhuan*) of the arrayed immortals, arrayed gentlemen, and arrayed women. Each of them followed his own will, and he compiled them hastily; they are not included within Standard Historiography.
>
> 又漢時，阮倉作列仙圖，劉向典校經籍，始作列仙、列士、列女之傳，皆因其志尚，率爾而作，不在正史。[68]

Though these works are explicitly criticized, the text reports that they contain details on individuals omitted from *Shi ji* and *Han shu*. This dilemma parallels the hesitancy with which the Sui treatise promotes the reading of "Miscellaneous Masters," as potentially flawed and misleading texts that nevertheless maintain tenuous connections to more authoritative works. Despite their flaws, or perhaps because of them, they establish the basic parameters of the "Miscellaneous Accounts" bibliographic category. Numerous titles in the subcategory reflect obvious connections to the works of Ruan Cang and Liu Xiang, including the nine additional titles dedicated to biographies of women and even more variations on the topics of talented scholars and officials and *xian* 仙 immortals. The relationship between these works and the classical tradition of reporting on exemplary conduct is not directly articulated—the postface does not suggest that these texts are the result of the same process or served the same purpose, nor does it report that they were archived in the same manner as their predecessors. Rather, in another parallel with the "Miscellaneous Masters," they are distinguished from these early examples through their characterization as byproducts of legitimate historiography, compiled by

[67] SS, 33.982.

[68] Ibid.

scholars working (at times) in an official capacity and yet sequestered from the category of "Standard History (*zhengshi* 正史).

Subsequent portions of the postface address other types of "Miscellaneous Accounts" through more prominent early examples. The postface describes a tradition of regional biography collection, with obvious parallels to the Zhou model, by claiming that in the Guangwu period of the Later Han the emperor ordered for local customs (*fengsu* 風俗) to be documented. The preface lists texts related to the Pei 沛, "Three Bulwarks" 三輔, Lu 魯, and Lujiang 廬江 regions as examples.[69] This corresponds to a large number of titles that appear to be organized by region.[70] The next example given, Ji Kang's *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳 (Accounts of eminent gentlemen), can be associated with the classical precedent of recording the accomplishments of the worthy, but can also be connected to numerous later titles identified as "Miscellaneous Accounts."[71] The postface also mentions *Lie yi* 列異 (Arrayed oddities), a collection of anomaly accounts supposedly gathered by Wei emperor Cao Pi, which can be only tenuously related to the type of writing described in the first half of the preface, but does function well as a representative of the numerous anomaly account collections listed as "Miscellaneous

[69] "Three bulwarks" most likely refers to the three officials responsible for governing the three districts of the Han capital in Chang'an, and by extension the three districts themselves. See Hucker, *Dictionary*, 397.

[70] These regional biographical collections are not as well-known as other titles mentioned by name in the postface, and only scant traces of any of these texts remain. Moreover, the supposed proclamation of the Guangwu emperor is not described in any other historiographic text. On this, see Kōzen and Kawaii (*Zuisho keisekishi sho ko*, 415n23).

[71] Four additional texts use *gaoshi* in their titles, and many more use close variations.

Accounts."[72] This list of precedents, while not exhaustive, is generally representative of the range of texts to be found within the list of titles.

However, the connection between these later examples and their earlier predecessors is intermittent at best. It is a relationship of contrast, rather than continuity. The "Miscellaneous Accounts" postface, then, mirrors the Han treatise's interest in the discontinuous transmission of techniques and traditions, and the comparison between untarnished classical methods and corrupted, faulty modern ones. Like the Han treatise does for its "Miscellaneous" divination methods, "Miscellaneous Accounts" first presents a period in which an activity, in this case the recording and storing of biographical details, occurred in perfect harmony with the activities of the state, and explains the disappearance of this ideal system and its replacement with a more diverse, disorganized collection of methods due to the Zhou collapse. The difference is that the methods transmitted in this case concern the production of texts themselves. Unlike divination, which relies on text only for the documentation of past divinatory performances or to serve as a poor replacement for instruction from a master diviner, outside of textual production there is simply no discipline for the scribe-historian to transmit. The "Miscellaneous Accounts" postface emphasizes problems in the process of textual composition and editorial practices exhibited in later texts to illustrate the consequences of the end of the Zhou order. The degradation of these techniques into hastiness and capriciousness in later periods provides a rationalization for their

[72] The Sui treatise's assertion of the relationship between *zhiguai* and *zhuan* traditions remains somewhat mysterious. In the table of contents of the Liang dynasty bibliography *Qi lu,* which certainly had some influence on the structure of the Sui treatise, *zazhuan* is followed by a category for "Ghosts and spirits" (*guishen* 鬼神), leading many bibliographers to conclude that the Sui treatise's *zazhuan* section represents a combination of these two categories. Despite the consensus on the matter, there is no satisfying explanation as to why the compilers of the Sui treatise would have done this.

exclusion from the orthodox category of "Standard History," and for the necessity of affixing the prefix *za* to the bibliographic category to which they are relegated.

This focus on techniques of composition is also in keeping with the Sui treatise's overarching focus on the practical matter of textual composition and the maintenance of archives, which is articulated most clearly in the treatise's general preface. Similar details can be found throughout the "Histories" section. The "Miscellaneous Accounts" postface combines this focus on textual production with the narrative of institutional collapse and interrupted transmission inherited from the Han treatise. In both cases, the result is a bibliographic category that is plagued with disorderliness and unclear boundaries. The *za*-ness of the subcategory, as in the case of divination texts, would appear to indicate the presence of a hybrid category, one whose contents do not conform to the precedent established in precedents from the classical era. But the "Miscellaneous Accounts" postface also includes a brief attempt to articulate this *za*-ness through the identification of flaws that the texts contained in the category supposedly share. After completing its description of the myriad contents of the *Za zhuan* subcategory, the postface concludes:

> As such, the types of affairs they record proceed one after another, those who craft them are numerous, the range of the titles is broad, and they draw eclectically (*za* 雜) from talk of vapid lack of restraint and exaggerated oddities. If one were to reach back to their origins, perhaps that they could indeed be regarded as the excess affairs of the scribal offices. May scholar-officials grasping brushes select and extract from them their essentials.
>
> 因其事類相繼，而作者甚眾，名目轉廣，而又雜以虛誕怪妄之說。推其本源，蓋亦史官之末事也。載筆之士，刪採其要焉。[73]

Elaborating on the hastily compiled nature of the Han texts listed above, here the postface provides a more detailed description of flaws that plague "Miscellaneous Accounts." The first

[73] SS, 33.982.

three charges are levelled against the muddled nature of "Miscellaneous Accounts" as a composite category, contrasting the all-encompassing yet orderly nature of the lost Zhou system. Were the Zhou system to have been maintained, the postface suggests, it would not be necessary to create this subcategory as a receptacle for misfit texts. The final critique, however, addresses the contents of individual texts themselves. Tellingly, it uses the word *za* to refer not to the discord resulting from the variety of texts in the subcategory, but to the unscrupulous way their individual compilers drew from unreliable sources to create each of these works. This, too, is presented as an aspect of the chaos resulting from the collapse of the old textual order. Where classical biographies are presented as having been reported and archived through an orderly bureaucratic process, "miscellaneous" texts rely upon gossip and tall-tales.

This is where the clearest parallels between the "Miscellaneous Accounts" and the "Miscellaneous Masters" appear. In both sections, *za* describes the hybridity of the bibliographic category as well as the unscrupulous composition methods shared among all their constituent texts. Though the former focuses on its texts' unscrupulous selection of sources, and the latter directs its critique towards its contents' sprawling, disorganized format, both use the term *za* to describe the process by which their contents were compiled. When it comes to the way these postfaces describe the historical origins of their respective textual types, the relationship is somewhat more complex. This postface presents the collapse of Zhou order as the implied cause of both the disorganization of the subcategory as well as the disruption of the preferred method for gathering bibliographic materials. Once the imagined "scribal offices" had disappeared, many more types of *zhuan* text arose to take their place. Without the bureaucratic institutions that had formerly ensured the reliability of these texts, compilers of later *zhuan* instead gather materials from a broad range of untrustworthy sources. Though the "Miscellaneous Masters" postface

mentions only unscrupulous textual compilation, making no specific reference to the collapse of the old, orderly methods of the Zhou, it maintains that its texts should be considered distantly related to the practices of the scribal officials, just as the "Miscellaneous Accounts" postface speculates that its own contents still maintain a tenuous relationship with the output of those hypothetical institutions.

In the Han treatise, this supposed connection between the "Miscellaneous School" and the scribal officials, and hence historiography, is not mentioned. Instead, that treatise relies on the discussion of a deliberate syncretic method to explain the heterogeneity of the subcategory's contents, citing their potential advantages to rulers and potential drawbacks when compiled incautiously. Traces of the Han treatise's admonition against the consequences of improper compilation methods reappear in the Sui treatise's discussion of the sprawling, uncontrolled nature of its own "Miscellaneous Masters," but in this later context they are joined by a close parallel: The methods blamed for the discordant nature of "Miscellaneous Accounts." This recognition of the relationship between "*za*" methods and flawed record keeping practices is subtly reasserted through the association with the "scribal offices," and the connection between the miscellaneous Masters and Accounts is reinforced more explicitly through the presence of the titles listed in both categories, and the bibliographic history of proto-*leishu* like *Huanglan*.

The postfaces to both subcategories have thus developed a shared sense of mistrust of the historiographic value of texts that are compiled in a "*za*" way, that is, texts that draw from too broad a range of sources, without adherance to the normative standards that would have enabled them to be categorized more precisely. Moreover, in the Sui treatise, historiography is characterized as a discipline that relies more on the skills of archive maintenance and document collation than literary talent or analytical insight. All historiography is compilation, but not all

compilations are equal in value. These postfaces each highlight moments of this information management process that can result in problematic, unwieldy texts, focusing on generalized criticism of the perils of breadth at the expense of discernment. Issues of textual organization are obliquely addressed, and can be intuited from the relocation of encyclopedic texts like *Huanglan* to the maligned "Miscellaneous" subcategory. For other divisions of the bibliographic category of History, however, organizational structure is a key factor in the evaluation and categorization of texts.

2.3 The ordering of history: "Miscellaneous History"

The "Histories" section is divided into thirteen subcategories. Most of these subcategories are devoted to specific genres of writing, covering a limited range of topics: In addition to the "Miscellaneous Accounts" subcategory discussed above, there are subcategories for "Imperial diaries" ("Qiju zhu" 起居注), texts on "Ranks and titles" ("Zhiguan" 職官), "Ritual standards" ("Yizhu" 儀注), "Punishment and the law" ("Xingfa" 刑法), "Geography" ("Dili" 地理), "Genealogies" ("Puxi" 譜系), and "Bibliographic records" ("Bulu" 簿錄). Though it is not as obvious from its title, the "Old Affairs" ("Jiushi" 舊事) subcategory is similarly uniform in content, with the titles it records each generally suggesting collections of documents related to court affairs.[74] The types of text gathered in the remaining five categories are less obvious. These subcategories, entitled "Standard Histories" ("Zhengshi" 正史), "Ancient-style Histories" ("Gushi 古史), "Histories of Tyrants" ("Bashi" 霸史), and "Miscellaneous Histories" ("Zashi" 雜史) all contain historical texts that are not limited to specific topics, but are for the most part

[74] Note that while this section relates primarily to the establishment of laws and regulations and other political matters, this is also the subcategory that holds the decidedly more colorful *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記. See SS, 32.966.

defined by and named after the periods they cover, whether they be dynasties, reigns of individual rulers, or more broadly defined eras. As is typical for the Sui treatise, postfaces specify each subcategory's parameters, and although very few of the texts listed in these sections are extant, additional details can be gleaned from the patterns in naming convention. Together, these subcategories constitute an early effort to define "Standard History" as a bibliographic category, and evaluate it in contrast to other types of historiographic texts. The resulting understanding of what made certain works of history "standard" is quite different from that which would eventually gain traction among later scholars, but it is very much in keeping with the Sui treatise's overarching interest in methods of textual production and compilation. Its contrast with "Miscellaneous History," and its contribution to the ongoing definition of *za* as a descriptor of flawed compilation methods, provides the clearest illustration of how evaluation of organizational structure affected bibliographic system.

The notion that each dynastic period should be represented with a single, imperially authorized work of history did not become prevalent until long after the Sui treatise was compiled, and even then, remained only one of several possible connotations of the term *zheng shi*.[75] In the early Tang, there was even less consensus on the connotations of the term "Standard History." The series of imperial projects that led to the completion of the Sui treatise itself also

[75] Wilkinson uses late Tang references to a group of texts entitled "Histories of the Thirteen Dynasties" (*Shisan dai shishu* 十三代史書) to assert that by the late Tang "that the notion of a complete fixed set or canon of *Histories*, one per dynasty, covering the legitimate dynasties prior to the reigning dynasty, begins to emerge. See Wilkinson, *A New Manual*, 627. More conservative estimates point to the imperially commissioned publication of fifteen *Histories* covering the Han-Sui in the eleventh century as the earliest explicit attempt to stabilize the range of titles identified as "standard" in the same manner as for the twenty-four standard histories of the pre-Qing era several centuries later. See K.H.J. Gardiner, "Standard Histories, Han to Sui," in *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History*, eds. Donald D. Leslie, Colin Mackerras and Wang Gungwu (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press), 43.

involved the compilation of a new history of the Jin dynasty, histories of the Liang, Chen, Northern Qi, and Sui, as well as the consolidation of information pertaining to numerous dynasties in the composite histories *Nan shi* 南史 (History of the South) and *Bei shi* 北史 (History of the North).[76] Scholars point to these projects as the earliest clear examples of official imperial historiography as it would come to be defined in later periods, but the Sui bibliographic treatise—being a record of books composed during and before the Sui and not simply works *about* those periods—does not include any of them in its "Standard Histories." Instead, these texts are positioned among several other types of text, creating distinctions among them based on standards of format and organization.

The "Ancient-style Histories" subcategory contains many of the most familiar historical texts to employ a different format to those the "Standard Histories." The postface identifies texts within this subcategory as following the chronological style of *Chunqiu* and its associated texts. It begins by explaining that one of the earliest titles listed in this subcategory, a text entitled *Han ji* attributed to Xun Yue 荀悅 (148–209) of the Eastern Han, was commissioned by Emperor Xian of the Han (r. 189–220) with the specific instructions to match the form (*ti* 體) of the *Zuo zhuan*.[77] This is a contrast to the format of works by Ban Gu and Sima Qian, described here as having become the benchmarks for works of history only after the deterioration of the so-called *shi guan* discussed above. But new archeological evidence would soon provide a new argument to justify the continued use of the annalistic format. At the beginning of the Western Jin, a cache of texts was discovered in a burial mount in Ji Commandery at the beginning of the Western Jin. The Sui treatise relates the rest of the contents of the "Ancient-style Histories" not to the

[76] Gardiner, "Standard Histories," 46, 48–49.

[77] SS, 33.959.

idealized model of the Zhou dynasty, received through transmitted texts like *Zhouli*, but to one of the Ji tumulus texts, which would come to be known as *Zhu shu jinian* 竹書紀年(*Bamboo Annals*). This work prompted a reevaluation of the annalistic style:

> Its composition in all cases proceeds year by year, and the substance of its contents is broadly like those of *Chunqiu*. As for the events it recorded, most correspond to those recorded in the *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*. In response to this, scholars took it that the *Chunqiu* was thus the standard method (*zheng fa* 正法) for ancient historiographic records. There are many such compositions that imitate the form of the *Annals*.
>
> 其著書皆編年相次，文意大似春秋經。諸所記事，多與春秋、左氏扶同。學者因之，以為春秋則古史記之正法，有所著述，多依春秋之體。[78]

Shi ji and *Han shu* established new models for the composition of history in later periods that would make annalistic texts less prominent, but the discovery of the text here provides ample justification for a reappraisal of their position. Although the style was already familiar to scholars from *Chunqiu* and its commentaries, the discovery of *Zhu shu jinian* provided scholars with convincing evidence that it had once been considered the standard format for works of history, creating a new justification for the continued use of the format.

Although the insight afforded by *Zhu shu jinian* was enough to suggestion that *Shi ji* and *Han shu* did not conform to Zhou standards, the "Standard Histories" postface takes steps to ensure that their format is not without historical precedent. It presents Sima Tan and Sima Qian as those responsible for the revival of the ways of the *shi guan* following the apparent decadence of the Qin, and, in a passage reminiscent of the encomium to Sima Qian's *Han shu* biography, associates their work with past precedents in the form of the *Chunqiu*, *Zuo zhuan*, *Guo yu*, *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, and *Chu Han chunqiu* 楚漢春秋.[79] It is this synthetic format that goes on to

[78] SS, 33.959.

[79] SS, 33.956; HS, 62.2737.

become the basis of the *Han shu*, and to provide the model for future works of "Standard History." Both the annalistic style of the "Ancient-style histories" and the hybrid model offered by *Shi ji* and *Han shu* are treated as authoritative patterns for the composition of historiography, each with their own claim to classical precedents.

The presence of the "Histories of Tyrants" subcategory, however, suggests that factors other than format contributed to the definition of the various types of history. That subcategory records works related to the history of "illegitimate" regimes, prefiguring later instances in which the "Standard" of "Standard Histories" referred to whether or not the period in question was recognized as part of the legitimate transmission of dynastic power.[80] The postface describes the chaos following the decline of the Western Jin, noting that throughout the ensuing Sixteen Kingdoms period historical records continued to be compiled.[81] These records purportedly form the basis of the section, which contains numerous titles related to the exploits of Shi Le 石勒, and chronicles related to the Southern Yan 南燕, Liang 涼, and other states of the Sixteen Kingdoms period. But the section also includes the titles *Dunhuang shilu* 敦煌實錄 (The veritable record of Dunhuang) and the chronicle of the Sichuan region, *Huayang guo zhi* 華陽國志 (Record of the kingdom of Huayang), suggesting that it also functioned as a repository for regional histories not specifically tied to any of the Sixteen Kingdoms.[82] Nevertheless, the placement of this group of texts within their own bibliographic category suggests that political legitimacy also played a role in determining which texts could be considered "Standard."

[80] For this connotation of *zheng* see Wilkinson, *A New Manual*, 625.

[81] SS, 33.964.

[82] SS, 33.963.

While the "Ancient-style Histories" postface indicates that historical precedent exerted considerable influence on the establishment of preferred forms of organization, and the "Histories of Tyrants" section shows that format alone did not qualify a text as "Standard," the "Miscellaneous Histories" postface is structured entirely around the consequences of deviating from standard organizational patterns. As with the "Miscellaneous Accounts" postface, it positions these potential flaws as the consequences of the Zhou cataclysm, in a manner that contrasts the "Standard Histories" postface's emphasis on the revitalization of historiographic traditions in the Han. While "Standard Histories" posits that the compositions of Sima Qian and Ban Gu established a new authoritative historiographic format with ties to classical precedents, "Miscellaneous Histories" describes the continued disintegration of historiography that follow the Qin's "expulsion of ancient texts" 自擺去古文, after which "documents and texts were scattered and lost" 篇籍遺散. [83] The first examples provided also date from the Han. These include *Zhanguo ce* and *Chu Han chunqiu*, two texts that were previously cited as providing material for *Shi ji*. These texts are emblematic of the ambivalence with which the Sui treatise treats "Miscellaneous" texts: Though it is evident that the information they contain is at times suitable to be extracted and re-presented in other formats, "in their diction and arrangement of events, each do not resemble *Chunqiu*, *Shi ji* or *Han shu*, and are likely to have been composed hastily. They do not meet the standards (*zheng* 正) of historical documents" 皆不與春秋、史記、漢書相似，蓋率爾而作，非史策之正也.[84] "Miscellaneous" histories and accounts, though different from one another, are contrasted with standard histories in virtually the same

[83] SS, 33.962.

[84] Ibid.

terms. Both are criticized for being hastily composed, yet remain useful because contain elements that remain useful when read cautiously.

Moving forward in time, the next texts addressed are those composed in the last days of the Han dynasty and in the tumult of the Three Kingdoms period. The postface reports that at this time the scribal offices were again unable to uphold their regular duties, leaving the maintenance of record keeping to "erudite and accomplished gentlemen" 博達之士 who "recorded what they saw and heard, to make complete what had been lost" 愍其廢絕，各記聞見，以備遺亡. This presents a more vivid explanation of the notion that political disorder leads to unreliable historical documents, and creates an analogy between the disorder of the Zhou cataclysm and the fall of the Han. Political and military upheaval impedes government institutions that would have otherwise could provide a single standardized and complete record, leaving well-intentioned but disunited scholars to provide many contrasting historiographic voices. Rather than acknowledge the potential benefits of multiple perspectives, the postface proceeds to enumerate additional flaws of the texts produced in this period of disunity:

> After this, many talents admired them, and those compiling texts grew even more numerous. Moreover, from the Later Han on, many scholars made copies and epitomes of the old histories, crafting them into their own texts. Some began from the Sovereign of Men,[85] others were restricted to the recent era. Each had their own purpose, and in form and structure they were unorthodox.
>
> 是後群才景慕，作者甚眾。又自後漢已來，學者多鈔撮舊史，自為一書，或起自人皇，或斷之近代，亦各其志，而體制不經。[86]

[85] I presume that here *ren huang* 人皇 is not a general reference to an emperor, but to one of three legendary figures of antiquity, the others being the Sovereigns of Heaven and Earth. See, for example, the *Taiping yulan* entry for *Ren huang*, which occurs immediately after those for *Tian huang* 天皇 and *Di huang* 地皇, and cites several descriptions of the figure from obscure sources. Li Fang 李昉 (925–996), et al., *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Taipei: Taibei shangwu yinshuguan, 1975), 78.492a–b.

[86] SS, 33.962

In addition to the reference to the copying and collection of material from older texts, which recalls the presentation of the historian as archivist and document gatherer throughout the *Shi* section, this passage is notable for its description of the form and structure (*ti zhi* 體制) of "Miscellaneous Histories." The use of "unorthodox" (*bu jing* 不經) to refer to their disorderly nature echoes the previous description of the texts as outside of the "standard," the term *jing* suggestive of both canonicity and orderliness. Further parallels to other types of "miscellaneous" text are apparent in the subsequent passage as well:

> Furthermore, they rely on the gossip of the lanes, on oddities and nonsense, making it difficult to distinguish between true and false. However, they generally all cover the affairs of emperors and kings. Honorable men of comprehensive knowledge must broadly draw from extensive reading, and in this way, draw out the essentials. Thus, these texts have been prepared and preserved, and entitled the *Za* Histories.
>
> 又有委巷之說，迂怪妄誕，真虛莫測。然其大抵皆帝王之事，通人君子，必博采廣覽，以酌其要，故備而存之，謂之雜史。[87]

Like the description of the "Miscellaneous Accounts," this passage addresses the unreliable sources upon which its texts rely and their unusual content, but also the fact that scholars have no choice but to comb through these erratic texts to identify the valuable portions. This prescribed reading method parallels the way the *Shi ji* was thought to have relied upon the "miscellaneous" histories that preceded it, and justifies the preservation of these texts and their presence in the treatise itself.

Descriptions of both "Miscellaneous Histories" and "Miscellaneous Accounts" frame the texts they contain as the product of hasty, needlessly far-reaching compilation efforts, and attribute the root cause of these efforts to turmoil within the court. Moreover, each postface asserts that, despite these faults, their texts remain an important part of a scholar's library, and

[87] SS, 33.962.

must be consulted carefully to ascertain their value as contributions to historiography. While each postface offers additional details to establish the specific parameters of the subcategory to which it is appended, both make use of virtually the same understanding of *za* as a reference to a problematic method of compilation. Though the wording is different, the methods described here can also be identified in the "Miscellaneous Masters." Where the two miscellaneous subdivisions of history point to hasty composition, "Miscellaneous Masters" critiques compilations compiled by the "reckless" (*fang* 放), a term that implies an indulgent lack of restraint. In all cases, the results of such broad studies are each described with the term *za*, the final, subtle confirmation of their mutual reliance on a shared definition of the word.

2.4 Conclusion: Miscellaneousness as method

The Sui treatise uses an idealized vision of Zhou order to establish a set of ideal principles by which later historiographic efforts can be judged, and uses its collapse and the subsequent cultural decline to provide an explanation for the failure of later works to meet this impossible standard. This narrative also provides a model for the understanding of how later instances of political collapse can lead to similar consequences in the realm of textual compilation. The Sui treatise further positions "*za*-ness" as an affliction unique to textual forms reliant on the gathering and organization of documents into new compilations, qualities which are most apparent in the treatise's discussion of "Miscellaneous" forms of historiography. The association between "Miscellaneous" methods and the management of documentary sources is also detectable in the list of "Miscellaneous Masters," through the inclusion of *Huanglan* and its ilk. In the past, these texts had been positioned alongside historiographic texts, each relying upon the concatenation of portions of text extracted from multiple pre-existing sources. The

bibliographic role of *za*, then, is to provide a shorthand for all the ways that this process of historiographic compilation can go wrong.

Though the close relationship of *za* texts to historiography manifests only in the Sui treatise, the connotations of the term throughout these sections owes much to the model offered in the Han treatise's "Miscellaneous School." There, the term *za* provides a bibliographic home for texts that were thought to have resulted from the deliberate syncretization of material originally associated with other schools of thought. This usage, articulated according to the same patterns as the other philosophical lineages that surround it in the broader Masters category, bears only a slight resemblance to other uses of *za* in the Han treatise. "Miscellaneous *fu*" uses it to emphasize the gathering of material thought to belong more normatively to author-based sources, and in "Miscellaneous Divination" it denotes a group of topics without clear classical precedents. Only the "Miscellaneous School" postface insists that these acts of gathering and combination can result in something greater—or lesser—than the sums of their parts. The Sui treatise builds upon this foundation to transform the "Miscellaneous" from a theorized school of thought into a container for a variety of works, each relying on reorganization and recontextualization of older material. This understanding of *za* also defines the contents of "Miscellaneous Accounts" and "Miscellaneous Histories," whose descriptive postfaces make an explicit connection between the problems of *za* texts and the organizational, editorial responsibilities of historians.

The incorporation of these texts within this cycle of acquiring, compiling, and reading texts is only possible thanks to the Sui treatise's greater emphasis on the material details of textual production. Increased attention to the material details of how books were put together, as opposed to the Han treatise's broader interest in the maintenance and transmission of both

written and oral or lineage-based traditions, makes it possible to treat organization and structure as factors of equal importance to content. The resulting use of the term *za* for problematically far-reaching and disorganized textual compositions creates the impression of a denigrated group of compilers who, whether deliberately or because of their own shortcomings, created "miscellaneous" works to the dismay of their colleagues in bibliography and historiography. The Sui treatise's conception of *za* takes many cues from the tactics used to relegate texts with encyclopedic ambitions like *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi* to the "Miscellaneous School" in the Han treatise. In fact, these "hasty" and "reckless" compilers were quite frequently also those responsible for the maintenance of bibliographic records and archives that made the Sui treatise possible. Two of Liu Xiang's own textual compilations, *Zhanguo ce* and *Lie nü zhuan*, are in the Sui treatise are removed from their original positions in the *Chunqiu* and *Rujia* sections, and treated as foundational texts in "Miscellaneous Histories" and "Accounts." Scholars the Sui treatise's general preface credits with creating its predecessors, such as the *Qi lu* of Ruan Xiaoxu and the *Qi zhi* 七志 (Seven treatises) of Ren Fang 任昉 (460–508), are also credited with numerous *za* works. Despite the Sui treatise's palpable antagonism towards *za* texts, the broad erudition and appetite for textual knowledge required to create such texts were equally vital to bibliographers.

One way to resolve this apparent contradiction is to consider the position of the Sui treatise within the sweeping institutional reforms and developments of the early Tang. When the Sui treatise discusses composition practices, it frequently points to periods of disunion and decline as instigators of flawed methods of textual organization. It is not hard to imagine that the Sui treatise's Tang compilers would have been willing to dismiss much of the Northern and Southern dynasties' scholarly output for the same reasons, regardless of how much their own

work depended on that of their supposedly decadent predecessors. But the solution the Sui treatise offers to the problems that *za* texts present is, ironically, the application of reading methods as broad and expansive as those that led to the production of the texts themselves. To conquer the unbounded, sprawling expanse of textual information left behind by unscrupulous compilers, scholars must push the boundaries of their own erudition even further, combing through an expanded corpus to locate and draw out "essential" details. These essentials, presumably, will eventually be also used as the building blocks for new generations of compiled texts. The Sui treatise, despite its ambivalence, does not after all completely disavow the utility of either the *za* texts or the skills required to produce them.

The methods required to gather and make sense of this wealth of newly generated textual knowledge were different from those used to craft the bibliographic treatise's elaborate system of textual types, though both could be performed only by those with unimpeded access to books. The *za*-prefixed subcategories of the Sui treatise provide a view of the intersections between a retrospective, scholastic approach to textual organization and the less systematized methods through which texts continued to be compiled, circulated, and absorbed into other works as citations, excerpts, or allusions. New texts were immediately and seamlessly enmeshed within a culture of textual circulation, reuse, and appropriation that had developed largely independently of the classical tradition. Though scholars would actively participate in these new forms of textual production and appropriation, the promise of systematization offered by the bibliographic model remained persuasive. The resulting bibliography at times seems uneasy with the boundary-breaking nature of compiled and encyclopedic texts, yet also promotes the broad erudition that was required to produce them. Nevertheless, the Sui bibliographic treatise represents only one approach to the management of texts. The remaining chapters of this

dissertation will turn towards a few examples from within this culture of textual production and appropriation, examining them as both extensions of and alternatives to the bibliographic approach to the organization and systematization of the written record.

Chapter Three
Supplementing the *Records* and *Anecdotes*: Annotation and Bibliography

3.0 Annotation, erudition, and disorderly text

Upon completing his annotations to *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms), Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372–451) submitted the text to the Liu-Song imperial court, along with a memorial explaining the significance of such an ambitious project. His memorial explains that, while historian Chen Shou's 陳壽 (233–297) *Record* is one of the most "excellent histories of the recent age," it is not without fault: The text from time to time omits important events and individuals, abbreviates complicated stories, and mixes up certain details. To correct these faults, Pei Songzhi's annotations draw from the many extant records and documents that offer alternative accounts and additional details about the period recorded in the text, to produce the annotated edition of the text presented to the throne. But access to these documents is not an immediate corrective, and can in fact create problems of its own. In describing the parameters of his annotation project, Pei also addresses the challenges of dealing with so many documents:

> Note that, although the Three Kingdoms period was not long, its events also concern the Han and Jin. From beginning to end, this period spans one hundred years. The notes and records [pertaining to it] are cluttered, and constantly contradict one another. Among that which Chen Shou did not record, there are matters that should be preserved, thus those that he has failed to catch have been gathered here to fill in the gaps. In some cases, multiple accounts may discuss the same event, and yet in their wording contain contradictions and discord. In others, even the events themselves are different. Suspecting that there is no way to make judgments between them, I have copied all of them into the text to create a comprehensive collection of these differing accounts.
>
> 按三國雖歷年不遠，而事關漢、晉。首尾所涉，出入百載。注記紛錯，每多舛互。其壽所不載，事宜存錄者，則罔不畢取以補其闕。或同說一事而辭有乖雜，或出事本異，疑不能判，並皆抄內以備異聞。[1]

[1] The memorial is preserved as an appendix to *Sanguo zhi zhu* 三國志注, the title given to annotated *Sanguo zhi*, and is included in most modern editions of the text. See SGZ, 1471.

The materials from which historical narratives are composed present a cacophony of contrasting voices, and the process of stringing them together and whittling them down to create an orderly, intelligible, and consistent record inevitably results in the omission of detail. In returning directly to this expansive corpus of documents, Pei Songzhi's appended citations do not attempt to rewrite the narrative presented in Chen Shou's work, rather they supplement it with additional content.

Pei's account of the complications of textual proliferation is reminiscent of those offered by compilers of imperial bibliographic treatises, employing a similar vocabulary of disorder, heterogeneity, and "miscellaneousness" to describe the condition of historical documents. But his solution to this problem of textual disorder is an inversion of the strategy adopted by these bibliographers. Where the Sui treatise bemoans the clutter and disorganization of compiled texts and invents new *za*-prefixed categories to confine them and limit their influence, the annotations to the *Sanguo zhi* reject this concept of books as indivisible objects each bound in whole to a specific bibliographic category. Instead, the annotation process treats each text as a corpus in miniature, whose components can be divided and associated with other texts. It includes multiple accounts of the same event from various sources, even when those sources differ significantly from one another. The result is a work that in many ways resembles the compiled texts containing the work of many authors that would eventually be categorized as "Miscellaneous" in the Sui bibliographic treatise. Like those works, it relies upon many unsanctioned or uncategorizable sources, is uniquely or confusingly organized, and thus, according to the logic of the bibliographic treatise has the potential to become dangerously inaccurate and unorthodox. The annotated *Sanguo zhi*, despite of Pei's far-reaching annotations, would escape this fate, and be categorized as "Standard History" in the Sui treatise and long after.

Although accepted as an integral component of the text's "standard" historiography, Pei's annotations have been criticized by later readers, who return to the familiar rhetoric of miscellaneousness and discord to describe the text's flaws. One of Pei Songzhi's earliest and harshest critics is the Tang scholar Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661–721), whose *Shi tong* 史通 (A comprehensive study of historiography) weaves together analyses of numerous works from the Northern and Southern Dynasties and early Tang in a sweeping historiographic critique. In his discussion of the annotations to *Sanguo zhi*, Liu Zhiji would also be among the first to associate Pei Songzhi's work with that of the Liang dynasty scholar Liu Xiaobiao 劉孝標 (462–521), whose annotations to *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (Recent anecdotes and the talk of the age) have become a similarly indispensable addition to that text.[2] The objects of Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao's scholarship are quite different from one another, belonging to different bibliographic

[2] *Nan shi* records that Liu Xiaobiao was originally named Fawu 法武, although the character *wu* is likely to have been a replacement for *hu* 虎, in avoidance of a character used in the name of Li Hu 李虎, the grandfather of the first Tang emperor. He changed his name to Jun 峻 in his adolescence, but is typically referred to with his style name (*zi* 字), Xiaobiao 孝標. See Li Yanshou 李延壽 (fl. 7th century), et al., *Nan shi* 南史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 49.1218. Henceforth NS. Though the text is now always referred to as *Shishuo xinyu*, early references may use *Shishuo* 世說, *Xu Shishuo* 續世說, or *Shishuo xinshu* 世說新書. The title *Shishuo xinyu* became standard only after the 11th century. Various translations of *Shishuo xinyu* have been employed, and *A New Account of Tales of the World*, used by Richard Mather in his complete translation of the text, has become standard. For an overview of the original titles of the text, see Graham Sanders, "A New Note on *Shishuo xinyu*," *Early Medieval China* 20 (2014): 9–16. On the translation of *Shishuo xinyu* see Albert E. Dien, "On the Name *Shishuo xinyu*," *Early Medieval China* 20 (2014): 7–8. Dien suggests "Traditional Tales and Recent Accounts." I follow Dien's argument that *Shishuo* and *xinyu* should be considered two independent but related phrases, but retain earlier translators' interpretation of *shi* 世 as "of the current age" or "throughout the ages." Jack W. Chen, for example, has used both "Recent Anecdotes and the Talk of the Age" and "Recent Anecdotes from the Talk of the Ages," in Jack W. Chen, "Classifications of People and Conduct: Liu Shao's *Treatise on Personality* and Liu Yiqing's *Recent Anecdotes from the Talk of the Ages*," in *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook*, ed. Wendy Swartz et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 350–69; and Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty: On Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), 233n61.

categories and quite distinct in both content and structure. In grouping the annotations together, Liu recognizes among them certain shared characteristics, beginning a long tradition of treating these two sets of annotations as the product of the same basic methodology. Liu Zhiji describes this methodology, and the scholars behind it, in ambivalent terms:

> Next are the gentlemen fond of affairs. They contemplate the whole breadth of differing accounts, yet are short of talent and meager in their efforts. Unable to accomplish anything on their own, they hope to race beyond the herd by clinging to the tails of thoroughbreds. In this way, they grasp differing phrasings of the myriad historians, and with them supplement the gaps in the writings of their predecessors.
>
> 次有好事之子，思廣異聞，而才短力微，不能自達，庶憑驥尾，千里絕羣，遂乃掇眾史之異辭，補前書之所闕。[3]

Liu Zhiji borrows certain phrases from Pei Songzhi's own description of the annotation process. Both this critique and Pei's memorial mention the importance of "differing accounts" (*yiwen* 異聞) and concur that such variations may serve to supplement the gaps (*buque* 補闕) in earlier texts. Liu Zhiji's more denigrating comments, however, are reminiscent of a different text: the Sui treatise's description of the unscrupulous nature of the members of its imagined Miscellaneous tradition of Masters texts. In Liu's conception, annotators "contemplate the whole breadth of differing accounts" and yet lack both effort and talent. Similarly, the compilers of Miscellaneous Masters texts described by the Sui treatise possess limited talent and yet study extensively, producing texts whose contents are "incorrect yet sweeping." Both critiques pair potential positive values associated with sweeping breadth and erudition—*bo* 博 and *guang* 廣—with negative consequences of such comprehensive ambitions. Though Liu Zhiji is not directly alluding to the Sui treatise, both position the objects of their critique in the chasm between

[3] Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661–721), *Shi tong* 史通, annot. Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (1679–1762) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015), 122.

concision and erudition, products of a surplus of textual resources and a deficit of discretion and talent.

The two sets of annotations would continue to be treated with ambivalence. Shades of this anxiety about the unwieldy superfluity and disorganization of the annotations are present even in the scholarly works that find great value in the breadth of each set of annotations. Later scholars would draw from these annotations as sources for the titles and contents of texts that were not transmitted in any other form, the deteriorated textual record transforming these superfluous additions into a precious source of knowledge about lost texts. To extract this information and make it usable in this new context, however, they would organize it according to the bibliographic schema employed in imperial bibliographic treatises, thus solving the problem of annotators' own bibliographic disorder. In exchanging the context afforded by these original arrangements for the organization and intelligibility of the bibliographic schema, such treatises divorce the cited sources from their original locations within the annotations to the *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*. As scholarly tools, these supplemental bibliographies are useful references. But they also represent a vast simplification of the complex networks of associative relationships constructed through annotation and co-citation.

This chapter reconsiders the disorderliness of historiographic annotation. I begin by considering this disorderliness as it plays out in the treatment of one important historical event both texts and their annotations. Where the original texts provide only sparse details, and situate the event among their own structural and thematic patterns, annotations offer an expanded scope by appending additional information and alternative accounts. The resulting sequences of narratives are indeed digressive and contradictory, exemplifying the features that led critics like Liu Zhiji to dismiss historiographic annotation as an unnecessary disarrangement of the historical

record. But by transgressing the boundaries constructed through the patterns of the texts to which they are appended, annotations also encourage comparison and evaluation of both the base texts and the cluster of sources from which they cite material, forcing readers to consider how textual features large and small shape our understanding of the past. In the first two chapters of this dissertation, I argued that a comparison of the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise to the *Han shu* treatise shows the consequences of a shift in the way scholars conceived of textual order. The bibliographic endeavor that was once discussed primarily as an effort to untangle the relationship between written texts and their orally transmitted antecedents transformed into an investigation into the production and circulation of books. Though historiographic annotation is in other ways quite different from the approach taken in bibliographic treatises, what distinguishes both forms of scholarship from their predecessors in the Han dynasty is this pronounced interest in the compilation and circulation of books. This unique perspective on the textuality of history is afforded by the format of the annotations themselves, which can be distinguished from earlier forms of textual commentary and expansion through their inclusion of the titles and authors of the works they cite. In the second section of this chapter, I discuss the history of this form of annotation, addressing its origins in earlier traditions of scholarship, and relationship to the many forms of compiled text that were invented and flourished in the early medieval period.

I then discuss the ways later readers engaged with these annotations. Later readers, especially those in the Qing dynasty, treated annotation not as a disruption of the historiographic record, but as an important source of bibliographic data about works that would otherwise be unknown. This is, in a sense, a solution to the disorderliness of the annotations: What were once rambling excerpts from a cacophony of divergent voices become an orderly sequence of titles, organized to indicate not how each of their citations relate to the passage to which it is appended,

but to suggest the relationships of cited texts to one another. Inserting them into the hierarchical structure of the bibliography, however, conceals the complex patterns of annotation in which they were originally embedded. I conclude with a new approach to the bibliographic value of these annotations. Rather than extract the bibliographic data from these texts and reorganize it within the traditional system of bibliographic categories, I consider how annotations are deployed within each text, including frequency of citation and co-citation, and a host of other features that have been overlooked in earlier studies. This approach makes it possible to consider the early medieval corpus not as clusters of monadic books divided from one another by generic and formal boundaries, but as an intricate network of overlapping and interrelated texts.

3.1 Citation in context: The coup of Cao Mao in *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations

The conclusion to the *Sanguo zhi* biography of Cao Mao 曹髦 (241–260), who reigned briefly as emperor of the Wei dynasty, begins simply by stating the date of Cao Mao's death and his age at the time of death. This is followed by a long series of annotations explaining that Cao Mao was in fact murdered, killed by opposing forces at the end of a disastrous coup against the grand general Sima Zhao 司馬昭 (211–265). Though the young Cao Mao held the throne, he had become the Wei emperor only due to the efforts of the generals of the Sima clan, who had been the de facto rulers of the Wei since Emperor Ming, (Cao Rui 曹叡, d. 239, r. 226–239) entrusted the regency to Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179–251) on his deathbed. The failure of Cao Mao's coup would pave the way for the rise of Sima Zhao's heir, Sima Yan 司馬炎 (236–290, r. 266–290), who would complete the usurpation and become the first emperor of the Jin dynasty. In *Sanguo zhi*, details of the coup are offered only in a statement delivered by the Empress Dowager Guo 郭太后 (d. 263), who places as much emphasis on Cao Mao's bad behavior prior to the coup as she

does on the attack itself, perhaps to disentangle herself from accusations of complicity.[4] The annotations that precede the Empress's statement provide much more detail. Rather than provide a single, authoritative description of what occurred, they present information through narrative fragments drawn from six other texts. These passages do not explicitly contradict one another, but they linger on different details and frame the action of the coup in slightly different ways.

All six texts cited in this sequence appear in the Sui treatise. Three are listed as "Miscellaneous Histories,", and three are treated as "Ancient-style Histories." When cited in annotations, the distinction between the chronological annalistic format and the less coherent patterns of the "miscellaneous" histories dissolves. Each anecdote's original position in a broader pattern is exchanged for a new network of relationships, linking each cited text to the passage to which they are appended, and to one another. The first and longest passage cited is drawn from *Han Jin chunqiu* 漢晉春秋 (Annals of the Han and Jin), ascribed to the historian Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒 (d. 383?) and recognized as an "Ancient-style History" in the Sui treatise.[5] Xi Zuochi's account begins by describing Cao Mao's anger at the growing power of Sima Zhao, which prompts him to summon the officials Wang Chen 王沈 (d. 266), Wang Jing 王經 (d. 260) and Wang Ye 王業 and order them to participate in his coup. Wang Jing offers remonstrance, arguing that Sima Zhao already controls too much power in the court, and any attempt to depose him will end in military failure and political humiliation. Undeterred, Cao Mao formally orders the three to participate in the coup and leaves to inform the empress of his plans. Though they

[4] SGZ, 4.143–44.

[5] The complete *Han Jin chunqiu* is no longer extant, but excerpts such as those cited in *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations have gathered together in an anthology of annalistic histories of the Jin dynasty: Tang Qiu 湯球 (1804–1881) and Huang Shi 黃奭 (1809–1853), eds. *Zhong jia biannianti Jin shi* 眾家編年體晉史 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1989), 3–88.

remained silent during their meeting with Cao Mao, Wang Ye and Wang Chen immediately leave to warn Sima Zhao of the plot. Despite his earlier remonstrance, Wang Jing does not accompany them.[6] The information provided by Cao Mao's disloyal officials would allow easy victory for Sima Zhao and bring the Wei dynasty one step closer to its demise.

Rather than elaborate on the significance of these events in later history, the additional annotations appended here instead focus on Wang Jing's refusal to inform Sima Zhao. The first is cited from *Shi yu* 世語 (Tales of the ages) of Guo Ban 郭頒 (fl. late 3rd century), one of the texts the Sui treatise categorizes as "Miscellaneous History."[7] The passage suggests that Wang Jing was partially complicit in his peers' decision to inform Sima Zhao, reporting that, "On the grounds of rectitude, Wang Jing did not go [with them], thus Chen and Ye conveyed the message on his behalf" 尚書王經以正直不出，因沈、業申意.[8] Earlier in the same chapter, Pei Songzhi sharply rebukes *Shi yu*, claiming that the text is "Atrocious, completely discordant, and utterly despicable. From time to time it records oddities, so it has been disseminated widely in the current age" 蹇乏全無宮商，最為鄙劣，以時有異事，故頗行於世, and laments that historians' overreliance on it for their own work has led to frequent errors.[9] Nevertheless, it is cited a total of eighty-nine times throughout his annotations. In the case of Wang Jing, *Shi yu* is cited to supplement details missing from both Empress Guo's speech and the longer account

[6] SGZ, 4.144.

[7] The Sui treatise uses the longer title *Han Jin shi yu* 漢晉世語 (Tales of the Han and Jin ages). Pei Songzhi also uses this title in comments describing the text, but in citations it is always referred to with the abbreviated title *Shi yu*.

[8] SGZ, 4.144.

[9] SGZ, 4.133.

provided by *Han Jin chunqiu*, regardless of the annotator's attitude towards the text. After the *Han Jin chunqiu* passage, another comment from the annotator notes:

> Although Xi Zuochi's text was the last to be published, its description of events is relatively complete and orderly. Thus, Xi's words are recorded first, and the remaining comments that offer slight variation shall follow
>
> 習鑿齒書，雖最後出，然述此事差有次第。故先載習語，以其餘所言微異者次其後。[10]

In this statement, no trace of Pei's earlier dismissal of *Shi yu* can be found, only the caveat that the other cited texts differ slightly from Xi Zuochi's version. The citation of *Jin zhugong zan* 晉諸公贊 (*Encomia on the Various Lords of the Jin*) that follows presents the moment differently: "When Chen and Ye were about to leave, they called out for Wang Jing. Jing did not go with them, but replied 'My friends, go on!'" 沈、業將出，呼王經。經不從，曰：「吾子行矣！」.[11] In both accounts, Wang Jing does not accompany Chen and Ye or try to stop them. While *Shi yu* depicts Wang Jing aligning with Sima Zhao by conveying his endorsement of Wang Chen and Wang Ye along with them, *Jin zhugong zan* merely reports that he bade them farewell as they left to report to Sima Zhao. Wang Jing performs his allegiance to Cao Mao first by dutifully remonstrating against a poor tactical decision, then by acquiescing to Cao Mao's command despite his earlier protests, and finally by refusing to accompany Wang Chen and Wang Ye in their deceit. With only Pei Songzhi's prior skepticism to suggest that the *Shi yu* account is inaccurate, it is difficult to decide which account to accept. Whether Wang Jing meant to convey his complicity in Ye and Chen's decision to inform Sima Zhao or not, following the failure of the coup, he was deemed traitorous, and both he and his mother were executed.

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[10] SGZ, 4.144.

[11] SGZ, 4.145.

The remaining citations focus on a difficult decision faced by a subordinate of Cao Mao's rival that parallels Wang Jing's moral quandary. The coup ends with Cao Mao's assassination by the cavalryman Cheng Ji 成濟 (d. 260). In the *Han Jin chunqiu* citation that begins this sequence, Cao Mao personally draws his sword to battle the army of Jia Chong 賈充 (217–282), the commander of the capital defense forces. After this, Cheng Ji questions Jia Chong about the proper course of action. To do nothing would be abandon his duty to protect the capital, but regardless of Cao Mao's intentions, attacking him directly would still be considered regicide. Jia Chong's response is blunt: "You lot have been hired and fed precisely for situations like today. There is absolutely no question about how to handle it" 「畜養汝等，正謂今日。今日之事，無所問也。」.[12] After hearing this, Cheng Ji impales Cao Mao on his spear, killing him. Sima Zhao's response to the coup is presented as wholly ambivalent. Shocked to hear of the emperor's death, he falls to the ground and exclaims, "What will the people now say about me?" 天下其謂我何？[13] In the *Han Jin chunqiu* account, Jia Chong gives the order to kill the emperor without hesitation, and both Sima Zhao and Cheng Ji are forced to deal with its consequences. Like Wang Jing, Cheng Ji is thrust into a situation in which he is forced to make an impossible decision, and like Wang Jing, he was also punished with execution in the aftermath of the coup.

Subsequent annotations present the same event with a variety of subtle variations, but as with Wang Jing all focus on the events of the coup itself rather than its broader consequences. The first, from historian Gan Bao's 干寶 annalistic *Jin ji* 晉紀 (Chronicle of the Jin) merely alters the actions Cheng Ji takes to stop Cao Mao, describing him as "extending his spear to

[12] SGZ, 4.144

[13] Ibid.

obstruct the imperial carriage" 抽戈犯蹕 rather than impaling him through the chest.[14] The final annotation to this section, from *Wei mo zhuan* 魏末傳 (Account of the end of the Wei), depicts the final confrontation in greater detail:[15]

> Jia Chong cried out to Cheng Ji, "If the Sima clan is to fall, what chance have you lot at extending your line for one more generation? Attack now, why don't you!" Ji and his brother Cui ordered those in their command to strike then turned back and said, "Are we to kill him? Or merely capture him?" Chong responded: "Kill him." As their weapons crossed, the emperor said, "Lay down your arms!" The forces of the grand general [Sima Zhao] all obeyed. Ji and his brother then struck the emperor from the front, causing him to fall from his carriage.
>
> 賈充呼帳下督成濟謂曰：「司馬家事若敗，汝等豈復有種乎？何不出擊！」倅兄弟二人乃帥帳下人出，顧曰：「當殺邪？執邪？」充曰：「殺之。」兵交，帝曰：「放仗！」大將軍士皆放仗。濟兄弟因前刺帝，帝倒車下。[16]

Though it offers greater detail, the *Wei mo zhuan* account does not clarify the ambiguity of the situation. Jia Chong is given a slightly longer speech that appeals to his soldiers' futures rather than their debt to Sima Zhao. Ji is joined by his brother Cui, and both are depicted as being hesitant to commit regicide. This leads Jia Chong to give an even more explicit command. Yet the other soldiers prove their ultimate loyalty to the Wei by surrendering when given the order by Cao Mao, while Ji and Cui go on to mount the attack that would kill the emperor.

Between the brief citation of *Jin ji* and this longer passage from *Wei mo zhuan*, a longer citation from *Weishi chunqiu* 魏氏春秋 (Annals of the Wei clan) recounts the entire coup from Cao Mao's initial meeting with his advisors until his death. It presents these events almost entirely from Cao Mao's perspective, glossing over the dilemmas faced by both Wang Jing and

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[14] Ibid.

[15] *Wei mo zhuan* is listed in the Sui treatise as a "Miscellaneous History," and neither it nor *Sanguo zhi* annotations record its compiler.

[16] SGZ, 4.144.

Cheng Ji. Wang Jing appears only as silent witness to Cao Mao ordering the attack, and Cheng Ji responds to Jia Chong's exhortation to battle without a moment's hesitation. The most striking element of the *Weishi chunqiu* account is the way it suggests the catastrophic consequences of Cao Mao's failure through added description of how the coup resonates with the natural world. In this version, Cao Mao plans to strike in the evening, after raiding an arsenal to recover weapons and armor, but rain forces insurrectionists to delay their strike. Their attack the following day plays out much as it does in other versions, but *Weishi chunqiu* adds a few additional words that cast Cao Mao's participation in the violence in a new light:

> Jia Chong arrived, and the emperor's troops were scattered. The emperor, still bearing the title 'Son of Heaven,' grasped his sword and entered the fray, and no one among the masses dared to encroach upon him.
>
> 賈充自外而入，帝師潰散，猶稱天子，手劍奮擊，眾莫敢逼。[17]

This reminder of the celestial source of imperial authority gives a new context to Jia Chong's need to urge his troops into battle, their reticence caused not by an uttered imperial command, but by the imposing figure of the emperor himself. *Weishi chunqiu* is also the only account to describe the emperor's death with the word *beng* 崩, traditionally reserved for the death of a sovereign, and after he falls the text reports that "a violent rain began to fall, thunder crashed, and the sky grew dark" 時暴雨雷霆，晦冥.[18] These details emphasizing Cao Mao's imperial majesty and the resonance between his actions and the natural world contrast Empress Guo's characterization in her speech, where his appointment to the throne is based on a premature misjudgment of his potential to lead and treated as an error whose consequences only continue to escalate until his inevitable downfall.

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[17] SGZ, 4.144.

[18] Ibid.

The *Wei mo zhuan* excerpt displays a far more sympathetic portrayal of Cao Mao's downfall than the other cited texts. What other accounts portray as a strategic mistake further plagued by disloyal subordinates, *Wei mo zhuan* casts as a tragic struggle against fate, and the cataclysmic end of a once-powerful dynasty. That such elements would be missing from a text like *Han Jin chunqiu*, for example, is not entirely surprising. Xi Zuochi has long been identified as a historian who recognized the legitimacy of the Shu-Han kingdom and Jin dynasty rather than that of the Wei.[19] This bias is barely perceptible when reading excerpts from *Han Jin chunqiu* in isolation, but when they are placed alongside other accounts of the same events it becomes easier to detect such discrepancies. Nevertheless, in such cases Pei Songzhi only rarely establishes a preference for the validity of any one account over another. Works like Guo Ban's *Shi yu* may be criticized, yet they are still cited frequently. Annotation does not impose categorical judgments about the value of entire texts, but is instead free to evaluate each passage for its own merits, excerpting only those relevant to each situation and omitting those that are not.

The effects of this are twofold. On one hand, gathering many varying accounts of the same event together clarifies their differences, making it possible to detect subtle variations and even biases that would otherwise go unnoticed. Though the result is a text that is at times unwieldy or even incoherent, preserving these boundaries among cited texts illuminates the textuality and polyvocality of historiography in a way that a text that obscured its sources would

[19] Andrew Chittick describes this understanding of Xi Zuochi's work as having been particularly popular in the Song-Yuan period. As readers of three kingdoms history began to draw parallels between the Shu-Han kingdom and the Southern Song, Song-Yuan readers saw in Xi Zuochi a precedent for an understanding of dynastic legitimacy that privileged Shu-Han over Wei. Chittick also re-evaluates Xi Zuochi's career, returning emphasis to the political context of his own lifetime. See Andrew Chittick, "Dynastic Legitimacy during the Eastern Chin: Hsi Tso-ch'ih and the Problem of Huan Wen," *Asia Major*, third series, 11.1 (1998): 21–52.

not. Though it may illustrate differences among varying accounts, the co-citation of multiple works in relation to their shared depictions of the same events also establishes connections among them. As these clusters of texts recur throughout the annotations to different sections of the base text, it becomes possible to identify broader similarities in the scope and interests of works that are frequently cited alongside one another. These parallel features are also coordinated with the contents of their base texts, and noting the locations in which citations of similar clusters texts recur makes it possible to understand more about both the texts cited as well as the text that contains them. In a sense, annotation itself functions as a textual classification system, but it is one whose categories are determined by the organizational structures of the annotated text, rather than by the systems of textual categories used in bibliographic treatises.

Though they cover overlapping periods, *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* organize their contents differently. The broadest divisions of *Sanguo zhi* separate chapters among each of the three kingdoms, Wei 魏 Shu 蜀 and Wu 吳. Each of these subsections contains biographies of individuals. Each kingdom's section begins with chapters devoted to that regime's rulers. In the case of the Wei, the initial chapters more closely resemble the annals (*ji* 紀) portions of *Shi ji* and *Han shu*, providing a year-by-year account of the history of the Wei with an emphasis on the proclamations and deeds of its various rulers. These sections are further distinguished from subsequent entries by their use of the term *ji* rather than *zhuan* 傳 in chapter subheadings, a treatment that is not extended to the sovereigns of Shu or Wu. The coup discussed above first appears in one of these *ji* chapters, devoted to Cao Mao himself. Like the *zhuan* sections of *Shi ji* and *Han shu*, which would go on to provide the model for Standard Histories in the early medieval period and beyond, *Sanguo zhi* is recursive. Rather than progress linearly through history, it returns to the same topics again and again, presenting them from new perspectives

through the biographies of different individuals associated with those events. Though not as clearly distinguished as the chapters devoted to the Wei imperial line or those of the leaders of Wu and Shu, the biographies that fill the remaining pages of the text are grouped together into chapters based on genealogical and thematic relationships among their subjects. While the chapters devoted to the primary heirs of the ruling clans are clearly demarcated from the rest of the text, the patterns evident in *Sanguo zhi*'s other chapters are less distinct. Nevertheless, transitional phrases and concluding remarks at the end of each chapter establish connections between the various individuals grouped together in each chapter.

Sanguo zhi returns to Cao Mao's coup in the portion of the text dedicated to Wang Jing. This chapter is otherwise devoted to tertiary members of the Cao clan and members of the Xiahou 夏侯 family. Many Xiahous served in high ranking positions in the Wei military, and were also frequently connected to Caos through marriage. Though this genealogical bond joins most of the longest biographies in the chapter, it also includes a lengthy section to Xu Yun 許允 (d. 254), a close friend of Xiahou Xuan 夏侯玄 (209–254). Both were arrested and executed for plotting to overthrow Sima Zhao's predecessor, Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179–251). The brief section focused on Wang Jing follows Xu Yun's biography, and in it Wang Jing is introduced as such: "Wang Jing of Qinghe, like [Xu] Yun, was acknowledged by all as a renown gentleman of Jizhou" 清河王經亦與允俱稱冀州名士 .[20] The remaining text addresses Wang Jing's role in the coup, but does so by noting the consequences of his eventual punishment. The text first briefly states that his involvement with the Cao Mao affair led to his execution, then returns to an earlier moment in which his mother begged him to restrain his ambition:

[20] SGZ, 9.304

> Earlier, when Jing was serving as commandery governor, his mother told him, "You are the son of farmers, but today your salary has reached two thousand bushels. It's inauspicious to accrue wealth in excess—perhaps this is enough." Jing could not heed her warning, and served as inspector of two prefectures in succession, and then as metropolitan commandant. In the end, this is what led to his downfall. [Xu] Yun's friend and countryman Cui Zan also once warned Xu Yun about the dangers of becoming too involved with politics.
>
> 始經為郡守，經母謂經曰：「汝田家子，今仕至二千石，物太過不祥，可以止矣。」經不能從，歷二州刺史，司隸校尉，終以致敗。允友人同郡崔贊，亦嘗以處世太盛戒允云。[21]

Wang Jing's appearance here serves to complement Xu Yun, himself an accessory to the story of Xiahou Xuan. Each is characterized as a minister who remained loyal to his superior at the cost of his own life. Both were even warned by their peers of the potential consequences of their involvement. This pattern, in which multi-faceted thematic and interpersonal connections justify the inclusion of additional biographical details for individuals otherwise unrelated to the overarching parameters of a chapter, recurs frequently throughout the text.

The annotations shift the focus from Wang Jing's tangential relationship to Xiahou Xuan back to Wang Jing's own life, ultimately transforming the text into a testament to the wisdom and forbearance of Wang Jing's mother. Pei Songzhi first cites *Shi yu* to repeat the account of Wang Jing's demise, but here the *Shi yu* citation also includes an additional anecdote focused on his mother. He then cites *Han Jin chunqiu* to provide an additional exchange between the mother and son before their execution.[22] Here, Wang Jing's mother reassures him that Wang Jing's

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[21] SGZ, 9.304–5.

[22] This citation of *Shi yu* differs from the earlier citation of the same passage, reporting that Wang Ye did *not* convey Wang Jing's complicity in warning Sima Zhao of Cao Mao's coup. This may be the result of an erroneously added character, but it does provide a more satisfying explanation for Wang Jing's execution in the aftermath of the coup. If he did intend to warn Sima Zhao, such a punishment would have been excessive. The discrepancy suggests that one of the citations must be erroneous, but it is difficult to determine which, and even more difficult to determine where the mistake occurred. The annotations may faithfully transmit two *Shi yu*

ability to remain loyal is reason enough for both to accept their punishment without shame. As in the earlier discussion of the coup, citations provide expand the limited scope of the original *Sanguo zhi* text by providing additional information about individuals who initially appear only in supporting roles. They also join distant sections of *Sanguo zhi* together. Both treatments of Cao Mao's coup are annotated with similar citations from *Shi yu* and *Wei Jin chunqiu*, reminding the reader that the same broader historical context is relevant to all discussion of the event, even when *Sanguo zhi*'s narrative focuses only on certain aspects of it.

Two *Shishuo xinyu* entries address the aftermath of Cao Mao's coup, recounting anecdotes similar to those recorded in *Sanguo zhi* and its annotations. The same groups of texts used in *Sanguo zhi* annotations are cited in these overlapping passages from *Shishuo xinyu*. One of the two amplifies *Sanguo zhi*'s interest in Wang Jing's mother, making her the focal point of the narrative. Her prominence also justifies its placement in the "Xian yuan" 賢媛 ("Worthy ladies") chapter, a chapter entirely devoted to notable women. This anecdote joins together *Sanguo zhi*'s account of Wang Jing's mother's admonition against excessive ambition and *Han Jin chunqiu*'s description of their conversation prior to execution:

> Wang Jing was bitterly poor as a youth. When his salary reached two thousand bushels, his mother said to him, "You began as the son of a modest family. Your salary has reached two thousand bushels, perhaps this is enough." Jing was unable to follow her advice. He became imperial secretary, aided the Wei, was disloyal to the Jin, and was apprehended. With tears streaming he bade his mother farewell, saying, "I did not heed your warning, and that has led to today!" With no pain in her face, his mother responded, "As a son you have been filial, and as a minister you have been devoted. Both filial and devoted—in what sense have you turned your back on me?"
>
> 王經少貧苦，仕至二千石，母語之曰：「汝本寒家子，仕至二千石，此可以止乎！」經不能用。為尚書，助魏，不忠於晉，被收。涕泣辭母曰：「不從母敕，以

passages that were originally inconsistent with one another, the error may have occurred during the annotation process, or at some point during the transmission of the text. A similar discrepancy occurs between *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations of the *Han Jin chunqiu* anecdote concerning Wang Jing and his mother, see 177n24 below for further details.

至今日！」母都無慼容，語之曰：「為子則孝，為臣則忠。有孝有忠，何負吾邪？」[23]

Though it combines elements of *Sanguo zhi* and texts cited in its annotations, this anecdote is reworded to make Wang Jing's mother's final words much clearer. But the same passages appended to the *Sanguo zhi* passage also appear in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations to this entry, drawn from *Shi yu*, *Han Jin chunqiu*, *Jin zhugong zan*, and Gan Bao's *Jin ji*.[24] Here, the annotations serve to provide alternate accounts of Wang Jing's conversations with his mother, and inform the reader of the details of Wang Jing's loyalty to the Wei missing from the *Shishuo xinyu* version.

Like Pei Songzhi, Liu Xiaobiao also offers his own commentary to evaluate the sources listed in these annotations. In this case, the annotator singles out *Jin zhugong zan* and Gan Bao's *Jin ji* for praise, while criticizing the contradictory statements offered in *Shi yu*. His comment notes that *Shi yu* says first that Wang Jing did not accompany Wang Ye and Wang Chen, but then that the two conveyed his intent (*shen yi* 申意) to Sima Zhao, an apparent contradiction.[25]

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[23] SSXY 10.19, Gong Bin, 1322, Mather, 369–70.

[24] The citation of *Han Jin chunqiu*, recording the final dialogue between Wang Jing and his mother, appears to be the same passage cited in *Sanguo zhi* annotations, but the *Shishuo xinyu* version is much clearer. In it, Wang Jing's mother says, "Does anyone escape death? In the past, *the reason I stopped you* was because I feared you would not reach your proper place. What cause would I have to regret sharing your fate?" (人誰不死，往所以止汝者，恐不得其所也。以此并命，何恨之有？). The *Sanguo zhi* citation adds a negation (*bu* 不) to the first clause ("The reason I did not stop you") that is missing in the *Shishuo xinyu* annotation, changing the meaning of her statement entirely. Without the negation, it is more logical to interpret the following phrase ("I feared you would not reach your proper place") in its more archaic sense as a reference to an ignoble death or conclusion, in which case her statement could also be translated as, "In the past, the reason I tried to stop you was because I only feared you would die dishonorably."

[25] Some later readers have insisted that Liu Xiaobiao misreads this *Shi yu* passage, arguing that *zheng zhi* is in this case a term that indicates Wang Jing's position in Cao Mao's retinue, rather than a description of his character, thus implying that Wang Jing was unable to accompany Wang Chen and Wang Ye only because his absence would be conspicuously against protocol,

Jin zhugong zan and *Jin ji* are judged to be better sources not because they contain more verifiable information, but because they present it in a manner that is logical and internally consistent: Were Wang Jing to have conveyed his intent, it would not be possible to describe him as loyal, and if he was truly loyal he would not have agreed to indicate his support with the other informants. Despite singling *Shi yu* out for criticism here, though, Liu Xiaobiao uses the source in fourteen other annotations.

These digressions and internal contradictions are likely to have contributed to the poor evaluation of historiographic annotations from critics like Liu Zhiji. The conclusion to his *Shi tong* chapter on historiographic annotation remarks that in general annotators either "rely on the work of others or create their own accounts" 或因人成事，或自我作故，and that they "record notes without restraint and fail to maintain standards" 記錄無限，規檢不存. Consequently, "it is difficult for them to establish an authoritative discourse of their own, or model for future generations" 難以成一家之格言，千載之楷則.[26] What is at stake here is not just accuracy, but the coherence and regularity of the text that annotation produces, and the potential, or lack thereof, for it to establish a precedent for future compositions. When Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao provide alternate accounts of events, they will occasionally make their own judgments about which texts are most valuable to later readers, but often they do so without additional commentary or evaluation. The resulting narrative digressions provide readers with multiple avenues of interpretation, broadening the perspective beyond that of their base texts and

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which would lead to the discovery of their subterfuge. Some of these comments are recorded in Gong Bin, 1325n6; and in Lu Bi 盧弼 and Qian Jianfu 錢劍夫, eds., *Sanguo zhi jijie* 三國志集解 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), 4.541n21.

[26] Liu Zhiji, *Shi tong*, 123.

challenging the notion that any clear and consistent documentation is tantamount to historical accuracy. Yet in doing so, they become vulnerable to criticism from the opposite perspective, that the historian's primary goal is to provide readers with a well-organized and logically coherent narrative of carefully chosen events.

Pei and Liu's critiques of *Shi yu* show that these values are not alien to the annotators. When they do comment on the quality of the materials they cite, they often take aim at texts that are not internally consistent, or present qualities of their subjects that are out of step with how they appear in other works, especially when those sources praise figures who are otherwise regarded as historical villains, or convey ambivalence about the actions of those who would typically be portrayed as virtuous heroes. But these evaluations are sparsely deployed throughout the work, and texts that are derided in some cases are relied upon without comment in other situations. The annotator's approach at first glance opposes that of the bibliographer, who may grant entire works legitimacy by assigning them to categories defined by positive characteristics, and relegate others to obscurity by placing them in categories that are subtly coded to undercut the value of the texts they contain. In the Sui treatise, however, subcategories of historiographic texts whose descriptions question the value of the texts they contain will also suggest that they may still be of occasional use to scholars. The annotator can in this sense be redeemed as a practitioner of the kind of "cautious reading" advised by bibliographers, drawing from otherwise problematic texts in situations where they still provide something of value to readers.

The expanded scope afforded by annotation also counterbalances the intricate structures of the texts to which they are appended. In *Shishuo xinyu*, the coup is addressed only obliquely, in anecdotes whose focus is on exploring its consequences. The circumstances of these later anecdotes determine their locations within the text. The primary actor in the piece above is Wang

Jing's mother, hence it is placed in the "Worthy ladies" chapter. The other *Shishuo xinyu* passage that relates to Cao Mao's coup, found in the chapter entitled "The Proper and Just" (*fangzheng* 方正), takes place in the immediate aftermath of the insurrection, and addresses the consequences of the emperor's assassination on his rival's retinue. It depicts a brief interaction between Sima Zhao and his subordinate Chen Tai 陳泰 (d. 260), whose audacious response to his superior displays his sense of justice and earns this anecdote a place within that chapter:

> After Cao Mao passed away, there was clamor both within the court and beyond. Sima Zhao asked his attendant Chen Tai, "How shall I quiet this?"
>
> Tai responded, "Nothing short of killing Jia Chong will make amends to the people."
>
> Sima Zhao then said, "Might we instead take someone of lower rank?"
>
> To which he replied, "I could only look to one of higher rank, not lower."
>
> 高貴鄉公薨，內外諠譁。司馬文王問侍中陳泰曰：「何以靜之！」泰云：「唯殺賈充，以謝天下。」文王曰：「可復下此不？」對曰：「但見其上，未見其下。」[27]

By recommending the death of Jia Chong's superior, Chen Tai is of course referring to Sima Zhao himself. Additional anecdotes appended to this passage, from the familiar sources *Jin ji*, *Han Jin chunqiu*, and *Weishi chunqiu*, record their conversation differently, yet the implication that Sima Zhao ultimately bears the responsibility for the emperor's death is always the same. Though *Shishuo xinyu* presents Chen Tai's rejoinder as a carefully worded moral victory, in these appended versions Chen Tai's comment leads directly to his own demise.

While these annotations serve to present alternative versions of this interaction between Sima Zhao and Chen Tai, other annotations work to establish a more thorough connection to the historical saga of which it is a part. Here *Shishuo xinyu* reports only that Cao Mao "passed away," using a verb that does not necessarily imply any wrongdoing (*hong* 薨). For some

[27] SSXY 5.8, Gong Bin, 578–79, Mather, 159–60.

readers, this reference would be enough to recall the complex events of the coup, but Liu Xiaobiao's annotations quote the same passages of *Han Jin chunqiu* and *Weishi chunqiu* that appear in *Sanguo zhi* that describe the event in greater detail. The annotations also use passages of *Sanguo zhi* itself to provide basic biographical information for both Cao Mao and Chen Tai. Excerpts of similar passages from the same handful of texts link passages from *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* to one another just as they indicate related portions within each text, and these connections are even more apparent when *Shishuo xinyu* annotations draw from *Sanguo zhi*.

To read each of these texts linearly is to experience their contents in two very specific patterns, from the geographical and political distinctions that govern the placement of text within *Sanguo zhi*, to the themed chapter titles that group *Shishuo xinyu* anecdotes. Annotations dissolve these boundaries, creating the potential for hundreds of new patterns of reading, many more approaches to the interpretation of historical events and the evaluation of the texts that document them. Each sequence of annotations offers an array of alternative accounts and contextual information that can drastically alter a reader's understanding of events. The annotators cite multiple accounts of the same event, deviate from the strict patterns of *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* to include contextual details that create connections with passages scattered throughout both works, and continually interrupt the text to provide evaluations of the works they cite. These features disrupt the reader's ability to perceive history as a collection of discrete events, each with its own self-evident political and moral lesson. They force readers instead to come to terms with the textuality and materiality of the historical record, and confront a messy corpus laden with varying accounts, conflicting biases, and shifting foci. This perspective on the complexity of the historical record is predicated upon a basic feature present in these annotations but missing from many other forms of historiographic scholarship: Both annotators do not

conceal the sources of the information they cite, or condense these panoplies of textual excerpts into a unified, authoritative narrative, but rather continually record the titles of the works they cite, and preserve situations in which these sources differ from one another. Though this method can be traced to earlier traditions of textual expansion and commentary, attention to these textual details is virtually unprecedented in the works that are often regarded as the inspirations for their technique. While these earlier works may have indeed provided a foundation for the development of their methods, contemporaneous activities in other forms of compilation and scholarship show that Pei and Liu's innovations were part of a much broader trend towards attention to textual materiality and organization in the early medieval period.

3.2 The history of annotation and the annotation of history

Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao were not the only scholars to compile annotations of this type. Their work also shares similarities with Li Daoyuan's 酈道元 (d. 527) annotated recension, *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 (Classic of waterways, annotated) and Li Shan's 李善 (630–689) annotations to *Wen xuan* 文選 (Literary selections). Like the annotations to *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*, these annotations are products of the scholarly culture of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, works of immense breadth that draw from hundreds of different sources, citing them by title and also occasionally providing the author's name.[28] *Wen xuan* and *Shuijing* differ in genre and subject matter, which is perhaps why Liu Zhiji does not mention their

[28] Note that this does not prove that the title cited refers to the precise book from which a given excerpt was drawn. There remains the potential for text to be transmitted via any number of intermediaries, both oral and textual (including both variant editions and *leishu*). Though it important to consider the place of these potential intermediaries in the circulation of early medieval texts, there is no reason to suspect significant textual alterations beyond occasional excision, condensation, variant orthography, or scribal error. SSXY annotations frequently cite SGZ; my own comparisons of these cited passages with the received SGZ suggest that SSXY citations are prone to excision and variants, but do not significantly alter the text upon which the citation is based.

annotations alongside those of Pei and Liu in his *Shi tong* chapter on historiographic annotation. Liu Zhiji does include a handful of other examples to round out his list of annotations produced by "gentlemen fond of affairs:" Annotations to *Han shu* by Lu Cheng 陸澄 (d. 494), annotations to *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han) by Liu Zhao 劉昭 (fl. early 6th century), and Liu Tong's 劉彤 (fl. late 5th century) annotations to *Jin ji*.[29] Other than Liu Zhao's *Hou Han shu* citations, which follow the same basic format as Pei and Liu Songzhi, these annotations do not survive, but because Liu Zhiji lists them all together, are also likely to have employed a similar format.

These works, *Wen xuan*, *Shuijing zhu*, and Liu Zhiji's examples included, postdate Pei Songzhi's annotations, leaving little controversy as to who should be treated as the originator of this method. Yet efforts to understand how Pei developed this method have proven inconclusive. Pei Songzhi's work on *Sanguo zhi* was preceded by a long history of textual extension, supplementation, and commentary, and it is within this continuity of scholarship that historiographic annotation has typically been placed. Placing historiographic annotation within a continuity of classical scholarship that stretches back generations may impart to Pei and Liu a sense of scholastic legitimacy, but in order to understand how and why their particular approach to annotation arose in the early medieval period, it is also useful to consider the relationship of their work to other, contemporaneous methods of textual organization and compilation. A full discussion of the history of annotation is beyond the scope of this study, but a few examples

[29] Liu Zhiji, *Shi tong*, 122. Liu Tong was Liu Zhao's elder uncle, and is mentioned only briefly in Liu Zhao's biography. For Lu Cheng's biography, see Xiao Zixian 蕭子賢 (489–537), *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 39.681–86. Henceforth, NQS. For Liu Zhao, see Yao Silian 姚思廉 (537–637) et al., *Liang shu* 梁書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 49.692. Henceforth, LS.

from these earlier patterns of textual expansion will help to clarify the distinctive features of the method exemplified by Pei and Liu, and connect it more clearly to the context of textual production in which they arose.

Long before Pei Songzhi, texts accrued additional contents from commentators that circulated as supplements, from the Mao prefaces of the *Shi jing* to the explanatory appendices of the *Yijing*. It is within this classical tradition of scholarship that most investigations of commentarial style begin. The most direct antecedent in classical scholarship is the tradition of expansion and commentary associated with the *Chunqiu*, in particular the *Zuo zhuan*. Structured as a series of elaborations and explanations to the contents of the *Chunqiu*, *Zuo zhuan* supplements the *Chunqiu* with hundreds of additional historical narratives in a manner quite like the anecdotes appended to *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu.* Unlike these later annotations, however, *Zuo zhuan* lacks a standardized system of citation that identifies the sources of the information it records. This has created the space for a centuries-long debate on the precise origins of the text's many narratives, with many now concurring that the text of *Zuo zhuan* is derived from a combination of oral and textual sources.[30] Though it had long been understood that important texts could be, and in some cases needed to be, supplemented with additional content, the notion that such supplements should retain precise information about their textual points of origin did not develop until much later.

Zuo zhuan's arrangement of its supplemental narratives among *Chunqiu* entries make it an important precedent for the arrangement of later historiographic annotations, but the older provenance of the text's contents belies the much later date upon which *Zuo zhuan* received this organizational structure. The current synchronization of the text of *Zuo zhuan* with that of the

[30] Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 319.

Chunqiu was finalized just over a century before the life of Pei Songzhi, by Western Jin scholar Du Yu 杜預 (222–285).[31] Du Yu's recension, *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie* 春秋經傳集解 (Collected explanations of the commentaries to the Spring and Autumn annals), also includes a significant number of new annotations to the text. Contemporary scholar Ye Zhengxin summarizes the contents of these additions, showing that they clarify details of historical events described in the text, comment on the broader significance of such events, explain how *Zuo zhuan* anecdotes relate to their counterparts in the *Annals*, and provide glosses for names, places, and obscure terms.[32] Ye also shows that Du's work builds on earlier *Zuo zhuan* studies by others, including noted scholars Liu Xin and Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166), but doing so requires searching through extant remains of these earlier scholars' works or even descriptions of their contents.[33] Du Yu mentions these antecedents in his preface to the text, but their influence on individual annotations within the body of the text is not documented. As his reliance on Ma Rong implies, Du Yu's method is closely related to annotations appended to other classical texts during the Eastern Han dynasty, exemplified in scholarship by Ma Rong and his student Zheng Xuan 鄭玄

[31] The text of *Zuo zhuan* may have been appended to *Chunqiu* by Liu Xin as part of the massive bibliographic enterprise initiated by his father Liu Xiang, but Du Yu was responsible for the present intercalation of *Zuo zhuan* and the text of *Chunqiu.* See Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 323, 442n63. The *Guliang* and *Gongyang* commentaries were likely to have been intercalated within a similar timeframe. The *Gongyang* commentary was perhaps intercalated by He Xiu 何秀 (129–182) in the Eastern Han, while the *Guliang* commentary was not intercalated until Fan Ning 范甯 (339–401) completed *Chunqiu Guliang zhuan jijie* 春秋穀梁傳集解 (Collected explanations of the Guliang commentary to the Spring and Autumn annals) in the fourth century. See Anne Cheng, "Ch'un ch'iu, Kung yang, Ku liang and Tso chuan" in *Early Medieval Chinese Texts: A Bibliographic Guide,* ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of Asian Studies, University of California: 1993), 72.

[32] Ye Zhengxin 葉政欣, *Du Yu ji qi Chunqiu Zuoshi xue* 杜預及期春秋左氏學 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1989), 76–79.

[33] Ye Zhengxin, *Du Yu*, 81–94.

(127–200).[34] By Du Yu's time, however, similar techniques had already been applied to works in other disciplines. For example, notes providing phonetic and semantic glosses for proper names and unusual words had been prepared for the *Han shu* by Fu Qian 服虔 (d. ca. 190) and Ying Shao 應劭 (ca. 130–ca. 204).[35] Wei Zhao's 韋昭 (d. 273) annotations to *Guo yu* 國語, (Discourses of the states) a text closely related to *Zuo zhuan*, are also notable.[36] Wei Zhao occasionally makes reference to the titles of works which he has consulted in preparing his annotations, making it a possible precedent for Pei Songzhi's approach. These cases show that the interest in creating scholarly supplements for older texts had already begun to influence historical studies as well as those on classical texts, but in format and content they remain quite distinct from Pei Songzhi's approach.

Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 has suggested that the inspiration for the method came not from the tradition of classical studies or even historiography, but from earlier developments in Buddhist

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[34] Later traditions of interpretation and commentary on the Classics may have also developed in relation to Buddhist scholarship. Mou Runsun 牟潤孫, "Lun Ru Shi liang jia zhi jiangjing yu yishu" 論儒釋兩家之講經與義疏, *Xin Ya xuebao* 新亞學報 4.2 (1960): 353–415. Lu Yaodong provides a detailed overview of developments in methods of annotation and interpretation associated with the classics from the Han through Jin dynasties, as a component of his broader discussion of the gradual separation of historiography from classical studies. Lu Yaodong, *Wei Jin shixue*, 412–37.

[35] In their original form these notes were unlikely to have been embedded within the body of the *Han shu* itself. They were interpolated with the base text only in later editions. Fu Qian and Ying Shao's notes are described by early Tang scholar Yan Shigu in a preface to his edition of the *Han shu*, which gathers extant notes by Fu Qian, Ying Shao, and 20 other scholars. HS, 1–6.

[36] For the relationship between *Zuo zhuan* and *Guo yu*, and *Guo yu*'s place in the *Chunqiu* commentarial tradition, see Chang I-jen, William G. Boltz and Michael Lowe, "Kuo yü" in *Early Medieval Chinese Texts*, 263, 265. Several other commentaries or annotations to texts such as *Zuo zhuan, Guo yu*, and *Han shu* were composed by scholars roughly contemporaneous with Wei Zhao, however his are the only annotations from this period that are still fully extant. Liu Zhili 劉治立, "Sanguo shiqi de shi zhu" 三國時期的史注, *Xiangfan xueyuan xuebao* 襄樊學院學報 29.7 (July, 2008): 69–71.

scholarship.[37] Chen describes examples from early Chinese translations of Buddhist sutras, which include annotations that cite alternate translations of the preceding text, and asserts that this approach to comparing editions must have influenced Pei Songzhi's later practice of citing alternate accounts of various historical events.[38] Chen's position has been challenged several times, most notably by Zhou Yiliang 周一良. Zhou's main critique is that while the two techniques may similarly compare the contents of one text to another, there is still a large difference between providing alternative accounts of historical events and merely comparing varying translations.[39] However, both identify the source of the information they are citing in a way that earlier scholarship does not. In other words, both are clear in identifying specific texts as the sites of discrepancies in wording and meaning, rather than relying purely on the intellectual authority of the individual annotator. This may not indicate direct influence, but it does suggest a shift in priorities from earlier methods of annotation.

Lu Yaodong has incorporated the development of Pei's annotation methods into a broader discussion of historiography's emergence as an independent scholarly discipline. Lu recognizes that is possible for Pei to have been influenced by multiple different traditions of scholarship, and acknowledges that Pei Songzhi's potential influence from studies of Buddhist

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[37] Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, "Du *Luoyang qielan ji* shu hou" 讀《洛陽伽藍記》書後, in *Jinming guan conggao er bian* 金明館叢稿二編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980) 158, 160.

[38] Though they have inspired decades of debate, Chen Yinke's comments on the subject are quite limited, and distributed throughout several of his otherwise only sparsely related writings. For a treatment of the topic that gathers many of Chen's comments on the subject together, see Yu Su 于溯, "Chen Yinke 'Hebenzi zhu' shuo fawei" 陳寅恪'合本子注'說發微, *Shi lin* 史林 3 (2011): 84–90.

[39] Zhou Yiliang 周一良, "Wei Jin Nanbeichao shixue zhuzuo de ji ge wenti" 魏晉南北朝史學著作的幾個問題, in *Wei Jin Nanbei chao shi lun ji* 魏晉南北朝史論集 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1991), 358–59.

sutras does not require the disavowal of his work's position in the context of the development of historiographic methods, and vice-versa.[40] Lu sees the potential for influence from both classicists and Buddhist scholars, but also addresses concurrent developments in historiographic commentary and analysis that are also apparent in Pei's annotations. For example, Pei frequently cites the work of other historians, not just for the additional details they provide, but to critique their evaluations of the significance of the events they describe, and to address differences in the way their narratives are crafted. Though the citational format of Pei's comments may be novel, Lu illustrates that Pei was participating in a discourse about the role of the historian that had already been taking place for several generations. These comments are not found in every one of Pei's annotations, but they are indeed a significant component of the work. Their importance outweighs their prominence in the text, Lu argues, because they reveal Pei Songzhi and the other historians he quotes as early precursors to the systematic analysis of historiography found in *Shi tong*, despite its author's repeated denigrations of Pei's work.[41] Moreover, they also illustrate that the texts most closely related to Pei's scholarship may be found within works by lesser-known figures such as Sun Sheng 孫盛 (302–373), Xi Zuochi, and Deng Can 鄧粲 (fl. late 4th century).

Closer attention of these and other historiographic texts has provided a much richer perspective on the many approaches to the compilation of history that rose and fell in the early medieval period, in turn revealing new perspectives on the origins of Pei Songzhi's methods. Contemporary scholar Zhang Zixia 張子俠, for example, addresses earlier cases in which historians use annotations to append additional details to both pre-existing texts and their own

[40] Lu Yaodong, *Wei Jin shixue*, 416–17.

[41] Lu Yaodong, *Wei Jin shixue*, 475–76.

writings.[42] These examples, which Zhang describes as supplementary-style historiographic annotations, are works that Pei Songzhi was most certainly familiar with. They include texts that Pei cites in his own annotations, such as *San fu juelu zhu* 三輔決錄注 (Divided record of the three bulwarks, with annotation), an expanded version of Zhao Qi's 趙岐 (108–201) *San fu juelu*, attributed to Zhi Yu 摯虞 (d. 311). Zhang also finds evidence of annotation in Chen Shou's *Sanguo zhi*, noting that Chen Shou ends his biography of Yang Xi 楊戲 (d. 281) with excerpts from a collection of Yang's encomia titled *Ji Han fuchen zan* 季漢輔臣贊 (Encomia to the bulwark officials of the Late Han), which he supplements with additional information on the subject of each piece.[43] This is an example of historiographic supplementation in two layers. Chen Shou enlarges his own work by drawing on that of Yang Xi, but also supplements Yang Xi's writings with his own annotations. While Chen Shou notes that *Ji Han fuchen zan* is the source of the first layer, however, his own annotations do not cite additional textual sources. In this regard, the examples Zhang discusses are like those brought up by Lu. Both show that Pei Songzhi was operating among historians who engaged in discourse with one another through commentary, annotation, and supplementation, and both find traces of this discourse within *Sanguo zhi*. Yet none of these predecessors, barring the alternative translations cited in commentaries to Buddhist texts, are as meticulous about listing authors and titles as either Pei Songzhi or Liu Xiaobiao.

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[42] Zhang Zixia 張子俠, "*Sanguo zhi* Pei zhu yanjiu san ti" 三國志裴注研究三題, *Shixueshi yanjiu* 史學史研究 2 (2000), 76. These texts are also noted, but not thoroughly described, in Zhou Yiliang, "Wei Jin Nanbeichao shixue zhuzuo," 358.

[43] The "bulwarks" (*fu* 輔) in the titles of these texts are likely to refer to two different things. For the "three bulwarks" of Han Chang'an, see 141n69, above. The "bulwark officials" of Yang Xi's encomia on are all associated with Shu-Han. For the encomia, see SGZ, 45.1079–90.

This attention to sources, along with the sheer volume of annotations and the breadth of sources consulted, are what set the work of Pei and Liu apart from their predecessors. Contemporary scholar Hu Baoguo 胡寶國 has suggested that the reason the breadth of Pei's and Liu's work is unmatched in earlier scholarship may be because earlier historians simply did not have access to the same quantity of materials as scholars, nor did later historians attempting to write new histories of events prior to the late Han and Three Kingdoms period.[44] Hu refers to the many texts in the Sui bibliographic treatise that relate to the turbulent events of the Han through Jin dynasties, to say nothing of the hundreds more cited by Pei and Liu that do not appear in that treatise, as evidence of the wealth of materials to which historians of this period had access.[45] It is harder to explain why this period appears to be so much more thoroughly documented than others, especially the subsequent Southern Dynasties during which both Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao lived. Hu points to a general trend towards more depth and detail in historiography, from the emphasis on concision employed by Sima Qian and Ban Gu and their influence on the relatively sparse accounts compiled by Chen Shou, to copious supplementation by Pei Songzhi in the form of annotations, and finally to the reevaluation of the late Han in Fan Ye's 范曄 (398–445) *Hou Han shu*. Fan Ye's work, Hu illustrates, documents many of the same events and people as *Sanguo zhi*, incorporating the same details included in Pei's supplements into the main text. He thus suggests that historians in Fan Ye's time and beyond were less averse to detail than

[44] Hu Baoguo 胡寶國, *Han Tang jian shixue de fazhan* 漢唐間史學的發展, rev. ed. (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2014), 86.

[45] The additional annotations by Lu Cheng, Liu Zhao, and Liu Tong to *Han shu*, *Hou Han shu*, and *Jin ji* that Liu Zhiji mentions in *Shitong* would complicate this argument, if it could be confirmed that they are indeed similar in format and scope to those of Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao. Supplementary annotations to *Hou Han shu* would suggest that at least one scholar believed Fan Ye had not been inclusive enough, while those to *Han shu* and *Jin ji* would imply that materials pertaining to slightly earlier and slightly later periods were also available.

their predecessors, taking better advantage of the documents to which they had access and leaving fewer gaps in the record for annotators to fill in, and uses the extreme length of later historiographic works as evidence that this trend continued throughout the Southern Dynasties.[46]

Hu also gestures towards concurrent developments in historiographic compilation that may also have contributed to the absence of more examples of supplementary annotation, noting that the trend towards more detail among historians in the Southern Dynasties was counter-balanced by the presence of texts that seem to do precisely the opposite, discussing *Jin shu chao* 晉書抄 (Abbreviated history of the Jin), a condensed history of the Jin dynasty, and others as examples of texts that provide abbreviated accounts of historical events that remove rather than add detail.[47] But *Jin shu chao* and texts like should not necessarily be treated troubling exceptions to the trend of historiographic excess. Such abbreviated works exist in relation to their longer counterparts, they do not necessarily take their place. By distilling and reorganizing the contents of longer works to make them more easily accessible to readers, they are byproducts of historians' increasing interest in copious documentation, not contradictions to it. As physically smaller texts, they would also be easier to reproduce, transport, and store than full-length books. As such, their proliferation in the post-Han period is a sign of increased circulation of textual information, and it is one of equal or greater importance to that of the concurrent increase in length of other historiographic works.[48] Long texts are where information accumulates, but their shorter counterparts show how it moved.

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[46] Hu Baoguo, *Han Tang jian shixue de fazhan*, 81–85.

[47] Hu Baoguo, *Han Tang jian shixue de fazhan,* 85.

[48] The term *chao,* which can be written either 鈔 or 抄 means to copy or transcribe. In textual titles, it refers not to complete copies of texts, but to abbreviated versions and partial transcriptions. The term does not appear in the Han bibliographic treatise, but it occurs in dozens

These abbreviated histories may also be understood in relation to works that abridge and condense materials from other sources, from the great treatises *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*, to the collected "sayings" of the various schools recorded in the Han bibliographic treatise, to the proto-*leishu* produced by court scholars of the Northern and Southern Dynasties.[49] Though the origins of such texts may be traced to earlier periods, they became far more prevalent in the early medieval period. Complementing the advent of *leishu* and the general expansion of interest in historiographic, compiled, and documentary texts, books that rely heavily on transcription and excerption also flourished in this period. This is the context in which Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao's style of annotation was developed. Though direct influence is difficult to trace, *leishu*, *chao* texts, and these historiographic annotations all rely on the transcription and rearrangement of excerpts from other works. Each requires editors with privileged access to vast quantities of documents, and the texts they produce would be most useful to an audience that lacks either access to such materials or the time to comb through all of them in search of relevant information. While *leishu* and *chao* texts merely condense and rearrange these excerpts for new audiences, historiographic annotations take the extra step of arranging their excerpts within the structure of another pre-existing work. Seen as one example among many such texts, Pei and Liu's attention to bibliographic specificity is no longer appears to be such an outlier.

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of titles throughout the Sui treatise. For more on these abbreviated texts, see Zhao Xing 趙星, "Chaocuo wenxian de yuanqi yu liubian" 抄撮文獻的緣起與流變, *Huazhong shifan daxue yanjiusheng xuebao* 華中師範大學研究生學報 23.1 (March, 2016): 141–46. Zhao posits that the three advantages of such texts to early compilers are their usefulness as studying tools, their role in preserving and reproducing other texts, and their ability to distill broad, discursive works into more focused forms appropriate for specific didactic purposes.

[49] Citing the judgment of bibliography scholar Cao Zhi 曹之, Zhao Xing also treats *leishu* as an example of the "literature of excerption and transcription," 抄撮文獻 *chaocuo wenxian*. Zhao Xing, "Chaocuo wenxian," 143.

As I discussed in the second chapter of this dissertation, bibliography itself should also be considered a close relative of these other forms of compiled text. Despite their differences, this broad category of compiled works should also include works of historiographic annotation. Bibliographers share with compilers the need for access to large libraries of texts, and both bibliographers and compilers attempt to manage those corpora through a balance of comprehensive reading and clear organization. Both sets of annotations, even when examined in isolation from the texts to which they are appended, offer a remarkable perspective on the quantity and variety of documents available to early medieval historians, including many texts that are not transmitted or even mentioned in any other source. This is precisely the way many scholars have read such annotations for centuries, drafting bibliographies that attempt to list every cited title. But the way Pei and Liu handle the sources they cite does not accord entirely with the assumptions about textual integrity and textual categories present in bibliographic treatises. Scholars who have attempted to extract bibliographic data from these annotations leave traces of their encounters with these discrepancies in the works they have produced.

3.3 Annotation and bibliography

From at least the Song dynasty to the present, scholars have continually mined the annotations to *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* for bibliographic data, using the information they contain to create increasingly comprehensive lists of book titles. These attempts vary in thoroughness and accuracy, but the most important distinctions among them are the differences in how they organize and categorize their contents. Each bibliography takes a slightly different approach to its organization of textual titles cited in both sets of annotations. Some base their sequence on pre-existing bibliographic schema, including that of the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise, others use the arbitrary four-corner system to sort titles, while in other cases the origins

of the pattern are more difficult to determine. Though each of these bibliographies extracts and reorganizes the information contained in the annotations, they remain beholden to the way this information was initially recorded, adapting their format in various ways to accommodate the unique features of *Shishuo xinyu* and *Sanguo zhi* annotations. This means that it is not possible for any of these bibliographies to borrow the exact structure from another bibliography without modifying it in some way. Examining the unique features of these bibliographies, then, is a way to illustrate a few important aspects of the annotators' treatment of the texts they cite, as well as how their approach is in some ways inconsistent with the methods of the bibliographer.

Recent attempts to catalogue all titles cited by both annotators contain information about the location of each cited title within the citing text. Gao Min's 高敏 study of pre-existing bibliographies based on *Sanguo zhi* lists titles in order of their first appearance.[50] The Harvard-Yenching index of titles cited in the annotations to *Shishuo xinyu* arranges titles based on the four-corner system and providing the chapter and page number for every instance of citation of every title.[51] By maintaining perspective on the annotations' locations within the texts to which they are appended, these recent examples can function as finding tools for cited texts. They are a step away from earlier attempts of the late Qing dynasty, who do not adhere so closely to the structure of the texts upon which their bibliographies are based. In the hands of these bibliographers, annotations are used to supplement to works like the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise, supplying a different perspective on the state of the textual record during the period in which the annotations were compiled.

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[50] Gao Min 高敏, "*Sanguo zhi* Pei Songzhi zhu yin shu kao" 三國志裴松之注引書考, *Henan keji daxue bao* 河南科技大學報（社會科學版） 25.3 (June 2007): 16–21.

[51] William Hung, et al., *Index to Shih Shuo Hsin Yü and to the Titles Quoted in the Commentary* (1933; repr., Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1966), 47–56.

In the nineteenth century, Shen Jiaben 沈家本 (1840–1913) compiled an annotated bibliography of titles cited in both *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*.[52] While Shen also indicates the chapter of each title's first appearance in the citing text, both of his bibliographies are arranged using the categories and subcategories that appear in the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise. But Shen does not always follow the *Sui shu* categorizations of individual texts. For example, the text *Wuji* 吳紀 (Chronicle of Wu) is listed in the subcategory of "Standard histories" ("Zhengshi" 正史) in the Sui treatise, but as an "Annals" ("Biannian" 編年) text in the *Jiu Tang shu* treatise and

[52] These annotated bibliographies are included in a collection of Shen's supplemental bibliographies, entitled *Gu shu mu si zhong* 古書目四種 (Four ancient book lists). The third is for Liu Zhao's annotations to Fan Ye's *Hou Han shu*, which actually annotate only the eight treatises (*zhi* 志) of Sima Biao's 司馬彪 (d. 306) *Xu Han shu* 續漢書, added by Liu to Fan Ye's chronicles (*ji* 紀) and biographies (*liezhuan* 列傳) to create the edition of *Hou Han shu* used today. Shen's fourth bibliography was meant to cover Li Shan's annotations to *Wen xuan*. Though it is listed in the table of contents, it does not appear alongside the other three in a posthumous collection of Shen's works. Thus, editions of his bibliographies may alternatively be titled *Gu shumu san zhong* 古書目三種 (Three ancient book lists), but the contents of both the "three" and "four" versions are the same. In a 1991 publication, contemporary scholar Liu Fengwen 劉奉文 discussed a four-volume draft of this bibliography he located among Shen's unpublished material, and in 1996 reported that it was held at the library of his university, Dongbei shifan daxue 東北師範大學 in Changchun, Jilin. Liu Fengwen theorizes that Shen composed them during his preparation for the Jinshi exam, meaning he would have finished all or most of the work before 1883. See Shen Jiaben, *Gu shumu san zhong* 古書目三種 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964); Liu Fengwen 劉奉文, "Shen Jiaben yu *Gu shumu si zhong*" 沈家本與《古書目四種》, *Guji zhengli yanjiu qikan* 古籍整理研究期刊 6 (1991): 35–36; Liu, "*Wen xuan* Li Shan zhu yin shu shuliang kaobian" 《文選》李善注引書數量考辨, *Guji zhengli yanjiu qikan* 4 (1996): 45, 47n2; For an annotated and punctuated edition of Shen's *Sanguo zhi zhu* bibliography, see Wang Liheng 王麗珩, "Shen Jiaben *Sanguo zhi zhu suo yin shu mu* yanjiu" 沈家本《三国志注所引書目》研究 (master's thesis, Dongbei shifan daxue, 2009), 3. For a similar study of Shen Jiaben's bibliography for *Shishuo xinyu*, see Wang Changyin 王長印, "Shen Jiaben *Shishuo zhu suo yin shu mu* yanjiu" 沈家本《世說注所引書目》研究 (master's thesis, Dongbei shifan daxue, 2009).

subsequent treatises, a category title that does not exist in the Sui treatise.[53] Shen opts to place *Wuji* not in the "Standard Histories" section of his bibliography, but under "Ancient-style Histories" ("Gushi" 古史), the Sui treatise category that lists texts with an annalistic structure.[54] Setting aside the slightly different connotations of "Ancient-style Histories" and "Annals" as subcategory titles, Shen's relocation of this text makes it clear that he is not merely reproducing or mimicking the classification process of early Tang bibliographers, but developing his own idealized revision to the Sui treatise's bibliographic system.

An even more unusual example can be found in bibliophile and scholar Ye Dehui's 葉德輝 (1864–1927) attempt to catalogue all texts referenced in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations, *Shishuo xinyu zhu yinyong shu mu* 世說新語注引用書目 (List of books cited in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations).[55] Rather than use a set of categories and subcategories from a widely-read, extant bibliographic treatise, he creates a hybrid system that combines the textual categories of Ruan Xiaoxu's *Qi lu* with the sequence of formal genres used to organize the contents of *Wen xuan*. Ye explains this decision in a preface to the bibliography, noting that the provenance of these

[53] *Wu ji* is cited only once in the annotations to *Sanguo zhi*, and five times in *Shishuo xinyu*'s annotations. SGZ, 53.1246; SSXY 3.4, Gong Bin 324; 6.1, Gong Bin, 681; 9.2, Gong Bin, 986; 10.4, Gong Bin, 1089; 25.1, Gong Bin, 1514.

[54] SS 33.955; JTS 46.1991; Wang Liheng, "Shen Jiaben," 25.

[55] Ye's bibliography is included as an appendix to the *Sixian jiangshe* 思賢講舍 edition of *Shishuo xinyu* prepared by Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842–1917), which is normally dated to 1891. Ye's preface is dated 1893. If this is not an error, it could not have been included with the initial run of the text, so perhaps it was inserted in a later printing from the same press. Ye's bibliography is likely to postdate Shen's, but Ye does not mention it in his preface to the bibliography despite addressing other attempts to create a bibliography for the text. The 1982 Shanghai guji chubanshe edition of *Shishuo xinyu* supplements a photographic reproduction of this edition of the text with various other appendices, see Liu Yiqing, *Shishuo xinyu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 487–539. Henceforth, I refer to this edition as *Shishuo* (1982). Pagination refers to this more widely available edition, rather than the *Sixian jiangshe* original.

two texts in the Liang dynasty means that their creators were close contemporaries of Liu Xiaobiao.[56] This implies that the goal of such a bibliography is to present a view of the texts cited from the perspective of the annotator, as opposed to that of the *Shishuo xinyu*'s original compiler, the compilers of the cited texts, or even the more refined bibliographic system employed in Ye's own time. The problem is that Ruan Xiaoxu's text has been lost since the Song dynasty, with only its preface and table of contents remaining.[57] While the categories and subcategories of *Qi lu* are known, there is almost no textual evidence to determine which texts were placed in each category.[58] Thus, to create this hypothetical Liang dynasty perspective on textual order, Ye is forced to rely on later sources and his own judgment.

Meanwhile, Ye's use of the sequence of literary genres employed in *Wen xuan* highlights a key difference between the approach of the *Sui shu* treatise, *Qi lu* and other bibliographies, and the way both Pei and Liu cite certain literary works. It also happens to center around another attempt to demarcate textual miscellaneousness. Ye incorporates *Wen xuan* categories into his bibliography's "Miscellaneous Literature" (*zawen* 雜文) section, a subcategory of *Qi lu* that has no equivalent in the Sui treatise or any subsequent bibliography. Because of this, it is difficult to

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[56] *Shishuo* (1982), 487.

[57] For a translation of the *Qi lu* preface, see Xiaofei Tian, "Book Collecting and Cataloging in the Age of Manuscript Culture: Xiao Yi's *Master of the Golden Tower* and Ruan Xiaoxu's Preface to *Seven Records*" in *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook*, ed. Wendy Swartz, Robert Ford Campany, Yang Lu and Jessey J.C. Choo (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 313–19.

[58] The best extant access to *Qi lu*'s lost contents is via a series of notes throughout the *Sui shu* treatise, that simply note which texts were "present" in the Liang dynasty ("*Liang you*" 梁有), which scholars have concurred are references to Ruan Xiaoxu's record. Assuming that this is true, and that the Sui treatise compilers did not recategorize the titles they drew from *Qi lu*, it is possible to use the Sui treatise to glimpse a small fraction of *Qi lu*'s contents. For an attempt to reconstruct *Qi lu* by combining these notes with a handful of other references to its contents, see Ren Lili 任莉莉, *Qi lu jizheng* 七錄輯證 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011).

say exactly how Ruan Xiaoxu used *zawen* as a bibliographic category.[59] Ye uses it to record the titles of individual literary pieces that Liu Xiaobiao cites directly, as opposed to citations of multi-author literary anthologies (*zongji* 總集) or single-author collected works (*bieji* 別集).[60] From *fu* 賦 and *shi* 詩 through numerous formal and epistolary prose genres such as *biao* 表, *song* 頌, and *ming* 銘, Ye lists individual pieces in the order in which their genres appear in *Wen xuan*, building an anthology in miniature within the empty space of the ambiguous *zawen* subcategory. *Shishuo xinyu* annotations frequently quote directly from literary pieces. Though they occasionally include the name of a poet's own *bieji*, in many instances each piece is cited by title without referring to the larger text in which it may be found.[61] Bibliographic treatises do not typically include sections for individual literary pieces, only for the anthologies and compilations that contain them. Ye handles this problem by treating each of the 76 literary pieces he records as an individual text, but this presents an interesting dilemma: Does the absence of "container" text titles for certain literary pieces imply that in Liu Xiaobiao's time such texts circulated

[59] The term *zawen* is occasionally used in early medieval texts to refer to assorted formal genres. It appears in *Wenxin diaolong* as the title of a chapter that discusses a handful of lesser-known formal genres, which overlaps only partially with the hierarchy of forms in *Wen xuan*. For an English translation of the *Zawen* chapter of *Wenxin diaolong,* see Liu Hsieh, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, trans. Vincent Yu-chung Shih, New rev. ed. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), 97–101.

[60] *Shishuo* (1982), 526–33.

[61] Liu cites "collected works" texts twenty times. Only one is cited twice, and two are referred to as *ji* 集 collections yet are not recorded in the Sui treatise's *bieji* subcategory. Of these twenty citations, fourteen quote from a poem or literary piece. In such cases, the title of the individual collection is followed by a phrase indicating which piece from within the collection is being quoted, though these are often general (e.g. "…records his poem which reads…" 載其詩曰 and so on). Five cite the preface (*xu* 敘 or *xu* 序) or some other portion of a person's literary collection for the biographical details reported therein, and one includes both this sort of biographical detail as well as a passage from an individual poem.

independently, or is it simply the case that Liu Xiaobiao neglected to mention the title of the larger collection in which the pieces in question may be found?

There is no way to answer this question definitively, other than to note that it is possible that the absence of container-text titles may in fact indicate that, regardless of the form in which they circulated, the pieces in question were presumed familiar enough to not require more specific identification. This appears to be the case for several other types of citation occurring throughout both sets of annotations. *Shishuo xinyu* annotations include authorial attributions only in cases where the author of a text is ambiguous, such as in the multiple histories of the Jin dynasty that are all titled *Jin shu*. In this case, they are distinguished by the inclusion of the author or compiler's name every time the text is cited. Otherwise, *Shishuo xinyu* annotations only rarely include attributions, even in cases in which the attribution is well-known and uncontroversial. *Sanguo zhi*'s annotations, on the other hand, are more sporadic in their attention to attribution. They may mention an author or compiler's name upon first citation of a text, but are just as likely to omit it entirely. *Sanguo zhi* annotations occasionally even cite the chapter or subsection of a text without mentioning the title of the text from which it is drawn. Such references occur in *Sanguo zhi* citations of passages from well-known classical texts, such as *Li ji*, *Shang shu*, and *Shi jing*. Although in these cases the references are metonymic, using the specific location of an excerpt, such as a chapter title, rather than the title of the text itself, because of the familiarity of these authoritative texts there is no ambiguity as to the larger whole of which it is a part.

Both sets of annotations also quote from the writings of individual writers without mentioning the titles of the texts from which these comments are drawn. Pei Songzhi does so frequently, and the vast majority of these author-only citations quote from the writings of

prominent historians, especially Xi Zuochi, Sun Sheng, and Yu Huan 魚豢 (fl. 3rd cent.), who the Sui treatise credits as the author of the historiographic text *Dian lue* 典略 (Abridged canons).[62] Yet Pei's annotations also cite the works attributed to these figures by title in other circumstances. *Dian lue*, for example, is cited by title fifty-one times. Liu Xiaobiao uses author-only citation mostly for commentators on classical texts, which usually follow citations of those texts.[63] In these cases the author-only citation is in fact a continuation of the citation from the referent classical text, that goes on to cite the commentary appended to the passage in the edition consulted. But the *Shishuo xinyu* annotations also cite a handful of historians in this manner, including one citation of Tan Daoluan 檀道鸞 (fl. early 5th cent.) by name only, whose *Xu Jin yangqiu* 續晉陽秋 (Sequel to the Jin annals) is cited by title seventy-three times in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations. In some situations, it may be possible to guess the missing titles of the texts cited by author only, but these cases still present the possibility that precise information about certain cited texts remains unknown and unknowable. They are examples of the information that is lost when the contents of these annotations are translated into the format of the bibliographic treatise. Although annotators may have presumed such information to be so commonplace that it was unnecessary to include, its absence has at worst made it impossible for later scholars to incorporate information from these citations into their bibliographies, and at best necessitated the

[62] I identify a total of ninety-three instances of author-only citation in the annotations to *Sanguo zhi*. Fifty-seven of these are citations of Sun Sheng, fifteen are of Xi Zaochi, and Yu Huan and Xu Zhong 徐眾, an obscure figure credited elsewhere in the annotations as author of *Sanguo ping* 三國評 (Evaluations of the Three Kingdoms), are cited by name seven times each. Gan Bao is cited twice in this manner, and the names of five others are cited once each.

[63] There are seventeen such cases in the annotations to *Shishuo xinyu*. Three cite Du Yu in relation to *Chunqiu*, two cite Zheng Xuan in relation to *Li ji*, and twelve other individuals are each cited once by name only.

invention of new bibliographic categories as in the case of Ye Dehui's improvised *Zawen/Wen xuan* hybrid.

Bibliography and annotation developed alongside one another among the scholars and book collectors of the Southern Dynasties. Nevertheless, Ye Dehui's modifications to the bibliographic system make it clear that these two scholarly methods treat the textual resources they organize differently. This is the case even when efforts are made to design a bibliographic system that mimics one that may have been in use at the same time the annotations to *Shishuo xinyu* were composed. Earlier attempts to create bibliographies from the contents of annotations are structured even more idiosyncratically, arranging their titles in uniquely patterned sequences that do not accord to any identifiable model. This is the case for works by Qing historians Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728–1804) and Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727–1814), who each produced lists of texts cited in Pei Songzhi's annotations.[64] Neither list is divided into specific bibliographic categories, yet unmistakable patterns govern the sequence of both lists.

Qian Daxin's bibliography gathers 144 titles cited in *Sanguo zhi* annotations.[65] Qian begins by listing texts that would in other bibliographies be categorized as "Histories." Though

[64] Both bibliographies are found in collections of notes on the Standard Histories compiled by their respective authors. The preface to the first edition of Zhao Yi's *Nianer shi zhaji* 廿二史劄記, which contains his *Sanguo zhi* bibliography, is dated 1795, while Qian Daxin composed and published his *Nianer shi kaoyi* 廿二史考異 over the course of thirty years. He began work on the text in 1767, and completed a draft fifteen years later. Woodblocks for his entries for texts up to and including *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史 were cut in 1794, and the whole text was printed in 1797. Although Qian wrote a preface for a revised edition of Zhao Yi's work, numerous discrepancies between the two bibliographies suggest that they were completed independently of one another. For the dating of both texts, see Wang Shumin 王樹民, introduction to *Nianer shi zha ji jiaokan* 廿二史劄記校證, by Zhao Yi (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 1–2; Fang Shiming 方詩銘, introduction to *Nianer shi kaoyi* 廿二史考異, by Qian Daxin, ed. Fang Shiming and Zhou Dianjie 周殿傑 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014), 1.

[65] Qian Daxin, *Nianer shi kaoyi*, 274–76.

certain texts appear to be grouped together here based on similarities in their titles, such clusters are sporadic and do not adhere closely to the historiographic subcategories of any bibliographic system. Moreover, several texts typically assigned to historiographic subcategories do not appear until later in the list. The next broad category consists mostly of texts elsewhere identified as belonging to the Masters category, again without much regard for more specific division into topical subcategories.[66] The connections among other groups of texts are immediately discernable. For example, Qian groups many genealogies together, recording the family name of many clans, Yu 庾, Sun 孫, Ruan 阮, and so on, and concluding the entire list with *zhi pu* 之譜.[67] He does the same for individuals' biographies (*biezhuan* 別傳) and literary collections (*ji* 集). These inconsistent groupings give the impression that Qian compiled the list through sporadic note-taking or perhaps even free association, rather than with a specific bibliographic schema in mind. After calculating the approximate number of texts listed, Qian concludes, "Those which will have no connection to historians are not counted here" 其與史家無涉者不在數內.[68] This simple statement is more provocative than it seems at first glance: Qian includes many texts that

[66] For example, the obscure *Mo ji* 默記 (Silent record), listed as a Miscellaneous text in the Sui treatise, is the first Masters text listed, followed by the *Dianlun* 典論 (Authoritative discourses) of Cao Pi, which is typically assigned to the "Rujia" subcategory. Similarly, *Soushen ji*, the *zhiguai* collection attributed to Gan Bao, is listed between *Bowu zhi* and two treatises on literature, *Wenzhang xulu* 文章敘錄 (Arranged register of prose) and *Wenzhang zhi* 文章志 (Treatise on prose), though other *zhiguai* works are distributed within clusters of geographic texts or "Zazhuan" texts as is typical in other bibliographies. *Wenzhang xulu* is obscure. Pei attributes the text to Western Jin polymath and bibliographer Xun Xu 荀勖 (d. 289), and a text with a similar title, *Za zhuan wenzhang jia ji xu* 雜撰文章家集敘 (Miscellaneously compiled prose writers, gathered and arranged), is listed in the Sui treatise under "Bulu" 簿錄. See Gao Min, "*Sanguo zhi* Pei Songzhi zhu," 17; SS, 33.991.

[67] Equivalent to "Genealogies of the Yus, Suns, Ruans…" etc.

[68] Qian Daxin, *Nianer shi kaoyi*, 276.

fall outside the bibliographic category of historiography, placing them alongside works that all would recognize as historiographic, yet also omits numerous titles that Pei, certainly himself a historian, used in his annotations. Qian posits an understanding of historiographic relevance that extends beyond bibliographic categories, and yet is not nearly as broad as the one Pei creates through the scope of his own scholarship. Though Qian's precise organizational strategy is opaque, the category that he assigns to all the works he lists is clear: All may be considered relevant to the study of Three Kingdoms history, even though other bibliographies would not classify all of them as works of history, nor do they represent the entirety of the works Pei Songzhi deemed relevant to the understanding of *Sanguo zhi*.

Zhao Yi's bibliography, composed at roughly the same time as Qian's, takes a similar approach. He lists 151 titles cited in annotations as part of his notes on *Sanguo zhi*. As in the prior example, the titles lack category and subcategory headings. Unlike Qian's bibliography, however, in this case it is quite easy to discern patterns that govern the sequence of texts in Zhao's list. The first texts listed all pertain to the Han dynasty, from Xie Cheng's 謝承 *Hou Han shu* to the *Han mo mingshi lu* 漢末名士錄 (Record of famous gentlemen of the late Han).[69] Texts relevant to each of the three kingdoms of Wei, Wu, and Shu are also grouped together, followed by those pertaining specifically to events of the Jin dynasty. This accounts for just under half of the list. The remaining 81 texts are those that do not relate specifically to any single dynasty or kingdom, but they too appear in meaningful sequences. The first group corresponds

[69] Xie Cheng was the younger brother of Lady Xie, the wife of Wu ruler Sun Quan. His *Hou Han shu* is now extant only via citations in fourteen *Sanguo zhi* annotations, and other excerpts found in handful of *leishu*. It is recorded in the Sui treatise and both *Tangshu* treatises, but after that it disappears from records. *Han mo mingshi lu* is even more obscure, cited only three times in *Sanguo zhi* annotations and missing from the Sui and *Tangshu* treatises. For Shen Jiaben's comments on these texts, see Wang Liheng, "Shen Jiaben," 15, 34.

roughly to what other bibliographies would treat as "Miscellaneous Accounts," which are followed by a group of historical evaluations and notes.[70] Next are texts that would elsewhere appear within the Masters category, including both texts with titles derived from the epithet of their compiler, and those that follow other naming conventions.[71] Zhao concludes with literary collections, genealogies, and individual biographies. These clusters of texts differ in sequence and in content from the corresponding categories and subcategories of post-*Sui shu* bibliographic treatises. But because of these differences, Zhao's list offers a sense of the kinds of text that are important to the specific historiographic project of *Sanguo zhi* and its annotations in a way that a bibliography arranged according to a predetermined sequence of categories does not. It is clear that *Sanguo zhi* is concerned with each of the three kingdoms that competed with one another in the aftermath of the Han dynasty, so distinguishing texts related to each of those three powers offers no great revelation. But the sections on texts about the Han and Jin dynasties that bookend these three groups illustrate that *Sanguo zhi* is equally concerned with those two periods, even though they are not given their own sections in the text. This is even more evident in Pei Songzhi's annotations, which often reach back into earlier Han history to provide details on the ancestors of individuals active during the period with which *Sanguo zhi* is directly engaged, and forward into the Jin dynasty to describe their descendants. Through its idiosyncratic organization, Zhao's list constitutes a reading of the text and its annotations, offering a more effective snapshot of the scope of *Sanguo zhi* and its annotations than other bibliographies.

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[70] Three of these titles, *Zayu* 雜語, *Zayan* 雜言, and *Yitong ping* 異同評, are attributed to Sun Sheng. Many, Qian Daxin and Shen Jiaben included, argue that these titles in fact refer to same text cited, and that it is merely cited inconsistently in *Sanguo zhi* annotations. See Gao Min, "*Sanguo zhi* Pei Songzhi zhu," 13.

[71] Including both *Yuanzi* 袁子, *Fuzi* 傅子, *Baopuzi* 抱朴子, and so on, as well as works such as *Soushen ji*, *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳, and *Mo ji*.

The absence of category headings and divisions in Zhao's list proves no barrier to determining the shared qualities that link each text in a cluster together. Most are evident from titles alone, whether by clusters united by topic (those that all have the name of a kingdom, dynasty, or region in their title) or by form (those that include a genre term in their title). There are, however, two groups of texts on this list whose placement is more perplexing. The first occurs between the texts that clearly focus on the Han dynasty and those that cover the kingdom of Wei. Before a sequence of eleven texts that specifically mention the kingdom of Wei in their title (and one dedicated biography of Wei ruler Cao Cao), there are eight titles that do not refer directly to any dynasty or kingdom. Though their location in the overall bibliography is unusual, the texts listed here do share several features. Six of these eight texts use their titles instead to refer to a specific region, toponyms that persist through the rise and fall of dynasties, four specify that they are focused on "former worthies" (*xian xian* 先賢), and all titles but two indicate that they contain biographies or anecdotes of notable individuals:[72]

Table 3.1: Selected zhuan *collections in Zhao Yi's list of titles cited in* Sanguo zhi		
先賢行狀	*Xianxian xingzhuang*	Chronicles of former worthies
汝南先賢傳	*Runan xian xian zhuan*	Accounts of the former worthies of Runan†
陳留耆舊傳	*Chenliu qijiu zhuan*	Accounts of the elders of Chenliu†
零陵先賢傳	*Lingling xian xian zhuan*	Accounts of the former worthies of Lingling†
楚國先賢傳	*Chuguo xian xian zhuan*	Accounts of the former forthies of Chu†
荀綽冀州記	*Xun Chuo Jizhou ji*	Xun Chuo's Record of Jizhou
襄陽記	*Xiangyang ji*	Record of Xiangyang
英雄記	*Yingxiong ji*	The record of the brave and talented

[72] *Jizhou ji* is thought to refer to one of Xun Chuo's *Jiu zhou ji* 九州記 (*Records of the Nine Provinces*), and its citations in *Sanguo zhi* contain both geographical and biographical information. *Xiangyang ji* probably refers to a lost text otherwise known as *Xiangyang qijiu ji* 襄陽耆舊記 (*Record of the Elders of Xiangyang*), which is thought to have described notable individuals and geographic features of the Xiangyang region (around what is now northwestern Hubei province). See Wang Liheng, "Shen Jiaben," 28, 36–37.

The Sui treatise subcategory lists four of these eight texts as "Miscellaneous Accounts" (marked with †). *Xianxian xingzhuang* and *Xiangyang ji* are also likely to refer to Sui treatise texts listed in this subcategory with slightly different titles.[73] Zhao's list also includes another group of texts that otherwise resembles the "Miscellaneous Accounts" subcategory, yet isolates these toponymically titled texts from those other collections of biographies and anecdotes. Without headings to describe these clusters of texts, it is difficult to determine the rationale behind this decision. Yet precisely because the list lacks headings to divide it into discrete groups, this cluster can be read in relation to both the Han-focused texts that precede it and the Wei texts that follow it. Zhao's list clarifies the interconnectedness of the regimes belied by *Sanguo zhi*'s tripartite structure, identifying specific texts whose scope covers events in multiple kingdoms and dynasties. Similarly, Zhao lists two more toponymically titled texts, Yu Yu's 虞預 (fl. early 4th century) *Kuaiji dianlu* 會稽典錄 (Documents and records of Kuaiji), and Wang Yin's 王隱 (fl. early 4th century) *Jiaoguang ji* 交廣記 (Record of Jiao and Guang), between those on Wu and Jin. The southern regions specified in their titles confirm their relevance to the preceding Wu section, but their placement before works on the Jin suggests that they may also describe later events. While other bibliographies construct stark boundaries between categories of texts to define their meanings, the absence of such divisions in Zhao's list is productive,

[73] The Sui treatise classifies *Xiangyang qijiu ji* as "Zazhuan," and the *Jiu Tang shu* treatise lists a *Hainei xian xian xingzhuang* 海內先賢行狀 (Chronicles of former worthies throughout the land), also under the subcategory *zazhuan*. This entry is undated, and attributed only to a certain member of the Li clan (*Li shi* 李氏). Nevertheless, Shen Jiaben and others treat this as the full title of the *Xianxian xingzhuang* of Pei Songzhi's annotations. Of the remaining two texts, *Jizhou ji* is not listed in any bibliography, and *Yingxiong ji* may refer to the text the Sui treatise calls *Han mo yingxiong ji* 漢末英雄記, which it attributes to Wang Can 王粲 and categorizes as "Zashi." See SS 33.960, 33.957; JTS 46.2000; and for Shen Jiaben's comments on this text, Wang Liheng, "Shen Jiaben," 27, 33–34.

creating a list that, when read linearly, has a great deal to say about the progression of history, the interrelatedness of territorial powers, and the texts that describe both.[74]

Though neither Qian nor Zhao mention its influence, their approach to bibliography based on information extracted from annotations is preceded by the work of Gao Sisun 高似孫 (1158–1237), who compiled a similar bibliography of works cited in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations several centuries earlier in the Southern Song. Like Qian and Zhao, Gao's list is included as part of a larger collection of scholarly notes, lacks labels to indicate divisions between textual types, and presents a limited array of specifically chosen texts rather than a comprehensive list of all cited titles. Gao's brief introduction to the list justifies his task and clarifies its scope:

> Yiqing, Prince of Linchuan, collected fine sayings and deeds from the Han and Jin on to make *Shishuo xinyu*, a work of quintessential excellence whose extraordinariness has not yet been recognized. Liu Xiaobiao's annotations to this text, their citations detailed and precise, possess an indescribable brilliance. Those drawn from works such as the various Histories of the Han, Wei, and Wu, from Masters texts or biographical and geographical texts [of those periods], need not be discussed. Let us instead consider only citations of texts ranging from the dynastic histories of the Jin clan, to exemplary biographies of the various Jin lords, and their genealogies, records, and literary works, which each come from outside of standard history. Their way of recording is exceptionally detailed, the knowledge they record unmatched in any source, an exemplary demonstration of textual annotation. I have presently collected the following titles.
>
> 宋臨川王義慶采摭漢晉以來佳事佳話，為《世説新語》，極為精絶，而猶未為奇也。梁劉孝標注此書，引援詳確，有不言之妙。如引漢、魏、吳諸史及子傳地理之書皆不必言。只如晉氏一朝史及晉諸公列傳譜録文章，皆出於正史之外，紀載特詳，聞見未接，實為注書之法。今采於後。[75]

[74] Qian Daxin's younger brother, Qian Dazhao 錢大昭 (1744–1813) also created a list of many texts cited in the Pei Songzhi commentary. This list is even more clearly divided into categories based on both regime and textual type. It is included in his *Sanguo zhi bianyi* 三國志辨疑, and it is reproduced and discussed in Lu Yaodong, *Wei Jin shixue*, 391–94.

[75] Gao Sisun 高似孫, *Gao Sisun Wei lue jiaozhu* 高似孫緯略校注, ed. and annot. Zuo Hongtao 左洪濤 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2012), 175–76.

Though the period covered in *Shishuo xinyu* partially overlaps with the late Han and Three Kingdoms period that forms the center of *Sanguo zhi*, Gao Sisun is interested only in texts pertaining to the Jin dynasty. Beyond this major chronological distinction, the dynastic histories, biographies, genealogies, records and works of literature that interest Gao are the same types of texts documented by Qian and Zhao. This brief sequence of textual types summarizes the content and organization of the list that follows, even though no labels are provided to demarcate these boundaries. The first texts listed nineteen works concerned specifically with Jin dynasty history, including four pre-Tang *Jin shu*.[76] These are followed by sixty-four biographies of individuals (*biezhuan*, referred to in the introduction as *zhuan*), thirty-nine genealogical texts, twenty-eight collections of biographies (identified in the introduction as *lu* 錄 or "records," among which are several individual biographies identified as *zhuan* rather than *biezhuan*), eight literary collections each with the term *wenzhang* 文章 in their title, and a final group of eight texts not referenced in the bibliography's introduction, most of which are lists of official titles (*guanming* 官名) and registries of names (*shuming* 屬名), for a total of 166 texts. Gao Sisun's list closely resembles those of Zhao and Qian in format and scope, but the brief sequence of textual types supplied in the introduction serves as a guide to stand in for the absent category headings, clarifying the arrangement of the list that follows.

[76] i.e. those compiled during the Jin dynasty by Zhu Feng 朱鳳 (fl. early 4th century), Wang Yin, and Yu Yu, as well as that of Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513), likely compiled in the late fifth or early sixth century. Wang Yin, Yu Yu, and Shen Yue are well-attested historians and each compiled several other works of history, Zhu Feng is otherwise obscure. The extant passages of these texts, many of them drawn from *Shishuo xinyu* annotations, were collected in the late Qing, along with fragments from five other *Jin shu*, in Tang Qiu, *Jiu jia jiu* Jin shu *jiben* 九家舊晉書輯本 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985).

Gao's statement that these texts all come from "outside" of standard history (*zhengshi* 正史), however, is misleading. The bibliographic subcategory "Zhengshi," originating in the Sui treatise and maintained in both the Old and New Tang treatises, is defined largely by the format and authority of the text, and the perceived legitimacy of the regime it documents is a secondary concern.[77] In other words, there was no need for each dynasty to be represented by a single orthodox historiographic work, and thus even though the *Jin shu* compiled by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579–648) and others in the early Tang would eventually become the sole officially recognized dynastic history for the Jin, in the dominant bibliographic schema in Gao's time, all four *Jin shu* as well as the chronicle of the Eastern Jin, *Jin Zhongxing shu* 晉中興書 (History of the Jin Restoration) would all have been considered Standard Histories.[78] This comment is thus a rejection of contemporaneous bibliographic language and its constraints. Rather than refer to a concrete bibliographic subcategory, Gao's use of *zhengshi* here articulates a looser notion of the historiographic mainstream, defined more by familiarity than by authoritativeness or format. After all, failing to meet this standard does not make them irrelevant. On the contrary, it is precisely this marginality that justifies their inclusion on Gao's list. Their documentation of heretofore unrecorded "exceptional details" from oft ignored texts is what elicits Gao's praise of Liu Xiaobiao's annotations, and enumerating them in a list is a way to demonstrate the breadth of Liu's scholarship and encourage others to consult his sources for further knowledge.

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[77] For the relationship between "Standard History" and other History subcageories, see pages 146–48, above.

[78] Shen Yue's *Jin shu* is listed as "Standard History" in the Sui and Old Tang treatises, but is missing from the New Tang treatise. The four other texts mentioned are "Standard History" in all three. See SS, 33.955; JTS, 46.1989; XTS, 58.1455–56. *Jin Zhongxing shu* is almost certainly the text cited frequently in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations as *Zhongxing shu*, see 218n88, below.

In their abbreviation and reorganization, these lists articulate arguments about the breadth and goal of each annotator's craft, and about the nature and scope of each text the annotators consulted. Because each presents its own vision of which cited texts are most pertinent to historiography in general and to the specific periods and regions that are documented in the texts to which the annotations are appended, they present notions of historiographic relevance that are at odds with both the annotators of the past and the bibliographers of the present. But this also provokes assumptions about the way citations from the various texts are deployed throughout *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*. Gao Sisun's list of titles relevant to Jin history may obscure the fact that certain passages within them may also be cited in relation to matters of the Han or Wei; Zhao Yi's inclusion of membranous bibliographic intermediaries between kingdoms and dynasties may add nuance to the notion that each text may only relate to one region or period, but conceals the possibility that a text located somewhere between the Han and Wei might also describe individuals associated with Shu, Wu, or Jin. Moreover, the focus on historiographic relevance is itself limiting. Another Song text, for example, treats *Sanguo zhi* and its annotations as a repository not for bibliographic data about historiographic texts, but as the basis for an anthology of formal prose and other literary writings. Entitled *Sanguo zhi wenlei* 三國志文類, this work gathers only citations from *Sanguo zhi* annotations that can be classified among the genres of *Wen xuan*, and arranges them into chapters according to the sequence of that text, just as Ye Dehui does for the "Miscellaneous Literature" subcategory in his bibliography of texts cited in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations.[79] Each chapter of *Sanguo zhi wenlei* is further arranged into separate sections for Wei, Shu, and Wu, with entries corresponding to which of the *Sanguo zhi*'s

[79] *Sanguo zhi wenlei* 三國志文類, Wenyuan ge siku quanshu 文淵閣四庫全書 vol. 1361 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1986), 505–780. The compiler of this text is unknown.

three books contains each piece, regardless of whether it is included the base text, or the annotations. Shifting focus from history to literature leads to different parameters for inclusion, and a different organizational structure. If this text were to be consulted in absence of sources, it would create a very different impression of the contents of *Sanguo zhi* and its annotations.

Bibliographies by Ye Dehui and Shen Jiaben present a more comprehensive view of the breadth of cited titles. Nevertheless, even as they praise the scope of Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao's scholarship, they decontextualize each citation from the passage to which it is appended, implying that their value is only intelligible after their contents have been subjected to rearrangement via the imposition of a hierarchical bibliographic system. By extension, this disentanglement of citation from context also suggests that annotations are valuable not for what they tell us about the specific incidents recorded in *Sanguo zhi* or *Shishuo xinyu*, but for what they tell us about the early medieval textual landscape in general. Though the prefaces to these bibliographies may offer effusive praise of the breadth of Pei and Liu's erudition, in this regard they offer a tacit endorsement of the complaints of the annotators' harshest critics, from Liu Zhiji's claim that their lack of both standards and restraint prevented their work from being usable as a model for later scholars, to the *Sanguo zhi* entry of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, which asserts that Pei Songzhi's notes are overly tangential and bear little relationship to the contents of the passage to which they are appended.[80] As traces of the early medieval textual record become scarcer and scarcer, the fact that critical readers have found only disorder and incoherence among the annotations detracts less and less from their scholarly value. Annotations

[80] Liu Zhiji, *Shitong*, 123. The *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* entry is reproduced in the Zhonghua shuju edition of *Sanguo zhi*. It states, "This variety of baseless, strange language occurs in more than ten places, and in each case, has nothing to do with the original matter." 此類鑿空語怪，凡十餘處，悉與本事無關. See SGZ, 1474.

offer information about texts that would otherwise be entirely unknown, and this information can be accessed most easily when it is rearranged into a bibliography, rather than scattered throughout the text in annotations.

Or so it would seem. Despite how they are described by their critics, careful reading of the annotations can be quite revealing. Critics accuse the annotations of being digressive, redundant, or of offering details that contradict what is reported in the base text without any explanation. If one is reading these texts primarily to clarify the historical record and to create a linear narrative of factual events, these complications may indeed become impediments. But they also provide the opportunity to consider the craft of historians and annotators themselves, as well as the nature of the textual resources to which they had access. Contradictory accounts of the same event allow us to see how narratives could be altered in oral and textual transmission, duplicated passages offer clues as to which sources were used as the basis for *Sanguo zhi* or *Shishuo xinyu*, and digressions into unrelated events suggest the existence of countless narratives and anecdotes not recorded in any other source.

When reading *Sanguo zhi* or *Shishuo xinyu* in conjunction with their annotations, it is impossible not to notice emerging patterns of citation. A small handful of texts are consulted constantly throughout each work, others are cited less frequently, but always in relation to certain groups of events or individuals. Anecdotes concerning some figures may be supplemented with information from *biezhuan* or literary anthologies, while others are only addressed in broader historiographic works, and so on. A linear reading of each text may reveal the broad contours of some of these patterns, but one is soon overcome by their complexity, making it difficult to trace them precisely. Comprehensive bibliographic lists are an excellent way to present the sheer breadth of texts cited in annotations, but they are incapable of rendering visible the myriad ways

annotators bring these corpora into conversation with one another. Category-based lists of titles create boundaries and relationships based on perceived differences and similarities between entire texts, but the annotator forges relationships between individual passages within them, making connections between texts that to a bibliographer would all be examples of totally unrelated categories and genres. Some of this complexity can be captured and visualized by rendering these textual relationships as a network. This makes it possible to add depth to the relationships noted by earlier bibliographers, and better understand, for example, how to make suppositions about the overall contents and forms of texts that do not appear in bibliographic treatises, or even to determine which kingdom or dynasty each consulted text relates most closely to. It also offers a way to answer new questions about how annotations bring these texts into conversation with one another.

3.4 *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations as a textual network

To chart the relationships formed through citation throughout *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations, it is necessary to record precise information about every instance of citation in both texts, not just note the first time each text is cited. This makes it possible to calculate how often each text is cited, and where each citation occurs.[81] I have also made note of cited titles that correspond to works in the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise, and recorded the bibliographic subcategory assigned to each. Some titles that do not appear in the Sui treatise turn up in later

[81] The charts and diagrams in the following section were created through a process that involved marking up digital editions of both texts according to the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) standard, and then extracting the data and creating network diagrams with the open-source visualization program, Gephi. More details of this process are described in appendix A.1 of this dissertation. For more on Gephi, see Mathieu Bastian, Sebastien Heymann, and Mathieu Jacomy, "Gephi: An Open Source Software for Exploring and Manipulating Networks," *International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media* (2009). For TEI documentation, see Text Encoding Initiative, accessed Dec 1, 2016, http://tei-c.org.

bibliographic treatises, or have had bibliographic subcategories assigned to them by later bibliographers like Shen Jiaben or Ye Dehui. No matter how accurate these later designations may be, my focus is on comparing the annotators' deployment of citations throughout each text with the bibliographic standards of the Sui treatise, as it is the closest and most complete surviving bibliographic record of the texts of this period. With these issues in mind, I have located a total of 221 unique titles in *Sanguo zhi* annotations, and 494 unique titles in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations. In both cases, over half of all titles do not correspond with any text listed in the Sui treatise (115 titles in *Sanguo zhi* annotations and 304 in those of *Shishuo xinyu*).[82]

The annotators' reliance on texts that do not appear in the Sui treatise can be qualified by considering how frequently each text is cited. Tabulating each instance of citation reveals that a larger proportion of citations come from texts that do appear in the Sui treatise. In other words, many unlisted texts are only cited once or twice each, while many texts that do appear in the Sui treatise are cited multiple times throughout both sets of annotations.[83] *Sanguo zhi* has more citations than *Shishuo xinyu*, but cites a smaller variety of texts. *Shishuo xinyu* annotations are more reliant on texts that are both absent from the Sui treatise and are only cited once or twice. Many *Shishuo xinyu* annotations are of *bieji* and *biezhuan* that are only cited in relation to anecdotes concerning the individual whose work they collect or whose life they record. Accounting for the length of both texts with and without their annotations makes this even clearer, since *Shishuo xinyu* is much shorter than *Sanguo zhi*. In their received versions, the annotated text of *Shishuo xinyu* is just over one fifth of the size of *Sanguo zhi*. But its annotations

[82] Appendix A.2 ranks *Sui shu* bibliographic subcategories by the number of titles belonging to them in each set of annotations.

[83] See appendix A.3 for the average number of citations per text in each of the ten most frequently cited Sui treatise subcategories.

contain 1,654 citations of 494 unique titles, while *Sanguo zhi*'s 2,045 citations of named texts are divided among only 221 unique titles.[84] Annotations also make up a significantly larger portion of the total length of the annotated *Shishuo xinyu,* comprising roughly 58.6 percent of the entire text, while in *Sanguo zhi* annotations account for only 46.7 percent of the complete text.[85] *Sanguo zhi* relies much more heavily on a limited corpus of texts.

Considering how often each title is cited clarifies these patterns.[86] The ten most cited texts in *Sanguo zhi* annotations account for over half of all its citations, while the ten most cited texts in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations account for roughly one third of its citations. Conversely, in

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[84] Lu Yaodong calculates a total of 2,389 citations, which he notes includes 259 entries with only Pei Songzhi's own comments. Thus, the discrepancy between the two figures may be because he also includes annotations that include neither any equivalent of the phrase "Songzhi notes" (*Chen Songzhi an/yiwei*, etc 臣松之案/以為) nor a title, e.g. phonetic and toponymic glosses, in his grand total. See Lu Yaodong, *Wei Jin shixue*, 52. My calculations suggest a total of 240 *Chen Songzhi an…* style notes among 424 annotations that do not cite textual titles. The latter figure is slightly inflated: To keep track of all titles cited, my system necessitates treating unattributed comments that surround cited passages as two separate comments.

[85] I calculate the total length of the received, unpunctuated *Sanguo zhi* to be 688,274 characters, with the base text comprising roughly 366,586 characters, and the annotations 321,688. *Shishuo xinyu* contains a total of only 151,176 characters. The base text is 62,558 characters long, and annotations make up 88,618. These figures should be considered approximate and tentative. The precise length of both texts and their annotations has been the subject of some debate. Early comments on *Sanguo zhi* annotations claim that the annotations are three times the length of the base text, which is quite far from what is suggested by the received versions. Zhang Zixia summarizes several attempts to estimate the length of *Sanguo zhi* annotations versus that of the base text, and concludes that significant portions of the annotations are likely to have been edited out of the text during the process of transmission. See Zhang Zixia, "Pei zhu yanjiu," 78–79. There is no direct evidence to support this, but a partially extant Tang manuscript of *Shishuo xinyu* contains the same number of citations as the corresponding portion of the received version, but the passages quoted in these citations are lengthier than their received version equivalents. Photographic reproductions of the Tang fragment may be found in an appendix to *Shishuo* (1982). Comments in the preface to later edition of the text suggest that these and other edits were made by Song scholar Yan Shu 晏殊, see Zhang Shuning 張叔寧, "Jin ben *Shishuo xinyu* banben zhi yuanliu" 今本《世說新語》版本之源流, *Hehai daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 河海大學學報（哲學社會科學版）3.4 (December, 2001): 71.

[86] See appendix A.4.

Sanguo zhi annotations, 113 of 221 unique titles are only cited once, while in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations 317 of 494 titles are only cited once. In both cases the reach annotator's reach is broad, but *Shishuo xinyu* annotations are more expansive than those of *Sanguo zhi.* They draw from a greater variety of sources, occur more frequently throughout the text, occupy a greater proportion of the overall length of the text, and are more likely to employ sources that are only relevant to one segment of the base text rather than reuse sources in a variety of circumstances.

These differences are difficult to account for. It is tempting to treat the breadth of *Shishuo xinyu* annotations as evidence that Liu Xiaobiao, working in the Liang dynasty, simply had access to a more substantial archive of texts than Pei Songzhi did earlier in the Song. But the nature of the texts that account for the clearest difference between *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations suggests a different explanation. Among the 317 texts cited once in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations, 211 are also absent from the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise, while seventy-two out of 113 texts with only one citation in *Sanguo zhi* annotations are absent from that treatise. These titles with no Sui treatise equivalents make up just over 60 percent of all texts with only one citation in both sets of annotations. Most unlisted texts are either biographies of individuals, labeled either *zhuan* or *biezhuan* in the citations themselves, or *bieji*. The Sui treatise does include a subcategory for the single-author literary collections, but has no separate category for biographies of individuals, only the "Miscellaneous Accounts" subcategory used for collections of biographies and other short narratives. Individual biographies were a very important resource for annotators, yet they are not treated as discrete texts by the Sui treatise. This suggests that the biographies cited by these annotators may not have circulated as individual texts, but instead had already been included in anthologies or collections. Both annotators also cite many of the Sui treatise's "Miscellaneous Accounts," so it is unnecessary to treat references to individual

biographies as metonymic references to larger collections. But it does not seem likely that the annotators would have had access to dozens of individual biographies that were not already collated into a compilation or archive of some kind. Instead, the presence of so many texts with only one appearance in either set of annotations suggests the existence of sources that made biographies of numerous individuals more accessible, yet were not recognized as discrete books in later bibliographies. These hypothetical sources may have formed another layer of the complex networks of circulation for historiographic texts in the early medieval period, joining abbreviated transcriptions of historiographic texts, *leishu*, anthologies, and partial manuscripts, and other ways in which text could circulate among readers and yet evade documentation and categorization by bibliographers in later eras.

While little can be said about the archives or compilations that gave annotators like Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao access to such an extensive array of individual biographies and literary collections, more concrete observations can be made about texts that each scholar cites consistently. Unlike individual biographies or literary collections, which are most useful to provide details relevant only to individuals or their immediate families and associates, these texts contain information that is relevant to a variety of different people and events. In *Sanguo zhi*, citations of older Wei histories, the *Wei shu* 魏書 (History of the Wei) of Wang Chen and the more obscure *Weilue* 魏略 (Outline of the Wei), occur most often, while another Wei-centric text, *Weishi chunqiu*, is the tenth most-cited.[87] This is not surprising, as the portion of the base text concerned with Wei individuals spans the first thirty of *Sanguo zhi*'s sixty-five chapters,

[87] The Wang Chen mentioned here is one of the three officials summoned by Cao Mao before his coup. Wang Chen's *Jin shu* biography credits him as one of the compilers of *Wei shu*, with Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263) and Xun Yi 荀顗 (d. 274), and also briefly describes the incident involving Cao Mao discussed above. See JS, 39.1143.

with the sections on Shu and Wu occupying fifteen and twenty of the text's remaining thirty-five chapters, respectively. *Wei shu* and *Weilue* are followed by texts that may be presumed to relate primarily to events in the kingdom of Wu—*Wushu*, *Wulu*, and *Jiangbiao zhuan*—and finally *Shi yu*, *Yingxiong ji*, *Han Jin chunqiu*, and *Fuzi* 傅子, texts that reveal no bias towards any of the three kingdoms in their titles. Comprehensive histories of the Jin dynasty occupy nearly all the ten most-cited titles in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations, with only the anecdote collection *Yulin* and the Wei portion of *Sanguo zhi* itself bearing titles that do not in some way refer to the Jin.[88] Although both texts also contain material related to other regions and periods, the sources cited in the annotations suggest a bias towards Wei-centric material in *Sanguo zhi*, and Jin-centric material in *Shishuo xinyu*.

Another way to determine which texts were the most useful for each annotator is to consider not just the number of citations per title, but how these citations are distributed across each base text. Since multiple citations of the same text are at times woven in between sentences of a single narrative, the total number of citations per text does not necessarily accurately represent how useful each cited work is to the entire text.[89] *Weilue* has at least one citation in thirty-one of the text's sixty-five chapters, while *Zhongxing shu* has at least one citation in twenty-six of *Shishuo xinyu*'s thirty-six chapters. Even though *Shishuo xinyu* annotations cite a greater variety of texts than *Sanguo zhi* annotations, and do not rely on a small group of texts for many citations, titles that are cited frequently in *Shishuo xinyu* are distributed across more chapters than in *Sanguo zhi* annotations. No one text is cited in more than half of *Sanguo zhi*'s

[88] A longer title, *Jin zhongxing shu* 晉中興書, is used twice in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations; if these are to be considered references to the same work, the total number of *Jin zhongxing shu* citations would be 114.

[89] See appendix A.4, table 2.

chapters, while there are six titles that are cited in at least half of *Shishuo xinyu*'s chapters. This is not just because *Shishuo xinyu* is shorter and divided into fewer chapters than *Sanguo zhi*, but because the contents of its chapters are organized around topics related to personality traits, rather than divided up based on any particular location or era. While texts that relate primarily to Wu figures are cited in the twenty "Wu" chapters of *Sanguo zhi*, no such temporal or geographic limits bind citations to any group of *Shishuo xinyu* chapters. This makes the assortment of texts cited in each *Shishuo xinyu* chapter less predictable than those of *Sanguo zhi*. These patterns can be illustrated by visualizing the relationships formed through citation as a network.

The diagram below (Figure 1) represents the network of citations formed by the annotations to *Sanguo zhi*. Each purple node represents a cited text, while each of the green, orange, and blue nodes correspond to one chapter in the text's Wei, Wu, and Shu sections, respectively. The size of each chapter node is determined by the total number of citations in that chapter, while the sizes of source text nodes are determined by the total number of citations of that text throughout all chapters. The grey lines between nodes, or edges, represent citations of each text in that chapter. Their thickness is determined by the number of citations per chapter, which also affects the proximity of connected nodes to one another: Proximity is determined entirely by relationships between cited texts and the chapters in which citations occur. Nevertheless, chapters from the same section of the text are grouped closely to one another, especially in the case of Wei and Wu chapters. Though a handful of sources are cited throughout all three divisions of the text, the kingdom with which a chapter is associated plays a major role in determining the variety of sources its annotations cite, at least for the Wei and Wu sections of the text.

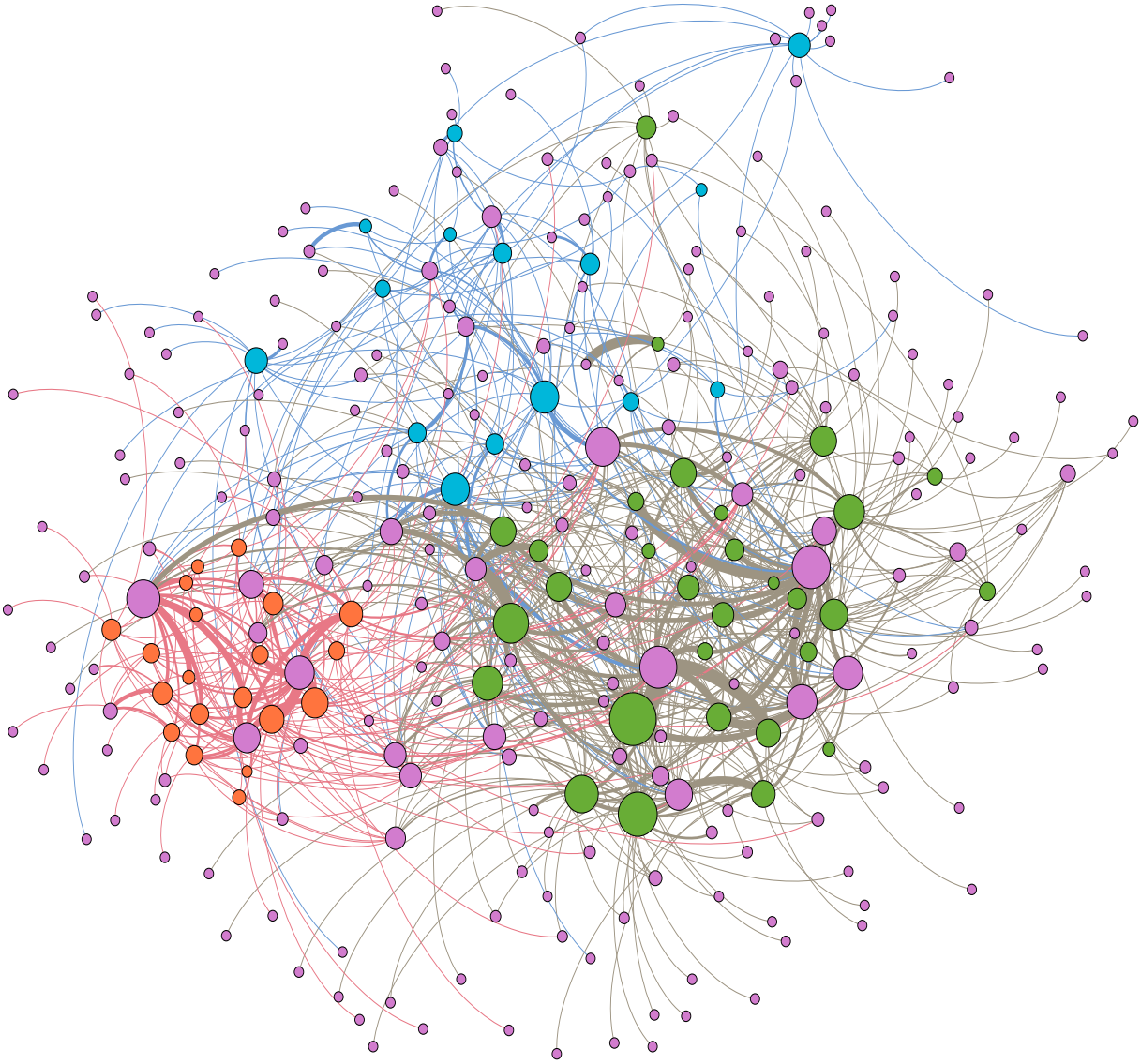

Figure 1: Citations in *Sanguo zhi*

Shu chapters are more broadly distributed. Some Shu chapters rely more heavily on a core group of Shu-centric texts, while others drift closer the Wei or Wu groups. Scholars have noted that historical sources related to the history of Liu Bei and the Shu-Han kingdom are limited compared to those detailing Wu and Wei.[90] The citation network affords a different

[90] The Sichuan basin has traditionally been stereotyped as lacking talented scholars and ignored as a center of intellectual production, despite the region's long tradition of local historiography and classical scholarship, a point noted and refuted throughout J. Michael Farmer, *The Talent of*

perspective on this situation, and highlighting connections between Shu chapters and other texts clarifies these features (Figure 2). Fewer sources relate directly and exclusively to Shu individuals and events, leading to many edges that reach across the entire network to connect with source texts more tightly gathered around chapters from the Wu and Wei sections, but patterns of citation are still consistent enough throughout many Shu chapters to create a relatively coherent cluster of Shu-centric texts.

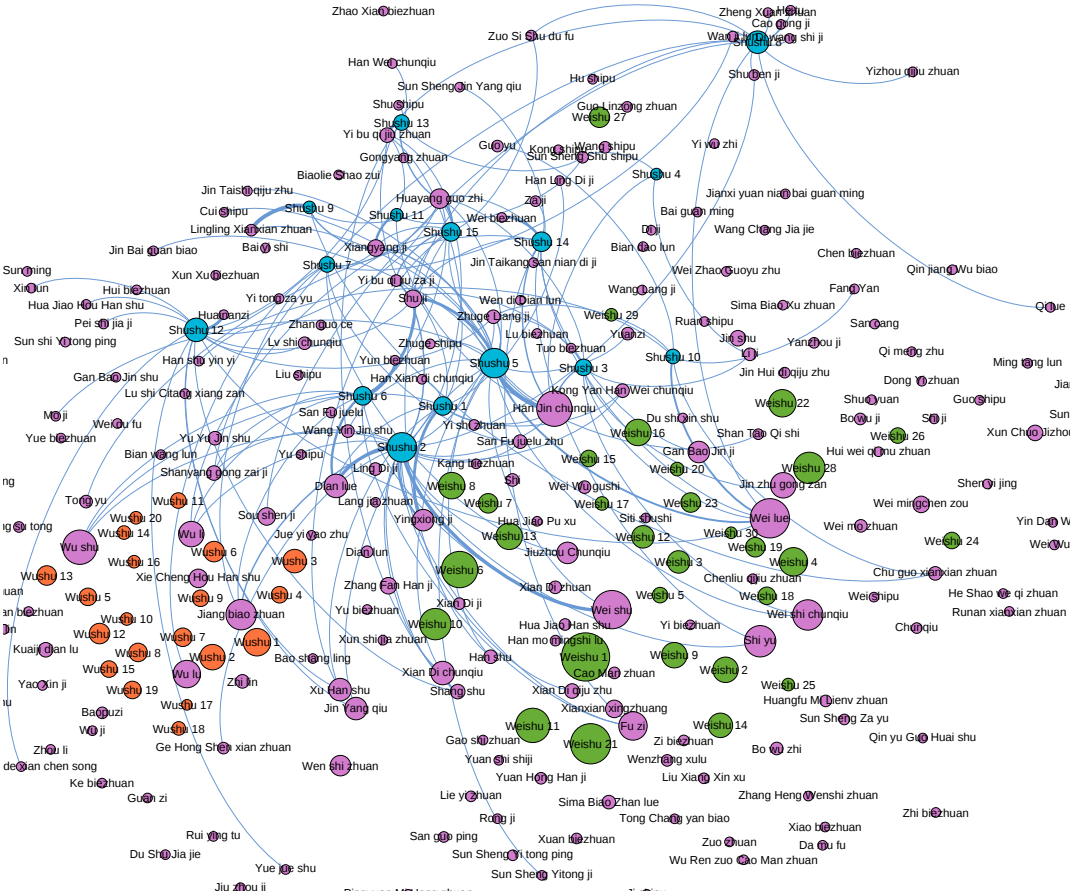

Figure 2: *Sanguo zhi* citations, detail on Shu cluster

Shu: Qiao Zhou and the Intellectual World of Early Medieval Sichuan (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007). No work devoted specifically to Shu history is classified as "Zhengshi" in the Sui treatise, though several works of Wei and Wu history appear there, see SS, 33.953–56. Chen Shou, though a native of Shu and a student of the scholar and historian Qiao Zhou, also notes that the Shu government lacked a scribal or historiographic office, in SGZ, 33.902.

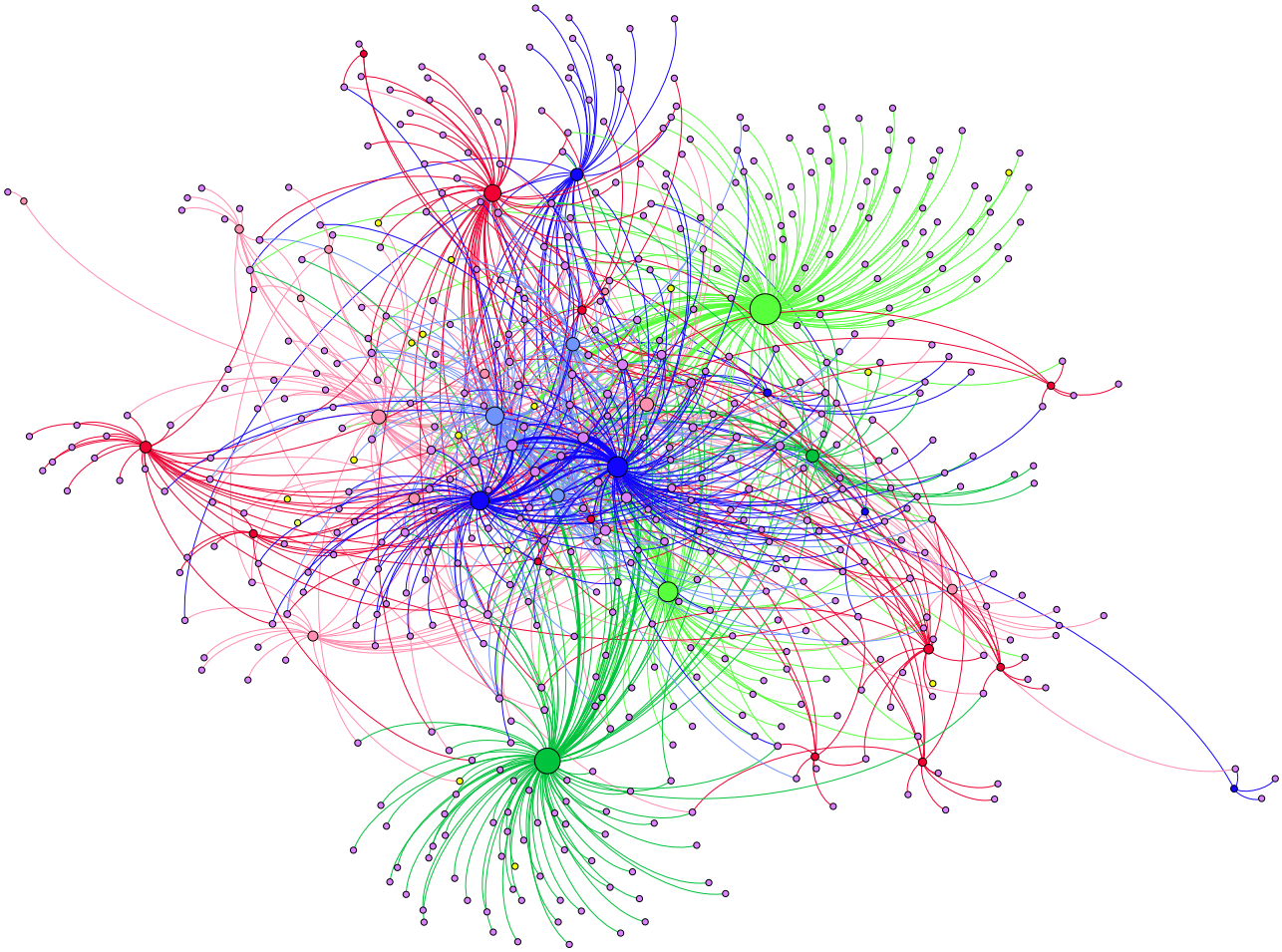

Figure 3: *Shishuo xinyu* citations

Compared to *Sanguo zhi*, the patterns of *Shishuo xinyu* citations are less easily relatable to the structure of the text to which they are appended (Figure 3). Beyond its division into thirty-six topical chapters, modern editions of *Shishuo xinyu* are also divided into three volumes, each in two halves. These broader textual divisions are a later innovation, first seen in Song dynasty editions of the text.[91] They are based primarily on length rather than coherence of content: The first four chapters of the text constitute the entire first volume, while the remaining thirty-two chapters are divided between the second and third volumes. Nevertheless, highlighting these divisions does reveal some coherence among them, though it is primarily a function of the average length of chapters in each of the three volumes. Source texts are again shaded purple, while the two halves of the first volume are light and dark green, those of the second are light and dark blue, and those of the third are light and dark red. A core group of oft-cited sources occupies the center of the network (Figure 4). The four chapters in volume one are among the longest and most heavily annotated in longest in the text. Though they frequently cite this core group, each also cites many sources unique to each chapter, pulling them away from the center. The 23 chapters in the final volume, on the other hand, are almost all quite short, and as such are

[91] The oldest full editions of the text are divided in this manner, but earlier bibliographic listings record the length of the text as either eight or ten *juan*. Some have speculated that the eight *juan* edition is the original text, and the ten *juan* edition is the first to contain Liu Xiaobiao's supplementary text, possibly included in the final two *juan* rather than appended to the specific anecdotes to which they are related, as they are in the Tang fragment and all extant editions, as the Sui treatise lists eight and ten *juan* editions of the text, but only mentions Liu Xiaobiao's annotations after the entry for the ten *juan* version. See SS, 34.1011. Because the annotations are longer than the base text, this remains an unlikely possibility. If the annotations were printed in smaller characters and integrated throughout the text, an increase of only two *juan* is more probable, but since the length of a *juan* can vary significantly from text to text, it remains difficult to prove whether the addition of the annotations and the shift in number of *juan* are actually related. For more on the textual history of *Shishuo xinyu*, see Wang Nengxian 王能憲, *Shishuo xinyu yanjiu* 世說新語研究 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1992), 34–35; and Sanders, "A New Note," 11–16.

scattered across the graph located near one or more of the texts that they cite most often. The chapters in the second volume are split between these two general patterns, with four longer chapters gravitating towards the center and the remaining five distributed throughout the network as in the chapters of the final volume.

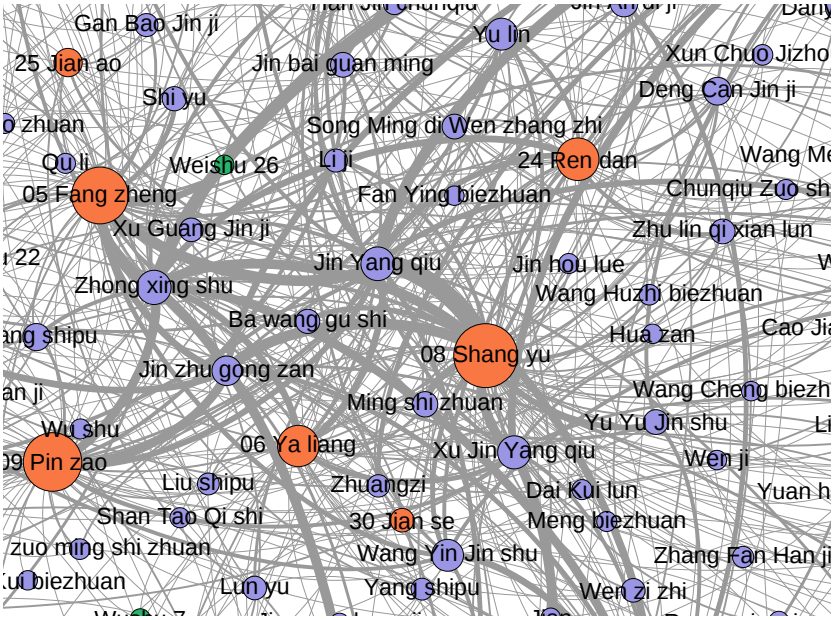

Figure 4: Detail on center of *Shishuo xinyu* citation network

Networks can also illustrate the common ground between *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*. Many texts are cited in sets of annotations, and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations also contain citations of passages from *Sanguo zhi*. Examining citation patterns as a network that spans both texts is one way to identify the most closely related sections of these two texts, and to determine which cited texts are most central to both sets of annotations. When the titles cited in all chapters from both texts are included in the same network, most chapters from each text remain gathered together near one another, but there is a considerable region of overlap in the center. Below (Figure 5), *Shishuo xinyu* chapters appear towards the top and are shaded with warm colors.

Yellow for volume one, orange for volume two, and red for volume three. *Sanguo zhi* chapters are in cooler colors: Green for Wei chapters, blue for Wu, and purple for Shu.

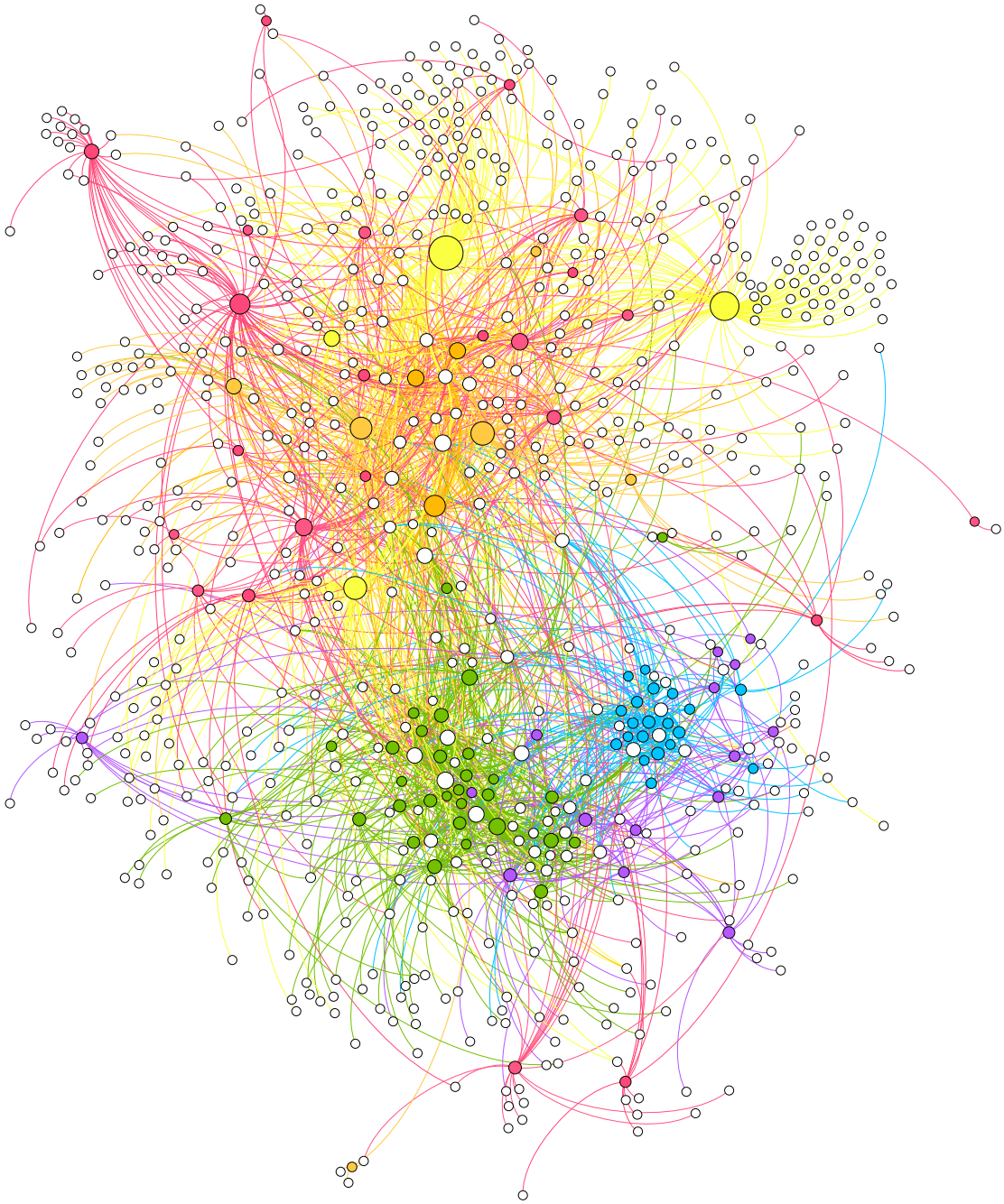

Figure 5: Network of citations in both *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations

The network can also visualize the relationship between citation patterns and the separation of texts into bibliographic categories. An unusual organizational structure might lead a text to be considered a work of "Miscellaneous History" in a bibliography, but this does not necessarily make its contents any less valuable in annotations. Indeed, rearrangement of a text's constituent parts according to the patterns of a more logically or traditionally organized text is one way to negate the presumed negative effects of poor organization. Furthermore, in annotation, common elements among the contents of texts from even more disparate bibliographic categories can be brought together as supplements to the same passages from these base texts. In annotations, textual similarity is determined not by broad characteristics shared throughout entire texts, but through mutual documentation of information relevant to the same component of the annotated text. But because the same text can be cited multiple times throughout annotations in both texts, noting the chapter in which a text is first cited, or even noting the chapter in which the same text is cited most often, does not fully capture the many ways annotation can identify points of contact or similarity among texts.

Patterns formed through citation can offer clues works that are otherwise lost, revealing details about their contents that are obscured by their categorization in bibliographies and other summaries or descriptions. *Jin zhugong zan*, discussed above as one of many sources containing information on Wang Jing's involvement in Cao Mao's coup, is cited many times in both sets of annotations. It is cited at least once in about a quarter of *Sanguo zhi* chapters, and in exactly half of all *Shishuo xinyu* chapters. Its classification in the Sui treatise as a "Miscellaneous History" does little to clarify the text's purpose or scope. Despite his explicit interest in texts relevant to the Jin dynasty, Gao Sisun lists a *Jin zhugong zhuan* 晉諸公傳 towards the end of his sequence

of titles relevant to Jin history.[92] Similarly, Qian Daxin and Zhao Yi both include it within clusters of texts also devoted to the Jin dynasty, while Ye Dehui and Shen Jiaben maintain the Sui treatise's categorization. Shen Jiaben's description of the text makes no attempt to summarize its contents, instead noting only the passage that relates to Cao Mao's coup discussed at the beginning of this chapter.[93] Aside from these citations, few details of the text's contents survive. Both these bibliographic groupings and the text's title suggest that it is concerned with prominent officials of the Jin dynasty. Yet, as the previously discussed citations of the text that provide biographical details for the Wei official Wang Jing illustrate, *Jin zhugong zan*'s subjects are not limited to those who served the Jin dynasty. Isolating the citations of *Jin zhugong zan* in the network that spans both texts illustrates its broad distribution across both texts (Figures 6 and 7). Notably, *Jin zhugong zan* citations often appear *Shishuo xinyu* chapters that also cite *Sanguo zhi*. Co-citation of *Jin zhugong zan* and *Sanguo zhi* thus offers one way to identify which chapters of *Shishuo xinyu* are most likely to have significant overlap with events covered in *Sanguo zhi*.

Yingxiong ji is the eighth most frequently cited title in the annotations to *Sanguo zhi*, but it is cited only once in *Shishuo xinyu*. Like *Jin zhugong zan*, *Yingxiong ji* is relatively obscure. Comparing citations of both texts adds another layer of information to what can be known about these two lost texts based on their bibliographic categorization and surviving excerpts: Both texts are cited frequently, but while *Jin zhugong zan* is a text that was broadly applicable both to the

[92] Gao Sisun, *Wei lue*, 176.

[93] Shen lists texts that are cited in both *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations in both bibliographies, but only includes descriptions of the text for their first occurrence, i.e. in his *Sanguo zhi* bibliography. In this description, Shen records the annotator's commentary included after the citation of this passage in *Shishuo xinyu*, but does not make any further comments on the text's appearance in both sets of annotations. See Wang Liheng, "Shen Jiaben," 28.

anecdotes of social exchange in *Shishuo xinyu* as well as with regard to many events describing the fall of the Wei and the rise of the Jin, *Yingxiong ji* citations are primarily concentrated in a group of *Sanguo zhi* chapters focusing individuals relevant to the earlier phases of the period (Figures 8, 9). There are also more citations of *Yingxiong ji* in the Wu and Shu portions of the text than there are of *Jin zhugong zan*. Its single citation in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations shows that it was available to Liu Xiaobiao, but also that it must have contained very little that was relevant to the rest of that text. If *Yingxiong ji* is the text elsewhere referred to as *Han mo yingxiong ji,* the titles of both texts provide a rough idea of the periods they cover, which is consistent with how their citations are deployed in both texts. These patterns of citation also reveal a bit more about the regional coverage of *Yingxiong ji* and *Jin zhugong zan*. Both are cited far more frequently in Wei-centric chapters of the text, yet while neither is entirely irrelevant to Wu or Shu figures, *Yingxiong ji* is consulted slightly more frequently in relation to non-Wei figures.[94]

Even before consulting individual citations to determine their specific contents, charts like these provide a sense of how annotators used the texts at their disposal. Both *Jin zhugong zan* and *Yingxiong ji* have long disappeared from the textual record, meaning those portions of the text not included in these citations are no longer accessible. Citation networks also make it easier to estimate what may have been included in those portions of the text that were not cited. Based on its appearances in the Wu and Shu portions of the text, it is highly unlikely that *Jin zhugong zan* contained a wealth of information about those regions during the Jin dynasty that

[94] *Sanguo zhi* citations of *Jin zhugong zan* appear twice in the fifth Shu chapter (chapter thirty-five), devoted entirely to Zhuge Liang, and twice in the sixth Wu chapter (chapter fifty-one), which concerns tertiary members of the Wu-ruling Sun clan. *Yingxiong ji*, on the other hand, is cited six times in the chapter devoted to the ancestors of Shu ruler Liu Bei, (chapter thirty-one), five times in the subsequent chapter devoted to Liu Bei himself, three times in the chapter dedicated to Wu patriarchs Sun Jian and Sun Ce (chapter forty-six), and once in an additional chapter that contains biographies of a handful of notable Wu figures.

Pei Songzhi neglected, while the absence of *Yingxiong ji* in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations suggests that the text was far less useful to Liu Xiaobiao as a chronicle of late Han and early Wei notables than, for example, the text of *Sanguo zhi* itself. These two texts are employed in different ways by both annotators, but both are significant to the annotation project, even though they were marginalized by bibliographers ignored by later textual transmitters.

Indeed, the *za*-prefixed bibliographic subcategories, the miscellaneous "Histories," "Accounts," and "Masters," house more titles cited in both sets of annotations than their marginalized status in the Sui treatise would suggest. *Jin zhugong zan*, for example, is classified as "Miscellaneous History," the category the Sui treatise sets aside for erratically organized works that fail to meet appropriate standards, and "rely on the gossip of the lanes, on oddities and nonsense."[95] Charting the ways texts from these subcategories are deployed throughout both sets of annotations makes their usefulness to annotators even clearer. The diagram below (Figure 10) highlights source texts from both sets of annotations belonging to the "Miscellaneous Histories" (purple), "Miscellaneous Accounts" (blue), and "Miscellaneous Masters" (green) subcategories, as well as "Standard Histories" for contrast (red). Seen through the lens of the Sui treatise, *Shishuo xinyu* and *Sanguo zhi* annotations each make use of a small, specialized corpus of "Standard Histories," which appear in central positions among tight clusters of chapters of the text with which they are most closely associated. Though Standard Histories that are employed most heavily by *Sanguo zhi* are also occasionally cited in *Shishuo xinyu* and vice-versa, this does not happen frequently enough to pull these key texts towards the center of the network. On the other hand, citations of "Miscellaneous" texts like *Jin zhugong zan* and *Shi yu* are broadly distributed throughout both sets of annotations, pulling the nodes associated with those texts

[95] SS, 33.962.

towards the middle of the diagram. Standard Histories may appear to dominate and even determine the layout of the network. However, removing "Standard Histories" texts from the network does not drastically change its shape (Figure 11). *Sanguo zhi* chapters remain grouped according to the text's division into one volume for each kingdom, and *Shishuo xinyu* chapters are most easily distinguished from one another when they rely on sources cited only in one chapter. The most significant consequence of removing Standard Histories from the network is the closer proximity between chapters in both texts that that draw heavily from *Jin zhugong zan*: certain Wei *Sanguo zhi* chapters and a handful of *Shishuo xinyu* chapters. Distinctive *Shishuo xinyu* chapters that also occasionally cite Standard Histories are pushed to the periphery, and unique sources cited in Shu chapters cause them to appear in an even more isolated cluster. In other words, though Standard Histories are important in the annotations to both texts, they alone do not determine the patterns of the network. Instead, they complement and reinforce patterns that are already evident through co-citation of works in other bibliographic categories, or those completely omitted from the Sui treatise.

Jin zhugong zan and *Yingxiong ji* are not the only important cited texts that have faded into obscurity. Other works, though relegated to marginal bibliographic subcategories and eventually lost completely, were similarly useful to the annotators of both texts. If a reader's primary resource for learning about these texts was a bibliography, even one as detailed and meticulously organized as Shen Jiaben's, their specific utility to annotators would remain concealed. Examining their position in the network illuminates the breadth of their appearances throughout both sets of annotations, offering a sense of the situations in which these texts were most important to annotators. Space does not permit a thorough evaluation of the distribution of citations for every cited text. To complement the discussion of the "Miscellaneous History" *Jin*

zhugong zan, I will instead conclude this chapter with a discussion of representatives from the two other *za*-prefixed subcategories of the Sui treatise, to offer a fuller picture of how useful these supposedly disorganized and incoherent texts could be.

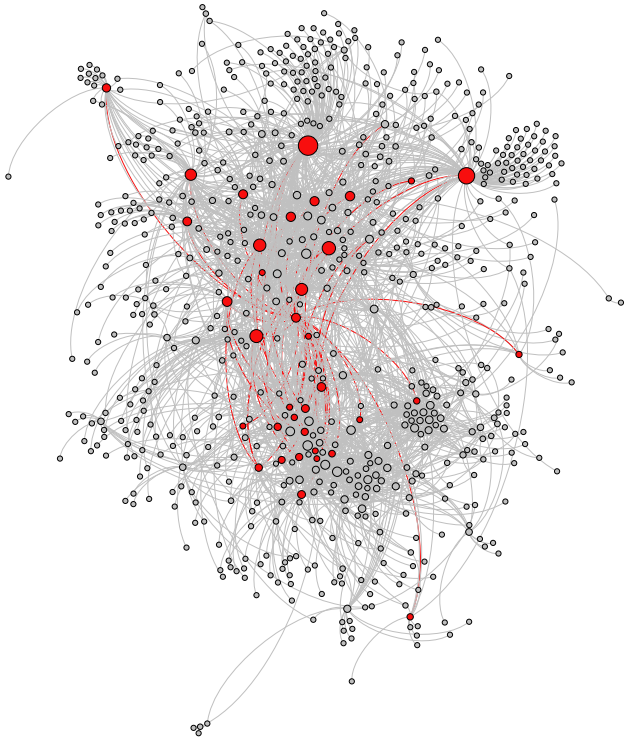

Figure 6: *Jin zhugong zan* citations

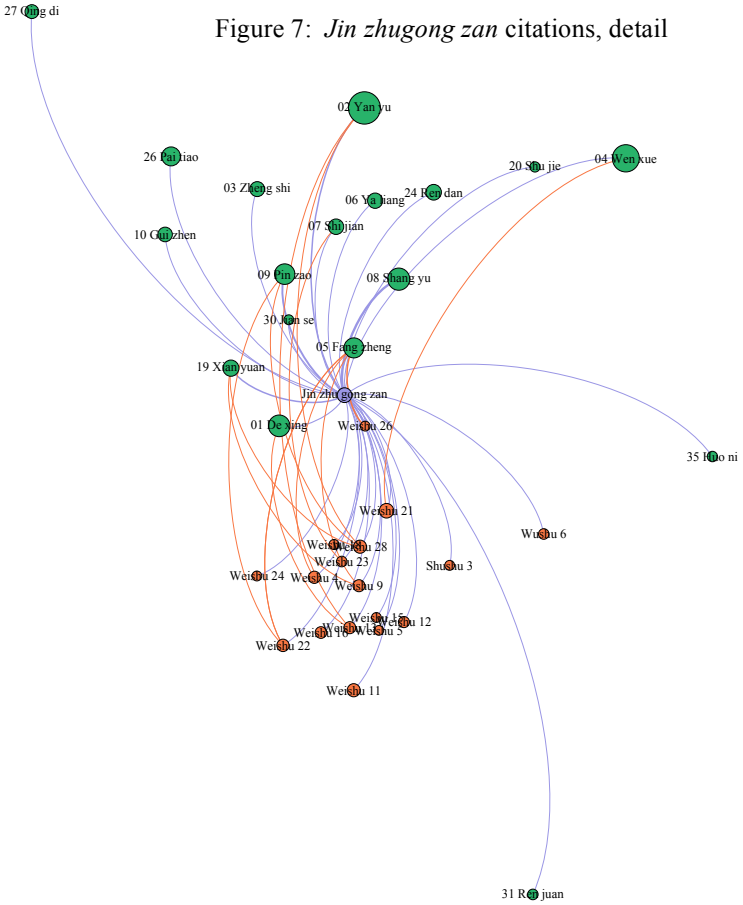

Figure 7: *Jin zhugong zan* citations, detail

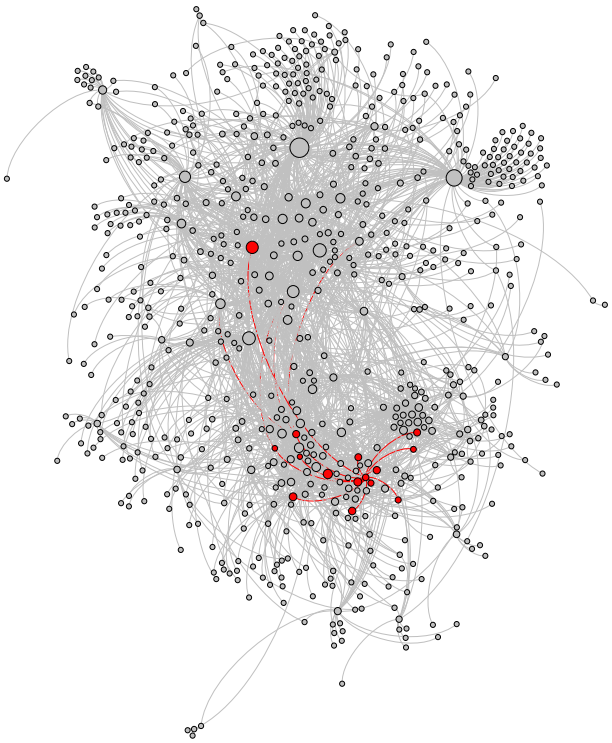

Figure 8: *Yingxiong ji* citations

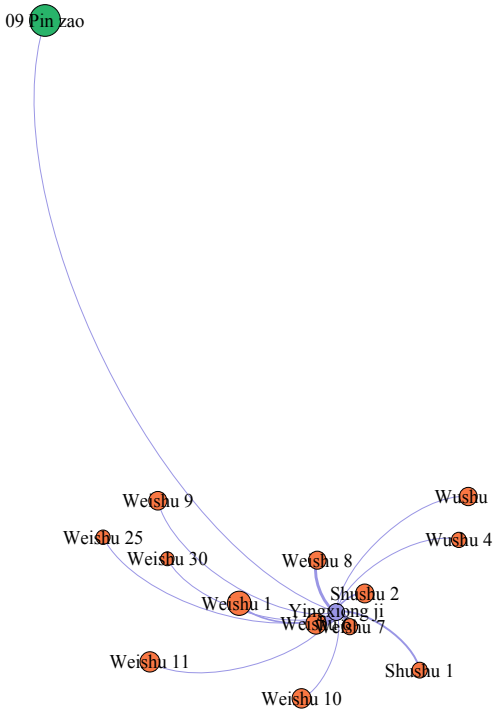

Figure 9: *Yingxiong ji* citations, detail

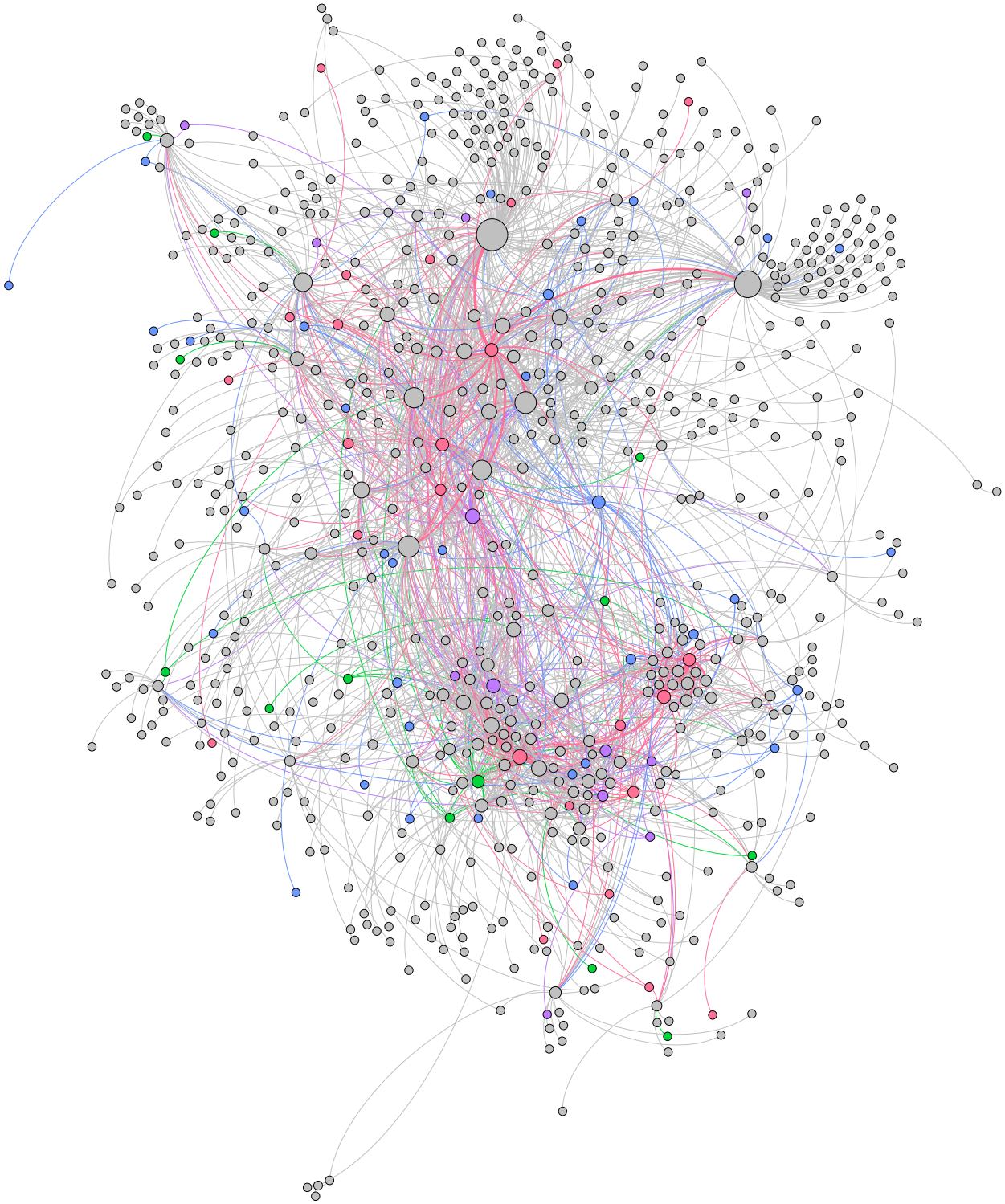

Figure 10: “Miscellaneous” citations (Green, blue, purple) vs. “Standard Histories” (Red)

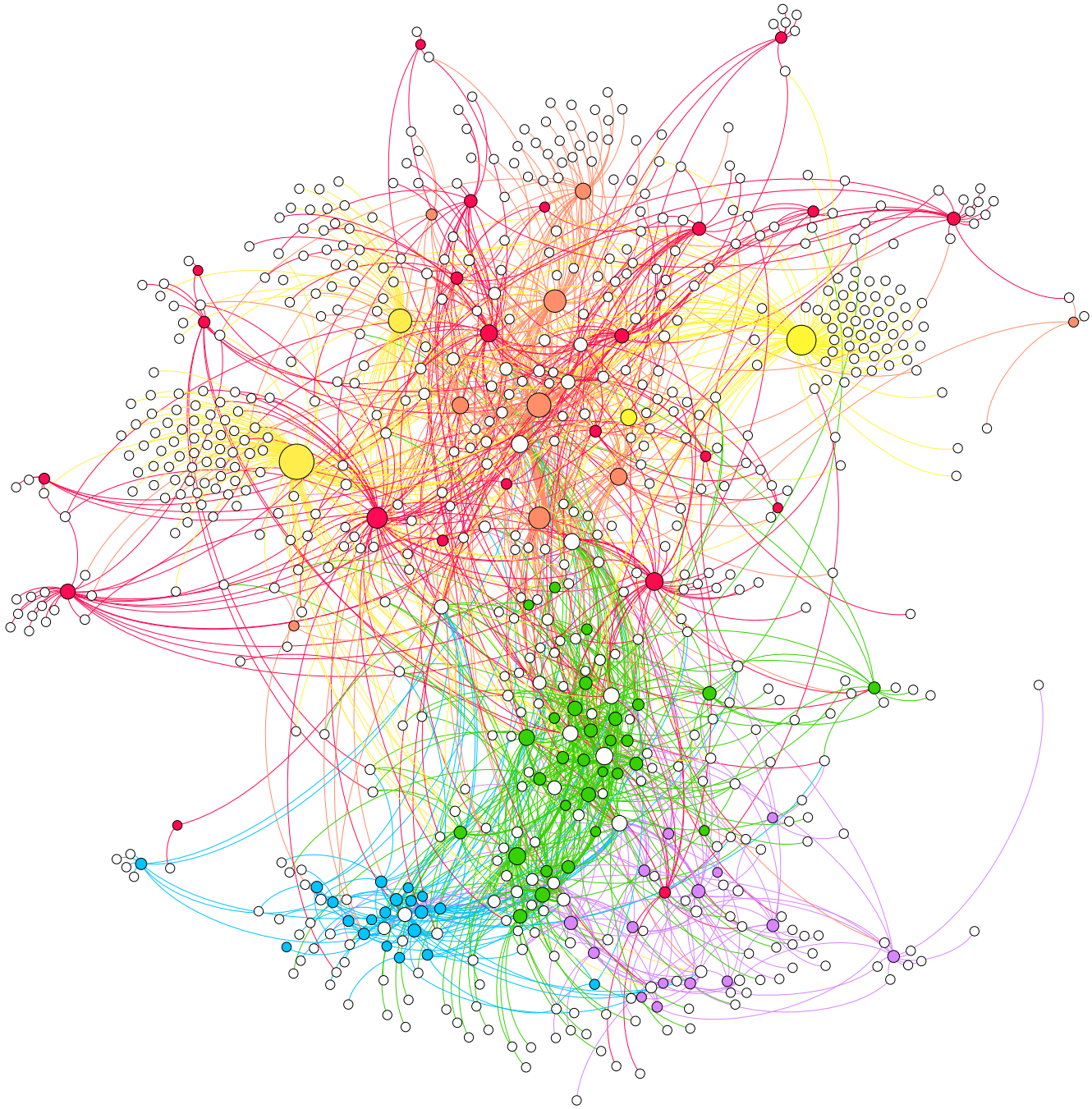

Figure 11: *Shishuo xinyu* (Red, yellow orange) and *Sanguo zhi* (Green, blue, purple) citations, without "Standard Histories"

3.5 Reorganizing disorderly texts

Wenshi zhuan 文士傳 (Biographies of literary gentlemen), classified with the "Miscellaneous Accounts" in the Sui treatise and no longer extant, is cited twenty times in thirteen *Shishuo xinyu* chapters and thirteen times in twelve *Sanguo zhi* chapters (Figure 12). In these annotations, the text offers biographical details and anecdotes about individuals with literary and scholarly reputations.[96] While texts cited frequently in both sets of annotations tend to revolve around Wei figures, surprisingly *Wenshi zhuan* citations in *Sanguo zhi* are distributed equally throughout the Wei and Wu portions of the text. In other words, while *Shishuo xinyu*'s perspective on the early medieval literary elite skews heavily towards individuals from the Wei and Jin, *Wenshi zhuan* also addresses representatives from Wu. Despite this broad coverage, however, *Wenshi zhuan* is never cited in the Shu portion of *Sanguo zhi*, perhaps indicating a limitation of its scope (Figure 13). As for citations of the text in *Shishuo xinyu,* it is cited four times in the second chapter of the text, entitled "Yanyu" 言語 ("Speech and Conversation"), and three times in the fourth chapter, "Wenxue" 文學 ("Letters and Scholarship").[97] This is not surprising, given both the general focus of *Wenshi zhuan* on erudition and literary talent that can be presumed from its title, as well as the fact that these two chapters are among the longest and

[96] Due to discrepancies in authorial attribution in both sets of annotations and in the Sui treatise, the authorship of *Wenshi zhuan* remains obscure. The author is listed as either Zhang Yin 張隱, Zhang Zhi 張騭, or Zhang Heng 張衡 depending on the appearance. The Zhang Heng attribution is likely spurious. The discrepancy between Zhang Zhi and Zhang Yin may be the result of scribal error, though in this case it is not clear which attribution is correct, as both individuals are obscure. Zhang Yin and Zhang Zhi may also be two different people, with the former performing the initial task of compilation in the Jin dynasty, and the latter either expanding or editing the text in the Qi dynasty. For an overview of the various arguments surrounding the author of the text, see Xiong Ming 熊明, *Han Wei Liuchao zazhuan yanjiu* 漢魏六朝雜傳研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014) 232–34.

[97] Here I follow Richard Mather's translations of *Shishuo xinyu* chapter titles.

most heavily annotated in the text. It is cited twice in chapters six and twenty-three, "Yaliang" 雅量 ("Cultivated Tolerance") and "Rendan" 任誕 ("The Free and Unrestrained"), and once in chapters seven through nine, eleven, eighteen, twenty-four, and twenty-five. Though it is cited in half as many *Shishuo xinyu* chapters as *Zhongxing shu*, this is still a broad distribution for *Shishuo xinyu* citations. Despite the narrow focus implied by its title and its current state of obscurity, *Wenshi zhuan* was an important source of material for both Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao, especially for its coverage of both Wei and Wu scholarly and literary luminaries.

Though it is also no longer extant, *Fuzi* is far less obscure than *Wenshi zhuan*. It is attributed to Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217–278), whose poetic and scholarly works are well-known.[98] *Fuzi* is important in *Sanguo zhi* citations, with a total of fifty-seven citations across twenty chapters. It is also cited in *Shishuo xinyu* annotations, but not nearly as frequently, with only 3 citations, each in a different chapter (Figure 14). The distribution of its citations in *Sanguo zhi* annotations is also very specialized. Fourteen of its citations occur in chapter fourteen, which contains biographies of various strategists for the kingdom of Wei. This chapter's node appears directly adjacent to that of *Fuzi*, indicating a close relationship between the two (Figure 15). Chapter fourteen cites *Fuzi* more than twice as many times as it does its second most-cited text, the *Wei shu* of Wang Chen, the most heavily cited title in all *Sanguo zhi* annotations. The remaining *Fuzi* citations appear mostly in other Wei chapters, but it is also cited once in chapters thirty-two, thirty-six, and forty-four in the Shu section, and once in chapter forty-seven in the Wu section.

[98] Fu Xuan's biography is in JS, 47.1317–23. For a study of the life and thought of Fu Xuan, as well as a partial translation of extant *Fuzi* passages, see Jordan Paper, *The Fu-tzu: A Post-Han Confucian Text* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987). Paper's translation omits material quoted in *Sanguo zhi* annotations.

The presence of *Fuzi* citations in *Sanguo zhi* citations is notable. This is not simply because *Fuzi* is recognized as part of the Masters tradition rather than a clearly demarcated work of historiography, as neither annotator restricted himself to such works. That Fu Xuan would have much to say about Wei history is also not surprising, as his *Jin shu* biography reports that he was among those commissioned to compile the *Wei shu* that is cited throughout both sets of annotations, and typically attributed to Wang Chen.[99] But the appearance of so much historiographic material in *Fuzi,* a text that the Sui treatise classifies as a Miscellaneous Masters text, has proven difficult to explain. Contemporary scholar Li Xiaoming, for example, has argued that the historiographic material attributed to *Fuzi* is far too detailed to have originated in that text, as surviving excerpts of *Fuzi* cited in other sources characterize it primarily as a work of political theory and historiographic criticism.[100] *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* citations that cite "Fuzi," Li suggests, are actually citations from an otherwise unknown draft of the *Wei shu*, attributed directly to Fu Xuan himself through the use of Fuzi as an epithet. As mentioned above, both annotators frequently quote other historians by name only, meaning it is not entirely impossible for "Fuzi" citations to refer to a person rather than the text that bears his name. Yet none of these other citations of authors rather than titles cite style names or epithets, instead using each historian's full name.

[99] JS, 47.1317.

[100] Li Xiaoming 李曉明, "Fu Xuan *Wei shu* li kao" 傅玄《魏書》蠡考, *Wenxian jikan* 文獻季刊 7.3 (2007): 8–9.

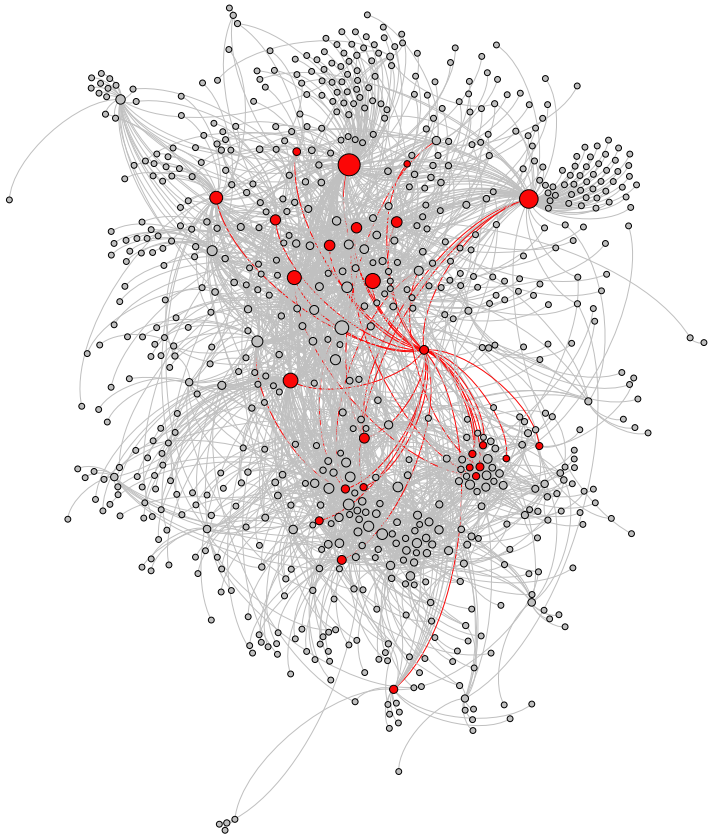

Figure 12: *Wenshi zhuan* citations

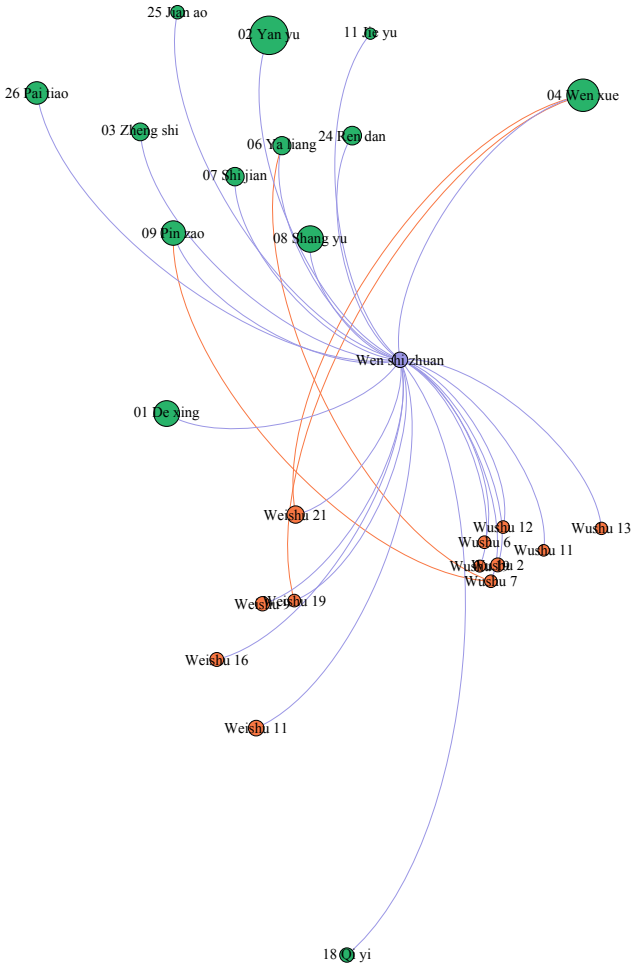

Figure 13: *Wenshi zhuan* citations, detail

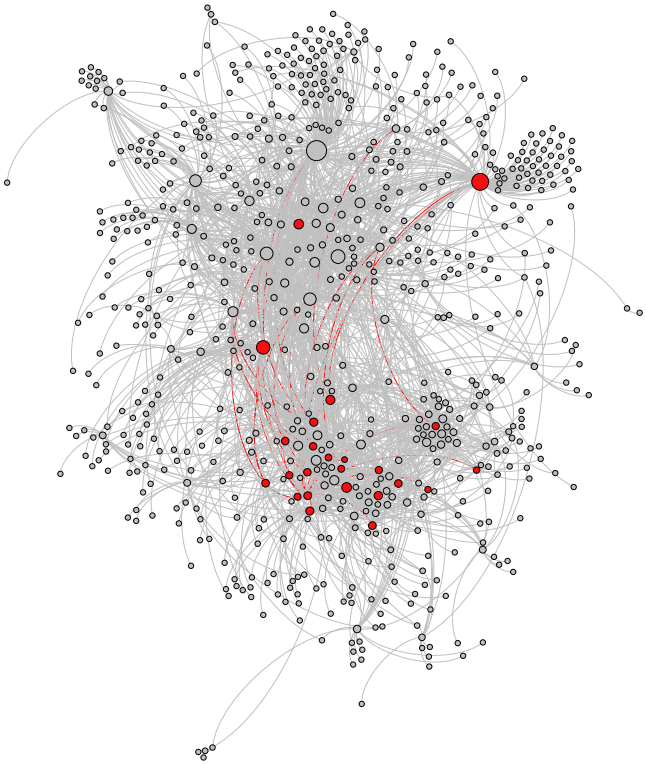

Figure 14: *Fuzi* citations

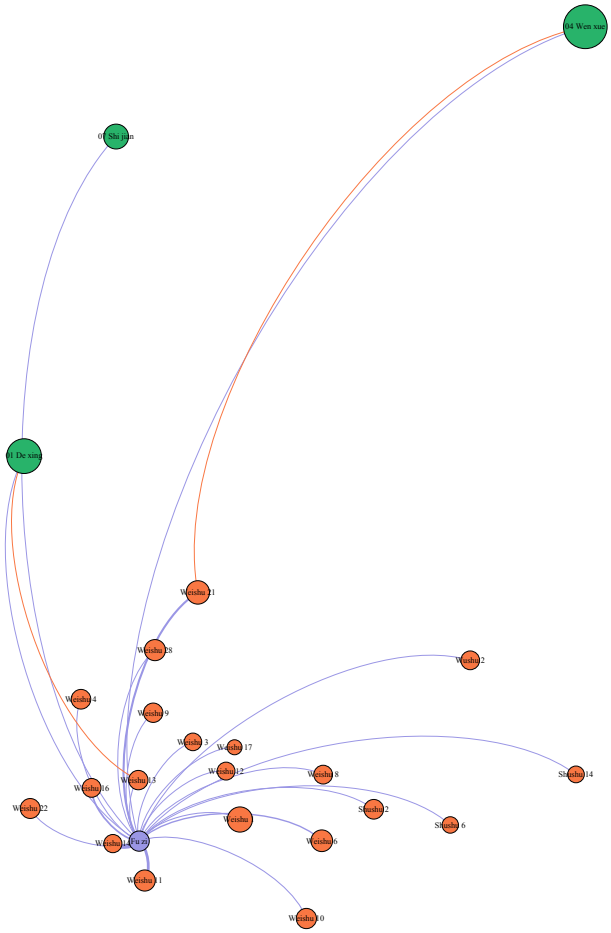

Figure 15: *Fuzi* citations, detail

Nor is it unusual for the contents of a text whose genre and naming convention place it outside of the tradition of dynastic histories to be cited so frequently in reference to events from a single region or period. This is the case for *Yingxiong ji*, as well as the obscure *Jiangbiao zhuan*, cited over one hundred times, mostly in Wu chapters of *Sanguo zhi*, and the even more obscure *Zhi lin* 志林 (The Grove of Treatises) of Yu Xi 虞喜 (fl. 307–405), which is cited nine times throughout five Wu chapters. *Zhi lin* is perhaps the best case to compare with *Fuzi*, as it has also been recognized as a Masters text, albeit one classified as Ruist rather than Miscellaneous.[101] Although it is categorized as a Masters text, its title does not conform to the naming conventions typical of the iconic pre-Han Masters. On the other hand, both its bibliographic classification and its limited appearances in *Sanguo zhi* citations suggest a narrower range of contents than *Fuzi.* Moreover, while there is no external evidence to suggest that *Fuzi* contained such extensive documentation of Wei history, neither is there anything to suggest that a draft of Fu Xuan's contributions to *Wei shu* ever circulated independently. The supposition that "Fuzi" refers to a person rather than the title of a text is based entirely on the premise that a Master's text could not possibly contain so much historiographic information, rather than any direct evidence from either *Sanguo zhi* citations or other sources.

The key to understanding how *Fuzi* could become so indispensable for the study of Wei history and yet also be understood as a Miscellaneous text in the Masters tradition lies with the

[101] The first *Sanguo zhi* citation of *Zhi lin* credits Yu Xi, subsequent citations omit this attribution as is typical in the text's annotations. The Sui treatise attributes a *Zhi lin xinshu* 志林新書 (New writings from the grove of treatises) to Yu Xi, as well as *Hou lin* 後林 (The latter grove) and *Guanglin* 廣林 (The grove, expanded), making it probable that the *Zhi lin* Pei Songzhi cites is the same text as the one listed in the Sui treatise, or at least an earlier version of it. See SS, 34.999. Fragments of the text are collected in Ma Guohan, ed., *Yu han shanfang jiyi shu* 玉函山房輯佚書, vol. 68, *Zhi lin xinshu* 志林新書 (Changsha: Changsha Langhuan guan, 1883).

transformation of that textual tradition in the early medieval period, and with the subsequent expansion of the Miscellaneous Masters subcategory. The previous chapter addressed how both the overall Masters category as well as its Miscellaneous subcategory transformed, so that their incarnations in the Sui treatise accommodated compiled sources like *leishu* in addition to particularly eclectic examples of more traditional Masters texts. But the expansion of what could bibliographically be considered a Miscellaneous text must be treated separately from texts that are fashioned in emulation of the older Masters style: Although the Sui treatise's Miscellaneous Masters subcategory encompasses a wide variety of compiled, documentary sources, such titles do not necessarily conform to the naming or structural conventions adopted by earlier examples of Masters texts, such as *Zhuangzi*, *Mengzi*, *Han Feizi,* and so on. Whether a text like *Fuzi* can be assumed to have contained material so uncharacteristic of the earlier and better-known Masters texts depends on whether the same shift in the definition of bibliographic categories was also taking place among those responsible for compiling texts.

In the Qing dynasty, Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762–1843) suggested that *Fuzi* coverage of Wei history was originally confined to the text's middle volume, leaving the "inner" and "outer" chapters of the work devoted to other topics.[102] There is precedent for this in other Masters texts. The most notable case is *Baopuzi* 抱朴子, whose inner and outer chapters were determined to be so different from one another that they appear in different subcategories of the Sui treatise, the

[102] At this point, the text had already been dissolved, so the basis for this assertion is unclear, save for a brief mention of *Fuzi*'s division into inner, middle, and outer chapters without reference to their contents in Fu Xuan's *Jin shu* biography. JS, 34.1323. Yan Kejun originally noted this in his *Tieqiao man gao* 鐵橋漫稿, these comments are quoted from that text in Yu Jiaxi notes *on Fuzi*: Yu Jiaxi, *Siku quanshu tiyao bianzheng* 四庫全書提要辨證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 562. Yan Kejun is also responsible for a reconstruction of the text: Yan Kejun, *Quan Shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 1727–36.

inner chapters classified as Daoist, and the outer chapters found among the Miscellaneous Masters.[103] Further evidence for the widening scope of Masters texts can be seen in *Jinlouzi*, whose own elaborate structure and unique history will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter. The breadth of their contents and their division into very distinct sections means it is not entirely improbable that *Fuzi* included a similarly broad variety of contents in its inner, middle, and outer chapters. Moreover, *Sanguo zhi* citations of *Baopuzi* do not specify whether their contents are drawn from the inner or outer chapters of the text.[104] In other words, there is precedent for *Sanguo zhi* citations failing to distinguish between the inner and outer chapters of a text, but not for citing the honorary epithet of a historian rather than his given name. *Fuzi* citations are thus most likely to refer to a version of *Fuzi* that defies contemporary understanding of text's contents, rather than to a hypothetical *Wei shu*. It is, however, quite possible that such an edition represents the work of a later compiler, who gathered various writings associated with Fu Xuan, including both historiographic narratives and the theoretical essays and philosophical tracts that most closely resemble traditional examples of the Masters genre. Such a compilation would in fact explain *Fuzi*'s relegation to the Miscellaenous Masters

[103] Bibliographic records of *Baopuzi* tend to treat the inner and outer chapters (*nei pian* 內篇 and *wai pian* 外篇) as separate texts and place them in different subcategories, as in SS 34.1002, 1006. Other descriptions of the text treat them as two components of the same work: JS, 72.1912; Yang Mingzhao 楊明照, ed., *Baopuzi waipian* 抱朴子外篇 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 50.695, 698.

[104] Only one of the three can be conclusively connected to a passage in the received versions of either collection of chapters, see SGZ 60.1379. The other two resemble no passage of the received *Baopuzi,* see SGZ 48.1162, 63.1426. The first describes a lavish tomb containing a corpse whose face has not decayed, and the second recounts the superhuman abilities of Ge Hong's ancestor, Ge Xuan 葛玄, passages that, if indeed from an older, longer version of *Baopuzi*, are likely to have been found in the inner chapters.

subcategory alongside other sprawling compiled works, despite later assertions that the non-historiographic portions of the text accord with values associated with Ruist texts.[105]

3.6 Conclusion: Annotation as "Drawing out the essentials"

Jin zhugong zan, *Wenshi zhuan*, and *Fuzi* are each assigned to a different *za*-prefixed subcategory in the Sui treatise, categories that are defined as much by the organizational features and compiled nature of the texts they contain as they are by the suspicion that their contents are corrupt, misleading, or even dangerous. Yet these three texts are each in their own ways instrumental to the projects of one or both annotators, referenced just as frequently, or even more frequently, than many texts that would find reputable bibliographic homes. This would perhaps be surprising if the Sui treatise suggested that *all* Miscellaneous texts were to be treated as disreputable and thus ignored. However, the treatise is not quite so dismissive when it comes to the potential value of these texts, recommending that their potential shortcomings should lead one not to ignore them entirely, but to read them with caution. Both the "Miscellaneous Accounts" and "Miscellaneous Histories" postfaces mention that such texts exist for the sake of those seeking broad erudition, who may consult these texts to draw out their essentials.[106] Only the Miscellaneous masters section is missing such a caveat, instead presenting *za* texts themselves as the product of those who failed to heed such warnings, "disorderly and digressive" texts compiled by those with little talent but much capacity for study. The frequent appearance of

[105] Though determining what from the early medieval period should properly be considered exclusively Confucian, or even Ruist, remains challenging, Jordan Paper asserts that with the *Fuzi* Fu Xuan "may be termed a Confucian because he viewed himself within the Confucian tradition and a spokesman for Confucian values," see Paper, *The Fu-tzu*, 30.

[106] The Sui treatise recommends "excerpting the essentials" 刪採其要焉 from the Miscellaneous Accounts, and "scooping out the essentials" 酌其要 of the Miscellaneous Histories. See SS, 33.982, 962.

"Miscellaneous" works in the citations of both annotators, then, may represent precisely the type of cautious "extraction of the essentials" that would later be recommended by the Sui treatise. The annotators comb through digressive, potentially misleading compilations and historical texts, carefully select certain passages, and arrange them according to the less convoluted framework of *Sanguo zhi* or *Shishuo xinyu*. They are joined in these annotations by citations from texts of all types, from reputable historiography following standard organizational patterns, to biographies of individuals from unknown sources, miscellanies, geographic treatises, collections of anomaly accounts and other even more eclectic sources of supplementary information.

Liu Zhiji, however, did not appreciate the resulting greatly expanded texts as successful attempts to mine complex, problematic works for valuable information. Instead, he characterized the work of Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao as just as eclectic and digressive as those Miscellaneous texts from which they frequently drew. Though redeemed by Qing bibliographers as sources of bibliographic data following the diminishing of the textual record in the intervening centuries, such studies render the contents of the annotations useful only after rearranging them according to the hierarchy of categories and subcategories established in contemporaneous bibliographic treatises. In such arrangements, cited texts are confined to their bibliographic classifications regardless of how essential or inessential they may be in the annotations from which they have been derived. Other scholars, hoping to reconstruct lost works, have also found great value in annotations, but these projects, too, sacrifice the relationships established through annotation in favor of an imaginary composite version of the cited text. Though Yan Kejun's reconstructed version of *Fuzi*, for example, may include each citation of the text in *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations, it cannot reproduce the material that neither Pei Songzhi nor Liu Xiaobiao saw fit to include, nor can it account for the particular reasons either annotator saw fit

to preserve those passages. Annotations make the reconstruction of lost possible, but the rearrangement of excerpts into new patterns disconnects them from the context afforded by the annotation process that enabled their preservation.

Annotation is a form of selective reading that results in a different approach to textual categorization, one that challenges the notion that groups of texts may be cordoned off from one another in restrictive bibliographic categories. In this model of textual categorization, excerpts from certain texts, no matter how convoluted or digressive they may be, can be given new relevance and intelligibility through their incorporation into the structure of another. At times this serves to elevate the validity of the cited text, while at others it may function to draw attention to its flaws. In all cases the result is a work that dissolves the boundaries between texts, forcing its readers to acknowledge that comprehensive knowledge cannot be derived from a single text alone, even as it redefines the boundaries of the territory a single text can encompass. The selective reading of cited texts that produces annotations allows for new ways of reading the text to which they are appended. Annotation weaves repeated citations of the same texts throughout both *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*'s multiple depictions of the same events from different perspectives, allowing the reader to consider the relationships among the events and individuals depicted independently of the order in which they appear in the two base texts. Both bibliography and annotation provide a view of the long-forgotten early medieval textual landscape. But the perspectives afforded by each are quite different, suggesting different strategies for reading and making sense of vast quantities of text. The former constructs a hierarchical system of discrete works related to one another through shared themes, topics and common compilation techniques; The latter presents a sea of textual fragments and anecdotes, housed temporarily in textual containers bearing specific titles and authors, but relatable to one

another in myriad combinations. The following chapter turns to yet another approach to the management of a large corpus, one that applies the bibliographer's interest in classification according to textual type to the selection and arrangement of fragments of other texts employed by annotators and compilers.

Chapter Four
Brick by Brick:
Jinlouzi and the Construction of a Textual Identity

4.0 The man in the tower

An anecdote in *Jinlouzi* describes a curious moment in the text's own long period of development:[1]

> Once, before I had finished *Jinlouzi*, I returned from Jingzhou to the capital. At this time people were saying that I was forging real gold making towers, and they would come visit me. After paying their respects with a toast, one by one they would inquire after this "golden tower," saying "Perhaps I might look it over? I'm sure it would be a great marvel." Situations like this were so ludicrous.
>
> 余作《金樓子》未竟，從荊州還都。時有言是鍛真金為樓子者，來詣余。三爵之，後，往往乞借金樓子："玩弄之，應大奇巧。"此則近可咍也。[2]

Here, *Jinlouzi* is a work-in-progress, mysterious and misunderstood, but not wholly concealed. The project already has a reputation, albeit one that utterly distorts its true nature. Compiler Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508–554) is uninterested in commenting on his guests' reactions to the true nature of his "golden tower," or even whether or not this truth was ever revealed. Elsewhere, however, the text articulates its own lofty purpose quite directly: To preserve in writing the discourse of its author and thus establish for him a kind of immortality in text, in the manner of Sima Qian, Cao Pi, and countless other monumental figures before him.[3] If *Jinlouzi* was compiled with an audience in mind, it was not one made up of Xiao Yi's peers, but for readers of subsequent generations.

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[1] *Jinlouzi* was a work in progress for virtually the entirety of its compiler's adult life. Details in the text suggest its latest datable entry was added just months before Xiao Yi's death. Zhong Shilun 鍾仕論, *Jinlouzi yanjiu* 金樓子研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 10–11.

[2] Xiao Yi, *Jinlouzi jiaojian* 金樓子校箋, ed. Xu Yimin 許逸民 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 1290. Henceforth, JLZ.

[3] JLZ, 1.

The text has not fulfilled this lofty ambition. When later readers have attempted to make sense of *Jinlouzi*, the text is often treated as another reason to condemn its controversial compiler. Xiao Yi's participation in debates on literary style have earned him attention from scholars throughout history, but such appraisals of his role in literary culture are rarely able to ignore his historical reputation as a political and military failure. He is remembered primarily for his ruthless rise to political prominence during the Hou Jing uprising,[4] his mismanagement of relations with the Northern Wei, and his ultimate failure to defend the Liang capital from their subsequent invasion. It was on the eve of this invasion by the Western Wei that Xiao Yi, then ruling as emperor of the Liang, committed what is certainly his most perplexing and thoroughly condemned act. Having realized that defeat at the hands of invading forces was inevitable, Xiao Yi set fire to his imperial library, destroying tens of thousands of texts.[5] This bibliocaust has, like Qin Shihuang's "burning of books and burying of scholars" before it, become a scapegoat for countless gaps in the textual record.[6] *Jinlouzi*, the most substantial surviving work attributed to Xiao Yi, offers the tantalizing possibility of a psychological solution to the problem posed by his peculiar historical legacy. How could a self-professed lover of scholarship and literature, a son of the illustrious Liang Emperor Wu and brother of *Wen xuan* compiler Xiao Tong, so selfishly

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[4] For more on Hou Jing's rebellion, see Scott Pearce, "Who, and What, was Hou Jing?" *Early Medieval China* 6 (2000), 62–64.

[5] The exact number varies considerably depending on the account. While *Sui shu* reports only 70,000 *juan* were lost, *Nan shi* records a loss of over 100,000 *juan*, and *Zizhi tongjian* claims that 140,000 *juan* were destroyed: The number seems to grow with time. See NS, 8.245, SS, 32.907, and Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), 165.5121.

[6] These are the first and last items on Sui scholar Niu Hong's 牛弘 (545–610) list of "Five Calamities" (*wu e* 五厄) discussed in a memorial to the Sui court sent as a request replenish its library by requisitioning texts from regional institutions and private collectors. See SS, 49.1297–300. For more on Niu Hong, see Lai Xinxia, *Gudian muluxe*, 135–36.

bring ruin to the regime's largest library, and, ultimately, the regime itself? What character flaws could possibly counteract the innate dignity of the imperial line and a lifetime steeped in the classical tradition?

Many have combed through *Jinlouzi* for insight into Xiao Yi's upbringing, character, and political philosophy. Reading selectively, some have used passages from *Jinlouzi* to illustrate his moral failings and provide an explanation for his failure to defend the Liang.[7] Others have used the text to seek a basis for Xiao Yi's rehabilitation, finding that the text articulates a defensible Ruist persona that stands in contrast to his characterization by historians as a scoundrel and villain.[8] These attempts to mine *Jinlouzi* for autobiographical details have enabled a variety of nuanced perspectives on Xiao Yi as a historical personage and literary innovator, but they do so at the expense of an accurate representation of the true complexity of the text upon which they are based. This is because these autobiographical details, however informative they may be, constitute only a small portion of *Jinlouzi*'s contents. The tower that Xiao Yi's visitors imagined him building, forged from molten gold, offers a fitting metaphor for the actual text. *Jinlouzi* is built from bits and pieces of other works, its textual pieces dislodged from their earlier positions, grafted together in new arrangements, and reshaped into a unique composite structure.

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[7] Cao Daoheng, for example, pillories Xiao Yi as both a writer and a leader, arguing that the sordid details of his life mean that his Confucian leanings expressed in *Jinlouzi* should be treated as little more than a formal performance. Cao also discusses the complexity of Xiao Yi's critical writings on literature, though he does not see this complexity embodied in Xiao Yi's own poetry. Cao Daoheng 曹道衡, *Lanling Xiao shi yu Nanchao wenxue* 蘭陵蕭氏與南朝文學 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 218–19, 227.

[8] Liu Cheng 劉晟, "Xiao Yi *Jinlouzi* 'Liyan' zhuzhi bianzheng" 蕭繹《金樓子 立言》主旨辯證, *Huanan shifan daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 華南師範大學學報(社會科學版) 2 (April, 2000): 45–52.

Passages devoted to Xiao Yi's personal experiences and thoughts appear only sporadically throughout each chapter of the work, where they are surrounded by numerous other brief anecdotes and essays that are drawn almost completely from other texts. Though readers of *Jinlouzi* have not failed to note the text's reliance on citation, these features are often treated as additional points of evidence in the debate about the quality of Xiao Yi's character. Qing scholar Tan Xian 譚廷獻 (1832–1901), for example, disparages the text as a derivative work: "[*Jinlouzi*] draws eclectically from the Masters and Histories, frequently excerpting from *Huainanzi*, and bearing occasional similarities to *Wenxin diaolong* and *Shishuo xinyu*—one can't help but consider it to be the work of a huckster." 雜採子史，取淮南猶多，又與文心雕龍、世說新語相出入，未免於稗販.[9] In her study of popular Ming dynasty compendia and miscellanies, Yuming He points out that Qing dynasty critics frequently used the term *baifan* 稗販 to criticize texts that recycle contents from older works and pass them off as their own.[10] I follow He in translating *baifan* as "huckster," which captures its connotations of dubious profit-seeking. These critiques of *Jinlouzi* as plagiaristic and opportunistic, though, are thoroughly rooted in Qing perspectives on textual integrity, formed largely in opposition to the thriving commercial printing enterprises of the previous era that He describes. It is odd that this term is also used to describe *Jinlouzi*, a much older text, but reveals much about the perceived relationship between *Jinlouzi*'s dubious compilation methods and those practiced by unscrupulous commercial printers. Xiao Yi's reputation as a problematic ruler makes it easier to dismiss *Jinlouzi*'s contents

[9] Xu Yimin records Tan's comments in full in an appendix, in JLZ, 1386.

[10] Yuming He, *Home and the World: Editing the "Glorious Ming" in Woodblock-Printed Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 2–5, 140–42.

in this manner. Li Ciming 李慈銘 (1830–1895), another late Qing critic of the text, connects the citationality of *Jinlouzi* directly to the moral and political failings of its compiler: "Emperor Yuan [Xiao Yi] was frivolous, reckless, and ruthless in his avarice, his talents not extending beyond the composition of decadent poems and petty rhapsodies. The book is thus made up primarily of sayings plagiarized from the Masters and Histories. 元帝為人險薄忮忍，所長不過艷詩小賦，故此書大半剿襲子史中語.[11] Xiao Yi's tarnished reputation means that it is perhaps impossible to rehabilitate *Jinlouzi* as an unsung classic of the Liang dynasty. But if the questionable integrity of its compiler can be set aside momentarily, the text offers an invaluable perspective on the nature of textual compilation in the early medieval period.

For those reading the text hoping to find traces of Xiao Yi's voice, unadulterated by the influence of other works, *Jinlouzi*'s frequent use of material that can easily be found in other familiar sources is indeed frustrating. *Jinlouzi*'s reliance on citation may be extreme, but the difference between *Jinlouzi* and other works is one of degree, and not kind. To critique *Jinlouzi* as derivative is to forgo serious consideration of *Jinlouzi*'s place in the culture of textual compilation in which it was produced and transmitted. The purpose of this chapter is to consider these features of *Jinlouzi* in light of what the previous chapters have revealed about how early medieval scholars coped with and made use of the great variety of texts to which they had access. The basic fact that much of its material is derived from easily recognizable sources does not itself distinguish the *Jinlouzi*, nor should it alone be a reason to disparage the text. In comparison with these other works, the citationality of the *Jinlouzi* remains unique both in form and content. What distinguishes the *Jinlouzi* from the citational practices used to compile other texts, from bibliographic treatises to *leishu*, histories, and their commentaries, is the sheer variety

[11] JLZ, 1386.

of citation techniques it employs, and the way this array of borrowed passages are situated within the text's unique structure.

Even though the notions of authorship and commerce that underlie the concept of plagiarism did not exist in the manuscript culture of Xiao Yi's time, not all forms of compilation were equally acceptable. Medieval critics might not have characterized Xiao Yi's work as "hucksterish," but they did recognize in it the same patterns of "miscellaneousness" evident in other problematic compiled works. The most effective treatments of *Jinlouzi*'s heavily citational nature have been those that analyze it in relation to this broader tradition of compilation and textual "mixing." Bibliographically speaking, *Jinlouzi* falls squarely within the Masters tradition, reflected both in the convention followed by its title and in its categorization within the "Miscellaneous" subcategory of the Masters section of every major bibliographic treatise from *Sui shu* on. Xiaofei Tian elaborates on *Jinlouzi*'s status as a Masters text, showing that it, like other later Masters texts, articulates its compiler's desire to "establish a discourse" (*liyan* 立言) of his own. However, Tian also complicates the picture by showing that *Jinlouzi* is a relatively late entry into the category, composed in a period in which the literary collection had already replaced the philosophical treatise as the primary way a writer could "leave behind an everlasting personal legacy" in textual form.[12] Tian argues that, rather than stand as an anachronistic entry into an outmoded genre, the *Jinlouzi*'s indebtedness to pre-existing texts lends its compiler the status of a curator or arbiter of literary works, thus showing that the text can be understood as a "'collection' in *zishu* form." The result is something that, in Tian's reading, closely resembles the *biji* 筆記 (brush notes) genre that would flourish in later periods. [13] If *Jinlouzi* is to be

[12] Tian, "Twilight," 477.

[13] Tian, "Twilight," 486.

considered a forerunner of *biji*, it is certainly one that relies much more heavily on material that can also be found in other extant sources than it does on the highly personal anecdotes and reminiscences that would come to define the most memorable examples of that genre. In other words, though in structure and contents *Jinlouzi* is a Masters text, its compilation strategy more closely resembles that of the literary anthology.

Zhong Shilun approaches the problem differently, relating *Jinlouzi* to the qualities attributed specifically to the so-called "Miscellaneous School" of Masters texts. Zhong's discussion invokes not only the text's categorization in bibliographic lists since the Sui treatise on, but also evaluations of the *Jinlouzi*'s philosophical alignment in more recent scholarship.[14] These discussions of the "*za*-ness" of *Jinlouzi* rely on the assumption that philosophical works can, and should, be understood according to their relation to one or more of the Warring States intellectual lineages that provided the model for textual categories in the Han bibliographic treatise. As noted earlier, works that do not sufficiently adhere to the tenets of any one of these schools, then, were understood as hybrid texts made up by combining elements of multiple "schools," and categorized as "Miscellaneous." Though this is certainly a problematic model for understanding Masters texts whose origins predate the system's codification in the Han dynasty, the potential for such a model to influence the production of texts in subsequent periods should not be discounted outright.

Indeed, Zhong cites a *Jinlouzi* passage that appears very much in line with the syncretic approach associated with the theorized "Miscellaneous School." The passage begins with a complaint that the world is full of those who are adept at warfare but neglect ritual and civil

[14] Zhong, *Jinlouzi yanjiu*, 85–86.

affairs, as well as to those who favor cultivating civil virtues at the expense of military expertise. This is followed by a statement of preferences that reflect interest in multiple schools of thought:

> I use Sun and Wu as my fortifications,[15] and the Duke of Zhou and Confucius as my ritual garments; I take Laozi and Zhuangzi as boisterous feasts, and the provisional and real as basic sustenance;[16] Divination tools constitute my spirit, and the ordering of government forms my hands and feet.
>
> 余以孫吳為營壘， 以周孔為冠帶，以老莊為歡宴，以權實為稻糧，以卜筮為神明，以政治為手足。[17]

Combined with the knowledge that the rest of the text draws from a host of earlier sources, it is easy to see how this passage can be read as a statement of deliberate philosophical syncretism. Elsewhere, additional references to the most well-known "Miscellaneous" texts, the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*, strengthen the notion that the *Jinlouzi* constitutes a deliberate attempt to construct a text informed by the "Miscellaneous" tradition, however manufactured the notion of that tradition's historical existence may be. Most notably, the preface (*xu* 序) to *Jinlouzi* states that these works, or rather the desire to outdo them, provided the impetus for the text's compilation: "I often laughed at the borrowed hands of Huainan, and sneered at Buwei's hired men. Thus, from the year I 'set my ambitions on study,'[18] I began to personally search and compile [text] by myself, in order to craft the discourse of my household." 常笑淮南之假手，

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[15] Based on the pattern of the rest of the passage, I follow Xu Yimin in reading "Sun Wu" 孫吳 as two individuals, most likely renown strategists Sun Wu 孫武 and Wu Qi 吳起, rather than as a reference to Three Kingdoms figure Sun Wu 孫吳. See JLZ, 856n6.

[16] "Provisional and real" (*quan shi* 權實) refers to the Theravada and Mahayana schools of Buddhism. Though *Jinlouzi* is occasionally characterized as a "Buddhist" text, this is one of the few overt references to Buddhism I have found in the text.

[17] JLZ, 854.

[18] i.e. fifteen *sui*, or fourteen years old.

每蚩不韋之託人。由是年在志學，躬自搜纂，以為一家之言.[19] What the text denounces here is not the fact that both *Huainanzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu* are compiled texts, composed of anecdotes located by combing through older sources, but that in both cases the task of compilation was carried out by a large staff of editors, rather than by the individual traditionally credited as the author-compiler of each work. In doing so, *Jinlouzi* articulates a relationship with *Huainanzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu* by presenting itself as a superior successor to those earlier compendia, one whose superiority stems from the fact that it was compiled entirely by a single editor rather than by committee. This makes it possible to envision *Jinlouzi* as a late addition not just to the Masters tradition, but to its more narrow "Miscellaneous" subdivision as well. In other words, in this reading the text is part of a conception of this category that envisions it as a legitimate philosophical tradition of eclecticism, with its own particular set of concepts and patterns that can be imitated, perhaps even superseded, by later participants.

A broader consideration of the contents of *Jinlouzi* suggests that if the text should be treated as a "Miscellaneous" work, it is more appropriate to consider the text in relation to the revised and enlarged version of that category that appears in the pages of the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise, rather than the way it is contrived in the Han treatise. As I have noted, the "Miscellaneous" subcategory of the *Sui shu* treatise's Masters section contains not only *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*, but also the "proto-*leishu*," and a variety of other titles as well. Furthermore, the postfaces to other "Miscellaneous" subcategories of the Sui treatise share with this subcategory an emphasis on the potential negative consequences of unscrupulous compilation methods, a feature that sets them apart from the normative historiographic practices of the scribes. While the Han treatise conceives of their compilers' deliberate, but dangerous,

[19] JLZ, 1.

attempts to combine elements of the other "schools" in order to create a new one, the Sui treatise first constructs an elaborate history of the scribal officials, and then establishes "*za*-ness" as a quality that arises in texts produced by compilers who stray from the ideal roles associated with these scribal traditions. This is accompanied by an expansion of the bibliographic boundaries of the subcategory that allows it to incorporate the aforementioned broader variety of compiled texts. This notion of *za*-ness as the product of deviation from normative scribal practices is also extended to the historiographic tradition, in the postfaces to the "Miscellaneous Histories" and "Miscellaneous Accounts" subcategories. This later conception of *za*'s bibliographic value remains a problematic location for *Jinlouzi*, one that is perhaps more derogatory than descriptive. But its recognition of compilation practices that do not limit their sources to texts produced within the bounds of Han intellectual lineages or the even the broader category of traditional Masters literature encourages a reconsideration of *Jinlouzi*'s composition and structure.

Noting the importance of literary taste in the self-fashioning enterprises of the Liang elite, Tian posits that the compiled nature of *Jinlouzi* is not at odds with the notion that the text is meant to fulfill the ambitions of the Masters tradition as the "establishment of a discourse," preserving selfhood and crafting a kind of textual immortality. She also argues, however, that its reliance on the Masters format makes it an anachronism among Xiao Yi's peers, who were so invested in the composition and curation of anthologies of poetry rather than plain prose.[20] Xiao Yi's own reputation as an inveterate collector of books encourages such a reading, suggesting the *Jinlouzi* may be viewed as further proof of Jean Baudrillard's assertion that "what you really collect is always yourself."[21] If this is true, then, what can be said of the textual "self" that is

[20] Tian, "Twilight," 485.

[21] Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, trans. James Benedict (London: Verso, 2005), 97.

established through this process of collection, reading, excerption, and editing? To understand *Jinlouzi*'s "collected self," it is necessary to do more than comb *Jinlouzi* in search of unique passages that describe its author's personality and beliefs, and consider instead how these contents exist both in concert with one another in the overall structure of the text, as well as in relation to the hundreds of other sources with which *Jinlouzi* shares content.

This focus on the citational craft of *Jinlouzi* offers only incremental gains in our understanding of the general philosophical or political identity of the text, which, at least in terms of the conceptual categories offered by the traditional bibliographic system, remains tenaciously "Miscellaneous." What it does clarify is the way *Jinlouzi* offers an approach to the curation of a textual identity that is neither a generic anachronism reliant on the mimicry of Han philosophical discourse, nor an outlying harbinger of the rise of the *biji* in later periods. The identity constructed by *Jinlouzi* is indebted to the broader variety of prose texts in circulation in the Northern and Southern Dynasties, including a particular interest in the prose anecdotes and narratives found in texts located within the various types of text whose bibliographic taxonomy places them in various branches of the scribal/historiographic tradition. Furthermore, the manner in which these passages are treated within the text shows how they were manipulated and rewritten not just as unadorned and dispassionate vessels of information, but as deliberately crafted and composed, or perhaps "recomposed," texts.

The breadth of *Jinlouzi*'s scope is apparent from its overarching organizational structure. In its preface the text may state that its overarching aim is to "establish a discourse" (*liyan* 立言), but this phrase is also borrowed as the title for one section of the text. The "Establishing a

Discourse" ("liyan") chapter is joined by twelve others, which each summarize their contents in a similar fashion:[22]

Table 4.1: Jinlouzi *chapter titles*		
1	興王	Giving Rise to Kings
2	箴戒	Cautionary Admonition
3	后妃*	Imperial Concubines
4	終制*	Observances for the End of Life
5	戒子*	Admonishing Sons
6	聚書	Collecting Books
7	二南五霸*[23]	The Two 'Souths' and Five Hegemons
8	說蕃*	Discussing Vassal States
9	立言	Establishing a Discourse
10	著書	Composing Books
11	捷對*	Quick Responses
12	志怪	Documenting the Strange
13	雜記	Eclectic Records

[22] The text also has a preface and a postface. For alternative translations of these titles, see Tian "Twilight," 480. Chapter titles marked with a * do not appear in the oldest extant list of the text's content, the Song dynasty book catalog of Zhao Gongwu *Junzhai dushu zhi*, suggesting that they may be additions by overzealous transmitters, and not been part of the original version of the text. However, it is equally possible that the edition cataloged by Zhao was simply incomplete. The consequences of *Jinlouzi*'s complex textual history will be explored in greater detail below. Zhao Gongwu 晁公武 (1105–1180), *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaoshi* 郡齋讀書志校證, ed. Sun Mengxiao 孫猛校 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 516.

[23] The Qing editors of the text note that only three entries are associated with this chapter, and all three are also found in the eighth chapter, "Shuo fan," which is more broadly concerned with prominent rules of the pre-Qin eras. The Qing editors thus assert that the chapter is likely to have been added in error. Here the "Two Souths" (*er nan* 二南) is likely to refer to the Duke of Shao 召公 and the Duke of Zhou 周公, from their epithets Shaonan 召南 and Zhounan 周南, derived from the southern regions with which they were enfoeffed. The first two sections of the *Shi jing*'s "Airs of the States" also bear these titles. The "Five Hegemons" (*wu ba* 五霸) may refer to one of several configurations of five Xia, Zhou, and Spring and Autumns rulers, depending on context. The first three entries in the *Shuo fan* chapter discuss the Duke of Shao, Duke of Zhou, and the Spring and Autumns hegemon Huan of Qi, though it is not certain if these are indeed the passages that were cross-listed as belonging to both "Shuo fan" and "Er nan wu ba" chapters. See JLZ 549n1, 551–76

In this schema, the "establishment of a discourse" identified as the overarching goal of the entire work reappears in microcosm as just one of many topics to be addressed, joined by other chapters with their own connections to pre-existing textual categories. Several of these titles are reminiscent of types of writing and scholarship that were relatively popular in and around Xiao Yi's time: There is persuasive evidence to suggest that the anomaly accounts contained in the "Documenting the Strange" ("Zhiguai" 志怪) should be considered a genre of their own;[24] "Admonishing Sons" ("Jiezi" 戒子) can be understood in relation to various forms of family instruction popular in the early medieval period;[25] and the title "Establishing a Discourse" ("Liyan" 立言) itself calls to mind values specific to Masters literature as articulated by scholars of the late Han and Three Kingdoms period.[26] Although these chapter topics do not accord with the specific textual categories employed in the imperial bibliographic treatise, or the formal genres defined in *Wen xuan* or *Wenxin diaolong*, their correspondence to topics and themes that are highly visible in other extant early medieval texts suggest a concern for the categorization of text that parallels that of these bibliographic and anthological works, creating a collection of

[24] *Zhiguai* is also the term that is now used as the name of this genre, and when used in this manner I follow Campany in translating it as "anomaly accounts." To distinguish the genre at large from this *Jinlouzi* chapter, I translate the chapter title as "Documenting the Strange," which also reflects the verb-object structure used in several of *Jinlouzi*'s other chapters. See Campany, *Strange Writing*, 29n15.

[25] The best known of these is Yan Zhitui's *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 (*Family Instructions of the Yan Clan*). For a discussion of the admonition of younger family members as an epistolary genre, see Antje Richter, "Between Letter and Testament: Letters of Familial Admonition in Han and Six Dynasties China," in *A History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture*, ed. Antje Richter (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 243–44.

[26] Tian discusses the borrowing of this phrase from the *Zuo zhuan* and the writings of Sima Qian, and its use by Cao Pi and others in relation to Masters literature, in Tian, "Twilight," 467–68.

categories to organize a corpus of text that these other classification systems largely ignore. The compiled, heavily citational nature of the text is not a shameful secret, but a central feature that governs the structure of the text. As the topic of a single chapter, the "establishment of a discourse" implies an imitation of the form and contents of Masters literature, narrowly defined. As an overarching concern of the entire text, however, the discourse *Jinlouzi* establishes, and the identity it crafts for itself, is one specifically concerned with collection and management of the textual resources to which its compiler had access.

The "Collecting Books" ("Jushu" 聚書) and "Composing Books" ("Zhushu" 著書) chapters present this concern for the bibliographic process from a different angle.[27] Both chapters exhibit unique approaches to the creation and organization of a large corpus, but their ties to traditional bibliographic methods are clear. "Collecting Books" records information about books within Xiao Yi's private collection in a list that has almost no formal resemblance to either the four or seven-part bibliographic systems employed in contemporaneous private and imperial

[27] The "Composing Books" chapter as it exists today could perhaps be considered an invention of text's Qing dynasty editors. Qing editions of the text bear a note at the beginning of this chapter that explains that the majority of its contents were found appended to the "Gathering Books" chapter. Based on their dissimilarity to the rest of the chapter, the editors reasoned that these entries could be a portion of the apparently lost contents of the "Composing Books" chapter, known only from descriptions of the text's contents from later periods. Additionally, the Qing editors report that *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (Great canon of the Yongle period) contained two longer entries supposedly drawn from this chapter. These longer entries include summaries of the texts' contents, and roughly correspond to portions of the *Jinlouzi* excerpted in the early Tang anthology *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Gathered and categorized literary writings). To accompany these two *Yongle dadian* fragments, the Qing editors added a host of other *Yiwen leiju* citations of *Jinlouzi* that match the format of those the *Yongle dadian* fragments assign to the "Composing Books" chapter, in JLZ, 995. Though it is reasonable to assume that these entries were all drawn from the "original" *Jinlouzi*, both their association with this chapter and their sequence within that chapter is a product of much later editorial practice.

record keeping.[28] This chapter does not attempt to categorize the texts it records, nor does it offer any commentary about the contents of these works. It does, however, provide a host of information that contemporaneous bibliographic treatises, including brief comments on how and when many of the texts in the collection were acquired, and even a few remarks about the aesthetic qualities and readability of the calligraphy in certain texts—a feature that would not be adopted by mainstream bibliographies (and for entirely different reasons) until the popularization of the printing press.[29] Nonetheless, as its contents are a list of titles and other details of books collected, borrowed, and copied, it is no less bibliographic in nature than its counterparts in the histories of the Han and Sui. "Composing Books" complements "Collecting Books" by recording a list of the titles for which Xiao Yi himself has personally performed as author, editor, commentator, or compiler. Though these tasks can be distinguished from one another, all fall under the auspices of *zhu* 著, with its multivalent connotations of exposition, creation, and documentation. Meanwhile, the format of this chapter more closely resembles a conventional bibliography, dividing its contents according to the four-part "*jia yi bing ding*" division proposed in the Jin, and providing the title of each work and its length.[30] Though it utilizes several features

[28] For a translation and further discussion of this chapter, see Tian, "Book Collecting and Cataloging," 307–13.

[29] Zhao Rongwei 趙榮蔚, *Zhongguo gudai wenxianxue* 中國古代文獻學 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 2005), 169.

[30] As another example of the text's concern for the material and organizational features of books, in this chapter *Jinlouzi* records not only the scroll (*juan* 卷) count of each text listed, but also the number of *zhi* 秩. A variant for *zhi* 帙, this refers to the cloth covers used to hold together several scrolls of a text (the same word would also come to be used for the cases used to hold volumes of a text in the age of bound books). The standard number of *juan* per *zhi* is ten. The texts recorded in this section of *Jinlouzi* generally correspond to this norm. For more information on *juan* and *zhi* in pre-print era Chinese texts, see Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, *Paper and Printing*, Science and Civilization in China, edited by Joseph Needham, vol. 5, part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 228–30.

of conventional bibliography, as a document of the textual output of an individual scholar performing a variety of authorial and editorial work, it is unique. The same is true of *Jinlouzi*'s other chapters, which borrow certain elements of their organizational structure from other textual forms, but use them to create new configurations of text uniquely situated within the overarching structure of *Jinlouzi* itself.

4.1 The strange library: *Jinlouzi* and *zhiguai*

While "Collecting Books" and "Composing Books" show how Xiao Yi organized texts he collected, edited, and wrote, other chapters of *Jinlouzi* are the product of acts of textual gathering and arrangement. The "Documenting the Strange" chapter presents a particularly interesting case. To my knowledge, it is the only extant text from this period that presents a collection of anomaly accounts as a self-contained and clearly demarcated part of a larger textual whole. Several works of official historiography have treatises devoted to anomalous events of portentous significance, or the results of divination practices, but such works limit their scope to a single variety of anomaly account. Many geographic treatises incorporated this kind of account alongside other material related to the locations they document, but in these texts the "strangeness" of the anecdotes is not a factor in the overall organization of the text. Numerous other works, of course, are devoted exclusively to anomaly account collection, collecting both the types of accounts recorded in these historiographic treatises as well as a wide variety of other examples. Though these collections are quite distinct from other compiled texts, the bibliographers of the early Tang did not separate them into their own textual category, opting instead to include distribute these texts among several other bibliographic subcategories of History, including "Geographic Treatises," "Miscellaneous Accounts," and "Miscellaneous

Histories."[31] The fact that the *Jinlouzi* chapter's title matches the term that would later come to identify the genre may be a coincidence, but other details about the chapter and its contents show the ways *Jinlouzi* creates a space for the anomaly account as an independent textual genre.

The most notable features of the chapter are its first and last entries, which, though they are not formally labelled as such in any edition of the text, constitute the chapter's preface and postface. These sections resemble one another more than they do the rest of the chapter's entries in both form and content. Each entry between these textual bookends records a single anecdote in the plain prose style common in other *zhiguai* collections of the period, neither adorned with complex vocabulary nor conforming to a consistent parallel structure. The chapter's bookends, on the other hand, comprise dozens of allusions, each condensed into a single short phrase and grouped together in stanzas of regular line lengths and syntactic patterns. These lists of examples are accompanied only by sparse commentary, making their argument less forceful than those found in the most famous discussions of the value of recording strange events. But consideration of the origins, phrasing, and arrangement of the components of these passages helps to uncover another layer of their significance, making them an important contribution to the debate on the value of documenting and cataloging unusual events.

The introductory passage is a brief 285 characters. It can be divided into eight stanzas based on shifts in line length and sentence pattern, which are occasionally interrupted by single-line comments. Each of the lines in a stanza is thematically related to the others: As is typical of parallel prose, when the sentence pattern changes, so does the content.[32] The shifts in thematic

[31] For more on the bibliographic categorization of anomaly account collections in the Sui treatise, see Campany, *Strange Writing,* 154–56.

[32] JLZ, 1131–32. For a full translation and annotation of the text of this preface, see appendix B.

focus that accompany changes in line length and sentence structure follow a loose associative sequence. The passage begins by identifying geographically specific violations to commonly accepted rules of nature: Places in which what is normally cold becomes hot and vice versa, situations in which things that should normally sink may float, and those that should float sink. These exceptions to universal rules are followed by exceptional human talents, describing skilled manipulation of the bodies of humans and animals. These human-animal interactions afford a transition to the properties of exceptional plants and animals themselves. The concluding example in this sequence introduces the transformation of a pheasant into a great clam, and the subsequent passage follows up by listing seven more examples of unusual animal transformations. Here the transition to a new category of strangeness is formally seamless: The preceding four examples are each presented in two clauses, the first beginning "It is said" (*wei* 謂) and consisting of four characters, the second consists of another four character phrase surrounded by the conjunction *er* 而 and concluding with the final particle *yan* 焉. The pattern shifts slightly to signal the conclusion to this sequence, beginning instead with "Others say" (*ruo wei* 若謂), adding the lengthier claim that "those which inhale air each have a single form." This serves not only to introduce the case of the pheasant that concludes this section, but also serves as a generalization that applies to the subsequent seven additional examples of animal transformation.

From here, the structure of the examples provided grows more complex. The focus returns to exceptional human talents, with the added theme of talents that humans have acquired through imitation and study of animals and plants. This sequence consists of three examples alluding to the animal-inspired accomplishments of well-known legendary figure from antiquity, and one final example describing Yao the Great's development of timekeeping standards through

the observation of the regular growth of *mingjia* 蓂荚 grass. The next group shifts line lengths yet again, but uses this grass-related case to transition into a section on the behavior of unusual plants. Each of these unusual plant descriptions begins with the citation of a specific place name. In the final group of examples that follows, this specificity of place is matched with specificity of name and bureaucratic rank, trading legendary figures of antiquity for individuals introduced according to conventional historiographic norms. The examples provided in the preface meander through thematically associated categories of strangeness, employing transitional phrases and shifts in line pattern to signal the porous boundaries between these categories.

Throughout this sequence, multiple assertions are made that each example provided has been thoroughly documented and verified: "Each of these has its precedent," "Are any of these not so?", "These too would not draw suspicion from men," and "Trustworthy cases are many indeed." This is not just empty talk. Virtually all of the cases described in the preface have a precedent in at least one extant text. More importantly, the first several sections of the preface cite examples which can be found in the pages of classical, canonical texts—not in more recently produced collections and compilations more susceptible to critique and skepticism. These cases are reputable and trustworthy not just because they have been written down, but because they have been included in texts that are supposedly beyond reproach. This pattern changes for the last two groups of examples. Rather than refer to events of antiquity or descriptions drawn from classical documents, these passages allude to events either of unidentifiable origin, or those that are described only later works which much more closely resemble the anecdote collections in which early medieval anomaly accounts are typically found. These references to more recent texts are the lynchpin of the preface's subtle argument about the importance of "strangeness" as

a textual category, and, indeed, to the significance of the "Documenting the Strange" chapter to the broader textual compilation project of *Jinlouzi* as a whole.

The preface links allusions drawn from the classical canon to examples more recent compilations, suggesting the reliance on an eclectic library of texts. However, the unmistakable influence of an intermediary source for many of the items on this list complicates this image of the preface's citational structure. In spite of their origins in much earlier works, or indeed, the possibility that these references are used as commonplace tropes rather than allusions to specific texts, many of these sequences of examples are in fact drawn word-for-word from the pages of a text much closer in time and structure to *Jinlouzi*. The lists of the preface this can be linked quite conclusively to passages found in the Inner Chapters (*nei pian* 內篇) of *Baopuzi* 包朴子.[33] Cases such as these are likely to have earned the text its reputation as base and plagiaristic. This is unfortunate, as it conceals the complex way that *Jinlouzi* manipulates and repurposes these "stolen" passages for its own purposes.

The text borrowed from *Baopuzi* is manipulated in a number of ways. Only passages already exhibiting some parallel structure are employed, and isolating these passages alongside one another creates a very different reading experience from the more varied style of their source. In *Baopuzi* groups of sentences of uniform length and parallel structure are interspersed among less strictly regulated passages, forming persuasive disquisitions that are provided in response to questions posed by an anonymous interlocutor.[34] *Jinlouzi* appropriates fragments of these parallel passages and weaves them together with only sparse moments of argumentative

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[33] Wang Ming 王明, ed. *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 抱朴子內篇校釋, rev. ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985). Henceforth, BPZ.

[34] For *Baopuzi*'s role in the development of parallel prose style, see Jiang Shuge 姜書閣, *Pianwen shilun* 駢文史論 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1986), 342–43.

commentary to create something that more closely resembles the group of formal prose genres associated with *fu* "prose-poems." It also alters the text in subtler ways, from minor adjustments of line length to the insertion of new examples not present in *Baopuzi*. The evidence marshaled in *Baopuzi* is repurposed for use in a new context, bringing the text into a different sort of discourse about the nature of the strange and the validity of anomaly account collection. While the resulting rhetoric is simpler and less explicit than *Baopuzi,* the tightly organized structure of this section amplifies its subtle argument about the categorizability of "strangeness." The nuances of this argument are most evident when contrasted with their earlier appearances in the responses of the Ge Hong, as the "Master who embraces simplicity" (Baopuzi), to his anonymous interlocutor.

The sections drawn from *Baopuzi*'s "Concerning Immortals" ("Lun xian" 論仙) chapter each originally appear in a very long response to a question that casts doubt on the possibility of achieving immortality, which claims "everything that has a beginning must have an end, and everything that exists must perish" 夫有始者必有卒，有存者必有亡.[35] The interlocutor goes on to list a number of examples illustrating this principle. Ge Hong's response provides evidence that contradicts this principle, and also challenges the very notion that the universe is governed by unbreakable principles. Within this lengthy response, *Baopuzi* presents a series of common-sense propositions that fit the same pattern as the interlocutor's initial statement ("That which lives must die"), and follows each with a bit of trivia that contradicts the statement:

> It is said that in summer things must grow, and yet that is when chestnuts and wheat dry out. It is said that in winter things must wither, and yet that is when bamboo and cypress flourish. It is said that things with beginnings must have endings, and yet heaven and earth are inexhaustible. It is said that the living must die, and yet tortoises and cranes are

[35] BPZ, 2.12.

long-lived.

謂夏必長，而薺麥枯 焉。謂冬必凋，而竹柏茂焉。謂始必終，而天地無窮焉。謂生必死，而龜鶴長存焉。[36]

Baopuzi goes on to provide examples that counter expected properties of hot and cold things, and of heavy and light objects in the same fashion. Later, the text introduces propositions that are contradicted with multiple examples, with a particular emphasis on transformation. These examples all appear later in the "Documenting the Strange" preface, but there also are numerous other similarly structured cases that do not find their way into the *Jinlouzi* passage.

The brief passage drawn from the *Baopuzi*'s "Responses to Laymen" ("Dui su" 對俗) chapter cites textual precedents of a different nature. Rather than focus on perceived properties of nature, this passage is a list of allusions to tales about figures from classical history and their notable relationships with animals. In their original context in the *Baopuzi*, they are used as historical cases to show that humans have recognized extraordinary abilities in certain animals, and by studying those creatures have learned to imitate them. This is used to illustrate that the longevity of the tortoise and crane, too, can be recreated by people, because, according to Ge Hong, it is not simply an innate characteristic of the two animals but the product of activity that can be studied and replicated.[37] A similarly short segment of another *Baopuzi* chapter also finds its way into the "Documenting the Strange" chapter introduction. In this case, the examples all contain allusions to the extraordinary feats of celebrated medical practitioners. In *Baopuzi,* they function as an illustration of human intervention in a person's naturally allotted lifespan. If mere

[36] BPZ, 2.13.

[37] BPZ, 3.49.

doctors are capable of interfering with the natural course of a person's life, Ge Hong posits, there is no reason to doubt the possibility of achieving the same thing by other means.[38]

Though excerpts from these passages all appear in the "Documenting the Strange" chapter introduction, there they are stripped of their original context in the debate on immortality. When they are reconstituted alongside one another, they are bound together only with the understanding that each is an example of something "strange" (*guai* 怪), and proof that such phenomena exist in reputable sources rather than as tricks of the ears and eyes. This creates slight tension with the *Baopuzi*. Both texts insist upon the trustworthy nature of these cases, but *Baopuzi* employs these particular examples because they are meant for readers to recognize and regard as familiar, uncontroversial cases that lay a foundation for the more implausible claim of the possibility of human immortality. They are believable and familiar stories that are nevertheless analogous to aspects of the contentious subject of immortality, not outlandish tales to be marveled at for their own sake. Following the many examples of other animal abilities mentioned above, the *Baopuzi* concludes, "That the tortoise and crane have a particular understanding of cultivation practices is not worthy of being considered strange" 龜鶴偏解導養，不足怪也, a sentence that is not reproduced in *Jinlouzi*.[39] This tension, between the familiarity of the texts and the outlandish events they contain, forms the basis of *Jinlouzi*'s distinctly textual approach to the location and definition of the "strange."

The opening line, "I hold 'beyond human perception, there is nothing strange' to be false," gives the entire preface a polemic tone, encouraging a reading of the subsequent list as an

[38] BPZ, 5.112.

[39] BPZ, 3.49

argument about the nature of the strange. It initially reads as a counter-argument to one posed by Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324) in the preface to his annotated edition of *Shanhai jing* 山海經.[40] In this piece, Guo Pu argues that things are only called strange because they are perceived as such by particular people. There is thus no point in dismissing study of strange things, in particular the *Shanhai jing*, as it is not possible to come to an agreement about the definition of the term itself. If the *Jinlouzi* preface is indeed meant as a rejection of Guo Pu's approach, it follows that it is an argument in favor of the existence of "strange" as an innate and constant characteristic of certain things. Robert Campany posits that *Jinlouzi* offers an argument for the existence of things that are "intrinsically anomalous," as opposed to strangeness as an arbitrary human designation.[41] But the notion that strangeness is relative is also addressed in the eighth anecdote in body of the "Zhiguai" chapter. This piece describes an unusual creature living among the Yuezhi and Western Hu people:

> The Great Yuezhi and the Western Hu have an ox that is called "Extended Days." If today you slice off a piece of its flesh, tomorrow it will have already healed completely. So, when Han people visited his kingdom, the Western Hu presented them with this animal. The Han person said in response, "My land has an insect called the silkworm, it is used to make clothes for people. It eats mulberry leaves, and spits silk." The foreign people simply could not believe there was such an insect.
>
> 大月支及西胡有牛，名曰日及。今日割取其肉，明日瘡即愈。故漢人有至其國者，西胡以此牛示之。漢人對曰"吾國有蟲，名曰蠶，為人衣，食桑葉而吐絲。"外國人復不信有蟲 。[42]

[40] Yuan Ke 袁珂, ed. *Shanhai jing jiaozhu* 山海經校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 478–80. Henceforth, SHZ.

[41] Campany, *Strange Writing,* 153.

[42] JLZ, 1148–49.

A version of this anecdote also appears in *Yiwen leiju* and *Taiping yulan*, where it is identified as belonging to the lost anomaly account collection also attributed to Guo Pu, *Xuanzhong ji* 玄中記 (Record within the mysterious).[43] Though this attribution may be questionable, the anecdote is also quite similar to an example Guo Pu uses in the *Shanhai jing* preface, in the very passage in which he explains strangeness as a relative concept:

> Objects are not innately unusual, they await myself, who deems them unusual. The unusual therefore resides with me, it is not things themselves that are unusual. Thus, when the Hu see cloth they are suspicious of the hemp, and when the Yue see knit garments they are terrified of the wool. People become accustomed to that which they see often, and think odd that which they scarcely encounter—this is a persistent shortcoming of human sentiment.
>
> 物不自異，待我而後異，異果在我，非物異也。故胡人見布而疑麕，越人見罽而駭毳。夫翫所習見而奇所希聞，此人情之常蔽也。[44]

Guo Pu's point that strangeness is in the eye of the beholder is repeated in the pages of *Jinlouzi*, a seeming refutation of the declaration made in its preface. Even if this anecdote was copied from *Xuanzhong ji* (or some other source) without any awareness of this irony, there is still more in the preface to suggest that its assertion of the existence of anomalies is less useful as an argument about the metaphysical nature of strangeness than it is as a label for a certain type of writing, and an approach to dealing with the texts that contain it.

A similar argument from *Yanshi jia xun*, composed by Xiao Yi's occasional companion in the Liang court, Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–591), addresses the importance of unusual textual

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[43] Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641), *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚, ed. Wang Shaoying 汪紹楹 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), 65.166. Henceforth, YWLJ. See also TPYL, 825.3808a, Campany, *Strange Writing,* 93.

[44] SHJ, 478. For further discussion and translation of this passage, see also Campany, *Strange Writing*, 150–51; Richard Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 16–18.

details more directly. The passage begins in a similar fashion to the "Documenting the Strange" preface, with a reference to the human senses. He claims, "Ordinary people all believe only their ears and eyes. *Outside of what is perceived by the ears and eyes*, all incites their suspicion" 凡人之信，唯耳與目。耳目之外，咸致疑焉.[45] The text then cites examples of knowledge available through various written sources that can only rarely be observed firsthand, beginning with an assortment of cosmological theories unlikely to be supported by simple observation. The text then asks, "Why place trust in the personal convictions of the masses, while remaining baffled by the subtle teachings of the sages?" 何故信凡人之臆說，迷大聖之妙旨.[46] This is followed by more examples that show that one would be foolish to confine one's knowledge of the world only to that which can be confirmed through personal observation, where Yan Zhitui also uses the example of the foreigners' incredulity of the silkworm. Here it is employed not to illustrate the relative nature of the strange, but to show that one should not cast doubt on something simply because it does not come from first-hand experience. This positioning of textual evidence over first-hand experience and supposed common sense reinforces the authority of the textual tradition. What is at stake here is not merely the received wisdom of the distant past, but the work of scholars and theorists operating in more recent history, and the potential of the written word to convey and store reliable information.

In Yan Zhitui's usage of the term, the phrase "senses of the ears and eyes" refers specifically to personal experiences and observations, not the subjectivity of the senses as addressed by Guo Pu. Unlike Xiao Yi, Yan Zhitui makes no direct reference to strangeness. On

[45] Emphasis mine. In Wang Liqi 王利器, ed. *Yanshi jiaxun jijie* 顏氏家訓集解, rev. ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 379.

[46] Ibid.

the contrary, his concern is the plausibility of information conveyed over great distances or from the past to the present. As such his approach is aimed at dispelling the incredulousness and disbelief that accompany the designation of something as "strange," much like Guo Pu and even *Baopuzi*. In contrast, the "Documenting the Strange" chapter insists on this label. Nevertheless, in *Jinlouzi* the phrase "ears and eyes" can be understood, as in *Yanshi jiaxun*, as a reference to the dichotomy between things seen and heard through direct experience and things learned by reading texts, rather than between objective reality and the fallible senses. The allusive nature of the majority of examples cited following this assertion suggests that *Jinlouzi* draws the same distinction between personal experience and textual evidence, as do the following brief comments inserted in the middle and end of the introduction's list of borrowed examples. The preface's list of legendary historical figures and the products of their imitations of exceptional animal abilities, is followed by "These, too, do not tend to be looked down upon by people." This is a subtle paraphrase of the *Baopuzi*'s "not worthy of being considered strange," which occurs only a few lines later in the passage from which the list is drawn. Though both comments are alike in that they address the plausibility of the cases listed, *Jinlouzi* draws attention to the authority and acceptability of the stories without denying that they are also strange. Second, the preface concludes with the line, "The trustworthy are indeed many, and so I have composed the 'Chapter on Documenting the Strange'" 諒以多矣，故作志怪篇, again emphasizing the acceptability of the anecdotes' sources.[47] These passages encourage a reading of "eyes and ears" that is in line with *Yanshi jiaxun*'s usage, and make the entire preface an argument for the presence of strange phenomena both in the realm of personal experience, which is singular and

[47] JLZ, 1132.

irreproducible, as well as in the more authoritative, trustworthy world of the received textual record.

Viewed in this context, the preface's opening statement becomes an affirmation of the presence of identifiably "strange" material throughout the written record. There is of course a precedent for the practice of locating anecdotes pertaining to anomalies, and gathering them together under the banner of the "strange:" The anomaly account genre itself. Though the term *zhiguai* was not widely used as a bibliographic category until the Ming, many collections of anomaly accounts establish affiliations with one another through similar patterns in their titles, which often call attention to the strangeness and outlandishness of their contents through the use of terms such as *yi* or *guai*.[48] Furthermore, the notion that writing about anomalies should be considered a genre unto itself is not unprecedented in the Six Dynasties. The preface to the Eastern Jin anomaly account collection *Soushen ji* suggests that the compilation of anomaly accounts could effectively serve as an "eighth category" in the traditional seven category bibliographic system.[49] While it would be a stretch to claim that the positioning of this chapter within the *Jinlouzi* is an equally explicit attempt to construct a formal bibliographic category for anomaly accounts, its position within this text (as opposed to existence as a discrete work) is still significant. It is a renewed articulation of the same statement made by earlier collections of anomaly accounts, that anecdotes about "strange" things can be identified and isolated from other types of writing, and are more appropriately understood in relation to one another than to the sources from which they are drawn. In reaffirming the validity of the practice, however, it

[48] Campany, *Strange Writing*, 28n13.

[49] The oldest source of the preface is Gan Bao's *Jin shu* biography, but it is also included in many modern editions of *Soushen ji*. See JS, 82.2150–51; This passage is translated and discussed in Campany, *Strange Writing*, 146–50.

illustrates the position that such anomaly accounts, though separate from other types of writing, still have a place within a compilation of personal and scholarly writing.

The preface's subsequent examples—culled from the *Baopuzi*, where they had been selected precisely for to their presumed familiarity to readers—illustrate the presence of such material in a variety of respectable texts. The body of the chapter itself is composed of excerpts that can be traced to antecedents in an equally broad range of sources. The "Documenting the Strange" chapter reverses the relationship between text and reality, placing the textual nature of the material in a position of greater importance than the phenomena that they are describing. In the *Soushen ji* preface, the textual nature of anomaly accounts is a source of anxiety. Having been gathered from various other documents, they are not "matters that were seen and heard with one person's own eyes and ears" 蓋非一耳一目之所親聞覩也. That text also explains that flaws and omissions inevitable in written texts of all kinds, and concludes that what can be gained from written texts far outweighs their potential to mislead.[50] In contrast, *Jinlouzi* shares *Yanshi jiaxun*'s insistence on the validity of textual evidence to supplement or even contradict individual experience, treating "trustworthy" documented cases as superior to knowledge produced by mere observation. In this view, the dissemination of information via text does what individual experience cannot. However, *Jinlouzi* does not go as far as *Yanshi jiaxun* in claiming that textual evidence provides access to *truth* more reliably than personal experience, insisting only that the textual record contains numerous examples of the "strange."

In essence, the position of *Jinlouzi*'s "Documenting the Strange" chapter is that the things that we perceive as "strange" are not merely confined to individual experience and perception, they have also been documented in distinguished, trustworthy sources. Furthermore, their

[50] JS, 82.2150.

presence throughout these trustworthy sources suggests that "strangeness" should be pursued as a textual subject, rather than shunned or ignored. The task that it outlines, then, is the collection and collation of these bits and pieces of arcane knowledge, not in order to overturn conceptions of what should or should not be deigned strange, but to lend a sense of legitimacy to the ongoing search for textual examples of events that seem to contradict the knowledge of individual experience. This is further expressed in the way *Jinlouzi* draws from other texts to contribute new items to the lists it borrows from *Baopuzi*, manipulating their contents to conform to the patterns of the existing lists, while at the same time preserving certain aspects of the texts from which the new examples are drawn. When *Jinlouzi* reproduces the list of famous doctors from *Baopuzi*, it replaces references to Wen Zhi and Zhang Ji with feats performed by Yang Youji 養由基 (d. 599 BCE) and Prince Dan 太子丹 of Yan 燕 (fl. ca. 3rd cent. BCE), heroes of the Springs and Autumns period.[51] This first major deviation from the pattern of the *Baopuzi* expands the category to encompass uncanny human abilities to manipulate both animal and human bodies, while ensuring that the new additions conform to the eight character lines of the source material.

Later, *Jinlouzi* takes advantage of vocabulary repetition to link two otherwise unrelated *Baopuzi* passages together. The phrase, "Others say breathing things each have one form" appears as a segue between two lists of phenomena, the first relating to the natural world in

[51] As they pertain to events of a much earlier period, the exact textual origins of the anecdotes about Yang Youji and Prince Dan are more difficult to track down, but the *Taiping yulan* and *Yiwen leiju* both contain citations from *Shizi* 尸子 that tell the story of Yang Youji piercing the dragonfly's wing. See YWLJ, 74.1264, and TPYL 745.3440b, 945.4348a. Stories about Prince Dan supposedly drawn from the text bearing his own name, the *Yan Danzi*, are cited throughout the *Yiwen leiju* and *Taiping yulan*, but only the *Yiwen leiju* citations of that text make reference to him provoking the crows of an entire flock of birds at once. See YWLJ, 6.102.

general and the second to uncanny animal abilities and transformations. The first list repeats the word *wei* 謂 ("It is said") at the beginning of each pair of lines.[52] This makes the connecting couplet's *ruo wei* 若謂 ("Others say") a natural fit to conclude this section. But the passage actually appears at the beginning of what in *Baopuzi* is an unrelated list of phenomena several paragraphs later.[53] Even without making significant alterations to the source material, *Jinlouzi* reorganizes them in such a way that it appears as though they belong together. This creates the impression of a single, coherent document as opposed to a scattered assortment of randomly chosen excerpts. The actual list of transforming animals is not altered significantly in its transition from *Baopuzi* to the "Documenting the Strange" chapter introduction, except for one interesting exception. In the *Baopuzi* passage, one of the transformations listed is that of an alligator (*tuo* 鼉), transforming into a tiger.[54] Though this transformation, like the others listed, likely has a precedent in some earlier text, I have been unable to locate it. On the other hand, the *Jinlouzi* version of this passage substitutes the *tuo* with a human (*ren* 人). There are several instances of humans transforming into tigers in texts written before *Jinlouzi*.[55] It may be the case that the *Jinlouzi* version has been edited to provide readers with a more familiar instance of transformation to tie the passage more closely to writing extant in Xiao Yi's time, a tactic that is employed much more explicitly in the final stanzas of the preface.

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[52] BPZ, 2.13

[53] BPZ, 2.14

[54] Ibid.

[55] A likely candidate, for instance, is an incident attributed to Zhang Hua's *Bowu zhi* in TPYL, 892.4092a.

The final sequence of examples in *Jinlouzi* departs from the influence of *Baopuzi*. Three of the four anecdotes referenced in this sequence do not have any connection to the text of *Baopuzi*, and the fourth bears only a tenuous relationship with it. Two make reference to texts that were composed after *Baopuzi*, and narrate events that could not have taken place during or before the life of its compiler. More importantly, though presented in the same condensed, parallel style as the preceding sections, each of the sentences in this segment of the passage also mimic the structure commonly seen in narrative anomaly accounts. Each item in this list opens with a specific place name, followed by a brief description of the strange event that occurred in that place. Geographic specificity is a frequently recurring component of the anomaly account, and the introduction of that and other practical details at the beginning of such anecdotes is part of what connects them to the historiographic style found in annals and geographic treatises. The items in this list preserve this feature, presenting the place name as the first detail in each sentence. Yet only the second and third items appear to refer to easily identifiable places. Zhuangwu county was located in what is now Shandong province and, more importantly, was enfoeffed to Zhang Hua. Both the *Jin shu* and the *Song shu* record the transformation of mulberries into cypress trees.[56] The incident of bamboo transforming into snakes in Runan can be found in the Liu-Song *zhiguai* collection, *Yi yuan*.[57] It is possible that these anecdotes could also have been found in other collections circulating during Xiao Yi's time, meaning Xiao Yi did

[56] JS 28.859, SS 32.959. Such treatises record and interpret unusual events as omens, and are often used as sources of anecdotes for anomaly account collections. This incident is also described in more detail in Zhang Hua's *Jin shu* biography, where the transformation is interpreted as an omen of Zhang Hua's untimely demise. See JS, 36.1074.

[57] Liu Jingshu 劉敬叔 (fl. 5th century CE), *Yi yuan*, ed. Cheng Youqing 程有慶, et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 21.

not necessarily draw from these particular sources, but it is clear that their appearance in the chapter preface are related to these longer preexisting versions of these anecdotes.

The other two items in this list are difficult to locate. The first describes how "The Xiaoyao domain's onions transform, changing to leeks" 逍遙國葱，變而為韮, and the fourth and final line of this stanza recounts how "Yinyu vines mutate, changing to eels" 茵郁之藤，化而為鮅.[58] While there are some precedents for the events they describe, no known sources link those events to the places mentioned. It is possible that the *guo* 國 ("domain") of the first line is misprinted, and should be *yuan* 園 ("garden"). If this is the case, the text may refer to an event from the life of Kumārajīva. Seng You's 僧祐 (445–518) biography of Kumārajīva (334–413) in *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 describes the transformation of onions into another type of allium (*xie* 薤) in the Xiaoyao Garden in Chang'an, and records that it was recognized as a good omen portending Kumārajīva's arrival at the Later Qin capital.[59] If this is the case, it would strengthen the implied parallelism between it and the item that it precedes: The first omen of transformation foretells the arrival of a prominent historical figure, and the second predicts the departure of another. The fourth and final event in this sequence, in which vines transform into eels, is even more mysterious. A *Taiping yulan* citation of *Baopuzi*, missing from all transmitted versions of the text, does describe plants transforming into eels.[60] But the location of the transformation is not mentioned, nor do the types of plants listed include *teng* vines. Furthermore, the location

[58] JLZ, 1132.

[59] *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, T.55 no. 2145, 14.101.

[60] TPYL, 937.4298a.

mentioned in the truncated *Jinlouzi* version cannot be found in any other sources. Thus, its appearance in this text is a somewhat strange exception to the pattern established by the three other anecdotes listed. However, given the numerous texts of the era which are no longer extant, we should not discount the possibility that the source to which it refers has not been transmitted.

The two anecdotes referenced in the final pair of items in the preface describe the transformations of two individuals into birds. They are also found in sources other than the *Baopuzi*, and like the preceding lines, their pattern mimics a common *zhiguai* format. In this case, the first line of each couplet reveals the name of the anecdote's protagonist and the bureaucratic position they held at the time the anecdote took place: "When Lu Dan was vice governor, he transformed into a pair of white swans. When Wang Qiao was the Director of Ye, he transformed into two flying ducks." 盧耽為治中，化為雙白鵠，王喬為鄴令，變作兩蜚鳧.[61] Though *Nankang ji* is no longer extant, an anecdote about Lu Dan 盧耽 (dates unknown) is preserved in a citation of that text that is repeated four times in *Taiping yulan*.[62] No version of the anecdote reports the number of birds. It may be possible that *Jinlouzi* refers to a different version of the text, but it is equally likely that the character *shuang* 雙 ("pair") has been added to improve the parallel with the following line. Accounts of Wang Qiao's 王喬 (fl. ca. 60 CE) transformation, which do specify the number of birds, can be found in Gan Bao's *Soushen ji* as

[61] JLZ, 1132.

[62] TPYL, 29.266b, 263.1361b, 697.3241a, 916.4195b. *Nankang ji* is thought to have been compiled in the Jin Dynasty by the otherwise obscure Deng Deming 鄧德明. For more on *Nankang ji*, see Lu Jintang 盧錦堂, *Taiping guangji yinshu kao* 太平廣記引書考, Gudian wenxian yanjiu jikan 古典文獻研究輯刊, ed. Pan Meiyue 潘美月 and Du Jiexiang 杜潔祥, series 3, vol. 2 (Yonghe, Taiwan: Hua Mulan chuban she, 2006), 76.

well as the Eastern Han text *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義.[63] These allusions are more than just references to events recorded in other texts: They borrow the wording of these earlier works, transforming and condensing the plain prose of the antecedent text to match the parallel structure of the new list into which they are inserted. In doing so, the hallmark features of the anecdote are not only retained, but amplified. Like many anomaly accounts, the entries on this lists lead with references to historical individuals, known place names, and imperially granted titles and positions. These common patterns can easily be truncated into parallel prose, but the patterning of the subsequent anomalous events themselves requires a little more finesse. The events they describe may be "strange," but their resemblance to one another proves that they are not unique—they are strange in precisely the same way.

When the introduction to the chapter concludes by stating that trustworthy examples of anomalous events are numerous, it implies that these more recent materials are also worthy of recognition, having been inserted at the end of a sequence that relies primarily upon much more familiar and orthodox texts. The inclusion of abbreviated imitations of the structural patterns of anecdotal literature in these final segments suggests an attention to the formal characteristics of the genre that transcends its utilitarian reputation, while the neat division of events into thematically related parallel sets reinforces their collective strangeness, and hints at the

[63] The received *Soushen ji* version of the story is the same as that recorded in *Fengsu tongyi*. According to Li Jianguo, *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 attributes a slightly different version to *Soushen ji*, which also appears in Wang Qiao's *Hou Han shu* biography. Li uses the *Shui jing zhu* / *Hou Han shu* version for his recompiled critical edition of *Soushen ji*. Both *Fengsu tongyi* and *Soushen ji* report that Wang Qiao was director of Ye 葉, while an *Yiwen leiju* citation of *Fengsu tongyi* gives the variant Ye 鄴 that appears in *Jinlouzi*. See Ying Shao 應劭 (140–206), *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義, ed. Wang Liqi 王利器 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 81–82; Gan Bao, *Xin ji Soushen ji* 新輯搜神記, ed. Li Jianguo 李劍國 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 41–42; YWLJ, 91.1581.

possibility of further division of anomaly accounts into more specific subcategories according to patterns of form and content. The "Documenting the Strange" chapter's unique statement about the value of writing that pertains to the strange is not made explicit, and it is clear that later bibliographers and critics did not share this evaluation. But through this subtle use of allusion and parallel structure, the introduction serves its purpose as a justification of the inclusion of collection of anomaly accounts in *Jinlouzi*, tracing a path from classical texts to the compilations and other documentary materials of more recent history. The contents of the chapter that follow the preface put this into practice, drawing their contents from an equally broad array of sources, but reproducing them without the same heavy editing and patterning of the preface.

The final entry of the chapter, though, shares the same dense parallel structure as the preface, using this format to present a compact survey of the more recent textual landscape. It contains forty-seven individual anecdotes, which are each condensed into a short line of between four and ten characters, and grouped into a sequence unrhymed parallel couplets according to theme or topic, with the exception of a slightly longer final entry with no parallel. As in the preface, this formal patterning is matched by thematic relationships among the entries. For example, the first four pairs of anecdotes are as follows:

> When the woman of Huansha died, three mosquitos arrived at the place of her funeral, / When Dou Wu's mother was being interred, a snake struck the front of her coffin. The fowl of Hantu could speak, / The hounds of the Western Zhou could understand language. / Hepu *tong* leaves flew to Luoyang, / Shixing wooden drums fled to Linwu. / In Gushi of Lean, dry bones whistled, / From the floating coffin of the Liao river, came the voice of a person.
>
> 浣紗女死，三蚊至葬所。竇武母窆，蛇擊柩前。含塗之雞能言，西周之犬解語。合浦桐葉，飛至洛陽；始興鼓木，奔至臨武。樂安故市，枯骨吟嘯。遼水浮棺，有人言語。[64]

[64] JLZ, 1200.

The first pair describes unusual animals appearing before the deceased, the next relates tales of animals with uncanny linguistic skill, the third addresses inanimate objects that mysteriously travel long distances, and the fourth concerns communication from beyond the grave. The next nineteen pairs proceed in similar fashion, with each subsequent pair containing examples of familiar anomaly account plots: Spirits provide assistance to mortals; plants grow in the shape of prophetic words and images; unusual accidents presage the downfall of historical figures; extraordinary individuals open up wells and springs in unusual ways, and many more. Whereas the preface relies primarily on examples from classical history (mediated by *Baopuzi*) and punctuates its conclusion with cases drawn from later anomaly accounts, the postface is composed almost entirely from these relatively recent anecdotes.

All of the stories referenced in the postface have parallels in earlier sources, but it is difficult to determine exactly which texts served as the actual sources for this list.[65] Instead, searching for the textual sources of the items on this list reveals patterns of citation that resemble those found in the body of the chapter: Most of these entries have an earlier parallel attributed to a known anomaly account collection, including *Soushen ji*, *Youming lu*, and their sequels. In some cases, the same anecdote is also associated with multiple roughly contemporaneous anomaly accounts or geographic treatises. They also draw from classical precedent, featuring numerous incidents that are recorded in texts like *Zuo zhuan* or *Guo yu*. Many of these pre-Han

[65] The corpus of extant anomaly account compilations is far from complete, and the *leishu* citations and later recompilations that preserve these fragments are full of mistaken attributions and variants. Moreover, the contents of extant collections suggest that, much like *Jinlouzi* itself, even the most stable texts frequently shared contents with other *zhiguai* collections, and also drew heavily from earlier historiographic compilations and treatises in other genres, so associating every anecdote with a single textual antecedent is an impossible task. Nevertheless, Xu Yimin identifies many passages from earlier texts that parallel events described in this section of *Jinlouzi*, occupying eighteen pages of notes to this entry. See JLZ, 1201–18.

incidents are also described in a later aggregate of omens and unusual occurrences, the *Han shu*'s "Treatise on the Five Phases" ("Wuxing zhi" 五行志). The postface is a microcosmic replication of the citational structure of the body of the chapter, reflecting both the compilation choices of the *Jinlouzi* compiler as well as the broader corpus of interrelated texts from which those selections were made.

The most fascinating aspect of the postface, however, is the manner in which these anecdotes are truncated in order to make them conform to the piece's parallel structure. The concluding examples used in the preface mimic the general structure of a typical anecdote, squeezing all of the characteristic features of the form into a single line of text. Many lines of the postface omit integral pieces of the narrative in favor of a single image or detail that gives each line a thematic resonance with its counterpart in the couplet. This means that the "strange" or "supernatural" detail of the referent anecdote may be completely missing from its truncated version. For example, the tenth pair summarizes two anecdotes that share the common feature of animals adorned with human accessories: "A soft-shelled turtle adorned with a silver hairpin, / A pig with a golden bell around its arm" 黿頭戴銀釵，豬脾帶金鈴.[66] Indeed, animals wearing human jewelry is certainly unusual, but this detail pales in comparison to the fantastical elements in the longer anecdotes to which these short lines refer.

The first case appears in Gan Bao's *Soushen ji*:

> During the time of Emperor Ling of the Han, a mother in the Jingxia Huang clan once took a bath in the Pan River. For quite some time she did not emerge, [and when she did] she had transformed into a giant soft-shelled turtle. Her servant was shocked, and ran to report it. By the time her family arrived, the tortoise had already descended into the depths. After this, she would surface again from time to time. She had worn a silver hairpin to bathe, and it was still on her head. From then on subsequent generations of

[66] JLZ, 1200. The *Zhi bu zu zhai* edition of the text gives *pi* 脾 ("hip"), I follow Xu Yimin and take it as a misprint of *bi* 臂 ("arm").

> Huangs did not dare to eat soft-shelled turtle meat.
>
> 漢靈帝時，江夏黃氏之母，浴盤水中，久而不起，變為黿矣。婢驚走告。比家人來，黿轉入深淵。其後時時出見。初浴簪一銀釵，猶在其首。於是黃氏累世不敢吃黿[67]

The single-line retelling of this story in *Jinlouzi* removes both the explicit discussion of the woman's transformation as well as the story's amusing conclusion, preserving only the image of a turtle with a silver hairpin as an emblem of her former humanity. The full narrative of the second incident in this pair is also much longer. It appears in citations of the otherwise lost text *Zhiguai* 志怪 in *Taiping yulan*:

> An official from Wuzhong was once returning to the capital from vacation. When he had arrived at the shore of a pond in Qua, he met an incredibly beautiful woman. They spent the night together, and the gentleman untied a golden bell from his arm and tied it around hers. He told her to return in the evening, and yet she did not arrive. He sent someone to look for her, but there was no one of the sort to be found. As he was passing a pig pen, he saw a sow with a golden bell around its arm.
>
> 吳中有一士大夫，於都假還，至曲阿塘上，見一女子甚美。留其宿，士解臂金鈴繫女臂。令暮更來，遂不至。使人求，都無此色。過豬圈，見一母豬，臂上繫金鈴[68]

In its full form, the anecdote is yet another example of a familiar plot, in which a young scholar has an amorous encounter with an entity eventually revealed to be an abject creature masquerading as a beautiful woman. These narrative details are omitted from the condensed

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[67] Gan Bao, *Soushen ji*, 341. It also appears in *Fayuan zhulin* 法院珠林, where it is attributed to *Soushen ji*. T. 53 No. 2122, 32.531b. Interestingly enough, the same incident is also referenced in *Baopuzi*. As in *Jinlouzi*, the narrative is condensed into a scant few characters and included in a list of other phenomena, yet *Baopuzi*'s wording is entirely different: "The old woman of Chu became a giant soft-shelled turtle, Zhili grew a willow, the lady of Qin turned to stone" and so on 楚嫗為黿，枝離為柳，秦女為石. See BPZ, 2.13.

[68] TPYL, 903.4139a. Note that TPYL also contains a significantly different version of the same story, where the golden bell is replaced with a golden box, yet it is also attributed to the same text, another testament to the high frequency of variation in the transmission of anecdotes. See TPYL, 717.3311a–b.

Jinlouzi version, leaving only the golden bell as a counterpart to the silver hairpin of the preceding line.

Readers of this passage with no prior knowledge of the referent anecdotes would not necessarily understand the logic of relating all of the situations described as examples of strange affairs, yet those who had read broadly from the numerous collections in circulation at the time would certainly be able to make the connection. Here, anomaly accounts are treated not as frivolous nonsense to be ignored by serious scholars, but as elements of a shared corpus of knowledge. The breadth of such a list displays the compiler's intimate familiarity with a wide variety of texts, while the pervasive elision of details presumes the same level of erudition among the text's readers. This complements the preface's claim that the examples it lists are all familiar and trustworthy. The preface grants this authority to recent anomaly accounts by including them in a sequence that includes references to the most authoritative classical texts, and the postface confirms it by rephrasing elements of these texts as allusions that anticipate the ability of readers to recognize their referents, even though many of the anecdotes described in the postface belong to much later and less canonical works. Once again, it is necessary to reconsider the apparent derivativeness of the "Documenting the Strange" chapter, and by extension the pervasive citationality of the text as a whole. Textual borrowing is not hidden from view. On the contrary, in this case understanding the text's relationship to earlier works is a fundamental part of the reading process the text anticipates.

Strangeness is one of several criteria *Jinlouzi* uses to reorganize its borrowed parts into new patterns. In the case of the "Documenting the Strange" chapter, the polemic value of this activity remains vague. The postface concludes with a whimsical twist that calls into question any attempts to define strangeness as an inherent quality. The final line reads, "What indeed is

strange about these cases? Can one ever run out of portentous and ominous affairs to discuss?" 是何怪與？妖祥之是，可殫言乎? [69] Such a comment plays with the dual valence of a term like *guai*: The events described in the chapter may indeed be considered curious and weird, but the frequency with which they appear in the corpus—the fact that makes such a collection possible—means that they cannot truly be considered rare and unusual. Recognition of strangeness as a shared feature of anecdotes may be enough to relate them to one another and distinguish them in a chapter or genre of their own, but it is a distinction that renders "strange" an inappropriate label for such contents. Despite this last-minute change of heart, however, "strangeness" remains important as an organizational tactic. True acceptance of the proposition that strangeness is in the eye of the beholder and may be dispelled with familiarity would render the chapter title, and the ties that bind its contents together, meaningless.

4.2 Parts of a whole: "Miscellaneous Records" and "Establishing a Discourse"

Though it lacks the parallel prose bookends of the "Zhiguai" chapter, the subsequent "Miscellaneous Records" ("Zaji" 雜記) section operates under a similarly paradoxical organizational structure. If things that we perceive as strange become less strange when we realize that they are quite similar to one another, does the equally vague category of "eclectic" or "miscellaneous" acquire a more concrete and intelligible form through patterns in the things assigned to it? This dilemma is not unique to *Jinlouzi*. For example, the Han dynasty compilation *Shuo yuan* 說苑 (Garden of tales) is composed of hundreds of short anecdotes that are grouped into chapters with titles suggestive of general themes. Like *Jinlouzi*, much of this content is derived from preexisting sources. It also features a *za*-prefixed chapter, "Miscellaneous Sayings"

[69] JLZ, 1200.

("Zayan" 雜言), which is used as a receptacle for content that has been deigned worthy of inclusion in the work, but is nevertheless neither compatible with any of the other topic-based chapter titles nor consistent enough to warrant a more specific title. In both cases, the creative efforts of the compiler are found not in the fabrication of unique content, but in the generation of unique categories, and the assignment of old content to those new categories.

In this case, the existence of *za* chapters in both texts seems to reveal a flaw in each text's system of categories: As a prefix to a chapter title the term offers no suggestion of a thematic common ground for its contents other than their shared miscellaneousness. But this does not mean that the contents themselves lack any common features. As Cheng Xiang, the editor of a modern edition of the *Shuo yuan*, puts it, "The title of this *juan* is 'Miscellaneous Sayings,' but it is not actually miscellaneous. Its central concern is to express the qualities of a noble man."[70] In other words, in this reading of the chapter, whatever *za*-ness may be present in the "Miscellaneous Sayings" chapter does not violate the overarching Ruist organizational principle that binds the rest of the text together. It is presumably this consistent thematic focus that has allowed *Shuo yuan* to be recognized as a *Rujia* text, despite the fact that it shares much of its content with categorically non-Ruist texts like *Han Feizi*, *Huainanzi*, and others.[71] In this sense, this chapter functions as a microcosm of the *Shuo yuan* as a whole. It is "miscellaneous" in

[70] Liu Xiang 劉向, *Shuo yuan yi zhu* 說苑譯注, edited by Cheng Xiang 程翔 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2009), 429.

[71] *Shuo yuan*'s identification as a Ruist work may be because of its association with Liu Xiang, whose reputation as a faithful steward (and organizer) of the classical textual tradition is perhaps the inverse of Xiao Yi's infamous mistreatment of texts. As discussed in Chapter two of this dissertation, however, in the *Sui shu* treatise this reputation was not enough to earn a more reputable bibliographic position for Liu Xiang edition of *Zhan'guo ce*, whose formal dissimilarity to works of history like the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Han shu*, and *Shi ji* earned it a spot in the "Miscellaneous Histories" subcategory. See SS, 28.959; 28.962.

comparison to the *Shuo yuan*'s other chapters' more clearly defined topics, but locating the limits of this *za*-ness helps to identify the boundaries that define entire text.

It is confounding, then, that a search for patterns in the contents of *Jinlouzi*'s own "Miscellaneous Records" chapter does not similarly bring to light a thematic focus of the entire *Jinlouzi*. This is not to say that no reading of the chapter could identify consistent interests or internal patterns, only that it is difficult to stretch these patterns into a generalization that can be applied to the all of the work's other chapters. Once again, it is more fruitful to consider the possibility that, if *Jinlouzi* is consistently *about* anything, it is about the habits of collection, organization, and editing that brought it into existence. The most commonly recurring elements of the text are not thematic, but structural and procedural. Seen in this light, the "Miscellaneous Records" chapter makes an excellent microcosm of the work as a whole, because of the way its citational methods distill and refine a large corpus of gathered text, while simultaneously disrupting and redefining that corpus by rearranging and even rewriting these borrowed contents into new forms.

Just as the "Documenting the Strange" chapter does not limit itself to texts that exclusively contain anomaly accounts, "Miscellaneous Notes" does not limit itself to texts previously understood as "Miscellaneous." The chapter draws liberally from works bibliographically categorized as "Miscellaneous" themselves, such as the *Jinlouzi*'s peers and rivals *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*. It also mimics those earlier compendia by curating its own selection of passages from the among the major pre-Qin Masters regardless of "school" affiliation, such as *Mengzi*, *Han Feizi*, *Xunzi* and *Zhuangzi*, and also includes elements associated with the lesser known Masters texts *Heguanzi* 鶡冠子 and *Liuzi* 劉子. But the chapter does not limit itself to the Han conception of the Masters' tradition, including ample material

from the anomaly account collection *Youming lu*, anecdotes drawn from both *Sanguo zhi* and a handful of the texts cited in its Pei Songzhi commentary, and those found in *Shishuo xinyu*. This wide variety of sources that share content with this chapter may appear to justify the "miscellaneous" label, but in fact this range of contents is not dissimilar to that of other chapters. In their earlier appearances, these anecdotes form components of textual wholes: longer historical narratives, extended theoretical essays, or aggregations of content related to a single theme or place. By selecting them for inclusion in the "Miscellaneous Records" chapter, *Jinlouzi* strips them of these earlier contexts and renders them relatable only to one another.

This is done not merely through direct excerption, but through additional manipulation of the contents of these anecdotes. For example, an entry in the second half of the chapter recounts an anecdote that is first recorded in *Shi ji*:

> In the past, Deng Tong had a pattern on his face running from nose to mouth. A fortune teller said, "He will certainly die of starvation." Han Emperor Wen said, "He that is able to make Tong wealthy is none other than I," and bequeathed to him a copper mine. After this, indeed, he [Deng Tong] starved to death.
>
> 昔鄧通從理入口，相者曰：必餓死。漢文帝曰：能富通者我也。賜以銅山。其後果餓死。[72]

In this distilled form, the anecdote is a parable about the inevitability of fate, in which even the will of the emperor is not enough to offset the destiny presaged by Deng Tong's 鄧通 (fl. 2nd cent. BCE) disfigurement. There is also an implied critique of the hubris of Han Emperor Wen 漢文帝 (aka Liu Heng 劉恆, 203–157, r. 180–157 BCE), who appears here to lavish Deng Tong with cash simply to prove the fortune teller wrong. The version of this anecdote that appears in *Shi ji* is much longer, and the additional details help to make it an appropriate tale to lead off the

[72] JLZ, 1321.

biographical category devoted to male favorites of the emperor.[73] Here, the Emperor's role in Deng Tong's rise to good fortune is given a more detailed explanation, as are both his lack of qualification for service and his eventual decline.

Jinlouzi's account lacks any reference to Deng Tong's status as a favorite of the Emperor. This overlooked element is in fact central to Deng Tong's representation in *Shi ji*. It establishes Deng Tong's place within the text's multiple biographical categories and provides the primary focus of his own life story. In that text, Deng Tong is introduced alongside two others favored by Emperor Wen, Zhao Tong 趙同 and Beigong Bozi 北宮伯子.[74] While Zhao Tong attracts the attention of the emperor through his knowledge of celestial phenomena, and Beigong Bozi wins favor through his compassionate and affectionate nature, Deng Tong is described as being "without skill or talent" (*wu jineng* 無技能).[75] He catches the emperor's eye through unusual and

[73] The chapter is titled "Ningxing" 佞幸, "Obtaining Favor through Flattery." *Shi ji* is clear in its implication that these male favorites were sexual partners of the emperor. The title of the chapter, however, reflects the fact that these individuals are important to the overall project of the *Shi ji* biographies not for their sexual proclivities, but for the influence they were able to gain over their imperial suitors. The political consequences of these relationships, as well as the profound displays of devotion they often elicit, are the primary concern of these biographies. See SJ, 125.3192. Despite of frequently invoking negative terms connoting seduction, flattery, and promotion without providing practical value to the court in its descriptions of these figures, *Shi ji* also recognizes the instructive value of their accomplishments. This ambivalence is expressed quite succinctly in the description of the chapter offered in the postface to *Shi ji*: "Among those who serve lords, those who delight their ruler's senses and accord with their desire for beautiful appearances and succeed in drawing them close do not do so through beauty and affection alone—each of them also has abilities in which they excelled. Thus, I have drafted the 'Biographies of those who obtain favor through flattery,'" in SJ, 130.3318. For an extended analysis of these biographies, including an explanation of the term *ningxing* and analysis of the major episodes within the chapter, see Bret Hinsch, *Passions of the Cut Sleeve: The Male Homosexual Tradition in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 34–54.

[74] In *Han shu*, Zhao Tong is referred to as Zhao Tan 談. This is the only major difference between the *Shi ji* and *Han shu* biographies of Deng Tong; *Shi ji* is a clear source of the *Han shu* account, in HS, 93.3722–24.

[75] SJ, 125.3192.

suggestive circumstances: One night, the emperor dreams that he is moving towards the heavens, but cannot complete the ascent. A man in a yellow headscarf stands behind him, pushing him upwards. When the emperor turns to look at the man, he sees that his robes are open at the back. In the morning when he wakes, he goes off in search of a man with a yellow headscarf and the same opening in his robes, and finds that Deng Tong fits the exact description. Moreover, when the emperor hears Deng Tong's name, he is delighted—perhaps because the name Deng Tong is a close pun for "completed ascent" (*deng tong* 登通). After this auspicious introduction, Deng Tong becomes a fixture in the emperor's retinue and the affection between them grows.

It is only at this point, after having already earned the favor of the emperor, that Deng Tong visits the fortune teller who gives him the unfavorable prognostication. This section of the *Shi ji* narrative closely parallels the version of the anecdote in *Jinlouzi*, and in this both this later version and the *Shi ji* account the emperor makes the exact same pledge to save Deng Tong from poverty and starvation. What *Jinlouzi* suggests is a boastful attempt to thwart fate, *Shi ji* contextualizes as a display of devotion from an enchanted suitor. *Jinlouzi* treats Deng Tong's eventual downfall as inevitable, but the *Shi ji* version again provides a more detailed explanation. Though Deng Tong is unable to contribute anything of value to the Han court, he becomes increasingly intimate with the emperor, to the extent that he is willing to regularly perform the unenviable task of sucking the pus from the emperor's boils. The fact that the future Emperor Jing agrees to do so only grudgingly further endears Deng Tong to the Emperor Wen, but incurs the spite of the crown prince. When the prince succeeds his father as emperor, Deng Tong is stripped of his titles and ejected him from the capital. Eventually all of his wealth is confiscated by the court, leaving him live out his years in poverty.

These details are not recounted in detail in the *Jinlouzi* version. Thanks to their appearance in a text as central to the canon as *Shi ji*, they may very well have still been familiar to most *Jinlouzi* readers. Yet by reducing the story to its bare essentials, the *Jinlouzi* version draws attention away from Deng Tong's intimacy with the emperor, and recasts the story's conclusion as an example of the inexorability of fate. The *Jinlouzi* version even adds an extra detail in the form of the pattern on Deng Tong's face that prompts the fortune teller's prediction, reinforcing the notion that his future path had already been determined by forces more influential than the enormous wealth and power of the emperor.[76] Indeed, even in its full form the story is a flawed illustration of either the negative effects of flattery and sycophancy or the potential for those who reach undeserved status to redeem themselves through virtuous service. Deng Tong has no ulterior motives, does not play an active role in seeking the emperor's affection, and his presence in the Han court creates neither catastrophe or benefit for the state. The only consequence is the brief annoyance of the crown prince and Deng Tong's own demise. At best, the story highlights the precarious nature of status earned without a foundation of great talent or exceptional wisdom, reinforced through the frequent references to Deng Tong's lack of ability. These details, along with the extended discussion of Deng Tong's intimate relationship with the emperor, reduce the role of the fortune teller's remark to a catalyst that provides motive for the increased generosity of the emperor and a bit of foreshadowing. By centering the narrative around Deng Tong's flawed physiognomy and what it portends for his future, the *Jinlouzi* version functions essentially as a commentary to the larger, older version of the same story, bringing to the fore underlying details that may otherwise have gone unnoticed to *Shi ji* readers.

[76] The phrase *cong li ru kou* 從理入口 does not appear in this section of *Shi ji*, but elsewhere in that text it accompanies the same prediction of "death by starvation" for another person. See SJ, 57.2074.

Jinlouzi's compiler may not be the one responsible for drafting this truncated version of Deng Tong's tale. With such limited access to texts of the early medieval period, in this case as in others the possibility that the version in *Jinlouzi* was drawn directly from an intermediary source, or even a variant or incomplete edition of *Shi ji* itself, cannot be ruled out. Whatever the provenance of this anecdote, it is still significant that it appears in this form in this section of the text. What appeared in the past as a prominent component of *Shi ji*'s didactic biographical project is reduced—literally and figuratively—to a brief and trivial entry in *Jinlouzi*'s "Miscellaneous Records" chapter. Without a clearly articulated topical framework surrounding it, it is difficult even to declare that the way the anecdote calls attention to the workings of fate is a determining factor. Such a theme would not be out of place in the "Documenting the Strange" chapter, but "Miscellaneous Records" offers plenty of examples of anecdotes that display no influence of this particular plot. The sheer variety of the contents of the chapter make it difficult to develop comprehensive generalizations about shared thematic content.

However diverse their contents, the anecdotes within the two halves of the "Miscellaneous Records" chapter do share a number of common features. Most are roughly the same length, consisting of narratives that are limited in scope and feature a small number of characters. Even though they may allude to broader historical patterns or events, they remain self-contained: No details are introduced that are only intelligible with extensive outside knowledge (though at times the language of *Jinlouzi* version is so terse that longer parallel versions provide additional clarity). This is maintained even in the case of stories like that of Deng Tong, which in their preexisting forms are longer and interspersed with references to events and concepts that are only marginally related to the central narrative. When incorporated into the text of *Jinlouzi*, such narratives are reduced and modified to match the format of the

other anecdotes by which they are surrounded, a less extreme version of the same kind of rearrangement and rewriting that takes place in the passages of parallel prose bookending the "Documenting the Strange" chapter. Just as the "Miscellaneous Sayings" chapter of *Shuo yuan* conforms to, and even reveals, the text's general Ruist outlook, the absence of a specific topic makes it possible to use the "Miscellaneous Records" chapter to get a sense of features that may be found throughout the entire text. Even though the specific project of the "Documenting the Strange" chapter is to collect and arrange examples of "strange" anecdotes found throughout a broad variety of works, the examples it elects to include must first adhere to the general formal standards of the text as a whole. If they do not, they can still be made to conform through editorial intervention, just as the items chosen for inclusion in the chapter's preface and postface are truncated and edited to match the parallel structure of the piece that contains them.

A brief consideration of the contents of the "Establishing a Discourse" chapter provides a final perspective on the consequences of this process of decontextualization and reorganization. Whereas "Miscellaneous Records" removes pieces from their context in a wide variety of texts and recontextualizes them only as representatives of the vaguely defined, marginal category of "miscellaneous," "Establishing a Discourse" draws from a similarly eclectic range of sources and assembles them together to form what should ostensibly represent the conceptual core of *Jinlouzi*. It is, after all, the chapter named for the what *Jinlouzi*'s preface asserts is the overarching goal of the text as a whole, to craft a work that will grant its compiler a kind of perpetual textual identity. Among cases in which probable original sources can be identified, there is a significant overlap between the corpora that provide source material for the both chapters; both draw very heavily from the same group of texts. In particular, the "Establishing a Discourse" chapter reveals another dimension of *Jinlouzi*'s close relationship with the seminal

"Miscellaneous" texts *Huainanzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu*, including many passages that have close parallels with text found in those works. Like "Miscellaneous Records," however, it does not limit itself to this group of texts, pulling material from a variety of texts both old and recent. *Jinlouzi* shows that when preexisting works are treated as corpora of material from which new texts can be composed, bibliographic categories no longer offer meaningful boundaries. One element from an older text can be considered a fundamental component of the "discourse-building" project of a new text, while other pieces of the same older work can be dismissed as belonging only to the "miscellaneous" appendices. Between these two poles, *Jinlouzi*'s other chapters, "Documenting the Strange" among them, provide a variety of other new categories into which text from these same sources can be sorted and refined.

As a chapter title, "Establishing a Discourse" offers very few clues about the nature of the anecdotes it contains. In some ways, this chapter is the mirror image of "Miscellaneous Records." Both reproduce the interests of the entire *Jinlouzi* in microcosm, "Miscellaneous Records" by proposing no organizational principles beyond those that also bind the rest of the work, and "Establishing a Discourse" by linking its contents to the same broad ambitions articulated in the preface to the entire text. The difference is essentially one of priority. The former dismisses its contents as miscellanea, while the latter privileges its assortment of anecdotes through its association with scholarly ambition. But without this assumption of the greater importance or centrality of the topics addressed in both contents chapters are just as "miscellaneous." To impose a specific philosophical identity on the "Establishing a Discourse" chapter, one must read selectively. Though it includes many more non-narrative passages than other chapters, they are joined by plenty of narrative anecdotes and parables very similar to the content of other chapters. The non-narrative sections include observations about literary

aesthetics, discussions of ethical principles, and even occasional descriptions of metaphysical patterns. The passages related to literary aesthetics found here have received the most scholarly attention, usually having the added benefit of being unique to *Jinlouzi*, though they too draw phrases from other works and make numerous allusions.

Even these discussions of literary style are at times borrowed from other sources, such as one passage that is lifted virtually word-for-word from the treatise on literary aesthetics, *Wenxin diaolong*.[77] *Jinlouzi*'s inclusion of this brief comment, which concerns errors and misused words in otherwise reputable literary texts, is exemplary of the citational complexity of many anecdotes in the chapter. In its original incarnation in *Wenxin diaolong* the passage quotes at length from *Guanzi*, and mentions the text by name.[78] Without signalling that this passage is taken from *Wenxin diaolong*, *Jinlouzi* absorbs that text's judgment as its own, but retains its direct citation of *Guanzi*. This gives the appearance that the *Jinlouzi*'s compiler has directly consulted (or memorized) *Guanzi*, while in reality the text simply appropriates the breadth of scholarship used to create the *Wenxin diaolong* passage. Granted, this is only the case if a *Jinlouzi* reader does not instantly recognize the passage as an excerpt from *Wenxin diaolong*. Beyond this appropriation of citational structure, *Jinlouzi* also manipulates the thrust of *Wenxin diaolong*'s critique. in the *Wenxin diaolong* version the introductory, tone-setting passage from *Guanzi* is followed by a litany of examples of faults in pieces by a variety of authors, among them Cao Zhi, Zuo Si, and Pan Yue. The *Jinlouzi* excerpt reproduces only the first critique of Cao Zhi, and then ends, transforming the passage from a long survey covering a variety of literary errors to a brief

[77] JLZ, 892.

[78] Liu Xie 劉勰, *Wenxin diaolong yi zheng* 文心雕龍義證, ed. Zhan Ying 詹鍈 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 1529.

anecdote that targets only Cao Zhi.[79] In its whittled-down form, the passage becomes something that is formally more similar to the rest of the short prose anecdotes that fill *Jinlouzi* than to anything else in *Wenxin diaolong*.

The layers of citational complexity apparent throughout *Jinlouzi* blur the line between allusion and appropriation. To write off *Jinlouzi* as a work of mere appropriation is to overlook that all of these varying citational techniques are housed within a text that text that often engages directly with ideas about the arrangement and curation of text, from its two overtly bibliographic chapters to the alternative system of prose "genres" it constructs through its other chapters. *Jinlouzi*'s repurposing of preexisting material, as anxiety inducing as it may be, is an attempt to do new things with old writing, rather than simply peddle it off like used goods. Indeed, even when lifted directly from older sources, these borrowed passages take on new life and significance both through subtle alterations as well as their new positions within *Jinlouzi*.

Jinlouzi is not unique in its liberal adaptation and reorganization of material that can be found in preexisting sources. The most visible instance of this type of variation (that is, variants in the structure and length of entire passages, as opposed to variants of individual words or phrases) is the way that *leishu* truncate and simplify the contents of the texts that they "quote." This has long been acknowledged as a feature of *Taiping yulan*, and it is also likely to have been the case for the older *leishu* that served as the basis for *Taiping yulan*.[80] Such modifications may frustrate efforts to use *leishu* to reassemble lost texts, but their presence is understandable. *Leishu*

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[79] Furthermore, Cao Zhi appears frequently throughout *Jinlouzi,* though usually in a more positive light. For additional references to or quotations of Cao Zhi, see JLZ, 857, 883–84, 949–50, 1241, and 1283.

[80] For more on early medieval *leishu* and their relationship to *Taiping yulan*, see Hu Daojing, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu*, 117–18, and Glen Dudbridge, *Lost Books of Medieval China* (London: British Library, 2000), 16.

collate vast amounts of knowledge and arrange it into an ontological hierarchy. The criteria that organize their content relate entirely to the nature of the phenomena their gathered passages describe, rather than to the bibliographic identities of the texts from which they are gathered. In this case, it is not surprising that fidelity to the source text is not a priority. In many ways, *Jinlouzi* resembles a *leishu*: It, too, gathers, edits, and concatenates excerpts from diverse materials, divorcing them from the contexts of their original sources, and integrating them into its own organizational structure. But the logic that dictates this structure is textual. Many of *Jinlouzi*'s chapter titles are reminiscent of topics that in other cases would define the contents of an entire book. A *leishu* digests texts of myriad genres in order to rewrite and rearrange their contents into a hierarchy that reflects the order of the material world, rather than the textual order from which they were extracted. *Jinlouzi* offers material taken from a similarly diverse assortment of textual types, but rather than integrate them into a hierarchical system reflective of relationships among the phenomena they discuss, it rearranges them according to an alternative conception of their relationships to one another as texts.

In other words, *Jinlouzi* removes textual pieces from the contexts that make them intelligible, whether as lessons, as consequential moments in the dynastic cycle, or even as a sequence of textual references to the same phenomenon or concept. This ensures that they are relatable only to one another, as pieces of text. In spite of its oddly defined parameters, the "bibliography" performed by *Jinlouzi* resembles the strict formal boundaries used to divide the contents of the *Wen xuan* more than it does the broader conceptual framework into which texts are integrated in the imperial bibliographic treatise. Bibliographies attempt to categorize entire books based on the assumptions that a text's contents are unified in theme, and likely to remain constant throughout the transmission process. *Jinlouzi*, on the other hand, acknowledges that,

despite the assumed integrity of the book, text continues to circulate and spread in much smaller units. Passages from geographic treatises, private histories, genealogies, and a host of other documents are tracked down and plucked out to supplement the histories, to form collections of anomalies, or even to fill the pages of encyclopedic *leishu*. *Jinlouzi* devises its own system of organization that disregards the bibliographic categories into which entire books are confined, instead establishing connections between their constituent parts, thus allowing it to participate in this exchange of fragments across genres of compilation, while at the same time contributing to the bibliographic project of textual categorization.

4.3 Creating and recreating *Jinlouzi*

Though the *Jinlouzi* preface boasts that, unlike *Huainanzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu,* it represents the work of a single compiler, as 21st century readers of a medieval text we must take a broader view of the many hands involved in the compilation process. Like many texts of its era, the version of *Jinlouzi* that exists today is a reconstruction, or "recompilation," put together from citations of the *Jinlouzi* found in a handful of much later sources. A summary of *Jinlouzi*'s textual history is included in its *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* synopsis, and Zhong Shilun and Xu Yimin have supplemented this account with additional details about the text's transmission and reconstitution.[81] In short, though it is listed in bibliographies until the Song dynasty and is cited extensively in *Taiping yulan*, after that references to the text are scarce. All current editions of *Jinlouzi* are based on an edition compiled in the Qing dynasty, which was put together from *Jinlouzi* citations of the text appearing in the Ming collection *Yongle dadian* prior to that encyclopedic work's own tragic disappearance. Fortunately, surviving excerpts of the *Yongle dadian* reveal that its *Jinlouzi* citations also include references to the chapters in which they

[81] See Zhong Shilun, *Jinlouzi yanjiu*, 37–43, and Xu Yimin, "Qian Yan," *Jinlouzi jiaojian*, 1–4.

appear. These chapter titles are roughly consistent with indices of the text recorded in bibliographic sources. This means that, even if the text of each component is reproduced accurately from older intact versions of *Jinlouzi* to *Yongle dadian* to the Qing edition, the sequence of passages *within* each chapter is the invention Qing recompilers, and not a reflection of the precise ordering of the text as it may have existed in any pre-*Yongle dadian* edition.

Problematic textual histories are unfortunately quite common among early medieval texts. Though they raise many questions about the integrity and authenticity of these works, without access to older editions these questions are largely unanswerable. The multiplicity and variety suggested by the text's messy transmission is sacrificed for an idealized text that is singular and consistent, but is merely a theoretical simulation of the way the text may have (or perhaps *should* have) appeared at the time its compiler stopped adding new material. And yet, though the text produced through recompilation is alien to the hypothetical original *Jinlouzi*, the recompilation process as well as the conditions of transmission that necessitated such a recompilation are themselves quite resonant with the *Jinlouzi*'s own patterns of citation and recontextualization. Just as *Jinlouzi* is both reliant on and transformative of the preexisting texts whose material it gathers and reorganizes, so too are later attempts to recover and reorganize the text both dependent on and opposed to the structures of the resources that have enabled the text's recompilation.

Even without access to older, more complete versions of *Jinlouzi*, traces of the recompilation process left in the form of notes from the text's Qing editors reveal consequences of recompilation even more significant than the disruption of the original sequence of anecdotes within each chapter. In several cases, notes from the text's recompilers report on their role in redefining the contents of *Jinlouzi* chapters. In the received version of the text, both

"Establishing a Discourse" and "Miscellaneous Records" are divided into two parts (*shang* 上 and *xia* 下). Notes at the beginning of the first half of each chapter discuss this division:

> The index lists "Establishing a Discourse" in two parts, the base text combines them into one chapter, while scattered fragments and repeated anecdotes also have titles that indicate whether they appear in the first or second part of the chapter. We have cautiously consulted these and divided them as follows.
>
> 目錄有《立言》上、下，原本合為一篇，其散見復出者，猶有上、下之名，謹參考分之如左。[82]
>
> In the table of contents, this [the "Miscellaneous Records"] chapter is originally divided into two halves and the base text was broken apart. For those passages that record the chapter part in their titles have we preserved this division. Those that are only labeled with "Miscellaneous Notes chapter" have been appended at the end of the first and before the second half of the chapter. Furthermore, this chapter draws eclectically (*za*) from the Masters and Histories. We suspect that all entries [originally] had concluding portions, but since the original text has been broken apart and subject to loss, so that now some have them and some do not. In this edition, we have preserved the old forms in all cases, and cautiously recorded them here.
>
> 此篇目錄本分上下，原本割裂，有載上下篇名者，今仍分屬。其但標《雜記篇》者，則附於上篇之後，下篇之前。又此篇雜引子史，疑皆有斷語，原本割裂失去，故或有或無今悉仍其舊，謹識於此。[83]

The placement of individual contents in the two halves of these chapters was not clearly indicated at all stages of the transmission process, and it is also possible that some editions of the text did not divide these chapters into two portions at all. The impact of this decision on readers' interpretation of its contents may not be tremendous, but it serves as an important reminder that *Jinlouzi* as we know it, like other reconstituted texts, is essentially a version of the text that had never actually existed in the hands of Xiao Yi, nor in any period prior to its recompilation. Moreover, the premise that the remnants of the *Jinlouzi* are themselves fragmentary and missing

[82] JLZ, 949.

[83] JLZ, 1219.

Xiao Yi's original constructive conclusions is pure assumption. Though it does not appear to have prompted recompilers to go so far as to supply their own additional comments to fill in for those that they presume have been omitted, the note colors the reader's understanding of what the ideal *Jinlouzi* must have looked like, creating the basis for an argument against accusations that the text is basely derivative and deceptive.

Additional notes throughout these chapters reveal even more significant editorial interventions. As suggested in the previous appended comments, most pieces of *Jinlouzi* reached its recompilers with some indication of the chapter in which they belonged. This can be confirmed from the partial remnants of *Yongle dadian* that cite *Jinlouzi*, which include chapter titles.[84] However, this is not the case for all entries that appear in the received *Jinlouzi.* The second note indicates that passages not clearly marked with either part one or two are to be found between those two halves, however it is not clear exactly which portions of the text this is meant to refer to. Another note towards the end of the first half of the "Miscellaneous Records" reports that "The following seven items were listed in the original text without chapter title; they have been recorded here" 一下七條，原本無篇名，附於此, contradicting the note at the beginning of the chapter by suggesting that even their status as components of any part of the "Miscellaneous Records" chapter was not previously known.[85] Though a charitable reading suggests that the only missing information for these seven anecdotes was which half of the chapter they belong in, this is certainly not the case for the final two entries in the second half of the chapter. The second to last entry in that section is followed a note that reads, "This item was

[84] For the portions of *Jinlouzi* included in extant *Yongle dadian* fragments, see Zhong, *Jinlouzi yanjiu*, 44–48.

[85] JLZ, 1293.

originally without a chapter title. Scrutiny of its contents suggests that it belongs in this chapter, so we have cautiously included it" 此條原本不載片名。詳文義，應屬此篇。謹附.[86]

Similarly, the final entry is followed by this comment:

> This entry is not in the base text. *Taiping yulan* attributes it to *Fuzi*, while Guo Wei of the Ming dynasty's compilation *Baizi jindan* attributes it to *Jinlouzi*. We have cautiously included it here.
>
> 此條原本無，《太平御覽》引作《符子》，明郭偉所輯《百子金丹》引作《金樓子》。謹附於此。[87]

In this final instance, the entry's questionable affiliation with *Jinlouzi* should not draw too much suspicion. *Fuzi* predates *Jinlouzi*, and it is certainly not at all unusual for *Jinlouzi* items to also appear in other texts. But the fact that the *Jinlouzi* attribution in *Taiping yulan*, along with the original reference to the previous anecdote, were not accompanied with information pertaining to its location within the text means that in these cases the recompilers had to decide for themselves where to insert these comments.

The same is true for the final four entries in the second half of "Establishing a Discourse," which are followed by a similar note that explains that these four passages were not present in their base text, but are included in *Taiping yulan* citations without chapter titles. The text then notes, "Consideration of their contents suggests that they appear to belong in this chapter, so we have cautiously appended them here" 考文義似應屬此篇，謹附於此.[88] Other entries in this chapter are also suspect. The entry that precedes these four, along with ten additional entries earlier in the chapter, are annotated with notes explaining that citations

[86] JLZ, 1342.

[87] JLZ, 1343.

[88] JLZ, 994.

attributing them to both "Establishing a Discourse" and "Quick Responses" ("Jie dui" 捷對) were extant, and that the decision to place them in one and not the other was again made based on consultation of their contents.[89] In more recent recompilations, it is standard practice to include such stranded fragments (*yiwen* 佚文) in an appendix, indicating clearly that they are associated with the work in *leishu* and other sources, but not present in the base text from which the modern edition is derived.[90] In this case, however, the recompilers become active participants in determining the contents of the text itself. These later scholars, centuries after the compilation of *Jinlouzi* began, find themselves conducting a form of textual categorization quite similar those which brought the text into existence in the first place. By deciding how to divide insufficiently annotated fragments of text from a wealth of gathered materials and distributing them among *Jinlouzi*'s schema of chapter topics, the recompilers become collaborators in the text's ongoing compilation process. Thankfully, these alterations are documented and explained by the editors responsible for the recompilation of the text. But their presence is a reminder of the potential for textual transmission to result in significant alteration of a text's contents, and skeptical readers would be justified in seeing these cracks in the text's integrity as merely the outermost visible layer of editorial manipulation, suggesting countless other revisions and manipulations that were not as meticulously documented.

If the text as we know it today bears any resemblance to the *Jinlouzi* that Xiao Yi himself compiled, it is due to the documentation provided in the *Yongle dadian*. Two additional examples of the text's treatment in later sources show that, without the detail offered by the

[89] JLZ, 942, 983.

[90] Xu Yimin includes such an appendix, which contains five additional citations of *Jinlouzi* that did not make their way into the initial Qing recompilation, in JLZ, 1371–75.

Yongle dadian, *Jinlouzi* can appear to be a different kind of text entirely. In addition to *Yongle dadian* and a handful of anecdotes preserved in *Taiping yulan*, another source of *Jinlouzi* citations is the compilation *Shuo fu* 說郛 (Outskirts of exposition).[91] However, these excerpts are all heavily edited. They preserve only a line or two of each anecdote cited, but also give each entry a brief title, an element not included in any other version of the text. [92] Most are derived from the "Miscellaneous Records" and "Documenting the Strange" chapters. Zhong Shilun posits that these truncations show that *Shuo fu* treats *Jinlouzi* as a mere repository for allusions (*diangu* 典故), preserving only enough information to make the phrase used as the title for each entry intelligible.[93] For instance, the first entry in the *Jinlouzi* section, entitled "Dreaming of intestines, upset stomach" (*Meng chang fan wei* 夢腸反胃) reads, "When Yang Xiong composed

[91] The textual history of *Shuo fu* is perhaps even more complicated than that of *Jinlouzi*, and many unanswered questions remain. For an overview of the debate surrounding the various editions of *Shuo fu* and its relation to other texts, see Glen Dudbridge, "Towards a Genetics of the *Shuo fu* blocks: A Study of Bodleian Sinica 933 and 939" in *Books, Tales and Vernacular Culture: Selected Papers on China* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 75–93. For a more recent study of *Shuo fu*'s messy history, which surveys past scholarship and compares versions of a Yuan text as it is represented in several extant *Shuo fu* manuscripts and early print editions, see Christopher P. Atwood, "The Textual History of Tao Zongyi's *Shuofu*: Preliminary Results of Stemmatic Research on the *Shengqu qinzheng lu*," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 271 (June, 2017): 1–70.

[92] These portions of *Jinlouzi* are found only in the 120 *juan* version of *Shuo fu*, expanded in the Ming dynasty after the death of Tao Zongyi and included in the *Siku quanshu*. Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1329–1410), et al., *Shuo fu* 說郛*,* Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu 影印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 876–882 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 23.36–40. The earlier, one hundred *juan* version of *Shuo fu* believed to have been compiled by Tao Zongyi himself was never printed, and the many discrepancies between the various extant manuscript editions and fragments makes the history of the text difficult to trace. The most accessible version of the text as it existed prior to Ming interpolations is an early 20th century reconstruction based on several manuscripts. Atwood, "*Shuofu*," 4–5; Tao Zongyi, *Shuo fu*, ed. Zhang Zongxiang 張宗祥 (Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu yinshuguan, 1927).

[93] Zhong, *Jinlouzi yanjiu*, 39.

a poetic exposition he talked about dreaming of his intestines, when Cao Zhi wrote his prose there was the discussion of his upset stomach."[94] In the recompiled *Jinlouzi*, this passage is part of a much longer anecdote:

> Yan Hui aspired to be like Shun, this is the reason why he perished early. Jia Yi was fond of study, therefore he was brought to a quick death. When Yang Xiong composed a *fu* he discussed dreaming of his intestines, when Cao Zhi wrote his prose there was the discussion of his upset stomach. "Life has a limit. Knowledge has no limit. To use a limited life to pursue limitless knowledge…" I would nurture my life, nurture my spirit, and "capture the unicorn" [i.e. bring his endeavor to a conclusion] with the construction of my "golden tower."
>
> 顏回希舜，所以早亡。賈誼好學，遂令速殞。揚雄作賦，有夢腸之談。曹植為文，有反胃之論。生也有涯，智也無涯，以有涯之生，逐無涯之智，余將養性養神，獲麟於金樓之制也。[95]

Not only is the *Shuo fu* version much shorter, this truncation eliminates everything about the anecdote that connects it to the broader context of *Jinlouzi*, both in terms of form and content. Like other *Jinlouzi* anecdotes, it is more than just a transcription of a portion of an earlier text, weaving together multiple types of allusion, citation, and unique commentary. Each of the four examples provided has an earlier precedent, and these examples draw from both in classical texts and from more recent documents. As is common in the text, these passages are abbreviated and condensed into two "couplets" with regular line-length, resulting in four brief lines that provide examples that reach from the Springs and Autumns to the Warring States.[96] These condensed

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[94] Tao Zongyi, *Shuo fu*, 23.36.

[95] JLZ, 857.

[96] As glossed in Xu Yimin's notes, Yan Hui's early death is addressed, for instance, in his *Shi ji* biography, in SJ, 67.2188. His admiration for Shun is discussed in Wang Su 王肅 (195–256), ed., *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語, Xinbian zhuzi jicheng 新編諸子集成 ed (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1991), 5.45. Jia Yi's early death is recorded in SJ, 84.2503. Yang Xiong and Cao Zhi's maladies are addressed in an excerpt from Huan Tan's 桓譚 (23 BCE–56 CE) *Xin lun* 新論 (New

allusions are followed by an unannounced citation of *Zhuangzi*, marked in the above passage with quotation marks, that links them together through a common theme. But the quotation of *Zhuangzi* trails off before reaching its conclusion, presuming readers will themselves be erudite enough to finish the thought, that the use of a limited life to pursue limitless knowledge, is "perilous, and if with this in mind we still pursue knowledge, then we are already in peril" 以有涯隨无涯，殆已，已而為知者，殆而已矣.[97] All of this becomes a preamble to the concluding comment, which returns yet again to the composition of *Jinlouzi* itself. Here, the text is presented as its compiler's compromise, its modest contents evidence of a lifetime wherein scholarly ambition is balanced with proper attention to the nourishment of life and spirit. The excised portions of this anecdote anticipate the argument that *Jinlouzi* is sprawling and unfocused, and make a case that it be considered an example of cautious erudition rather than unbounded, dangerous eclecticism.

Without this additional text, though, *Jinlouzi* appears to be just that: An unfocused collection of random textual snippets, with no adherence to patterns or structure to give it coherence and limit its scope. In *Shuo fu* each *Jinlouzi* anecdote is removed from its original position within a specific, topic-based chapter of the text, and combined together as a representation of the text as a whole. The uniformity afforded by this truncation and rearrangement makes it possible to incorporate *Jinlouzi* within the broader structure of the text that now contains it, a single specimen of uniform characteristics to be placed alongside others of

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discourse) in Li Shan's *Wen xuan* annotations, in Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531), *Wen xuan* 文選, annot. Li Shan 李善 (630–689) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 7.321. It also appears in a citation of *Wei lue,* in TPYL, 376.1867b.

[97] The borrowed passage opens *Zhuangzi*'s "Yang sheng zhu" 養生主 chapter, in Chen Guying 陳鼓應, ed. *Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi* 莊子今注今譯 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 94.

its type. Just as *Jinlouzi* edits and rearranges its own contents to make them conform to its own structure, the texts that cite *Jinlouzi* reshape it in their own image. The result is a version of the textual record in miniature, which provides its own subtle argument about the potential for the contents of all of the texts it contains to be related to one another.

This is even more pronounced in *Wuchao xiaoshuo* 五朝小說 (Minor talk from five dynasties), an obscure Ming anthology that shares much in common with *Shuo fu*. Because of this redundancy, as well as both it and *Shuo fu*'s limited utility for the reconstruction of lost texts, *Wuchao xiaoshuo* has largely been forgotten, but its odd, perhaps even misguided treatment of *Jinlouzi* offers a unique window into the reception of the text in later periods.[98] *Wu chao xiaoshuo*, as its title suggests, divides its contents temporally into five dynastic periods: Wei, Jin, Tang, Song, and Ming. This is the first of the text's many idiosyncrasies. The section devoted to the Wei and Jin dynasties (*Wei Jin xiaoshuo* 魏晉小說) in fact contains excerpts from texts dating from the Han through Southern Liang dynasties, *Jinlouzi* included. Likewise, the

[98] Because of its obscurity, the history of *Wu chao xiaoshuo* remains somewhat mysterious. Numerous Ming editions of the text are extant, and some of them claim Feng Menglong as their compiler, but this attribution is generally considered spurious. A later edition of the text takes a new title, *Wuchao xiaoshuo daguan* 五朝小說大觀, but its contents are largely unchanged. It is generally believed that *Wuchao xiaoshuo* was printed using some of the same blocks used for an earlier edition of *Shuo fu,* but Chen Yizhong notes evidence that suggests *Wu chao xiaoshuo* may have existed prior to the edition of *Shuo fu* with which it is most similar. For the history of this text and its relationship to *Shuo fu*, see Dudbridge, "*Shuo fu* blocks," 79–82, and Cheng Yizhong 程毅中, "*Wuchao xiaoshuo* yu *Shuo fu*" 《五朝小說》與《說郛》, *Wen shi* 47 (1999): 259–66. For this study, I consulted the edition of *Wu chao xiaoshuo* held by the National Central Library in Taipei, which is dated to the late Ming. This edition of the text bears the (likely spurious) Feng Menglong attribution. Chen Yizhong's study of *Wuchao xiaoshuo* and *Shuo fu* focuses on the Tang and Song portions of the text. I have confirmed that the sections of *Wuchao xiaoshuo* and *Shuo fu* on *Jinlouzi* are identical, but the arrangement of the text that contains them are different; *Jinlouzi* excerpts appear alongside those from different titles in each collection, and only *Wuchao xiaoshuo* features the arrangement per textual type as discussed below. Further study of these two texts is necessary to date the text, as this additional evidence does not confirm or reject Chen Yizhong's hypothesis.

section on the Song dynasty also includes the occasional Yuan text. This anachronism is not likely to be the result of simple ignorance, as the entries for each individual text clearly state each text's dynasty of origin. The contents of the *Wei Jin xiaoshuo* are further divided into a set of ten subcategories.[99] *Jinlouzi* is found among the "Miscellaneous treatises" ("Zazhi jia" 雜志家), where it is joined by an odd assortment of other texts, including the *Xiuzhong ji* 袖中記 of Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513) and Tao Hongjing's 陶宏景 (451–536) *Daojian lu* 刀劍錄. The appearance of *Jinlouzi* in this text gives it a position in the developing narrative of the origins of *xiaoshuo* as a literary genre.[100] Works like *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*, *Jinlouzi*'s self-identified predecessors and "Miscellaneous" compatriots, are not included in this anthology. But while other texts identified as *xiaoshuo* of the "Wei Jin" period are given more specific subgenres, the complexity of *Jinlouzi* forces it to remain inscrutably "Miscellaneous," with only the vague qualifier "*zhi*" 志 (treatise) to distinguish it from the *Wu chao xiaoshuo*'s own "Miscellaneous Accounts" subcategory, or from its typical identity as a "Miscellaneous" Masters text.

Many of the problems introduced by its citation in other anthologies and *leishu* are resolved through its relatively thorough representation in *Yongle dadian*, but it is clear that even more have been introduced in its subsequent recompilation. These cases may indeed raise

[99] "Chuanqi jia" 傳奇家, "Zhiguai jia" 志怪家, "Pianlu jia" 偏錄家, "Zazhuan jia" 雜傳家, "Waicheng jia" 外乘家, "Zazhi jia" 雜志家, "Xunjie jia" 訓誡家, "Pinzao jia" 品藻家, "Yishu jia" 藝術家, and "Jizai jia" 記載家.

[100] For a discussion of the Ming transformation of *xiaoshuo*, see Laura Hua Wu, "From *Xiaoshuo* to Fiction: Hu Yinglin's Genre Study of *Xiaoshuo*" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 55.2 (December 1995): 339–71. There is some overlap among subcategories of *xiaoshuo* proposed by Hu Yinglin and those used in *Wu chao xiaoshuo*, an issue which perhaps warrants further consideration.

questions about the integrity and authenticity of the recompiled *Jinlouzi*. Rather than interpret these consequences of the transmission process as evidence with which to discredit the text entirely and hence ignore it, it is more constructive to consider how the traditions of textual preservation and reorganization that produced these consequences are themselves relatable to the particular approach to textual compilation on display in *Jinlouzi*. *Jinlouzi* is built largely from pieces of preexisting texts, a process that preserves such fragments for later readers, while at the same time indelibly altering their significance by disassociating them from their preexisting contexts and rearranging them according to the text's own new organizational parameters. The transmission process that *Jinlouzi* was then subjected to was also one of dissolution and reconstitution, so much so that it is at times difficult to distinguish its consequences from features of the text in its original form.

These textual fluctuations are as important to the identity of *Jinlouzi* as anything that can be gleaned from reading the text in relation to the life of its attributed compiler, even as they redirect attention away from Xiao Yi as an individual author, to the role played by those living both before and after Xiao Yi in the formation of the text as we know it today. Were the text to have been both comprised entirely of original material and transmitted as a discrete whole rather than as a flurry of later citations in a host of other compiled texts, it would be less difficult to disentangle the text from the web of other works in which it is suspended. But unfettered transmission processes like this are quite rare among early medieval texts. It is not possible to divorce *Jinlouzi* from the compilation and categorization endeavors that give the text its structure, and the same is true for many other texts composed with the same approach to compilation. Moreover, these approaches to compilation must be considered alongside the material fragility of books in both Xiao Yi's time and beyond. The constant appearance of new

composite works in the textual record is matched by the equally constant disappearance of others, whether destroyed to catastrophe, made obsolete by new editions and collections, or simply abandoned as a result of fading interest. It is ironic, then, how profoundly this legacy of textual loss and recovery resonates with the historical memory of Xiao Yi as paradoxical collector and destroyer of books.

4.4 Conclusion: Looking at a Golden Tower through a Maple Window

A final anecdote, with its own confounding history of transmission and recovery, crafts a multi-generational narrative of textual loss and reconstruction through a sequence of stories wrapped around an alleged *Jinlouzi* anecdote, included in the Southern Song *biji* text *Feng chuang xiao du* 楓窗小牘 (Minor notes from the maple window).[101] The resulting narrative is filled with coincidences that playfully strain belief, but as they do so, they provide an excellent encapsulation of the questions a text like *Jinlouzi* forces us to ask about the nature of the textual record, and its relationship to the curious patterns on display in the process that has conveyed the text to the present. The anecdote appears in the received *Jinlouzi* as follows:

> When Wang Zhongxuan [aka Wang Can 王粲, 177–217] was in Jingzhou, he drafted a book of several chapters. Jingzhou was defeated, and the book was completely burned up. Today only one of its chapters remains, and all knowledgeable gentlemen value it. If you only see a strand of a tiger's fur, you will not know of its stripes.
>
> 王仲宣昔在荊州，著書數十篇。荊州壞，盡焚其書，今存者一篇，知名之士咸重之。見虎一毛，不知其斑。[102]

[101] Both the dating and authorship of this text are inconclusive, with each edition of the text bearing a different pseudonymous attribution. A note at the beginning of the *Congshu jicheng* edition specifies that the version found in the Ming collectanea *Tang Song congshu* 唐宋叢書 is the source of the attribution to the otherwise obscure Yuan Jiong. Yuan Jiong 袁褧, *Feng chuang xiao du* 楓窗小牘, *Congshu jicheng chu bian* 叢書集成初編 edition (Changsha: Changsha shangwu, 1939), 1.

[102] JLZ, 1293–94.

According to a note appended to both major editions of the recompiled text, *Siku quanshu* and *Zhi bu zu zhai* 知不足齋 edition, the materials from which *Jinlouzi* was recompiled only included the last eight characters of the anecdote—the remark about the tiger's fur. The preceding anecdote about Wang Can's collection is supplied only from a *Jinlouzi* citation in *Taiping yulan*, and its inclusion in *Feng chuang xiao du*. Setting aside the unanswerable question of whether this implies that the archival edition of *Jinlouzi* that is the subject of the *Feng chuang xiao du* anecdote was the exact same copy cited by the *Taiping yulan* editors, this is at the very least a case in which *Yongle dadian*'s *Jinlouzi* must be supplemented with material from additional texts.[103] *Jinlouzi*'s comment about tigers and their stripes is itself a single strand of a tiger's fur, incapable of representing the whole on its own.

The treatment of this piece in the *Feng chuang xiao du* compounds this irony by surrounding this brief passage with several layers of additional narratives:

> I once happened to see the inner archive copy of *Jinlouzi*, which had an appended poem in the hand of Last Ruler Li [of the Later Tang]. It read:
>
> "Emperor Yuan of the Liang wrote, 'When Wang Zhongxuan was in Jingzhou, he drafted a book of several chapters. Jingzhou was defeated, and the book was completely burned up. Today only one of its chapters remains, and all knowledgeable gentlemen value it. If you only see a strand of a tiger's fur, you will not know of its stripes.'
>
> Later, the Western Wei smashed Jiangling, and the Emperor too burned all books, saying 'The ways of *wen* and *wu* shall end tonight.' Why indeed was it that the tale of Jingzhou's fall and of the immolation of the books, one after another, each followed the same pattern? May this poem express my sorrow:
>
> Wound up around ten thousand slim spokes with red silk,
> Wang Can's writing was still burned up in flames.
> It is not as though the Ancestral Dragon left anything behind,[104]
> So how may relayed passages ever reach the present?"

[103] All four of the named individuals who participated in *Taiping yulan*'s compilation during the early Song dynasty had earlier served under the Southern Tang. See Johannes Kurz, "The Compilation and Publication of the *Taiping yulan* and *Cefu yuangui*," *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* 1 (2007): 51.

[104] Here "ancestral dragon" (*zu long* 祖龍) is an epithet for Qin Shihuang.

> The scrolls of the text were all copied on Xue Tao paper, only "The present" (*jin chao* 今朝) was misprinted as "Jin Dynasty" (*jin chao* 金朝). Emperor Huizong was angered by this, and used a brush to strike it away. Later, just as foretold, the text indeed reached the Jin dynasty.
>
> 余嘗見內庫書《金樓子》有李後主手題曰：梁孝元謂王仲宣昔在荊州著書數十篇，荊州壞，盡焚其書。今有者一篇，知名之士鹹重之。見虎一毛，不知其斑。後西魏破江陵，帝亦盡焚其書，曰「文武之道，盡今夜矣。」何荊州壞、焚書二語，先後一轍也。詩以概之曰：牙簽萬軸裹紅綃，王粲書同付火燒。不是祖龍留面目，遺篇那得到今朝。書卷皆薛濤紙所抄，惟「今朝」字誤作「金朝。」徽廟惡之，以筆抹去，後書竟如讖入金也。[105]

Here Xiao Yi's comment about the state of Wang Can's manuscript becomes the basis for a lamentation on the damages incurred to the textual record in the turmoil of a regime's collapse. The preface to the piece directly acknowledges the cruel irony that Xiao Yi, though sensitive to the devastating consequences of book burning, would himself be responsible for the immolation of countless other books. Li Yu's poem addresses these patterns of loss with subtle complexity. The poem ponders not simply what is lost in such catastrophes, but the fact that, while they occur regularly enough to feel inevitable, fragments of text will somehow remain in their wake. From Qin Shihuang's burning of the books, to the loss of Wang Can's manuscript, to Xiao Yi's own destruction of the imperial library, what is truly profound about this devastating history of loss is that we are left with just enough strands of tiger fur to provoke endless speculation about the patterns to which they must have once belonged.

Emperor Huizong's reaction to this passage, while not as reflective as that of Li Yu, is equally emotional. It introduces a new element to this multi-generational discussion of textual transformation: Not only are texts destroyed or spared according to chance, they are also subject to constant reinvention through scribal error and even misinterpretation. The mistake that angers

[105] Yuan Jiong, *Feng chuang xiao du*, 8–9.

Huizong is perfectly innocent, a transposition of one character for another with the same pronunciation. But this scribal error opens up a new interpretive path, which leads from the history of textual loss and preservation into its future. The anecdote does not specify whether Huizong's anger stems from the portentous significance of the mistake, or simply because it is a blemish on an important and valuable edition of the text. Indeed, unlike the emotional testimony of Li Yu, which is presented as having been authored in his own hand as an appended comment, Huizong's anger is supplied by the anecdote's outermost narrator, the last reader of this edition of *Jinlouzi* and the compiler of *Feng chuang xiao du*. The text, as presented in the anecdote, provides only Huizong's correction. Even if Huizong was aware of the significance of the mistake, his attempted correction fails to erase or even conceal this accidental prophecy, instead lending the anecdote an added layer of pathos, securing Huizong's place in its lineage of doomed rulers.

Like all of the texts that cite *Jinlouzi*, and like *Jinlouzi* itself, this piece transforms the context of its received contents in order to give them new significance, and to ensure that they adhere to the patterns and standards of their new textual home. *Feng chuang xiao du* is known primarily for offering an insider's perspective on the downfall of the Southern Song. Here, a much older rumination on dynastic collapse is made to participate in that conversation through the discovery of a heavily annotated text. This citation of *Jinlouzi* differs from its uses in various *leishu* and anthologies in that it actually serves to enhance the text's connection to its purported author. It does so by locating a *Jinlouzi* passage that fortuitously brings to mind to the historical catastrophe with which Xiao Yi would come to be most closely associated, creating a bond between *Jinlouzi* and Xiao Yi's historical legacy that could not possibly have manifested within the text itself. Though ostensibly historiographic, it is difficult to read through these nested

anecdotes without experiencing a disorienting sense of mistrust. The anecdote reminds us of the inevitability of textual loss and distortion over time, while simultaneously using that imperfect textual record to create a narrative of extreme coincidence and serendipity. How is it possible to both accept the anecdote's theme of the randomness of textual loss, while at the same time accepting that these exact bits of texts, which fit together perfectly in service of creating this multi-generational narrative, were among those lucky enough to have survived the very process they describe? In other words, this anecdote offers a perfect simulation of what it is like to read *Jinlouzi*, a text suspended in an impossible balance between its compiler acting as author, and subsequent generations of compilers exerting their own authority over the text.

Jinlouzi is more than a catalogue of excerpts from other sources. These excerpts are modified meaningful ways, transformed into new pieces that are different from their predecessors. It is not necessary to insist that the hands responsible for these modifications as those of Xiao Yi—neither the historical Xiao Yi nor the caricature of him that survives in official historiography—for there is no evidence to prove that the *Jinlouzi* versions of these anecdotes were unique to *Jinlouzi*. Many could just as easily have been excerpted verbatim, from intermediary textual sources now lost to us. Moreover, the transmission process of *Jinlouzi* was long and messy. As with other early medieval texts, *Jinlouzi* remains subject to the transformative process of textual transmission. Even if the goal was only to make the *Jinlouzi* that exists in the present more like the *Jinlouzi* that *should have* always existed, the alteration of the text continued as it was reproduced, edited, and recompiled. Though we may accept the *Jinlouzi*'s assertion that it, unlike *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*, was initially put together without the help of hired hands or enlisted men, acknowledgement of the complexity of its transmission process requires us to concede that the text as we read it today is the product of

innumerable collaborators and interlopers. As unique and deliberate as the finished product appears, this form would not have been possible without the intervention of many other contributors: Those who produced the library of anecdotes from which *Jinlouzi* draws, those who enabled such anecdotes to circulate throughout known and unknown intermediary texts, and those responsible for the transmission and reconstitution of *Jinlouzi* in subsequent eras. The dissolution, rediscovery, and reinvention of the text is another part of the story *Jinlouzi* tells, in which borrowed bricks may be used to build elaborate and unique new towers, while at the same time retaining the traces of their earlier uses.

Chapter Five
Patterns of Erudition:
Identifying and Defining "Broad Reading" in Early Medieval Biographical Narratives

5.0 Collaborative historiography and patterns of *liezhuan* composition

Among the many texts in circulation that provided the material for the compiled works discussed in this dissertation, there are numerous examples of texts that record details surrounding the lives and accomplishments of prominent individuals. The "Miscellaneous Accounts" section of the Sui treatise records collections of biographies in many different formats, too, may be distinguished from one another by their varying approaches to organization. Some gather only materials from a single region, others are guided by a taxonomical approach to the traits associated with specific social roles. Annotations like those of Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao draw from these and other sources, to supplement preexisting texts with new details, removing their contents from these unique configurations and incorporating them into new patterns through citation. The texts to which they are appended, too, make use of a similar corpus: *Sanguo zhi* eschews the other components of dynastic history established in *Shi ji* and *Han shu* to build a history of the Three Kingdoms period almost entirely out of biographies, while *Shishuo xinyu* focuses not on narratives that span entire lifetimes, but on much briefer accounts of single moments or conversations. *Jinlouzi* also includes a handful of biographical anecdotes, which it arranges alongside prose passages in other forms, including autobiographical notes, short descriptive and didactic essays, and anomaly accounts, as part of its unique array of new textual categories.

These cases highlight the relationship between anecdote and biography, itself also the product of textual circulation and reorganization. In some situations, independently circulating anecdotes may coalesce to form a new composite biography, in others a lengthy biography,

composed perhaps by relatives or friends to commemorate the death of its subject, may be divided up into briefer anecdotes by later compilers and annotators. In others, the relationship between biography and anecdote appears cyclical, with no way of determining whether the composite biography or the set of independently circulating anecdotes constitutes the original form. The prevalence of such cases means that many chronologies of compilation cannot be plotted out conclusively. But the effects of these patterns of writing, circulation, excerption, and rewriting can still be observed. On one hand, versions of anecdotes that share the same basic structure and contents can vary in detail depending on the text in which they are contained. On the other, constant writing and rewriting also contributes a degree of uniformity to biographical writing. Though early medieval writers were certainly influenced by their Han predecessors, it was in the Northern and Southern dynasties that these earlier models were scrutinized and imitated on a large scale, forming the foundation for new narrative patterns.

The specific processes through which individual anecdotes were strung together to create composite biographies are often obscured by gaps in the textual record, and imprecise dating of those compilations and fragments that remain. However, the consequences of these patterns of narrative composition can be observed in the numerous works of dynastic history composed for the Northern and Southern Dynasties, which each devote a large proportion of their contents to *liezhuan* 列傳, biographies of individuals arranged into intricate patterns and hierarchies. Though these works are now recognized as the standard histories of their respective eras, they were all the product of collaboration among historiographers working in both private and official capacities. Some were compiled retrospectively in the early Tang dynasty, while others were put together by historians living in the periods they documented, who at times even maintained personal relationships with the subjects of their scholarship. To compile the biographies included

these works, the varied groups of scholars who produced them drew extensively from a sea of documents and records, using independently circulated individual biographies, collections of hagiographies and monastic biographies, anecdote collections like *Shishuo xinyu*, and regional histories, to name just a few. Just as Fan Ye's *Hou Han shu* consolidated elements from both *Sanguo zhi* and its annotations into detailed but linear biographies, early medieval historians made use of the vast corpus of documents to which they had access in a manner that often obscured the complexity of their specific textual origins, participating in acts of rewriting that also overwrote details about the contributions of their predecessors and sources.

The *Nan shi* and *Bei shi* constitute yet another act of historiographic rewriting. The former is a comprehensive history that spans the Song, Southern Qi, Liang and Chen dynasties, which each took the southern city of Jiankang as their capital. The latter addresses the Northern Wei, Northern Qi, Zhou and Sui dynasties, concluding with the Sui conquest of the south. Both at times abbreviate and at others expand the accounts provided in the individual dynastic histories of those eras, yet they have never superseded them. Even after the *zhengshi* bibliographic category was reconfigured to include only one text for each dynastic period, the individual dynastic histories of the Northern and Southern Dynasties retained their bibliographic classifications as *zhengshi*. Despite having been widely read in all periods, *Nan shi* and *Bei shi* have been assigned to a variety of less authoritative bibliographic categories. Following the judgment of editors in the Ming and Qing, bibliographies have consistently listed these two texts as Standard Histories.[1] The history of the period between the Han and Tang is a history of

[1] For the histories of these texts, see David Graff, "Bei shi," Mark Strange and Jacob Hruby, "Nan shi," both in *Early Medieval Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Cynthia L. Chennault, Keith N. Knapp, Alan J. Berkowitz and Albert Dien (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2015), 21, 213.

writing and rewriting. It was produced through a multi-layered, cyclical process of information gathering, editing, dissemination, and revision. These successive iterations of textual organization were intended to bring order to a digressive corpus, but instead resulted in its continued growth. The hundreds of biographies produced in this era are at times as digressive and repetitive as the much broader corpus of texts from which they are derived. Though edited and canonized as part of the early Tang reformation of the offices of historiography, they bear traces of the earlier approaches to the gathering and management of texts developed and practiced by the very scholars and writers whose lives they document, and as such have been subject to the same scrutiny and derision as the messy corpus upon which they rely.

Despite widespread acknowledgement of the many faults of these works, they remain crucial sources for the understanding of early medieval history. Historians who turn to these biographies hoping to better understand the lives of their subjects have reckoned with the intrusion of narrative patterns and stereotypes, identifying and classifying such literary devices and clichés to distinguish them from the elements of historical reality they imperfectly depict.[2] Such studies have amply illustrated that historians across generations drew from a shared repertoire of literary techniques, topoi, and even specific phrases. This is not to say that all Chinese historical writing has *only* been analyzed for the sake of understanding its relevance to the study of historical reality. There is a wide body of scholarship addressing the development of historiographic perspectives. Albert Dien, for example, writes that in addition to understanding how to best use traditional historiography in the aid of modern historical research, it is also

[2] For critiques of the limitations of *liezhuan* biographies in the study of history, see, for example, Arthur F. Wright, "Values, Roles, and Responsibilities," Denis Twitchett, "Problems of Chinese Biography," Hans H. Frankel, "T'ang Literati: A Composite Biography,", all in *Confucian Personalities*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 3–23, 24–39, 65–83.

useful to "view the situation from the standpoint of those within the tradition, to understand better the concerns of those who offered criticisms of other works and suggested reforms while accepting the general perceptual framework of those whom they criticized."[3] Historiographic analysis, however, tends to focus on the documentation of matters related to the emperor and imperial court, as these are also topics whose proper representation was debated most frequently by the historians themselves. Biographies, especially those of lesser figures, are not often incorporated into studies of developing historiographic perspectives, and even more rarely are they treated as an aspect of literary history.

Most studies of the development of biographical writing are focused on examples from earlier periods, especially those contained in *Zuo zhuan* and *Shi ji*. David Johnson's series of articles on the various depictions of Springs and Autumns-era figure Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (d. 484 BCE) connects the representation of this figure in *Zuo zhuan* and *Shi ji* to the broader development of narrative technique. Johnson analyzes anecdotes and narratives related to Wu Zixu across a spectrum of Han and pre-Han sources, emphasizing the differences between the older, folkloric and at least partially orally transmitted "historical-legendary" narratives, and the gradually emerging Confucian mode of bureaucratically controlled didactic historiography. He concludes that, after the latter mode came to dominate historiographic writing, the histories written of the Qin and Han conquests were "Didactic, moralistic, bureaucratic compilations in which narrative drive was subordinated to generic classification and intense focus on a few great

[3] Albert Dien, "Wei Tan and the Historiography of the *Wei-shu*," in *Studies in Early Medieval Chinese Literature and Cultural History In Honor of Richard B. Mather & Donald Holzman*, ed. Paul W. Kroll and David R. Knechtges (Provo, Utah: The T'ang Studies Society, 2003), 401–2.

heroes was replaced by a multitude of short biographies of the merely eminent or exemplary."[4] Although this remains an accurate characterization of much of the officially recognized historical writing that followed, this concluding chapter begins from the position that, in light of the much more complex networks of textual transmission and rewriting discussed in prior chapters, the composition and organization of the even greater multitude of short biographies for figures who lived between the Han and Tang dynasties remains a topic worthy of close consideration. Though pervaded by standardized expressions and narrative clichés, many questions remain about when these shared techniques originated, how they became so pervasive, and what can be inferred about reading habits and textual circulation based on their co-occurrence in the standard histories and other forms of literary writing.

Though its conventions and clichés are familiar, tracing the development of the early medieval biographical style remains a difficult task.[5] This dissertation has already drawn

[4] David Johnson, "Epic and History in Early China: The Matter of Wu Tzu-hsü," *Journal of Asian Studies* 40.2 (February, 1981): 271. Johnson's study of Wu Zixu is preceded by two articles on a much later Wu Zixu text, a ca. 9th–10th century vernacular narrative known only through the collation of several Dunhuang manuscript fragments, Johnson, "The Wu Zixü *pian-wen* and Its Sources: Part I" and "Part II," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 40.1 (June, 1980): 93–156; and 40. 2 (December, 1980): 465–505.

[5] This is true for *Jiu Tang shu liezhuan* as well. A more coordinated imperial office of historiography existed from the Tang on, leaving behind a somewhat more detailed record from which Twitchett has outlined the process through which biographical information was gathered from various sources to create "Accounts of Conduct" (*xingzhuang* 行狀), which used by later historians as the basis for that text's *liezhuan* section. As Twitchett points out, even in the Tang, these materials were treated as documents of questionable veracity by many scholars, largely because they originated in private records composed by their subjects' families, and were subject to both exaggeration and over-reliance on laudatory clichés. Although details of the bureaucratic apparatus for compiling biographies survive, because of these origins in memorial inscriptions Twitchett did not attempt a study of the textual sources of the *Jiu Tang shu liezhuan*, awaiting at that time the publication of "previously unavailable epigraphic material." Though much more epigraphic material from the Tang is now available in print, similar documents from the early medieval period remain scarce. See Twitchett, *Official History Under the Tang*, 4, 62–83.

attention to several aspects of textual composition and compilation in early medieval China that contribute to this difficulty. Our access to early medieval texts is mediated by centuries of manipulation: Hundreds of texts listed in bibliographies like the Sui treatise have been completely lost, hundreds more are extant only via heavily edited excerpts in *leishu*, anthologies, and appended citations. Despite the depletion of the early medieval corpus, what remains still constitutes a significant library of text, especially if the contents of the Standard Histories are considered. But texts that are today fully extant are still typically read selectively by those interested only in a single event or figure. With the aid of various indices and reference works, contemporary readers can tackle lengthy texts in a manner that produces a reading experience not unlike the one offered by the many catalogues of short fragments that preserve texts in partial form: Pinpointing only material relevant to a certain individual or topic obscures the influence of the contextual framework in which that material was originally embedded, and conceals the extent to which the phrasing and structure of relevant narratives and anecdotes may have been influenced by earlier writing on completely unrelated subjects. Such readings also tend to disregard redundancy except when repetition also provides significant variation, which gives a distorted perspective on the full extent and significance of textual reuse across the corpus. Attempts to "correct" the many lacunae and repetitions of the early medieval textual landscape overshadow and ultimately erase the traces of the tension between concision and excess through which the corpus has been formed and defined.

Though these issues mean that a comprehensive study of the circulation and reuse of text throughout the early medieval corpus of biographies is virtually impossible, additional light can be shed on general features of this complex composition process through closer examination of a few specific examples and trends. The first is a brief case study of varying depictions of a minor

Southern Dynasties figure, which illustrates how traces of influence from texts outside the purview of Standard Historiography, such as *Jinlouzi*, can be detected in *liezhuan* structure and contents. The second examines intertextual influence on a much broader scale, by considering the appearance and spread of a specific type of stock phrase that is virtually absent in *Shi ji* and *Han shu*, yet pervasive across early medieval *liezhuan*. By connecting this large corpus of historiographic texts to the strategies for textual rearrangement and organization that I have addressed in previous chapters, my goal is to illustrate that the trends and patterns informing the compilation and circulation of early medieval prose narratives also played a meaningful role in shaping the later writing that was meant to provide the authoritative, standard historiographic account of the period. The problematic compilation methods and reliance on unconventional source materials of early medieval *liezhuan* may make readers skeptical of the historical accuracy of their accounts, but it is precisely these factors that make them a valuable resource for studying the development of narrative style and its relationship to composition and compilation techniques.

The Tang-compiled *Jin shu*'s frequent borrowing of material found in *Shishuo xinyu* has become emblematic of the questionable value of the early medieval Standard Histories. The problematic relationship between those two texts has been discussed since at least the time of Liu Zhiji, who used the similarity between the two texts to criticize *Jin shu*'s biases and question its accuracy, but also to praise its sophisticated literary style.[6] Yu Jiaxi, however, has pointed out that the connection between the two texts may not be as strong as it appears. Since *Shishuo xinyu*

[6] For a summary of various arguments about the relationship between *Shishuo xinyu* and *Jin shu*, from Liu Zhiji to Liang Qichao, see Liu Qiang 劉強, "Cong *Jin shu* kan Tang dai de *Shishuo xinyu* jieshou" 從《晉書》看唐代的《世說新語》接受," *Shanghai shifan daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 上海師範大學學報(哲學社會科學版) 35.2 (March, 2006): 73–74.

was itself compiled from a variety of other earlier sources, it is difficult to prove that *Shishuo xinyu* itself was the primary source for every instance in which *Jin shu* resembles that text.[7] Likewise, *Jin shu* is not the only dynastic history of the early medieval period with connections to a complex array of source materials. It is thanks only to the prominence of *Shishuo xinyu*, and the wealth of information about Jin figures and Jin-centric texts preserved in its annotations, that such connections are more visible between *Shishuo xinyu* and *Jin shu* than they are for other groups of texts.[8] Closer attention to more obscure sources can reveal similar patterns of textual reuse in other dynastic histories.

5.1 The many uses of erudition: He Chengtian anecdotes in *liezhuan* and *leishu*

Though all aspects of biography composition were influenced by these processes of textual circulation and organization, the examples I will discuss here relate specifically to patterns in the representation of erudition, which are often used to describe the breadth of knowledge and habits of textual consumption of scholars who themselves participated in the circulation and production of large compiled texts. One such case concerns the historian and polymath He Chengtian 何承天 (370–447). Renowned in his own time as an expert in classical historical texts, He Chengtian was also a prolific historian and poet. As with many other early medieval historians, however, very little of his scholarly work survives. His reputation as an erudite can today only be confirmed via bibliographic records of the many texts he compiled, scant surviving excerpts of his work, and anecdotes that describe his vast knowledge. For

[7] Quoted in Liu Qiang, "Tang dai de *Shishuo xinyu* jieshou," 77. See Yu Jiaxi, ed., *Shishuo xinyu jianshu* 世說新語箋疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 357–58.

[8] For further study of the connections between *Jin shu* and *Shishuo xinyu*, see also Peng Wenjing 彭文靜 and Zhou Xiaolin 周曉琳, "Cong *Jin shu* bijiao kan *Shishuo xinyu* de wenti tezheng" 從《晉書》比較看《世說新語》的文體特徵, *Journal of Henan Institute of Science and Technology* 河南科技學研學報 5 (2013): 79–81.

example, this anecdote found in the second half of *Jinlouzi*'s "Miscellaneous Records" chapter shows He Chengtian using his historical knowledge to identify an unearthed artifact:

> During the Yuanjia period (424–453), when Zhang Yong was digging out Xuanwu Lake, they encountered an ancient tumulus. On its surface was a bronze ladle, which had a handle that was hollow as in that of an ale cup.[9] No one could identify it. He Chengtian said, "This is a 'Prestige Ladle' of the fallen Xin [dynasty]. They would be granted to Wang Mang's Three Dukes upon their deaths. One would be placed inside the barrow, and one would be placed outside." Shortly after this, they opened the tumulus, obtained another ladle, and encountered an inscription that read, "The Tomb of Grand Minister Zhen Han."
>
> 元嘉中，張永開玄武湖，值古冢，上有一銅斗，有柄，若酒柈。太祖訪之朝士，某有識者。何承天曰："此亡新威斗。王莽三公亡，皆以賜之。一在冢內，一在冢外。"俄而又啟冢內得一斗，有銘書稱"大司徒甄邯之墓。"[10]

Jinlouzi's placement of this story in the "Miscellaneous Records" chapter reveals little. Like most of that chapter's other entries, it is a brief historical anecdote written in relatively simple prose, which refers to historically verifiable details and yet does not demand knowledge of their context to be intelligible. Its contents are intriguing enough to justify its presence in *Jinlouzi*, yet distinctive enough to make it unfit for categorization within one of the text's more precisely defined chapters.

The same story also appears in several other compilations, providing a sense of the many ways this anecdote could be used. It is likely to have originated in the lost Liang dynasty text, *Song shiyi* 宋拾遺 (Neglected matters of the Song). The Tang dynasty *leishu*-style primer *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (A record for introductory studies) attributes a nearly identical passage to that text.[11] *Song shiyi* is categorized as a "Miscellaneous History" in the Sui treatise, and attributed to

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[9] My translation here is tentative, as the meaning of the term *ku* 柈 is obscure.

[10] JLZ, 1332.

[11] Xu Jian 徐堅 (659–729), et al., *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 141.

the obscure Xie Chuo 謝綽 (dates unknown), an attribution that *Chuxue ji* repeats.[12] *Song shiyi* is itself no longer extant, so the role this anecdote may have played within it is not verifiable. But a few brief remarks from Liu Zhiji provide details about the general nature of the text, and clues about how and why this anecdote may have appeared in it. Liu Zhiji mentions *Song shiyi* as part of his own attempt to taxonomize the historiographic "miscellaneous," in a chapter entitled "Za shu" 雜述 ("Miscellaneous Accounts").[13] Here Liu Zhiji outlines ten "miscellaneous" historiographic subcategories, and lists Xie Chuo's text as an example of the third, *yishi* 逸事 ("Neglected Matters"). This type of text, he explains, fulfills the purpose of supplementing gaps in the historical record, and is produced by "scholars fond of curiosities" 好奇之士, recalling his characterization of those responsible for historiographic annotations as "gentlemen fond of affairs" 好事之子.[14] Elsewhere in *Shi tong*, the implied relationship of *Song shiyi* to historiographic annotation is made explicit:

> Pei Songzhi supplemented Chen Shou's oversights, and Xie Chuo gathered (*shi* 拾) what Shen Yue omitted (*yi* 遺). Their words would fill five carriages, and matters they record exceed three chests' worth. The form of textual records should be simple and yet detailed, concise without being neglectful. Those that are so fastidious as to account for everything, or so restrained as to exclude much, both overlook the benefits of moderation, and abandon the principle of balance. Only erudite, discerning gentlemen understand such advantages and disadvantages.
>
> 裴松補陳壽之闕，謝綽拾沈約之遺，斯又言滿五車，事逾三篋者矣。夫記事之體，欲簡而且詳，疏而不漏。若煩則盡取，省則多損，此乃忘折中之宜，失均平之理。惟夫博雅君子，知其利害者焉。[15]

[12] SS, 33.960.

[13] Like *zhuan* / *chuan* 傳, *shu* 述 bears overlapping connotations of "to record or document in writing" and "to follow or abide by."

[14] Liu Zhiji, *Shi tong*, 246.

[15] Liu Zhiji, *Shi tong*, 214–15.

Here Liu Zhiji adds *Song shiyi* to his ongoing discourse about the dangers of textual superfluity. He compares the text to Pei Songzhi's annotations to *Sanguo zhi*, and suggests that their excesses have the potential to dilute and distort a work's historiographic value. However, to Liu Zhiji selective reading and careful editing also provide an antidote to the afflictions inherent to texts prepared by unscrupulous compilers. Even though *Song shiyi* is itself an excessive and digressive work, texts that sift through its contents to select for their readers only its most valuable fragments are not necessarily vulnerable to the same criticism. This not only allows subsequent citations of such texts to evade the same criticism, it also justifies the presence of problematic texts in the libraries of the erudite, and on the booklists of imperial bibliographers.

This fragment of *Song shiyi* is indeed omitted from the biography of He Chengtian in Shen Yue's *Song shu* 宋書.[16] This reinforces the notion that *Song shiyi* was intended to supplement *Song shu* with missing information. The same anecdote, varying only slightly in wording, is added to He Chengtian's *Nan shi* biography, which otherwise closely resembles its *Song shu* predecessor.[17] Beyond its relevance to the story of He Chengtian's life, this anecdote

[16] Though absent from the received *Song shu*, its two *Taiping yulan* citations list *Song shu* as the source. Like many early medieval texts, *Song shu*'s transmission history is problematic, and by the Northern Song dynasty its contents had diminished. Certain lacunae were amended with corresponding contents of *Nan shi*. These additions were added by a team of editors during the reign of Emperor Renzong (1022–1063), while *Taiping Yulan* was compiled between 977–983, largely from the contents of other, older *leishu*. See Johannes Kurz, "*Taiping yulan* and *Cefu yuangui*," 45–48. It is possible that this He Chengtian anecdote was at one point present in *Song shu*, whether in an edition consulted directly by *Taiping yulan* compilers, or in an even older edition used as the source of one of the other *leishu* from which *Taiping yulan* was derived. It is more likely, however, that the attribution of this anecdote to *Song shu* is simply an error. It is not included in a recent study of *Taiping yulan* citations of *Song shu*, whose author concludes that many items attributed to *Song shu* in fact originate in *Nan shi* or other dynastic histories. Andrew Chittick, "Song shu," in *Early Medieval Chinese Texts*, 321; Chen Shuang 陳爽, "*Taiping yulan* suo yin *Song shu* kao" 《太平御覽》所引《宋書》考, *Wen shi* 文史 113.4 (2015): 92.

[17] NS, 33.870.

was also considered relevant to additional topics by later *leishu* compilers. *Chuxue ji*, for example, classifies it alongside a host of other textual excerpts that all relate in some way to lakes. Much later, *Taiping yulan*'s editors would record it twice. Its first appearance in that text is in the subsection on Tombs (*zhong mu* 冢墓) within the broader category of Rites and Rituals (*li yi* 禮儀).[18] Its second appearance, however, more closely matches the purpose it fulfills in He Chengtian's *Nan shi* biography: It is located in the section of the text on Study (*xue* 學), within the subcategory of Erudition (*bowu* 博物).[19] In both of these *Taiping yulan* appearances, the anecdote is given an introductory sentence that is missing from its *Jinlouzi* and *Chuxue ji* counterparts. It states, "He Chengtian was broadly experienced in affairs both ancient and modern (*bojian gu jin* 博見古今), and was highly valued in his time." This minor detail focuses the narrative on He Chengtian himself, rather than the unearthed tomb, its discovery as part of the process of dredging for a lake, or the information about Wang Mang's court rites that he reveals. This slight extension also appears in He Chengtian's *Nan shi* biography. The short sentence that introduces the story functions in this context as a transition, allowing the anecdote to seamlessly join the other elements of the narrative as one of two incidents testifying to He Chengtian's erudition and usefulness to the imperial court during the Yuanjia period. Anecdotes like this can travel between texts of many kinds not just because they are entertaining, but also because the unique sets of information they contain can be related to multiple unrelated categories of knowledge and text. *Song shi yi* gathers the anecdote as a piece of historiographic ephemera, *Jinlouzi* treats it as one of many examples of its "miscellaneous notes," *Nan shi*

[18] TPYL, 558.2652a.

[19] TPYL, 612.2884b–85a.

recovers it as an exemplary event from the life of He Chengtian, and finally the *leishu Chuxue ji* and *Taiping yulan* preserve the anecdote by classifying it according to the various phenomena it describes.

Many types of short narrative are equally likely to become isolated from their source text and preserved in relation to various other textual categories in this manner. But narratives and descriptions of erudition occur particularly frequently in such corpora because the topic of erudition itself became increasingly important to historians in the early medieval period. This trend was maintained by the early Tang historians who consolidated and rearranged the work of their predecessors. In structure and content the He Chengtian anecdote is reminiscent of other short narratives that detail the talents of learned men, such as those involving the *Bowu zhi*'s compiler Zhang Hua discussed in the introduction. In such stories, a problem appears that has no obvious solution, but it is solved thanks to the extensive knowledge of a well-read advisor, whose assertion is later proven correct thanks to the emergence of some new piece of evidence. Though this incidence of the pattern involves no supernatural element, its plot also resembles that of the divination narrative, in that the conclusion of the anecdote depicts the occurrence of events that confirm the accuracy of the diviner's interpretation of the portent.

The popularity of these narratives that describe effective deployment of broad knowledge, in which a learned scholar's broad-ranging knowledge provides the perfect solution to a problem no one else can solve, may have been inspired by tales about learned men of antiquity like Zichan of Zheng, but they become much more common in the early medieval period. Furthermore, though discussions of erudition that relate specifically to the practicalities of creating and consuming texts occur sporadically in Han and pre-Han biographies, it is only in later texts that these aspects become commonplace. As is the case with the contrast between the

bibliographic treatises in *Han shu* and *Sui shu*, since our access to information about this period is dependent on textual sources, it is not easy to distinguish a genuine increase in the number of well-read individuals who comprised the *subjects* of these narratives from an increase in historiographic attention to these aspects of their lives, but the latter can be documented quite clearly. In other words, while it may be true that it was just as important for members of the Han elite to be well-read as it was for their counterparts in the post-Han period, it is only in biographies composed during and after this later period that descriptions of these traits become frequent. Ultimately, however, the development and dissemination of these literary depictions are itself indicative of shifting historical trends. They are most visible when gathered together in dynastic histories, but they emerge from the vast network of circulating books and textual fragments produced and consumed by the learned men they depict. He Chengtian, for example, also put his education and talents to use by participating in the early stages of the compilation of the *Song shu*, the text whose final version would also include his own biography.[20] Patterns of textual reuse and modification practiced by these scholar-compilers enabled the circulation of specific, unique anecdotes among readers in various forms prior to their inclusion in dynastic histories. This made the phrases and topoi they employed available to new audiences, who could in turn make use of them in their own compositions, leading to the development of a set of stock phrases and commonplaces that would become key characteristics of *liezhuan* style.

5.2 Phrasing erudition

One way to illustrate the development of these patterns of reuse is to trace the occurrence of phrases related to reading and erudition throughout the biographies gathered in dynastic

[20] For additional details on the compilation of *Song shu*, see Chittick, "Song shu," 320–21, and Hao Runhua 郝潤華, *Liu chao Shi ji yu shixue* 六朝史籍與史學 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 77.

histories. Though this trait can be expressed with various phrases, many of them invoke the term *bo* 博, the same term used to describe both Zichan of Zheng and Zhang Hua as "broadly knowledgeable about things" (*bowu* 博物). As Hans H. Frankel observes in his study of biographies of Tang literati, such commendations of broad study typically appear in the beginning of a biography, where they describe the preternatural scholastic achievements of their subjects as youths, and are frequently paired with similarly formulaic expressions commending their talents as writers (e.g. *shan zhu wen* 善屬文).[21] Historian Hao Runhua has noted that phrases that commend their subjects for being conversant in historical texts begin to appear only in biographical records from the Southern Dynasties, and are absent from *Shi ji* and *Han shu*.[22] In fact, this extends to all commendations of erudition that use the term *bo*. While these phrases originate in earlier texts, they are not prevalent in *liezhuan* sections of standard histories compiled before the Jin dynasty.

He Chengtian's *Nan shi* biography commends the breadth of his learning on two occasions, describing him as "intelligent and broadly learned" (*congming boxue* 聰明博學) in his youth, in addition to mentioning that he was "broadly experienced in affairs both ancient and modern" (*bojian gu jin* 博見古今) immediately prior to the incident involving the Xin dynasty tumulus. Though these constructions are somewhat unusual examples, they are related to hundreds of other phrases with similar connotations that follow the same pattern. Each uses a two-character compound beginning with the character *bo-* in combination with two or three additional characters, which either identify the object of an individual's "broad" learning or

[21] Frankel, "Tang Literati," 80–81.

[22] Hao Runhua, *Liu chao Shi ji*, 152.

experience, or describe an additional related talent or attribute, such as skill in literary competition, wisdom and insight, or prestige and reputation among peers.

Because they all make use of the character *bo*, it is possible to trace the occurrence of this pattern and its variations throughout the corpus of pre-Tang *liezhuan*, by tabulating every pair of characters beginning with *bo. Bo* is also often used in other contexts, but these sequences are rarely repeated in the corpus, and are relatively easy to identify and eliminate.[23] Seven of the ten most frequently occurring *bo-* prefixed bisyllables throughout the corpus of pre-Tang *liezhuan* are terms used to connote erudition (see Table 5.1, below). In all texts, the title *boshi* 博士 is most common, but even though this title was already being given to both ritual specialists and academic instructors in the Han, and is thus used frequently in *Shi ji* and *Han shu*, general bisyllabic compounds connoting erudition are rare in the *liezhuan* of those texts (See Table 5.2, below). *Boxue* 博學, for example, does not appear in *Shi ji liezhuan*, nor does *bolan* 博覽 or *botong* 博通. *Bowen* 博聞 is the exception, with a handful of uses in phrases like "broadly informed and strong of mind" (*bowen qiangji* 博聞彊記 or *bowen qiangzhi* 博聞彊志), but it does not specifically concern knowledge acquired through textual study. Moreover, though *bowen qiangji* and its variants fit the pattern of later *bo-* phrases, these particular constructions do not appear frequently in subsequent *liezhuan* collections. *Han shu* is similarly devoid of the

[23] This was done with the aid of the "Text tools" plugin to the Chinese Text Project, which enables several approaches to digital analysis of Chinese texts. Chinese Text Project, ed. Donald Sturgeon, accessed July 4, 2017, http://ctext.org/tools/plugins. Details on this process are provided appendix C.1.

four-character phrases that are frequent in later historie, but it does introduce several of the *bo*-pairs from which they will later be constructed, including *boxue*, *botong,* and *bolan.*[24]

Table 5.1: Ten most frequently occurring bo- *pairs*[25]

Term	Total
博士	1372
博學	239
博陵	198
博涉	173
博覽	121
博通	101
博聞	81
博物	66
博議	48
博望	39

Table 5.2: Ten most frequently occurring pairs in pre-Jin liezhuan

Term	*Shi ji*	Term	*Han shu*	Term	*Hou Han shu*
博士	36	博士	166	博士	123
博望	18	博望	17	博學	24
博德	8	博陸	11	博通	20
博聞	5	博學	9	博物	9
博徒	4	博陽	9	博覽	9
博陽	4	博德	8	博南	6
博戲	2	博山	6	博求	5
博爭	2	博為	6	博聞	5
博破	2	博皆	6	博選	5
博觀	2	博而	6	博平	4

In the standard histories of the Southern Dynasties, *bo* is even more frequently paired with another character to form an expression of erudition (see Table 5.3, below). The only exception is *Nan Qi shu*, whose *liezhuan* section is far shorter than that of the other Southern Dynasties histories, leading to an irregularly low number of uses of *bo* in any context. This pattern continues in *liezhuan* of the standard histories for the Northern Dynasties, as well as for *Nan shi* and *Bei shi*, works compiled in the early Tang to consolidate the history of the Northern and Southern Dynasties into two lengthy works (See Table 5.4, below). Though compiled at

[24] Of these three, only *boxue* appears among the ten most frequently used pairs. *Botong* appears 4 times, and *bolan* appears 3 times.

[25] These tables include all characters paired with *bo* in the corpus surveyed. Expressions that connote breadth of erudition and expertise are underlined in this and subsequent tables in this chapter.

different times by different historians, the *liezhuan* of all these texts employ these phrases in ways that their genre-defining predecessors in *Shi ji* and *Han shu* do not.

Table 5.3: Ten most frequently occurring bo- *pairs in Southern Dynasties* liezhuan

Term	*Jin shu*	Term	*Song shu*	Term	*Nan Qi shu*	Term	*Liang shu*	Term	*Chenshu*
博士	117	博士	30	博士	26	博士	93	博士	40
博學	53	博具	7	博聞	4	博涉	19	博涉	12
博涉	16	博學	6	博議	2	博學	15	博學	5
博覽	15	博涉	6	博通	2	博通	11	博通	5
博陵	14	博真	6	博其	1	博物	4	博覽	3
博通	11	博聞	5	博塞	1	博悉	3	博極	2
博聞	10	博覽	5	博射	1	博極	3	博物	2
博物	8	博議	5	博山	1	博洽	3	博綜	2
博綜	7	博陸	3	博涉	1	博弈	2	博識	2
博求	5	博其	2	博無	1	博覽	2	博一	1

Table 5.4: Ten most frequently occurring bo- *pairs in N. Dynasties*, Nan shi, Bei shi liezhuan.

Term	*Wei shu*	Term	*Bei Qi shu*	Term	*Zhou shu*	Term	*Sui shu*	Term	*Nan shi*	Term	*Bei shi*
博士	232	博士	43	博士	22	博士	52	博士	129	博士	263
博陵	55	博陵	26	博涉	14	博陵	18	博涉	39	博陵	72
博學	18	博覽	4	博學	8	博學	16	博學	36	博學	48
博聞	16	博涉	3	博覽	8	博覽	15	博通	15	博涉	37
博通	12	博物	2	博陵	8	博涉	13	博覽	12	博覽	34
博議	11	博綜	2	博通	5	博物	7	博聞	8	博聞	16
博涉	10	博識	2	博綜	3	博四	3	博議	7	博物	14
博覽	10	博厚	1	博聞	3	博聞	3	博物	6	博通	14
博綜	9	博學	1	博平	2	博六	2	博極	4	博綜	11
博識	7	博崔	1	博採	2	博利	2	博具	3	博議	11

Though they occur in a variety of situations, these two character *bo*- terms are often used in four or five character phrases that express the erudition of their subject in more detail. There are many repetitions in the groups of three or four characters that are used to complete these phrases. Some of the resulting phrases are very common throughout the corpus of early medieval *liezhuan*, such as *botong jingshi* 博通經史 or *boxue duotong* 博學多通. Each of these terms

appears more than twenty times throughout the corpus.[26] Others fit may the pattern closely, yet are not often repeated in the corpus. The phrase *bolan jingji* 博覽經籍, for example, resembles many of the more common phrases of this type, yet appears only twice in the *liezhuan* of *Jin shu*, and is absent from all other pre-Tang *liezhuan*. Rather than a single standardized expression, or even a small group of related but fixed sequences, this phrasal pattern is distributed throughout the corpus as clusters of interchangeable parts. The resulting combinations are unmistakably related to one another in form and structure, yet their differences suggest the possibility of subtle nuance. It may be the case that a reference to the subject's erudition had already become a matter of stylistic convention among historians and biographers of the early medieval period, but within the confines of this convention it is still possible to distinguish, for example, whether the corpus to which the subject had devoted his studies consisted primarily of "classics and histories" (*jing shi* 經史), "masters and histories" (*zi shi* 子史), or perhaps the more expansive "many books" (*qunshu* 群書 or *zhongshu* 衆書) or even the bibliographically comprehensive "classics and texts" (*jing ji* 經籍). Otherwise, broad erudition may be paired with another talent or attribute. These typically begin with *duo* 多, such as *duo tong* 多通 ("understanding much"), *duo cai* 多才 ("many talents"), or *duo wen* 多聞 ("having heard or experienced much").

On their own, these terms all originate in older texts. But the trend of combining them together and including them in *liezhuan* biographies first becomes prominent in *Hou Han shu*. As I discussed in the third chapter, although that text details the history of the Eastern Han

[26] See appendix C.1. The two common five-character versions are the expression *boxue shan zhu wen* 博學善屬文 described above, and a series of expressions that all begin with a *bo* pair, usually *boxue*, and join it to an additional talent or attribute through the use of the word *you*, "to have," e.g. *boxue you wencai* 博學有文才, "broadly learned and possessing literary talent," *boxue you caisi* 博學有才思, "broadly learned and possessing both talent and insight."

dynasty, it was not compiled until much later, in the Liu-Song dynasty. It relies extensively on texts composed in the intervening period, most notably *Sanguo zhi* and its annotations. In fact, these *bo-* phrases occur far more frequently in the annotations to *Sanguo zhi* than they do in Chen Shou's original text. This alone does not necessarily prove a shift in biographical style occurring between the lives of Chen Shou and Pei Songzhi, because of the nature of the sources from which Pei Songzhi cites, and how they are cited. Pei's annotations supplement Chen Shou's work with additional biographical material, such as details on the lives of several ancestors and descendants of a single individual, creating more opportunities to insert the kind of brief anecdotes and generalizations in which these brief descriptions of erudition often appear. This can be observed with even greater contrast in *Shishuo xinyu* and its annotations. Even though *Shishuo xinyu* is quite concerned with learned and erudite individuals, phrases of this type are rare in the base text. Its anecdotes focus on specific moments rather than general biographical details, and do not conform to the patterns of longer *zhuan* biographies. The annotations, however, frequently draw from such collections of biographies, and thus feature many *bo-* phrases.[27] This suggests that the circulation and excerption of biographical material itself played a role in the growing presence of these patterned phrases in *liezhuan.* A phrase appearing in an independently circulating biography, perhaps one cited in an annotation to another text, could be incorporated into a composite biography of the same subject in a later text, which would then circulate among a new audience of readers and inspire new compositions.

[27] The base text of *Sanguo zhi* uses *bolan duowen* 博覽多聞 twice, and twenty-two other such expressions once each, while the annotations repeat several expressions multiple times (*boxue qiawen* 博學洽聞, *bowen duoshi* 博聞多識, *bolan qunshu* 博覽群書 and *boxue qiangji* 博學強記), and thirty-nine other variations once each. *Shishuo xinyu* features only one rare variation of the phrase, *boxue gongshu* 博學工書, but its annotations use *boxue shan zhu wen* three times, *bolan qiawen* 博覽洽聞 twice, and twenty-eight other variations once each. See appendix C.2a.

To a hasty reader, the prevalence of these phrases in *liezhuan* may signal nothing more than an increased reliance on cliché. They all convey the same basic information, and translators should be forgiven for failing to identify much distinction between phrases like *bolan duotong* 博覽多通, *boxue qunshu* 博學群書, or *botong jingshi* 博通經史. But it is important to distinguish the pervasiveness of a pattern that allows for variation and reinvention from the repetition of a single stock phrase, as the former still allows for a great deal of variation in word choice and nuance. This pattern is also flexible enough to accommodate additional prefixes beyond the wholly laudatory *bo-* pairs, allowing for the invention of a much broader range of ways to express the value of extensive reading. The ambivalent nature of some of these terms is another reflection of the same tension between comprehensiveness and concision that has informed so many other early medieval critiques of the value of erudition discussed in this dissertation.

An example of the anxiety associated with extensive reading can be seen in a cluster of early examples of *bo*-phrases from *Han shu liezhuan*. Though such terms are not common throughout the hundreds of biographies in that text, several of them are grouped together in a single passage. Perhaps not surprisingly, this occurs in Ban Gu's apprehensive appraisal of the historiographic activities of Sima Qian, which concludes his entry on Sima Qian in the *Han shu liezhuan*. This appraisal also invokes the judgment of his father Ban Biao and that of the court bibliographer Liu Xiang. Throughout the appraisal, though breadth of erudition is itself presented as a positive quality, it is paired with acknowledgement of Sima Qian's faults and errors:

> The extent to which he "waded and hunted" was vast (*guangbo* 廣博), penetrating the classics and their commentaries, hurriedly coursing from the ancient to the modern to cover a span of several thousand years, upon this he exerted himself. And yet his judgments were at odds with the sages: In his discussions of the Great Way he gave priority to Huang-Lao over the Six Classics; in his rankings of itinerant swordsmen he demoted gentlemen in recluse and promoted those infamous for their indiscretions; in his description of the markets he exalted seekers of profit while shaming the modest and poor. These were his faults. And yet, after Yang Xiong and Liu Xiang reached broadly to

> the limits of the many books, both proclaimed that Qian possessed the talents of a great scribe…
>
> 亦其涉獵者廣博，貫穿經傳，馳騁古今，上下數千載間，斯以勤矣。又其是非頗繆於聖人，論大道則先黃老而後六經，序遊俠則退處士而進姦雄，述貨殖則崇勢利而羞賤貧，此其所蔽也。然自劉向、揚雄博極羣書，皆稱遷有良史之材…[28]

The basis for these critiques and their validity has been the topic of considerable discussion and debate.[29] Whatever their merits, they are presented both in contrast to and as a product of a foundation of copious textual study. But the way this research is presented is not incidental. Consider the "wading and hunting" (*shelie* 涉獵) and "hurried coursing" (*chicheng* 馳騁) of Sima Qian's erudition in relation to that of Yang Xiong and Liu Xiang, whose exoneration of Sima Qian concludes this passage. Sima Qian's effort is characterized as a laborious, exhausting task, while those of Yang and Liu are presented as "reaching broadly to the limits of the many books" (*boji qunshu* 博極羣書), a virtually omniscient comprehension of all texts. Following a list of Sima Qian's praiseworthy traits, the breadth of his erudition is again referenced. Although this time it is presented in more neutral terms, again it stands in contrast to the ignominy of his fate, the comprehensiveness of his learning (*bowu qiawen* 博物洽聞) juxtaposed with its inability to prevent the dissolution of Sima Qian's bodily integrity (*bu neng yi zhi zi quan* 不能以知自全), a reference to his infamous castration.

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[28] HS, 62.2737–38.

[29] Stephen Durrant, for example, refers to Ban Gu's appraisal of Sima Qian as "famously deprecatory." Stephen Durrant, "Seeking Answers, Finding More Questions," in *The Letter to Ren An & Sima Qian's Legacy*, ed. Stephen Durrant, Wai-yee Li, Michael Nyan, Hans van Ess (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 31. For a more comprehensive study of premodern and modern appraisals of Sima Qian and the value of *Shi ji*, see Michael Nylan, "Sima Qian: A True Historian?" *Early China* 23–24 (1998–1999): 203–46.

Both *boji qunshu* and *bowu qiawen* reappear frequently in early medieval *liezhuan*, along with the hundreds of other phrases that fit the same pattern. Sima Qian's frantic "wading and hunting" (*shelie* 涉獵) is also frequently employed as the beginning of a four-character expression of broad learning and erudition throughout this corpus, despite the fact that its connotations are not nearly as laudatory as *bo-* pairs like *boxue* or *botong*. In addition to this passage, *Shelie* appears once more in *Han shu liezhuan*, in a description of the insufficient scholarship of Jia Shan 賈山: "Shan was taught by [his grandfather] Qu. His discourses waded and hunted throughout many books and records, he was unable to become a pure classicist" 山受學祛，所言涉獵書記，不能為醇儒. Though the negative connotations of *shelie* here are subtle, they are made explicit in the gloss provided by Tang commentator Yang Shigu: "'Wade', as in 'to wade through water,' 'hunt,' as in 'to hunt a beast.' This means that he browsed around without focus or concentration" 涉若涉水，獵若獵獸，言歷覽之不專精也. In this note Yang Shigu also glosses the term *chun* 醇 ("pure"): "To be 'pure' is to be 'unmixed [*bu za* 不雜]'" 醇者，不雜也.[30] Once again, an unfocused, expansive approach to textual consumption is linked to the undesirable quality of "miscellaneousness."

Shelie is not the only term for broad reading that uses the character *she*. The most common version of the *bo-* pattern throughout the corpus of early medieval *liezhuan* does not begin with *boxue*, *botong*, or *bolan*, but instead begins with *boshe* 博涉 (perhaps, "broadly immersed"). This phrase, *boshe jingshi* 博涉經史, does not appear in the *liezhuan* of *Shi ji, Han shu* or *Hou Han shu*, but it is used more than once in almost every post-Han early medieval *liezhuan* section (the exceptions are *Bei Qi shu* and *Nan Qi shu*, whose *liezhuan* sections are both

[30] HS, 51.2327.

quite short).[31] Like *shelie*, *boshe* is not necessarily a derogatory term on its own, but it can be used to describe a dangerously unrestrained reading habit. Yan Zhitui, for example, notes how students in his own era tended to become immersed in the pursuit of comprehensive knowledge with ambivalence. In a reflection on scholarly trends from the Han dynasty to his own lifetime, he remarks that scholars in the Han would devote themselves to mastery of a single classical text and put the wisdom acquired through this focused study into practice, but those in later periods were only able to recite what their instructors had taught them, and could not apply this knowledge in service. Yan then comments on the present situation:

> The sons of the elite all value broad immersion (*boshe* 博涉), and are unwilling to focus on a single classic. From the descendants of the Liang emperor down, all begin study in childhood. After their ambitions have been observed, when they come of age they immediately begin civil service, and thus few among them complete their studies.
>
> 故士大夫子弟，皆以博涉為貴，不肯專儒。梁朝皇孫以下，總丱之年，必先入學，觀其志尚，出身已後，便從文史，略無卒業者。[32]

As with Jia Shan, Yan Zhitui is focused here on the study of the classics, rather than textual consumption in general. In this case the danger of unfocused study is not necessarily that it will expose voracious readers to unorthodox ideas and texts, but that an overly expansive curriculum is impossible to complete prior to adulthood. This leaves students with shallow experience in many topics but expertise in none. The undertone of derisiveness implied in these uses of *boshe* and *shelie* are not necessarily implicit in the many uses of these terms throughout early medieval *liezhuan*. There they may be used interchangeably with *boxue*, *botong* and others as commendations of their subjects' far-ranging breadth of study. They can also be used to suggest that an individual's youthful appetite for textual consumption was not matched with scholarly or

[31] See appendices C.1, C.2b–2i.

[32] Wang Liqi, *Yanshi jiaxun jijie*, 169.

professional accomplishment later in life, using unfulfilled potential as a euphemism for an uneventful career. *Boshe* and *shelie* are joined in these texts by occasional appearances of the very similar *poshe* 頗涉, another way to omit the character *bo* from a four or five-character description of erudition and learnedness. Though *shelie* appears in *Han shu*, these *she* pairs become common in *liezhuan* even later than their *bo* counterparts, with only scarce appearances in *Hou Han shu* and the annotated *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*. They are somewhat more common in the *liezhuan* section of *Jin shu*, but become even more prevalent in the *liezhuan* of the subsequent Northern and Southern Dynasties, and in *Nan shi* and *Bei shi*.

These texts were all compiled gradually over long periods, so it is difficult to draw more precise conclusions about when these terms were first adopted by historians, but it is possible to make a few general observations: Even in the Han dynasty, the *Han shu* compilers made occasional use of terms like *boxue* to describe erudition, but rarely incorporated them in the four and five character compounds that would proliferate later texts, and *shelie* is used only in situations where a critical eye is cast upon the reading habits it describes. In the large corpus of biographical materials used to compile *Hou Han shu*, *Sanguo zhi*, and *Shishuo xinyu*, longer compounds that employ *bo* become pervasive, but in the case of *Shishuo xinyu* are only included in longer biographical passages appended in annotations to the base text's brief anecdotes. Though it was the last of the early medieval Standard Histories to be completed, the patterns of usage in *Jin shu* are more like those of these three texts than they are to works covering later periods, regardless of their date of completion. This is consistent with other observations about the Tang *Jin shu*'s reliance on much earlier texts, suggesting that these brief statements of erudition were not altered significantly from their earlier incarnations in the works that served as the source material for *Jin shu liezhuan*. Beginning with *Song shu*, *bo* and *she* terms are used in

compounds in roughly equal measure, a pattern that continues within all subsequent early medieval *liezhuan*.

Rather than illustrate the emergence of a single, standardized idiom, these usage patterns indicate the development and proliferation of a formula that allowed historians to create new expressions of erudition, a pattern that was open to reinvention and variation to allow for hundreds of combinations. It spread and grew in popularity through cycles of textual exchange, which can be divided into several interrelated layers of textual circulation. The most visible among these is the circulation of the biographies within dynastic histories. Entire biographies from earlier dynastic histories were reused in the *Nan shi* and *Bei shi*. This provided the opportunity for additional editing, including both extension and truncation of older biographies. Cases like the *Nan shi* biography of He Chengtian and the numerous passages shared by *Jin shu* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations, or those of *Sanguo zhi* and *Hou Han shu*, remind us that the development, transmission, and revision of *liezhuan* also relied extensively on an even broader underlying network of textual circulation, through which multiple anecdotes could accumulate in composite biographies of the individuals they depict. All such iterations create new situations in which these expressions of erudition can be modified or even added, either as transitional phrases to introduce new content or perhaps even as a convenient way to summarize and condense longer descriptions of reading activity from an earlier version.

Formulaic patterns of expression could be transmitted and transformed through successive editions of anecdotes and biographies of the same individual, but they could also spread between biographies of different people, undergoing additional modification and revision throughout the process. Here the generalities and exaggerations common in these expressions is an advantage, allowing them to serve as sufficiently accurate descriptions of a wide range of

curricula. Their malleability allowed them to spread even further. The earliest *liezhuan* appearances of *boshe* are paired with *jingshu* 經書, referring specifically to classical works, and *shuji* 書記 a very general term for books and texts. *Boshe jingshu* is used once more in *Jin shu liezhuan*, but otherwise falls out of use. While *boshe shuji* is used slightly more frequently, both would be eclipsed by *boshe jingshi* 博涉經史, which refers to both classical and historiographic works, and has a total of 46 appearances throughout early medieval *liezhuan*. Although *Boshe jingshi* is the most common expression of this type beginning with *bo*, its close relative *shelie jingshi* 涉獵經史 is actually used even more frequently. However, it is almost entirely absent from *liezhuan* of the Southern Dynasties. Other than two appearances in *Chenshu*, which are repeated in *Nan shi* reuses of the same passages, its appearances in *liezhuan* are specific to those of the Northern Dynasties, with twelve uses in *Wei shu*, two in the brief *Bei Qi shu*, thirteen in *Zhou shu*. Though also absent from *Sui shu*, it is repeated twenty-two times in *Bei shi*, for a total of fifty-three occurrences across the entire corpus. Meanwhile, related expressions that instead refer to literary and historiographic texts, *boshe wenshi* 博涉文史 and *shelie wenshi* 涉獵文史, would see occasional use, with *shelie wenshi*'s eight appearances in *Nan shi liezhuan* making it the most frequently used four-character expression of erudition in that text. These phrases are all general enough to see frequent reuse throughout the corpus, but specific enough for certain variations to see more frequent use in certain situations.

Finally, the activity of extensive reading that is described in these expressions also helped to circulate texts among new audiences. Even if each instance in which an individual is described as preternaturally well-read is not interpreted literally, it is still significant that such descriptions became more prevalent in the largely laudatory format of the *liezhuan*, even when other writers would occasionally also use them to describe the dangers of excessive, inefficient

study. Whether seen as a virtue or vice, broad reading emerged as a defining characteristic of the literate in the early medieval period, and it is no coincidence that, as in the case of He Chengtian, the individuals who are assigned these qualities are often those who also participated in large compilation projects, putting to use not only their extensive knowledge, but also their repertoires of phrasal patterns acquired through broad reading.

5.3 Conclusion: The perils of erudition in excess

The result of this long process of circulation and exchange is the advent of a new historiographic cliché. Patterned expressions of erudition are perhaps of limited use for what they tell us about the actual lives and reading habits of the individuals they describe, but they are much more interesting when viewed collectively. They are a small but revealing component of the broader process through which narratives were composed, disseminated, revised, and reincorporated into new works, a process that would not have been possible were it not for the enthusiastic reading habits that these phrases describe. Unfortunately, the techniques used to identify and tabulate formulaic expressions cannot capture every description of erudition and learnedness throughout this corpus of *liezhuan*, only those that fit these narrow patterns. But the understanding of the standards and patterns used to create and deploy formulaic narrative biographies afforded through this process also makes it easier to appreciate situations in which such conventions are avoided, or even subverted.

This is the case for Liu Xiaobiao, who, as compiler of the extensive annotations to *Shishuo xinyu* was likely to have been one of the most well-read individuals of his time. His *Liang shu* biography, however, does not describe his early reading habits with a phrase that follows the formula detailed above. Instead, it presents a unique anecdote that characterizes not only his scholarly ambitions, but also his childhood poverty and stubborn resourcefulness:

> Jun [Liu Xiaobiao] was fond of study, but his family was poor. He would visit the houses of others and teach himself by reading their books. Often would he burn hempen candles and stay up from dusk until dawn. If he were to nod off, the flame would singe his hair, so that he would wake up and continue to read. He stayed awake all through the night with no rest, such was his vigor.
>
> 峻好學，家貧，寄人廡下，自課讀書，常燎麻炬，從夕達旦，時或昏睡，爇其髮，既覺復讀，終夜不寐，其精力如此。[33]

Shortly after this, he "determined that what he had seen was still insufficiently broad" 自謂所見不博. Rather than use *bo* to commend and exaggerate the textual consumption of its subject, the biography here uses the same term to comment on his relative poverty and impeded access to texts. The ability to read broadly in a variety of subjects is created not simply through intelligence and commitment to study, but through access to material resources. Liu Xiaobiao counters these material limitations with resourcefulness and dedication. After hearing that there are many rare books in the capital, he decides to travel there to continue his practice of borrowing books for the sake of his self-directed study. This incident concludes with Liu Xiaobiao earning his first recognition from the broader community of scholars, when member of the gentry and book collector Cui Weizu 崔慰祖 (d. 499) declares that Liu Xiaobiao is a "book lecher" (*shu yin* 書淫).[34] In his *Liang shu* biography, Liu Xiaobiao's journey to erudition during his youth is not glossed over with a single four-character phrase, but detailed as a series of unique anecdotes that tell the reader far more about his personality and attitude towards study. These qualities are accentuated through descriptions of Liu Xiaobiao recognizing his own lack of breadth that use the same term used conventionally to describe the "broad reading" of scholars who faced fewer material limitations. Though such conventional phrases are missing from the

[33] LS, 50.701.

[34] Ibid.

Liang shu version, one is added to his *Nan shi* biography, which in this section otherwise parallels the earlier version. *Nan shi* reports that, after arriving in the capital and receiving his slightly dubious epithet from Cui Weizu, Liu Xiaobiao "thereupon reached broadly to the limits of the many books, and his distinguishing literary talents were made evident" 於是博極群書，文藻秀出.[35] The use of a conventional phrase occurs only after the personal qualities that enabled him to achieve that level of knowledge have already been described. Cui Weizu's characterization of Liu Xiaobiao's reading habit is tinged with the rhetoric of licentiousness. It is a projection of the perceived dangers of carnal excess on to the potential harm of excessive reading that is reminiscent of the condescension with which others would assign the label *za* to texts produced with the same digressive breadth. It is also an early sign of the ambivalence with which his stubborn determination would be received by the elite residents of the Liang capital.

The sequence of anecdotes detailing Liu Xiaobiao's experiences in Liang scholarly and literary coteries narrativizes the same tensions between concision and erudition that have surfaced throughout each chapter of this dissertation, making it a fitting example with which to conclude. After a series of unsuccessful bids for patronage, he eventually found a role in the retinue of Liang prince Xiu of Ancheng, and participated in the compilation of *Lei yuan* 類苑 (Garden of categories), an encyclopedic catalog of excerpts that is no longer extant.[36] Before its completion, Liu abandoned the project and retreated to the mountains, ostensibly to recover from an illness. Earlier, he had been summoned along with a group of other scholars to edit works of history and the classics at the court of Emperor Wu of the Liang. On one occasion, Liu Xiaobiao

[35] NS, 49.1219.

[36] For more the composition, transmission, and loss of *Lei yuan* see Hu Daojing, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu*, 44–45.

and several other scholars participated in a competition of sorts, in which each participant recited passages related to various topics in sequence. Liu Xiaobiao did not adhere to the conventions of the discussion and speak in turn, which irritated the emperor.[37] His *Nan shi* biography is supplemented with an additional, somewhat more colorful detail, missing from its *Liang shu* counterpart. Although the other scholars would typically limit their responses in order not to outdo the emperor, after the others had all exhausted their responses on the topic of embroidered blankets, Liu Xiaobiao hurriedly requested a brush and paper and proceeded to write down ten additional examples. But this ostentatious display startles the other guests and angers the emperor, and he would not be summoned to the Liang court again. *Nan shi* includes an additional detail that suggests that when Emperor Wu commissioned his own *leishu*, *Hualin bianlue* 華林遍略 (Comprehensive epitomes from Hualin Park), he did so specifically to spite Liu Xiaobiao, reporting that his only goal was to produce something to supersede *Lei yuan*.[38] Liu Xiaobiao's erudition is deemed offensively irrelevant and excessive through the capricious judgment of Emperor Wu, and the consequences are serious enough to put a premature end to his career as a court scholar.

Through the judgment of compilers of the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise, Liu Xiaobiao's *Lei yuan* and Emperor Wu's *Hualin bianlue* would both meet a similar fate, relegated to the maligned "Miscellaneous Masters" bibliographic subcategory, alongside the magnum opus of Emperor Wu's son, Xiao Yi. Liu Xiaobiao's other monumental work, the annotations to *Shishuo xinyu*, would face similar accusations of digressiveness and disorderliness, but also provide a

[37] LS, 50.702, LS, 49.1219.

[38] NS, 49.1220. The name of this text is derived from the palace garden where Emperor Wu gathered scholars to compose the text. It was also lost before the Song dynasty. See Hu Daojing, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu*, 45–46.

resource for generations of bibliographers who each hoped to create an even more exhaustive list of early medieval texts than the one included in *Sui shu*. These texts are all products of an era in which breadth of erudition was one of the most important qualities a scholar hoping to gain fame and recognition could possess, but whose improper deployment could lead to accusations of superfluity and irrelevance. While seeking a delicate balance between the advantages of the "broad" the perils of the "miscellaneous," scholars experimented with new forms of textual organization, and new ways to put the vast corpus of circulating texts to use. In doing so they crafted works of great complexity and sophistication. They developed compilation methods and editing tactics that would be inherited by later generations, who would make use of many of the same tools even to pursue the goal of ridding the early medieval corpus of its troubling superfluity.

Conclusion

The archive that Liu Xiang set out to consolidate and organize in the Han dynasty stretched back centuries, and consisted of a jumble of disorganized and fragmentary texts written on bamboo strips and rolls of silk. The editorial and bibliographic endeavor he initiated would span several generations: It occupied the career of his son, Liu Xin, and the bibliographic catalog that it produced found its way into the collaborative historiographic opus of another scholarly family, the *Han shu* compiled by several members of the illustrious Ban family. The legacy of this project was even more durable. The efforts of Liu Xiang and his successors established titles, author attributions, lengths, and bibliographic categories for texts that would become normative standards by which all versions of the listed texts could be judged. Their work also provided a model for both the creation of future bibliographic treatises as well as subsequent efforts to consolidate disparate manuscript fragments into new compilations. Thus, while most of the texts discussed in this dissertation were not compiled until after the fall of the Han, the epoch in which they were produced should perhaps begin with the efforts of Liu Xiang, but that, too, was made possible by a much longer history of textual production and circulation.

As the circle of readers, writers, and archivists involved in the collaborative interrelated projects of bibliography, compilation, and textual reproduction expanded, so too did the number of texts in their shared corpus grow. New entries in this corpus drew their inspiration from older textual forms, but were in many ways shaped by the circumstances of this new world of paper manuscripts, which were easier to produce, store, and disseminate. Each of these new or modified textual forms offered its own response to the unique challenges afforded by this dramatic increase in scale, employing novel methods of citation and reorganization to bring order and give meaning to an increasingly messy and incoherent corpus. They all provided ways for

scholars to make use of their access to large collections of texts and display their erudition. They also provided opportunities for their compilers to articulate positions about the appropriate boundaries for such displays, both in terms of what texts were appropriate to draw from as well as how those excerpts should be organized and brought into conversation with one another.

The *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise repeatedly lauds those who are able to "draw out the essentials" from the many texts of questionable merit it documents. This notion, that texts reliant upon a broad and eclectic foundation of source materials are responsible for the distillation and reorganization of those materials, is apparent in the way these texts are put together phrase by phrase, as well as in the way these granular components are coordinated into intricately organized textual wholes. But each textual form presents its own understanding of what these "essentials" are, and of how they should be distilled and organized. In the bibliographic treatise, the essentials are what contemporary scholars might refer to as metadata: information *about* texts, their authors, lengths, positions in a hierarchy of textual types, if not their literal contents. The *Sui shu* treatise also rewrites and reorients fragments of older bibliographies to construct this hierarchy, reinterpreting the core structure of the *Han shu* treatise and combining it with bibliographic innovations from the intervening centuries. Similarly, it fills the resulting structure with descriptive postfaces, stitching together a revisionist history of the scribal offices from carefully selected excerpts from the classics. The excerpts chosen for inclusion in *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations are similarly edited to highlight their relationship to the passages to which they are appended, making their own arguments about which texts are most essential to their historiographic projects, and about which elements of those texts are most essential to the array of situations and topics presented in the parent texts. *Jinlouzi* is not focused on arranging textual fragments according to the patterns of history, but according to the patterns of textual

forms. It collects anecdotes and passages from myriad sources and redistributes them according to its topic-based chapters. These chapters draw inspiration from older models of compilation: the anomaly account collection, the philosophical treatise, the compendium of family instructions, and even the bibliography itself. The biographies contained in *liezhuan* sections of standard histories draw from the same broad corpus of documents as *Jinlouzi* and historiographic annotations, even using some of the same anecdotes, but arrange them instead into a collection of topically organized, linear biographies. They obscure their textual sources in the service of preservation of essential details about their subjects, and develop a standardized format for the arrangement of these biographical materials.

These texts were joined and supported by countless other works that similarly aspired to both comprehensiveness and orderliness. Some of these textual forms have few if any extant examples: proto-*leishu*, literary anthologies, individual biographies and collections of biographies compiled by private scholars, and the texts of "transcription and excerption" (*chaocuo wenxian* 抄撮文獻) that rearrange and consolidate excerpts from other works of history. Although now these texts are only visible thanks to records preserved in other works of comprehensive bibliographic scholarship and thus can only be discussed in passing, they nevertheless form an important context for the surviving remnants of early medieval manuscript culture. Other, still extant and thus more accessible texts from this period should also be considered in relation to the same negotiation between comprehensiveness and orderliness. Though I have not had the space to do so here, works like the annotations to *Shuijing zhu* and *Wen xuan*, the numerous collections of anomaly accounts, and the many works that appear to conform to the patterns of Masters literature yet at the same time incorporating material from many other sources, may all also be considered products of the same cycle of textual circulation

and production, and evaluated not only for how they make new use of their borrowed passages, but for how they use these rearrangements and recontextualizations to articulate responses to the problem of textual disorder.

All of these texts—those that are no longer extant, those that are known only via excerpts in collections of fragments, and those that have been transmitted through complex patterns of circulation and reproduction—are testaments not only to the fluid intertextuality of the early medieval period, but also to the continuing influence of these trends in later periods. Texts may disappear not because they fail to find a transmitter, but because their incorporation into a larger, more comprehensive compilation has rendered them redundant, no matter how incomplete that excerption may have been. In works like *leishu* and certain forms of annotations, we may at least be left with the titles of these invalidated source materials. Countless other titles have been eliminated from the textual record as their contents are added to works of comprehensive historiography that fail to document their sources. As the troubled transmission of *Jinlouzi* shows, even in cases where contemporary audiences have access to a relatively intact edition of an early medieval text, we still must contend with the traces of the many hands involved in the transmission process.

New attitudes towards the value and interpretation of written texts, along with new methods for creating, storing, and circulating those texts, would continue to transform the corpus of early medieval texts as it moved through the manuscript era into the age of print. Digitization, too, has already begun to leave its own mark on the remnants of this corpus, offering new methods for organizing and storing texts and expanding the limits of what a single archive can contain. Like earlier transformations of textual media, however, it also presenting new opportunities for texts to be altered, and new occasions upon which the boundaries between texts

may become blurred. Throughout these developments, the early medieval preoccupation with the tension between the values of scholarly breadth and orderliness has been present among the inheritors of the early medieval textual tradition. This means that the ongoing stewardship of the early medieval corpus is also in many ways the continuation of the activities and anxieties of those who produced it. Traces of early medieval composition strategies, and early medieval anxieties about textual proliferation and disorder, are visible among the early Tang historians who took up the task of consolidating biographical materials for generations of Northern and Southern Dynasties figures, *leishu* compilers, the many known and unknown transmitters and editors of *Jinlouzi*, the bibliographers who combed through *Sanguozhi* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations in search of data for new bibliographic treatises, and the editors of the Ming and Qing, who reconstructed lost specimens from this corpus based on fragments scattered throughout those works that did survive. The influence of the early medieval cycle of textual production can be seen not only in the continuation of interventionist editing and rewriting practices—the extension, shortening, or alteration of passages purportedly reproduced as excerpts from other works—but in the patterns of selection and organization that give these texts their overarching structures.

Virtually all early medieval texts have been subject to this process of rewriting and reinvention. Our access to textual information about the early medieval era, then, is bound up in the multiple iterations of the textual compilation strategies developed and practiced in the period, and in the continuations and transformations of those processes by their successors in later periods. Their shared interest in expanding the breadth of their erudition, and in producing elaborate, comprehensive texts to demonstrate it, means that the variety of topics considered worthy of documentation continued to grow, as did the spectrum of texts regarded as appropriate

source material for the composition of new works. But it was accompanied by the insistence that these new materials be organized and normalized according to the values of brevity and orderliness, meaning that many aspects of these new textual topics and forms were obscured or altered through their incorporation into other structures.

Appendix A:
Frequency and distribution of citations in *Sanguo zhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*

A.1: A note on the markup process

To extract the data analyzed in this chapter, I began by annotating public domain digital editions of each text with tags to mark the locations of each citation, noting their titles, authors (when provided), and the bibliographic category of the Sui treatise each text belonged to, when applicable. Though reasonably accurate digital editions of common early medieval texts are widely available, issues remain regarding the fidelity of such texts to print editions, especially since many of the most frequently encountered files are originally typed in simplified Chinese characters. Though major errors are rare, issues such as mistyped characters, irregular handling of punctuation, textual variants, and incorrect or missing rare characters are still relatively common. Throughout my annotation process, I have compared the text of the files used for annotation to the standard modern printed editions of the texts, making changes to my own copies of the texts so ensure that they accord with these standard versions as closely as possible. My digital annotations were made with simple XML tags, adapted from the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) standard. I first divided the text into books, chapters, and paragraphs to clarify the location of each citation, then tagged each title cited, as well as each passage quoted in the citation. I then used information from these tags to create a spreadsheet of all instances of citation, which was used as the basis for the network diagrams reproduced below.

Although it allows for more precise analysis of citation distribution throughout both texts, this process also brings to light certain inconsistencies in annotation style. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Pei Songzhi and Liu Xiaobiao are more consistent than other early medieval annotators and commentators concerning attributions of title and author. However, it is not always possible to tell which text the annotation is citing, or to determine whether variations in

title mean that a single text is being cited multiple times under slightly different titles, or refer to multiple texts with very similar titles. I have already noted some of these discrepancies, such as the practice of citing classical texts like *Shang shu* or *Shi jing* by their chapter headings or the titles of individual poems, or the numerous cases of citations that refer only to an author, without reference to the text in which that author's comments may be found. In most cases I have recorded the titles as they appear in the annotations, rather than normalize or correct them based on the conclusions of later scholars, except in the case of citations that list chapters or pieces within classical texts instead of their titles that can be easily located within extant editions of those texts. This results in the occasional discrepancy with the most thorough modern bibliographies based on these annotations, which consult a variety of other sources to draw conclusions about the intended referents of vague or inconsistent titles. As my primary goal is to understand the structure and patterns of the annotations themselves, rather than the texts to which they are likely to refer, I have opted to base my own tabulations only on information present within the annotations.

A.2: Cited texts in each *Sui shu jingji zhi* subcategory

Sanguo zhi					*Shishuo xinyu*				
Category	大類	Subcategory	小類	Titles	Category	大類	Subcategory	小類	Titles
--	--	Unknown	--	115	--	--	Unknown	--	304
Histories	史	*Za zhuan*	雜傳	17	Histories	史	*Za zhuan*	雜傳	26
Histories	史	*Zheng shi*	正史	13	Histories	史	*Zheng shi*	正史	24
Histories	史	*Gu shi*	古史	12	Collections	集	*Bie ji*	別集	17
Histories	史	*Za shi*	雜史	11	Histories	史	*Gu shi*	古史	11
Masters	子	*Za jia*	雜家	8	Masters	子	*Za jia*	雜家	10
Masters	子	*Ru jia*	儒家	8	Classics	經	*Lun yu*	論語	9
Collections	集	*Bie ji*	別集	5	Histories	史	*Za shi*	雜史	8
Classics	經	*Chunqiu*	春秋	5	Classics	經	*Chunqiu*	春秋	7
Histories	史	*Qiju zhu*	起居注	3	Masters	子	*Dao jia*	道家	7
Classics	經	*Xiao xue*	小學	3	Classics	經	*Shi jing*	詩經	7
Collections	集	*Zong ji*	總集	2	Masters	子	*Ru jia*	儒家	7
Masters	子	*Dao jia*	道家	2	Histories	史	*Di li*	地理	7
Classics	經	*Lun yu*	論語	2	Classics	經	*Li jing*	禮經	6
Classics	經	*Li jing*	禮經	2	Histories	史	*Bu lu*	簿錄	4
Histories	史	*Bu lu*	簿錄	2	Classics	經	*Yi jing*	易經	4
Histories	史	*Di li*	地理	2	Masters	子	*Wuxing*	五行	4
Masters	子	*Fa jia*	法家	1	Histories	史	*Qiju zhu*	起居注	3
Classics	經	*Wei shu*	緯書	1	Classics	經	*Shu jing*	書經	3
Histories	史	*Ba shi*	霸史	1	Histories	史	*Ba shi*	霸史	2
Classics	經	*Yi zhu*	儀注	1	Masters	子	*Xiao shuo*	小說	2
Masters	子	*Wuxing*	五行	1	Histories	史	*Pu xi*	譜系	2
Classics	經	*Shu jing*	書經	1	Masters	子	*Bing*	兵	2
Classics	經	*Shi jing*	詩經	1	Classics	經	*Xiao xue*	小學	2
Masters	子	*Bing*	兵	1	Collections	集	*Zong ji*	總集	2
Histories	史	*Xing fa*	刑法	1	Histories	史	*Jiu shi*	舊事	2
Histories	史	*Pu*	譜系	1	Masters	子	*Yi fang*	醫方	2
					Sutra[1]	佛	*Fo jing*	佛經	2
					Masters	子	*Tian wen*	天文	1
					Classics	經	*Xiao jing*	孝經	1
					Masters	子	*Ming jia*	名家	1
					Classics	經	*Yue*	樂	1
					Masters	子	*Mo jia*	墨家	1
					Histories	史	*Zhi guan*	職官	1
					Collections	集	*Chu ci*	楚辭	1

[1] The Sui treatise includes an appendix on Buddhist texts that lists the total number of titles in several subcategories rather than record individual titles. Conversely, the descriptive postface to the appendix on Buddhist texts is very long, and mentions several titles by name. A handful of Buddhist sutras are cited in the *Shishuo xinyu* annotations. Two also appear in this Sui treatise descriptive postface, the rest are included among the "unknown" titles. See SS 35.1094–99).

A.3: Average number of citations per text in each Sui treatise subcategory

Sanguo zhi				*Shishuo xinyu*			
Subcategory	小類	Total	Avg. per title	*Subcategory*	小類	Total	Avg. per Title
Unknown[2]	--	804	7	*Unknown*	--	590	1.94
Zhengshi	正史	453	34.85	*Zhengshi*	正史	296	12.33
Zashi	雜史	227	20.64	*Gushi*	古史	279	25.36
Gushi	古史	223	18.58	*Zashi*	雜史	98	12.25
Zazhuan	雜傳	111	6.53	*Zazhuan*	雜傳	89	3.42
Zajia	雜家	79	9.87	*Xiaoshuo*	小說	37	18.5
Rujia	儒家	26	3.25	*Lunyu*	論語	24	2.67
Bashi	霸史	19	19	*Chunqiu*[3]	春秋	23	3.28
Qiju zhu	起居注	17	5.67	*Bulu*	簿錄	21	5.25
Shu jing	書經	13	13	*Daojia*	道家	20	2.86

[2] *Yingxiong ji* 英雄記 is cited 72 times throughout the text. As discussed above this is a likely abbreviation of the title *Han mo yingxiong ji*, which the Sui treatise lists as a "Miscellaneous History" and attributes to Wang Can 王粲. See 206n73, 227–29, above. Though this is a fair assumption, due to the title discrepancy I have decided to treat it as an "unknown" text in this case. Were it to be included as "Miscellaneous History" instead, the average citations per title for Unknown texts would decrease to 6.43, and the average citations per title for "Miscellaneous History" texts would increase to 24.92.

[3] The numbers of titles associated with the "Chunqiu" and "Lunyu" subcategories are slightly inflated due to irregular citation format. Though they are very likely to refer to the same recensions of those texts, *Shishuo xinyu* annotations refer to their commentaries, by scholars like Zheng Xuan and Ma Rong, in a variety of different ways. As in other cases, I have opted to preserve the variants in citation style, rather than attempt to normalize them.

A.4: Ten most cited titles in each set of annotations, distribution of frequently cited texts[4]

Sanguo zhi				*Shishuo xinyu*			
Subcategory	Title	書名	Total	Subcategory	Title	書名	Total
Zhengshi	*Wei shu*	魏書	192	*Gushi*	*Jin yangqiu*	晉陽秋	115
Unknown[5]	*Weilue*	魏略	177	*Zhengshi*	*Zhongxing shu*	中興書	112
Unknown[6]	*Jiangbiao zhuan*	江表傳	122	*Gushi*	*Xu Jin yangqiu*	續晉陽秋	73
Zhengshi	*Wushu*	吳書	117	*Zashi*	*Jin zhugong zan*	晉諸公贊	69
Zashi	*Shi yu*	世語	89	*Zhengshi*	*Wang Yin Jin shu*	王隱晉書	51
Zhengshi	*Wulu*	吳錄	79	*Xiaoshuo*	*Yu lin*	語林	36
Unknown[7]	*Yingxiong ji*	英雄記	72	Unknown	*Jin An di ji*	晉安帝紀	30
Gushi	*Han Jin chunqiu*	漢晉春秋	69	*Zhengshi*	*Wei zhi*[8]	魏志	26
Zajia	*Fuzi*	傅子	57	*Gushi*	Deng Can *Jin ji*	鄧粲晉紀	25
Gushi	*Weishi chunqiu*	魏氏春秋	54	Unknown	*Wang shipu*[9]	王氏譜	25

[4] cf. Lin Shengxiang 林盈翔, "Pei Songzhi yu Liu Xiaobiao shizhu xue bijiao yanjiu" 裴松之與劉孝標史注學研究 (masters thesis, National Dong Hwa University, 2010), 139. Lin's list of the ten most frequently cited texts in each set of annotations resembles my own, but we differ slightly in our calculations of the number of citations for each text, perhaps due to the fact that Lin omits citations that appear within personal comments, e.g. those that begin with a phrase such as "Your Servant Songzhi believes…" (臣松之以為…).

[5] *Weilue* is widely considered to refer to a portion of the text *Dianlue* 典略, listed in the Sui treatise as a "Miscellaneous History" and attributed to the Wei official Yu Huan 魚豢. Though *Weilue* is cited without authorial attribution, Pei Songzhi mentions Yu Huan's name when discussing it in comments and evaluations. However, the annotations also cite the entire *Dianlue*, so I treat *Weilue* as an independent text.

[6] *Jiangbiao zhuan* does not appear in the Sui treatise, but it is listed in the *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu* treatises. Both attribute it to Yu Pu 虞溥, an attribution included in the text's first *Sanguo zhi* citation but missing from both of its citations in *Shishuo xinyu*. *Jiu Tang shu* categorizes it as "Miscellaneous History," while *Xin Tang shu* lists the title twice: Once as a five-*juan* text in the "Miscellaneous History" subcategory, and once as a three-*juan* text in the "Miscellaneous Accounts and Records" (*za zhuanji* 雜傳記) subcategory. See JTS, 46.1995; XTS, 58.1464, 58.1480.

[7] See 360n2, above.

[8] This refers to the Wei portion of *Sanguo zhi*.

[9] Citations connected to this title include information about individuals in both the Taiyuan Wang clan and the Langya Wang clan, and thus are likely to refer to two different texts. However, nothing in the format of the annotations indicates this directly. If these citations are taken as references to two different texts, the tenth title on this list should be Yu Yu's *Jin shu*, a Sui treatise "Standard History" that *Shishuo xinyu* annotations cite 24 times.

Distribution of frequently cited texts							
Sanguo zhi				*Shishuo xinyu*			
書名	Title	Chs	% of 65 chs.	書名	Title	Chs	% of 36 chs.
魏略	*Weilue*	31	47.69%	中興書	*Zhongxing shu*	26	72.2%
魏書	*Wei shu*	30	46.15%	晉陽秋	*Jin yangqiu*	25	69.4%
漢晉春秋	*Han Jin chunqiu*	27	41.54%	續晉陽秋	*Xu Jin yangqiu*	24	66.7%
吳書	*Wushu*	26	40.00%	王隱晉書	*Wang Yin Jin shu*	22	61.1%
世語	*Shi yu*	23	35.38%	語林	*Yu lin*	22	61.1%
江表傳	*Jiangbiao zhuan*	22	33.85%	晉諸公贊	*Jin zhugong zan*	18	50.0%
魏氏春秋	*Weishi chunqiu*	22	33.85%	鄧粲晉紀	Deng Can *Jin ji*	15	41.7%
傅子	*Fuzi*	20	30.77%	晉安帝紀	*Jin An di ji*	15	41.7%
吳錄	*Wulu*	19	29.23%	王氏譜	*Wang shipu*	14	38.9%
晉諸公贊	*Jin zhugong zan*	17	26.15%	文士傳	*Wenshi zhuan*	13	36.1%

Appendix B:
***Jinlouzi*'s "Documenting the Strange" preface, annotated**

As discussed in chapter three, most lines of the preface are adapted from their appearances in various chapters of *Baopuzi*'s inner chapters, but many refer to places, individuals, and phenomena that are also documented in earlier sources.

I hold "Beyond human perception, there is nothing strange" to be false.	夫耳目之外，無有怪者，余以為不然也
(I)	(I)
Water is the ultimate cold,	水至寒
yet there is the heat of the hot spring,	而有溫泉之熱
Fire is the ultimate heat,	火至熱
yet there is the cold fire of Xiaoqiu.[1]	而有蕭丘之寒
(II)	(II)
The heavy is supposed to sink,	重者應沈
yet there is a mountain of floating stone[2]	而有浮石之山
The light should float,	輕者當浮
yet there is water that sinks feathers.[3]	而有沈羽之水

[1] The location of Xiaoqiu (perhaps, "Xiao hill") is unknown, and the earliest extant reference to its "cold fire" is in the *Baopuzi* passage paraphrased in *Jinlouzi*. A *Xijing zaji* passage mentions both hot springs and cold fires, but does not specify a location. See Wang Genglin, *Han Wei liuchao*, 112; JLZ, 1132n1; BPZ, 2.26n44.

[2] The "mountain of floating stone" is noted in the obscure geographic treatise *Jiaozhou ji* 交州記, cited in TPYL, 49.371b, 52.381a; See also JLZ 1133n3; BPZ 2.27n45. Jiaozhou occupied what is now Guangxi province, and northern Vietnam.

[3] *Baopuzi* specifies a river (*liu* 流) that sinks feathers, and that it is found in Zang (?) ke, using a rare character that combines the *niu* 牛 radical with *yang* 羊. This is likely a variant for *zang* 牂, as a Zangke Commandery 牂柯郡 is described in *Han shu*'s "Treatise on Geography," which it locates in Yizhou 益周, i.e. the Sichuan basin. See HS, 28a.1602. Meanwhile, *Shiji* describes "weak water" (*ruo shui* 弱水) in the far western region of Tiaozhi 條枝. Tang-era annotations to the text by Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (679–732) link "weak water"to a citation from *Xuanzhong ji*,

(III)	(III)
Chunyu could split a skull to mend a brain,[4]	淳于能剖臚以理腦
Yuanhua could slice the belly to wash entrails,[5]	元化能刳腹以浣胃
Yang You grazed the left wing of a dragonfly,[6]	養由拂蜻蛉之左翅
Yan Dan caused a flock of fowl to cry out at night.[7]	燕丹使衆雞之夜鳴
Each of these has its precedent.	皆有其例矣
(IV)	(IV)
It is said that summer must bring growth,	謂夏必長
and yet allium and wheat wither then.	而蒜麥枯焉
It is said that winter must bring death,	謂冬必死
and yet bamboo and cypress flourish then.	而竹柏茂焉
It is said that which begins must end,	謂始必終
and yet heaven and earth are without limit.	而天地無窮焉
It is said that that which lives must die,	謂生必死
yet turtles and snakes are long-lived.[8]	而龜蛇長存焉
Others say breathing things each have one form,	若謂受氣者皆有一定

---

which mentions water that "cannot bear the weight of a goose feather" 不能載鴻毛, found in Kunlun 崑崙. See SJ, 123.3163–64; JLZ, 1133n4; BPZ 2.27n46.

[4] Chunyu refers to Chunyu Yi 淳于意 (fl. ca. 2nd cent. BCE), the given name of the early Han physician otherwise known as Lord Cang 倉公. Though he has a lengthy biography in *Shi ji* that describes over twenty diagnoses, it does not mention brain surgery; *Baopuzi* appears to be the earliest extant description of this feat. See SJ, 105.2794–819; JLZ, 1233n5; BPZ, 5.118n33.

[5] Yuanhua is the style name of the physician Hua Tuo 華佗 (ca. 140–208). This surgical procedure is described in SGZ, 29.799. See JLZ, 1233n6; BPZ, 5.119n34.

[6] Here *Jinlouzi* uses an allusion not originally found in *Baopuzi*. See 276, above; YWLJ, 74.1264, and TPYL 745.3440b, 945.4348a. Yang Youji's marksmanship is further described in ZZ Cheng 16.5 (886–87).

[7] This incident is not described in *Baopuzi*. See 276, above.

[8] The preceding lines of this stanza have but no clear precedents prior to *Baopuzi*, but closely match a sequence in BPZ, 2.12. Where *Jinlouzi* refers to the longevity of "turtles and snakes," the transmitted *Baopuzi* mentions the more familiarly long-lived "turtles and cranes," but a Dunhuang manuscript fragment contains the same variant of "snake" *she* 蛇 for "crane" *he* 鶴, see BPZ, 2.26n38.

yet pheasants have transformed into giant clams.[9]	則雉有化蜃
And sparrows become clams.[10]	雀之為蛤
(V)	(V)
The *shang* beetle has false wings,[11]	蠰蟲仮翼
The river frog takes to flight,[12]	川黽奮蜚
Mice transform into quails,[13]	鼠化為鴽
Grass dies and becomes fireflies,[14]	草死為螢
People transform into tigers,[15]	人化為虎

[9] The pheasant's transformation into a giant clam is described in *Li ji*, see Sun Xidan, *Li ji jijie*, 486; JLZ, 1135n; BPZ, 2.27n52.

[10] *Li ji* describes sparrows (using instead the term *jue* 爵) transforming into clams, see Sun Xidan, *Li ji jijie*, 477; JLZ, 1135n15; BPZ, 2.27n52.

[11] The type of insect described here, and the significance of its "false wings," is unclear. The corresponding *Baopuzi* passage differs, using the variant *rang* 壤 for *shang* 蠰. *Huainanzi* uses a *rangchong* 壤蟲 (some editions use the *shang* 蠰 variant) as an example of a particularly slow animal. Perhaps the significance of the insect's "false wings" is that it gives the impression of an animal that should fly but instead moves slowly, in contrast to the "river frog" *chuanwa* 川黽 in the following line, which is able to fly although it does not appear to have wings. See He Ning 何寧, ed., *Huainanzi jiaoshi* 淮南子校釋 (Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 889; JLZ, 1135n16; BPZ, 2.27n53.

[12] *Fei* 蜚 is occasionally used as a variant for *fei* 飛 ("to fly"), but it more commonly refers to a small insect. It is thus unclear if this passage is meant to describe a flying frog, or a frog that transforms into a fly. The *Baopuzi* parallel to this line is clearer, reading "the river frog flutters and flies" 川蛙翻飛. See JLZ, 1135n17; BPZ, 27n54.

[13] This transformation is also described in *Li ji*. *Baopuzi* reads "field mice become pheasants" 田鼠為鴽, while *Li ji* reads "field mice transform into quails" 田鼠化為鴽. See Sun Xidan, *Li ji jijie*, 430; JLZ, 1135n18; BPZ, 28n57.

[14] *Li ji* again provides the precedent for this translation. *Baopuzi* matches *Li ji*, both differ slightly from *Jinlouzi*, describing how "decaying grass becomes fireflies" 腐草為螢. See Sun Xidan, *Li ji jijie*, 456; JLZ, 1136n19; BPZ 28n58.

[15] *Baopuzi* describes alligators (*tuo* 鼉) transforming into tigers. For a possible precedent for *Jinlouzi*'s substitution, see 277, above; JLZ, 1136n20; BPZ, 2.14.

Snakes transform into dragons,[16]	蛇化為龍
Are any of these not so?	其不然乎？
(VI)	(VI)
Magpies can predict the future, apes know the past,[17]	及其乾鵲知來，猩猩識往
The Great Hao studied with spiders and wove a web,[18]	太皞師蜘蛛而結罟
Jintian used the nine retinues to create order,[19]	金天據九扈以為政
Xuanyuan heard the Phoenix's cry to set the tones,[20]	軒轅候鳳鳴而調律
Tang Yao watched *mingjia* grass to order time.[21]	唐堯觀蓂莢以候時

[16] This transformation is used as a metaphor in SJ, 49.1983. See also JLZ, 1131, 2.28n59.

[17] Here *Jinlouzi* differs from *Baopuzi*, which instead pairs the ability of the mythological *guizhong* 歸終 (in some editions, *zhonggui* 終歸) to know the past with the magpie's ability to predict the future. Elsewhere, however, *Baopuzi* reports that the *guizhong* also knows the future. See BPZ, 3.61n82. *Jinlouzi* replaces this vague reference with a pair of animals with contrasting uncanny abilities described in *Huainanzi*: "Apes know the past and not the future, magpies know the future and not the past" 猩猩之往而不知來，乾鵲知來而不知往. See He Ning, *Huainanzi*, 957; JLZ, 1136n22.

[18] "Great Hao" is an epithet for Fu Xi 伏羲. Fu Xi's observation of animals and invention of nets, is described in *Xici*, but this text does not actually mention spiders. See Zhou Zhenfu, *Zhouyi*, 257. A more obscure precedent is the "*Fu* on Spiders" ("Zhizhu fu" 蜘蛛賦), attributed to the Eastern Jin figure Zhang Wang 張望 (fl. 4th cent. CE ?), which mentions Fu Xi learning to make nets by observing spiders spinning webs, in Yan Kejun, *Quan shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 2237a–b. See also JLZ, 1137n23; BPZ, 3.60n78.

[19] Jintian is otherwise known as the "Lesser Hao" 少皞, a son of the Yellow Emperor. In another display of erudition recorded in *Zuo zhuan*, Tanzi 郯子 (fl. ca. 520 BCE) delivers a lengthy speech about how Jintian named various ranks and offices in his retinue after birds. See ZZ Zhao 17.3 (1386–89). *Hu* 扈 typically refers to an escort or retinue, but it is also a type of bird. Its use in bureaucratic terms possibly derives from this legend. *Baopuzi* has *yan* 鴈 (goose), with a recorded variant of *hu* 鵹 *hu* for instead of *hu* 扈. See, JLZ 1137n24; BPZ 3.60n79.

[20] Xuanyuan is an epithet for the Yellow Emperor (*Huangd* 黃帝); *Baopuzi* has Emperor Xuan 帝軒 for Xuanyuan. The Yellow Emperor's use of phoenix cries as the basis for the system of tones is described in HS, 21a.958–60. See also JLZ, 1138n25; BPZ, 3.60n80

[21] *Mingjia* grass was believed to grow pods (*jia* 莢) according to regular patterns. This process, and its relationship to calendars planning, is described in *Baihu tong* 白虎通 (Comprehensive account of the White Tiger Hall debate). See Chen Li 陳立 (1809–1869), ed., *Baihu tong shuzheng* 白虎通疏證, annot. Wu Zeyu 吳則虞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994), 286. Yao of

These, too, would not draw suspicion from men.	此又未必劣於人也
(VII)	(VII)
Xiaoyao domain's onions transform, changing to leeks;[22]	逍遙國葱，變而為韮
Zhuangwu mulberries mutate, changing to cypress;[23]	狀武縣桑，化而為柏
Runan bamboo transforms, changing to snakes;[24]	汝南之竹，變而為蛇
Yinyu vines mutate, changing to eels.[25]	茵郁之藤，化而為鮆
(VIII)	(VIII)
When Lu Dan was vice governor,	盧耽為治中
he transformed into a pair of white swans,	化為雙白鵠
When Wang Qiao was the Director of Ye,[26]	王喬為鄴令
he transformed into two flying ducks.	變作兩蜚鳧
Trustworthy cases are many indeed,	諒以多矣，
and so I have compiled the "Zhiguai" chapter.	故作志怪篇

Tang, e.g. the legendary Emperor Yao, is credited with the observation of *mingjia* grass in an *Yiwen leiju* citation of the lost Eastern Jin text *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀 (Chronicle of emperors and kings), credited to Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–282), see YWLJ, 11.214. See also JLZ 1138n26; BPZ 3.60n81.

[22] The allusions in the final two stanzas do not relate to *Baopuzi* passages. For more on their potential sources and referents see 277–81, above.

[23] Zhuangwu county 莊武縣 was located in what is now Shandong.

[24] Runan county 汝南縣 was located in what is now the area around Wuhan, Hubei.

[25] Yinyu is likely to be a place name, but its location is unknown.

[26] Though other sources locate Wang Qiao's jurisdiction in Ye county 葉縣, which would have been part of Nanyang commandery 南陽郡, or what is now the city of Nanyang in Henan, Ye 鄴 would have referred to a county in Wei commandery 魏郡, in what is now the area between Handan and Anyang in Hebei province.

Appendix C:
Usage of phrases connoting erudition in early medieval *liezhuan*

To identify four and five character phrases using the various *bo* 博- prefixed pairs, along with *shelie* 涉獵 and *poshe* 頗涉, I first identified *bo*- pairs connoting broad knowledge, experience, and erudition appearing throughout a corpus that included *Sanguo zhi*, *Shishuo xinyu* and their annotations, and all works of standard historiography from *Shi ji* to the comprehensive Northern and Southern Dynasties histories *Nan shi* and *Bei shi*. The resulting list consisted of twenty-five prefixes. Listed in order of significance, they are 博學, 博覽,博涉, 博通,博聞, 涉獵, 博物, 頗涉, 博綜, 博識, 博古, 博觀, 博洽, 博採, 博極, 博見, 博求, 博采, 博究, 博記, 博考, 博辯, 博達, 博知, and 博達. Other uses of *bo* were eliminated based on context.

I then tabulated all uses of these phrases along with the following two characters, as well as all five-character phrases using the "*shan*" and "*you*" patterns seen in *boxue shan zhu wen* 博學善屬文, and *boxue you wencai* 博學有文才. This created a list of 642 unique phrases, used a total of 1465 times throughout the corpus, but it contained many false positives: groups of characters that began with one of the twenty-five prefixes but did not form a complete phrase or refer to erudition. I again eliminated these false positives manually, resulting in a list of 374 four and five character phrases with 1126 occurrences throughout the corpus (C.1).

This should be understood as a representative list of phrases of this type rather than a comprehensive one. Like *shelie*, there may be other prefixes that do not employ *bo* and yet serve essentially the same purpose as those that do. Likewise, there may be additional overlooked, particularly those in three characters. For example, this list does not include variants on the "*shan*" pattern that employ the terms *hao* 好 or *neng* 能, an unfortunate oversight. On the other hand, there are some redundancies in this list due to two forms of *qun*: 群 / 羣. These forms are

identical in meaning, and if one text favors one form over another, it likely has more to do with differing editorial standards among modern publishers than it does with variation in premodern editions of the texts. Moreover, it has also become clear to me that the terms that surround these phrases also employ conventions of their own, and a four-character variant may often be followed by an additional phrase, e.g. *boxue qunshu, shan zhu wen* 博學群書，善屬文.

The charts in C.2 provide a breakdown of the appearances of each of these 374 phrases in all texts studied. The first graph in C.3 chart the number of appearances of these terms in each text, with each shade representing a different phrase. The final segment of each bar, typically the largest segment of each bar, represents all phrases used only once in that text, and nowhere else in the corpus. Note that, although *Bei shi* uses the highest total number of phrases, both *Nan shi* and *Jin shu* feature more variations that are unique to those texts. The second graph in C.3 takes into account the length of the *liezhuan* section of each Standard History, and the overall length of *Sanguo zhi*, *Shishuo xinyu*, and their annotations. Note that, although *Bei shi* uses the most phrases of this type, its *liezhuan* section is also much longer than that of the other texts, and when considered in comparison to the overall length its usage frequency is similar to those of other texts. This perspective perhaps exaggerates the proportion of phrases in very short texts, but it does not do so arbitrarily. *Chenshu*, *Nan Qi shu* and the annotations to *Shishuo xinyu* are all quite short. Even though it is very short, however, the proportion of phrases of erudition to the entire *liezhuan* section of *Nan Qi shu* is still small, while *Chenshu liezhuan* and *Shishuo xinyu* annotations use these phrases at a much higher rate than all other texts.

C.1: Phrases by number of occurrences in all texts

Rank	Phrase	Total	Rank	Phrase	Total	Rank	Phrase	Total
1	涉獵經史	53	47	博學多識	5	93	博學有口辯	2
2	博涉經史	47	48	博學有才思	5	94	博學有志行	2
3	頗涉經史	30	49	博物多識	5	95	博學有思理	2
4	博學多通	22	50	博聞彊記	5	96	博學有才氣	2
5	涉獵書傳	22	51	博通經術	5	97	博學有才罕	2
6	博通經史	21	52	博通羣書	5	98	博學有才藻	2
7	博涉羣書	19	53	涉獵史籍	5	99	博學有文采	2
8	涉獵文史	19	54	頗涉文學	5	100	博學有藻思	2
9	頗涉文史	19	55	博學多才	4	101	博學有詞彩	2
10	涉獵書史	18	56	博學強記	4	102	博學有高名	2
11	博學善屬文	17	57	博學有文義	4	103	博學有高節	2
12	博涉書記	14	58	博學有文章	4	104	博學知名	2
13	博涉群書	14	59	博學有高才	4	105	博學稽古	2
14	博綜經史	14	60	博求賢俊	4	106	博學通儒	2
15	博覽羣書	14	61	博涉多聞	4	107	博極今古	2
16	博學洽聞	12	62	博涉經籍	4	108	博極古今	2
17	博聞多識	12	63	博覽篇籍	4	109	博極經史	2
18	博覽墳籍	12	64	博覽羣籍	4	110	博洽名亞	2
19	博學有文才	11	65	博覽群言	4	111	博洽多聞	2
20	博涉多通	11	66	博通古今	4	112	博涉史籍	2
21	博物洽聞	11	67	博通書傳	4	113	博涉多才	2
22	博覽群書	11	68	涉獵群書	4	114	博涉子史	2
23	頗涉書史	11	69	博學好古	3	115	博涉有文才	2
24	博涉書史	10	70	博學有俊才	3	116	博涉有機辯	2
25	博通經傳	10	71	博學有才幹	3	117	博涉百家	2
26	博涉文史	9	72	博學有才辯	3	118	博涉經書	2
27	博聞強記	9	73	博學有文詞	3	119	博涉能占	2
28	博識多聞	9	74	博學經書	3	120	博物多聞	2
29	博涉史傳	8	75	博極群書	3	121	博物多通	2
30	博通五經	8	76	博洽經史	3	122	博物奇才	2
31	博聞強識	7	77	博涉經傳	3	123	博物宏才	2
32	博覽書傳	7	78	博綜羣言	3	124	博物弘恕	2
33	博覽書記	7	79	博聞彊識	3	125	博物強識	2
34	博覽經史	7	80	博覽墳典	3	126	博物知玄	2
35	涉獵書記	7	81	博覽多聞	3	127	博物識古	2
36	涉獵羣書	7	82	博覽多識	3	128	博物雅好	2
37	博學多聞	6	83	博通羣籍	3	129	博知古今	2
38	博學高才	6	84	博通群書	3	130	博究覽天	2
39	博極羣書	6	85	博古文學	2	131	博綜古今	2
40	博覽羣言	6	86	博學俊才	2	132	博綜經方	2
41	博通經籍	6	87	博學名亞	2	133	博綜羣書	2
42	涉獵文義	6	88	博學善占誦	2	134	博綜群書	2
43	頗涉史傳	6	89	博學善文辭	2	135	博聞多見	2
44	頗涉文義	6	90	博學好文	2	136	博聞有識度	2
45	頗涉書傳	6	91	博學少有	2	137	博聞有道術	2
46	頗涉書記	6	92	博學強識	2	138	博聞辯智	2

Rank	Phrase	Total	Rank	Phrase	Total	Rank	Phrase	Total
139	博聞雅重	2	186	博古開藝	1	233	博學群書	1
140	博見多知	2	187	博學善五行	1	234	博學見知	1
141	博見洽通	2	188	博學善交與	1	235	博學詩律	1
142	博覽典誥	2	189	博學善政見	1	236	博學通敏	1
143	博覽古圖	2	190	博學善文札	1	237	博學通綜	1
144	博覽史傳	2	191	博學善言名	1	238	博學通覽	1
145	博覽書籍	2	192	博學善隸書	1	239	博學高論	1
146	博覽洽聞	2	193	博學善隸書	1	240	博採古今	1
147	博覽百家	2	194	博學多材	1	241	博採異同	1
148	博覽眾書	2	195	博學多能	1	242	博採異聞	1
149	博覽經傳	2	196	博學多藝	1	243	博採異謀	1
150	博覽經書	2	197	博學多覽	1	244	博採眾議	1
151	博覽經籍	2	198	博學大才	1	245	博採羣議	1
152	博覽群籍	2	199	博學好談	1	246	博採遺逸	1
153	博覽衆書	2	200	博學工書	1	247	博極羣典	1
154	博覽諸書	2	201	博學彊記	1	248	博求儒術	1
155	博觀衆籍	2	202	博學彊識	1	249	博求異聞	1
156	博記國事	2	203	博學彊辯	1	250	博求異能	1
157	博識之士	2	204	博學才器	1	251	博洽善辭翰	1
158	博識有才辯	2	205	博學才情	1	252	博洽後兼	1
159	博識洽聞	2	206	博學才量	1	253	博洽猶涉	1
160	博通墳籍	2	207	博學文成	1	254	博洽羣書	1
161	博通書記	2	208	博學文雅	1	255	博洽群書	1
162	博通洽識	2	209	博學明習	1	256	博洽聞者	1
163	博通淵雅	2	210	博學有俊材	1	257	博涉史漢	1
164	博通經論	2	211	博學有偉才	1	258	博涉善屬文	1
165	博達經史	2	212	博學有奇志	1	259	博涉墳典	1
166	涉獵典章	2	213	博學有從橫	1	260	博涉多該	1
167	涉獵史漢	2	214	博學有才天	1	261	博涉強記	1
168	涉獵墳史	2	215	博學有才義	1	262	博涉文理	1
169	涉獵有才思	2	216	博學有才能	1	263	博涉書傳	1
170	涉獵羣籍	2	217	博學有才藝	1	264	博涉有口辯	1
171	頗涉子史	2	218	博學有才章	1	265	博涉有孝行	1
172	頗涉文流	2	219	博學有文思	1	266	博涉有才氣	1
173	頗涉文藝	2	220	博學有文辭	1	267	博涉有文采	1
174	頗涉書籍	2	221	博學有文辯	1	268	博涉有識鑒	1
175	頗涉經籍	2	222	博學有縱橫	1	269	博涉稽古	1
176	頗涉羣書	2	223	博學有詞采	1	270	博涉該通	1
177	頗涉辭翰	2	224	博學有識避	1	271	博物多能	1
178	博古善天文	1	225	博學有貞固	1	272	博物強記	1
179	博古善老莊	1	226	博學有重名	1	273	博物彊記	1
180	博古多該	1	227	博學有高行	1	274	博物彊識	1
181	博古歷官	1	228	博學淵識	1	275	博物志魏	1
182	博古洽聞	1	229	博學精練	1	276	博物志鸜	1
183	博古知今	1	230	博學經典	1	277	博物有可觀	1
184	博古綜極	1	231	博學經史	1	278	博物通達	1
185	博古通今	1	232	博學經籍	1	279	博物道術	1

Rank	Phrase	Total	Rank	Phrase	Total	Rank	Phrase	Total
280	博究儒術	1	326	博觀墳籍	1	374	頗涉群書	1
281	博綜伎藝	1	327	博觀書傳	1	372	頗涉經傳	1
282	博綜典籍	1	328	博觀每經	1	373	頗涉經學	1
283	博綜墳典	1	329	博觀異家	1			
284	博綜墳籍	1	330	博觀終始	1			
285	博綜子史	1	331	博觀經史	1			
286	博綜萬機	1	332	博觀羣籍	1			
287	博綜經傳	1	333	博觀群書	1			
288	博綜經典	1	334	博觀載籍	1			
289	博綜經籍	1	335	博記翰采	1			
290	博綜藝術	1	336	博識以待	1			
291	博綜衆書	1	337	博識大才	1			
292	博綜衆藝	1	338	博識好學	1			
293	博考羣籍	1	339	博識有才思	1			
294	博考群籍	1	340	博識牆記	1			
295	博聞口辯	1	341	博識英才	1			
296	博聞善談雅	1	342	博辯有文才	1			
297	博聞在周	1	343	博辯猶不	1			
298	博聞多覽	1	344	博通六籍	1			
299	博聞宜備	1	345	博通史子	1			
300	博聞尤善	1	346	博通善屬文	1			
301	博聞廣微	1	347	博通有才華	1			
302	博聞廣涉	1	348	博通經典	1			
303	博聞彊志	1	349	博通經書	1			
304	博聞有異書	1	350	博通經記	1			
305	博聞深洽	1	351	博通羣藝	1			
306	博聞筆削	1	352	博通群籍	1			
307	博聞遠見	1	353	博通舊聞	1			
308	博見古今	1	354	博通衆流	1			
309	博見彊志	1	355	博通記傳	1			
310	博見群籍	1	356	博通諸經	1			
311	博覽五經	1	357	博達善屬文	1			
312	博覽傳記	1	358	博達道藝	1			
313	博覽典籍	1	359	博采先儒	1			
314	博覽兼聽	1	360	博采羣議	1			
315	博覽史籍	1	361	博采芻蕘	1			
316	博覽名文	1	362	博采遺逸	1			
317	博覽多通	1	363	涉獵古學	1			
318	博覽政事	1	364	涉獵文學	1			
319	博覽文籍	1	365	涉獵書籍	1			
320	博覽書史	1	366	涉獵經籍	1			
321	博覽經學	1	367	涉獵羣言	1			
322	博覽衆議	1	368	涉獵群言	1			
323	博覽解屬	1	369	涉獵記傳	1			
324	博覽記籍	1	370	涉獵談議	1			
325	博覽載籍	1	371	頗涉獵古	1			

C.2: Occurrences of phrases in Sanguo zhi, Shishuo xinyu, and early medieval liezhuan

C.2a*: Sanguo zhi* (SGZ), *Shishuo xinyu* (SSXY) and annotations (a)

Phrase	SGZ	Phrase	SGZa	Phrase	SSXY	Match	SSXYa
博覽多聞	2	博學洽聞	6	博學工書	1	博學善屬文	3
博覽墳籍	1	博聞多識	2			博覽洽聞	2
博聞強記	1	博覽群書	2			博涉經史	1
博通五經	1	博學強記	2			博學多通	1
博聞強識	1	博學多通	1			博識多聞	1
博覽書傳	1	博涉書記	1			博學多聞	1
博學多聞	1	博識多聞	1			博學多識	1
博學多識	1	博聞強識	1			博聞彊記	1
博物多識	1	博覽書傳	1			博學有文義	1
博學有高才	1	博學多識	1			博涉經籍	1
博涉多聞	1	博學好古	1			博極群書	1
博物識古	1	博覽多識	1			博覽墳典	1
博覽眾書	1	博學有才藻	1			博學強識	1
博古綜極	1	博學稽古	1			博學有才氣	1
博學精練	1	博洽多聞	1			博學知名	1
博採眾議	1	博覽眾書	1			博通淵雅	1
博涉史漢	1	博通書記	1			博古知今	1
博見群籍	1	博通淵雅	1			博學才器	1
博覽經學	1	博學才量	1			博學才情	1
博記翰采	1	博學有奇志	1			博學有識避	1
博識以待	1	博學有才天	1			博學通覽	1
涉獵文學	1	博學有才章	1			博學高論	1
涉獵書籍	1	博學有文思	1			博覽名文	1
		博學有高行	1			博觀每經	1
		博學淵識	1			博識好學	1
		博學群書	1				
		博學詩律	1				
		博物志魏	1				
		博聞尤善	1				
		博覽傳記	1				
		博覽典籍	1				
		博覽載籍	1				
		博觀書傳	1				
		博觀群書	1				
		博辯猶不	1				

C.2b: *Shi ji* (SJ), *Han shu* (HS), *Hou Han shu* (HHS)

Phrase	SJ	Phrase	HS	Phrase	HHS	Phrase	HHS, cont.
博聞彊記	1	博物洽聞	2	博通書傳	4	博學善政見	1
博聞辯智	1	博學經書	2	博學多通	3	博學多覽	1
博聞彊志	1	涉獵書記	1	博物洽聞	2	博學有偉才	1
博聞遠見	1	博極羣書	1	博通五經	2	博學經典	1
		博聞有道術	1	博覽書傳	2	博學經籍	1
		博聞辯智	1	博物多識	2	博採古今	1
		博學文雅	1	博通羣書	2	博採異謀	1
		博學有俊材	1	涉獵書傳	1	博求儒術	1
		博物有可觀	1	博涉書記	1	博涉多該	1
		博物通達	1	博學洽聞	1	博物道術	1
		博見彊志	1	博通經傳	1	博聞宜備	1
		博覽兼聽	1	博學高才	1	博覽五經	1
		博觀終始	1	博通經籍	1	博覽政事	1
		博通善屬文	1	博通古今	1	博覽衆議	1
		博通舊聞	1	博學有才辯	1	博觀異家	1
		博達善屬文	1	博學經書	1	博觀羣籍	1
				博覽多聞	1	博通經典	1
				博洽多聞	1	博通經書	1
				博涉經書	1	博通經記	1
				博物多聞	1	博通羣藝	1
				博物識古	1	博通衆流	1
				博通墳籍	1	博達道藝	1
				博通書記	1	涉獵古學	1
				博古善天文	1	頗涉獵古	1
				博學善交與	1	頗涉經學	1

C.2c: Southern Dynasties: *Jin shu* (JS), *Song shu* (SS), *Nan Qi shu* (NQS)

Phrase	JS	Phrase	JS, cont.	Phrase	SS	Phrase	NQS
博學善屬文	6	博物多聞	1	博涉經史	2	涉獵書傳	1
博學多通	5	博覽衆書	1	涉獵書傳	2	博聞多識	1
博涉經史	3	博古歷官	1	涉獵文史	2	博通五經	1
博學洽聞	3	博古洽聞	1	涉獵文義	2	涉獵文義	1
博通經史	2	博古通今	1	博學多通	1	頗涉文義	1
博涉羣書	2	博學善五行	1	涉獵書史	1	博涉有文才	1
博涉書記	2	博學善言名	1	博涉群書	1	頗涉辭翰	1
博物洽聞	2	博學多能	1	博聞多識	1	博通史子	1
博覽書記	2	博學好談	1	博覽墳籍	1	涉獵談議	1
博覽經史	2	博學明習	1	博涉多通	1		
博學多聞	2	博學有才義	1	博覽群書	1		
博學多才	2	博學有才能	1	博涉史傳	1		
博學有文章	2	博學有貞固	1	博聞強識	1		
博覽羣籍	2	博學有重名	1	頗涉史傳	1		
博通古今	2	博學通綜	1	頗涉文義	1		
博學好古	2	博採異同	1	頗涉書傳	1		
博覽經籍	2	博求異聞	1	涉獵史籍	1		
博聞多識	1	博洽聞者	1	博涉多聞	1		
博學有文才	1	博涉墳典	1	博覽篇籍	1		
博通經傳	1	博涉強記	1	博學有文詞	1		
博涉文史	1	博究儒術	1	博學有文采	1		
博聞強記	1	博綜伎藝	1	博覽經傳	1		
博涉史傳	1	博綜典籍	1	涉獵史漢	1		
博聞強識	1	博綜萬機	1	博學有縱橫	1		
博覽羣言	1	博綜經籍	1	博物志鸝	1		
博通經籍	1	博綜藝術	1	博聞多覽	1		
博學多識	1	博綜衆書	1	博覽多通	1		
博學強記	1	博綜衆藝	1				
博學有高才	1	博聞廣微	1				
博涉多聞	1	博聞廣涉	1				
博涉經傳	1	博聞深洽	1				
博覽墳典	1	博聞筆削	1				
博學善文辭	1	博覽記籍	1				
博學有才氣	1	博觀墳籍	1				
博學知名	1	博辯有文才	1				
博學稽古	1	博通六籍	1				
博涉經書	1						

C.2d: Southern Dynasties, cont.: *Liang shu* (LS)*, Chenshu* (CS)

Phrase	LS	Phrase	LS, cont.	Match	CS
博涉多通	4	博覽羣籍	1	博涉經史	3
博涉羣書	3	博學有才幹	1	涉獵經史	2
博涉經史	2	博覽多識	1	涉獵書傳	2
博通經史	2	博通羣籍	1	博通經史	2
涉獵文史	2	博學少有	1	涉獵文史	2
博涉書記	2	博學有志行	1	頗涉文史	2
博學有文才	2	博學有思理	1	涉獵書史	2
博極羣書	2	博極古今	1	博涉書史	2
博通經術	2	博洽名亞	1	博涉文史	2
頗涉文學	2	博涉有機辯	1	博通羣書	2
博學多通	1	博涉能占	1	博涉羣書	1
涉獵書史	1	博物弘恕	1	博學善屬文	1
博學善屬文	1	博物強識	1	博覽羣書	1
博物洽聞	1	博綜羣書	1	博覽墳籍	1
博通經傳	1	博通經論	1	博涉多通	1
博涉文史	1	博學彊記	1	頗涉書史	1
博聞強記	1	博求異能	1	博涉史傳	1
博涉史傳	1	博洽羣書	1	頗涉史傳	1
博通五經	1	博涉文理	1	頗涉書傳	1
涉獵書記	1	博涉有才氣	1	博學有才辯	1
博學多識	1	博涉有文采	1	博學有文詞	1
博學有才思	1	博物彊記	1	博涉經傳	1
博通羣書	1	博識牆記	1	博聞彊識	1
涉獵史籍	1	博通記傳	1	博學善占誦	1
				博極經史	1
				博涉史籍	1
				博物知玄	1
				涉獵有才思	1
				博極羣典	1
				博物彊識	1
				博綜墳典	1
				博綜子史	1
				博覽史籍	1
				博識英才	1

C.2e: Northern Dynasties: *Wei shu* (WS), *Bei Qi shu* (BQS)

Phrase	WS	Phrase	WS, cont.	Phrase	BQS
涉獵經史	12	博學俊才	1	頗涉文史	3
博涉經史	6	博學好文	1	涉獵經史	2
涉獵書傳	6	博學有藻思	1	頗涉經史	2
頗涉經史	5	博學有高名	1	博涉羣書	2
頗涉文史	5	博涉百家	1	博覽羣書	2
博綜經史	5	博知古今	1	涉獵書傳	1
頗涉書史	5	博究覽天	1	涉獵文史	1
博通經史	4	博綜古今	1	涉獵書史	1
涉獵書史	3	博聞多見	1	博綜經史	1
博聞多識	3	博聞有識度	1	博覽墳籍	1
博覽羣書	2	博聞有道術	1	博通經傳	1
博學有文才	2	博見多知	1	博識多聞	1
博通經傳	2	博見洽通	1	博涉史傳	1
博識多聞	2	博覽百家	1	頗涉文義	1
博覽書傳	2	博覽經書	1	博聞彊記	1
涉獵羣書	2	博覽諸書	1	頗涉文學	1
博極羣書	2	博觀衆籍	1	博物奇才	1
頗涉書傳	2	博記國事	1	博物宏才	1
博聞彊記	2	博識之士	1	博綜經方	1
博洽經史	2	博識洽聞	1	博識有才辯	1
博綜羣言	2	博通墳籍	1		
博聞彊識	2	博通洽識	1		
博涉羣書	1	涉獵典章	1		
涉獵文史	1	涉獵墳史	1		
博涉書史	1	涉獵羣籍	1		
博覽經史	1	頗涉子史	1		
博學多聞	1	頗涉文流	1		
博學高才	1	頗涉經籍	1		
博覽羣言	1	頗涉羣書	1		
博通經籍	1	博古開藝	1		
頗涉史傳	1	博學善文札	1		
頗涉書記	1	博學多藝	1		
博學有才思	1	博學彊辯	1		
博物多識	1	博學有文辯	1		
涉獵史籍	1	博採羣議	1		
博學多才	1	博綜經傳	1		
博求賢俊	1	博識大才	1		
博覽篇籍	1	博識有才思	1		
博學有才幹	1	博通諸經	1		
博通羣籍	1	頗涉經傳	1		
博古文學	1				

C.2f: Northern Dynasties, cont: *Zhou shu* (ZS), *Sui shu* (SS)

Phrase	ZS	Phrase	SS	Phrase	SS, cont.
涉獵經史	13	頗涉經史	7	博覽古圖	1
博涉群書	7	博涉經史	5	博覽書籍	1
博覽群書	5	博學多通	4	博覽群籍	1
博涉經史	4	博覽群言	4	頗涉文藝	1
頗涉經史	3	博涉書記	3	頗涉書籍	1
涉獵群書	3	博覽書記	3	博物多能	1
博通經史	2	博物洽聞	2	博考群籍	1
涉獵書傳	1	博涉書史	2	博聞在周	1
博綜經史	1	博聞強記	2	博覽文籍	1
博學洽聞	1	涉獵書記	2	涉獵群言	1
博覽墳籍	1	頗涉書記	2	頗涉群書	1
頗涉書史	1	涉獵書史	1		
博涉文史	1	博學善屬文	1		
博通五經	1	博學洽聞	1		
博覽經史	1	博覽墳籍	1		
博學高才	1	博涉多通	1		
博通經籍	1	博覽群書	1		
博通經術	1	博學有文義	1		
博學有文義	1	博學有文章	1		
博求賢俊	1	博學有高才	1		
博涉經籍	1	博通古今	1		
博學有詞彩	1	涉獵群書	1		
博涉子史	1	博學有俊才	1		
博物多通	1	博學名亞	1		
博聞雅重	1	博學有口辯	1		
博覽史傳	1	博學有才罕	1		
博達經史	1	博學有高節	1		
博學善隸書	1	博學通儒	1		
博學彊識	1	博極今古	1		
博學有詞采	1	博涉多才	1		
博採異聞	1	博涉子史	1		
博採遺逸	1	博物雅好	1		
博綜墳籍	1	博綜群書	1		
博觀經史	1	博覽典誥	1		

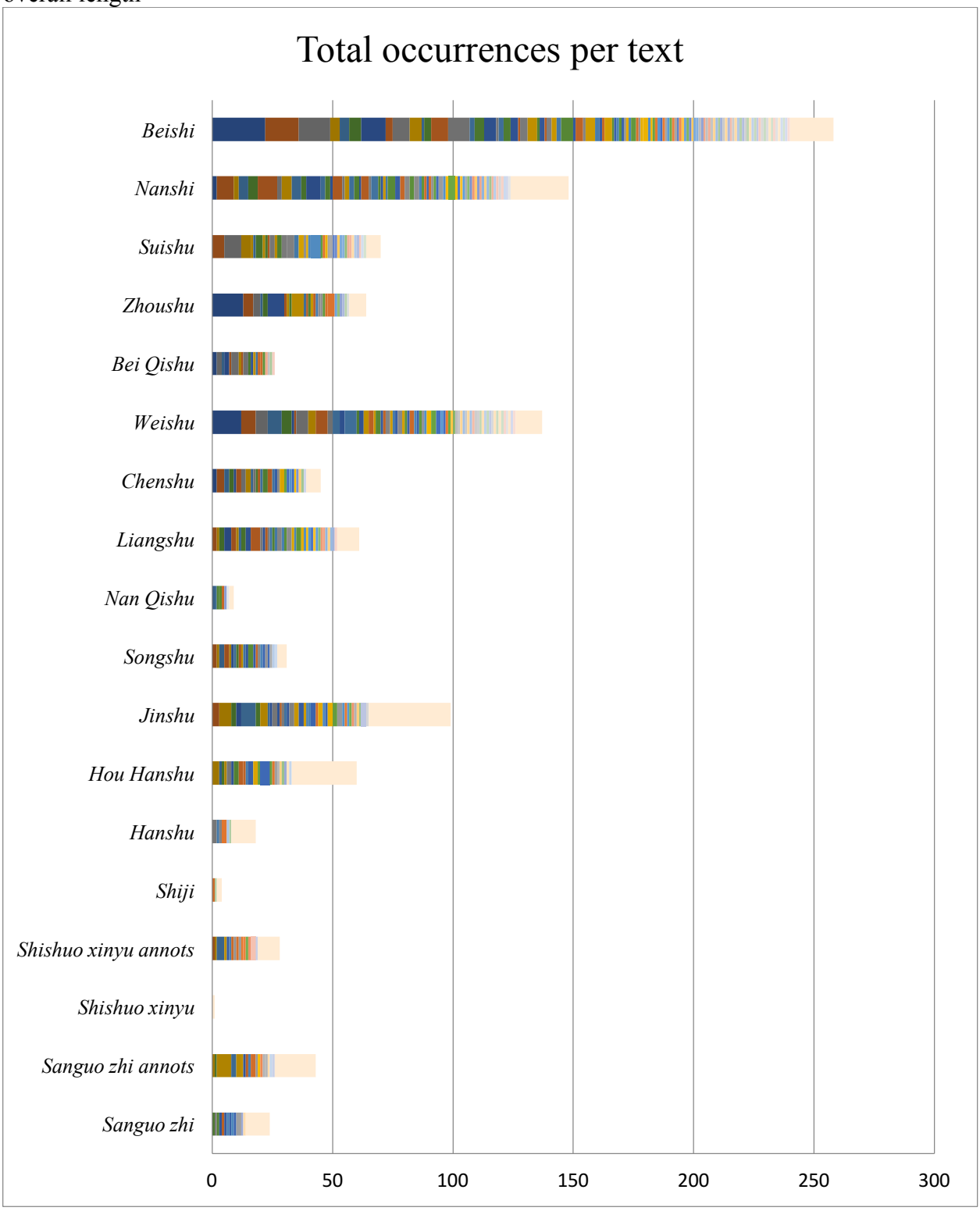
C.2g: *Nan shi* (NS)

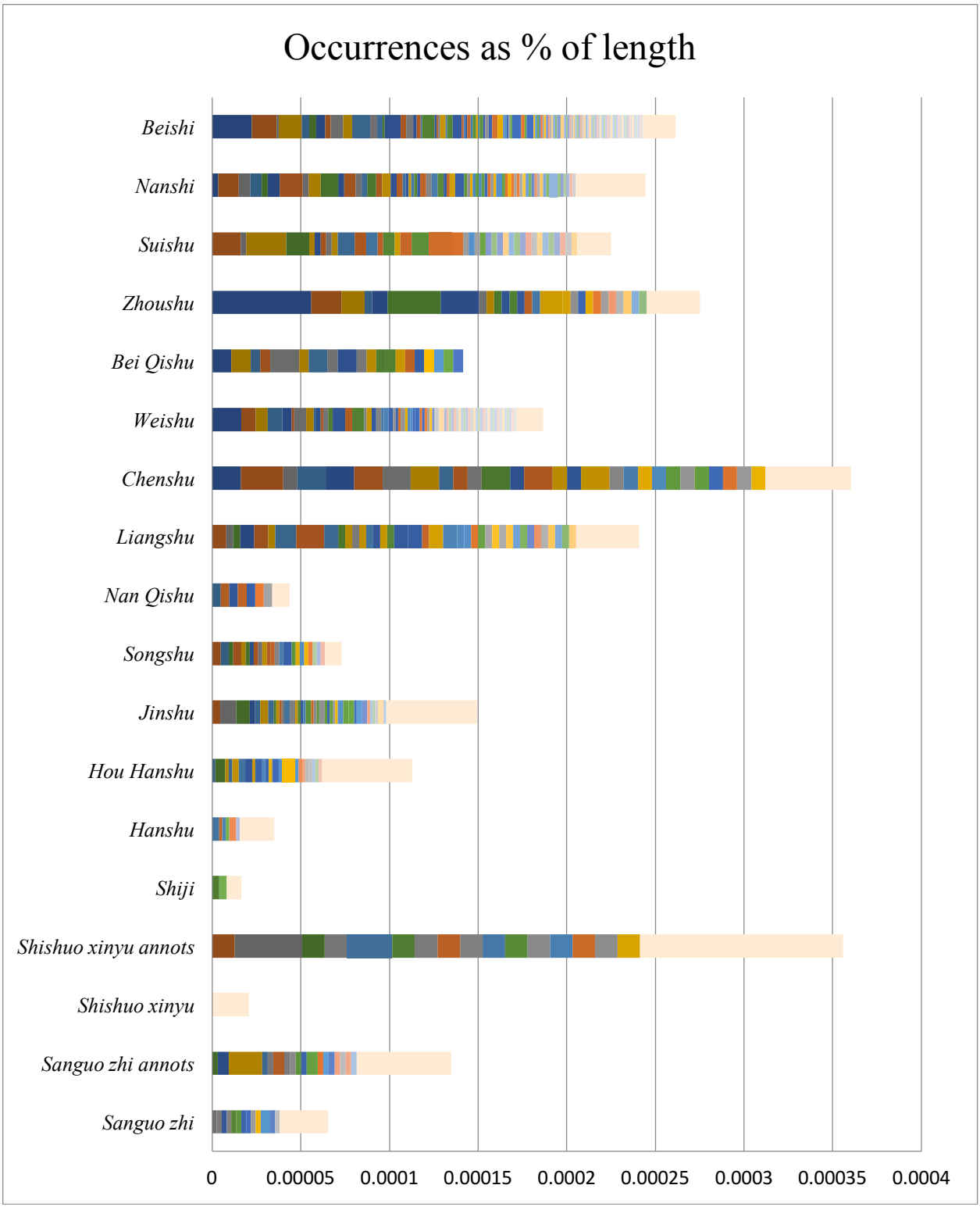
Phrase	NS	Phrase	NS, cont.	Phrase	NS, cont.	Phrase	NS, cont.
涉獵文史	8	頗涉書傳	2	博學少有	1	博古多該	1
博涉經史	7	博學有才思	2	博學有志行	1	博學多材	1
博涉群書	6	博通經術	2	博學有思理	1	博學大才	1
涉獵書傳	4	博極群書	2	博學有文采	1	博學有從橫	1
博通經史	4	博學有文才	1	博極古今	1	博學有文辭	1
涉獵書史	4	博物洽聞	1	博極經史	1	博學見知	1
博學善屬文	4	博通經傳	1	博洽名亞	1	博學通敏	1
博涉多通	4	博聞強記	1	博涉史籍	1	博洽善辭翰	1
博涉文史	3	博通五經	1	博涉有文才	1	博洽群書	1
博涉史傳	3	博聞強識	1	博涉有機辯	1	博涉善屬文	1
涉獵文義	3	博覽經史	1	博涉能占	1	博涉書傳	1
博通群書	3	涉獵書記	1	博物弘恕	1	博涉有口辯	1
涉獵經史	2	涉獵史籍	1	博物強識	1	博涉有識鑒	1
博學多通	2	頗涉文學	1	博物知玄	1	博涉該通	1
頗涉文史	2	博學強記	1	博綜群書	1	博物強記	1
博涉書記	2	博涉多聞	1	博覽經傳	1	博綜經典	1
博聞多識	2	博涉經籍	1	博覽群籍	1	博聞善談雅	1
博覽墳籍	2	博覽篇籍	1	博覽衆書	1	博聞有異書	1
博覽群書	2	博學有才辯	1	博通經論	1	博見古今	1
頗涉書史	2	博學有文詞	1	涉獵史漢	1	博通群籍	1
博涉書史	2	博涉經傳	1	涉獵有才思	1	博采先儒	1
頗涉史傳	2	博覽多識	1	頗涉辭翰	1	涉獵經籍	1
頗涉文義	2	博學善占誦	1	博古善老莊	1	涉獵記傳	1

C.2i: *Bei shi* (BS)

Phrase	BS	Phrase	BS, cont.	Phrase	BS, cont.	Phrase	BS, cont.
涉獵經史	22	博物洽聞	1	博學有藻思	1	博識洽聞	1
博涉經史	14	博涉文史	1	博學有詞彩	1	博通洽識	1
頗涉經史	13	博通五經	1	博學有高名	1	博達經史	1
博涉羣書	10	博覽書傳	1	博學有高節	1	涉獵典章	1
博覽羣書	9	博學多聞	1	博學通儒	1	涉獵墳史	1
頗涉文史	7	博極羣書	1	博極今古	1	涉獵羣籍	1
博綜經史	7	頗涉史傳	1	博涉多才	1	頗涉子史	1
博通經史	5	頗涉文義	1	博涉百家	1	頗涉文流	1
涉獵書史	5	博學有才思	1	博物多通	1	頗涉文藝	1
博學有文才	5	博物多識	1	博物奇才	1	頗涉書籍	1
涉獵羣書	5	涉獵史籍	1	博物宏才	1	頗涉經籍	1
博學多通	4	頗涉文學	1	博物雅好	1	頗涉羣書	1
涉獵書傳	4	博學多才	1	博知古今	1	博學善隸書	1
博覽墳籍	4	博學有文義	1	博究覽天	1	博學文成	1
博識多聞	4	博學有文章	1	博綜古今	1	博學有才藝	1
博覽羣言	4	博學有高才	1	博綜經方	1	博學經史	1
涉獵文史	3	博涉經籍	1	博綜羣書	1	博洽後兼	1
博涉書記	3	博覽篇籍	1	博聞多見	1	博洽猶涉	1
博涉書史	3	博覽羣籍	1	博聞有識度	1	博涉有孝行	1
博通經傳	3	博學有才幹	1	博聞雅重	1	博涉稽古	1
博聞強記	3	博洽經史	1	博見多知	1	博考羣籍	1
博學高才	3	博綜羣言	1	博見洽通	1	博聞口辯	1
頗涉書記	3	博覽墳典	1	博覽典誥	1	博覽書史	1
博聞多識	2	博通羣籍	1	博覽古圖	1	博覽解屬	1
頗涉書史	2	博古文學	1	博覽史傳	1	博觀載籍	1
博聞強識	2	博學俊才	1	博覽書籍	1	博通有才華	1
博覽書記	2	博學名亞	1	博覽百家	1	博采羣議	1
博覽經史	2	博學善文辭	1	博覽經書	1	博采芻蕘	1
涉獵書記	2	博學好文	1	博覽諸書	1	博采遺逸	1
博通經籍	2	博學強識	1	博觀衆籍	1	涉獵羣言	1
博求賢俊	2	博學有口辯	1	博記國事	1		
博學有俊才	2	博學有才罕	1	博識之士	1		
博學善屬文	1	博學有才藻	1	博識有才辯	1		

C.3: Total occurrences of selected erudition phrases per text, and occurrences as a percentage of overall length




Occurrences as % of length
Beishi
Nanshi
Suishu
Zhoushu
Bei Qishu
Weishu
Chenshu
Liangshu
Nan Qishu
Songshu
Jinshu
Hou Hanshu
Hanshu
Shiji
Shishuo xinyu annots
Shishuo xinyu
Sanguo zhi annots
Sanguo zhi
0
0.00005
0.0001
0.00015
0.0002
0.00025
0.0003
0.00035
0.0004

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