

The *Wenyuan yinghua*:
Selecting Refined Literature

Kevin W. Tahmoresi

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Reading Committee:

David R. Knechtges, Chair

Zev Handel

Ping Wang

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Kevin W. Tahmoresi

University of Washington

Abstract

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Kevin W. Tahmoresi

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Professor David R. Knechtges

Department of Asian Languages and Literature

The *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 is the largest extant medieval Chinese literary anthology. Considered one of the four great works of the Song, it was compiled during the early Northern Song dynasty at the same time as the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 and *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 by Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) and the same group of scholars who worked on the preceding works. At 1000 *juan*, the work represents a major collection of Tang dynasty poetry and prose. The work went through four major revisions over the course of 200 years before finally being printed in 1204 by the Southern Song scholar Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204). Divided into 38 genres, the work contains 19,102 pieces written by over 2,200 authors. Despite this massive amount of material, the work has largely been overlooked by scholars in both the East and West since the time of its printing. This dissertation will explore the history of the *Wenyuan yinghua* from its compilation until the modern era. This exploration will include its compilation history and printing history as well as its association with other medieval Chinese literary anthologies. Special attention will be paid to the value the *Wenyuan yinghua* holds for scholars and the

important role it plays in Tang studies. Consideration will also be given the *Wenyuan yinghua* *bianzheng* 文苑英華辯證.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introductory statements

The modern word anthology has its roots in the Greek *anthologion* meaning “a gathering of flowers.” This image of an anthology as a collection of flowers is seen early in the works of Plato (*Ion* 534A-B), where the poet is compared to a bee collecting honey from meadows occupied by the Muses. In the West, the concept of the anthology has maintained its currency through Greek and Roman times, through the Renaissance and well into the modern day.¹ Throughout the literary world, the anthology has played an important role in various cultures. At times this role has been a definitive one, setting the rules and styles that should be emulated by writers in a given genre. At other times the role is a didactic one, with the anthology serving to inform, instruct, and guide readers. In some cases, an anthology is created to preserve the outstanding works of a writer, a group of writers, or a time period. Beyond these roles, there is a myriad of others that cannot possibly be covered here. Suffice it to say that the idea of anthology, or collection, in the literary

¹ See Roland Greene et al, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 52-55.

tradition of any culture takes many roles and forms, allowing the compiler to accomplish their purpose much as the modern florist is able to arrange flowers of various types into a variety of arrangements to fit any occasion. To borrow another analogy from David Antin, “Anthologies are to poets as the zoo is to animals”.² Pauline Yu has elaborated on this characterization writing:

No matter which analogy one prefers, it should be clear that the acts of selection and collection are guided by traditions and priorities that are neither self-evident nor simply to be taken for granted. And just as fashions and philosophies of zoo design have experienced significant changes over time, so do anthologies reveal the shifting currents of critical value, extra-literary circumstances, and the relationships between them.

As Yu correctly asserts, the reasons, decisions, and circumstances governing anthology creation change with the times. Decisions that are made in the compilation of an anthology can persist well beyond the compilers’ own time, influencing how history is written and how literary traditions are viewed and develop.

In the Chinese literary tradition, the anthology has served a variety of purposes, including the production of anthologies that seek to educate the reader, those that attempt to collect fine examples of writing, and those that collect the works of a specific individual. It can indeed be said that the anthology occupied an important place at the earliest stages of the Chinese literary tradition. Though considered as part of the Ruist canon today, works such as the *Classic of Songs* (*Shi jing* 詩經) and the *Analects* (*Lun yu* 論語) in their earliest forms were anthologies, that is collections of pieces taken from a larger available corpus. This claim is confirmed by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-86) in his *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shi ji* 史記),

² As quoted in Pauline Yu, “Poems in Their Place: Collections and Canons in Early Chinese Literature,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Volume 50 (1990), 163.

“In antiquity there were more than three thousand poems, until Confucius eliminated those which duplicated others and took those that could be applied to rites and propriety. He selected beginning with [those telling of the sage king Shun’s ministers] Xie and Hou Ji, then those recounting glories of Yin and Zhou, down to the faults of kings You and Li.”³

古者詩三千餘篇，及至孔子，去其重，取可施於禮義，上采契后稷，中述殷周之盛，至幽厲之缺。⁴

This conscious act of collecting and paring down a large collection into something more refined and more concentrated would set a precedent for all Chinese anthologies to follow. These earliest anthologies would eventually become part of the canon and, given their universal acceptance, their contents would become historically important and even influence the anthologies that would follow. Those anthologies took many different forms and were produced under different auspices. Many were produced under state sponsorship and were compiled to exalt the glory of the court while carrying forth a message and purpose set forth by the ruler and his ministers. This is the case for medieval anthologies such as the Liang dynasty *Wen xuan* 文選 (*Selections of refined literature*) as well as the early Tang anthologies *Hanlin xueshi ji* 翰林學士集 (*Collection of the Hanlin academicians*), *Zhuying xueshi ji* 珠英學士集 (*Collection of the pearl blossom academicians*), and *Zhengsheng ji* 正聲集 (*Collection of correct song*).⁵ Others were created by individual compilers using their own time

³ Translation taken from Yu, 172.

⁴ See *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 47.1936

⁵ All of these anthologies, produced during the early years of the Tang, focused their collections on court style poetry (*gongti shi* 宮體詩). Of these three anthologies, the earliest is likely the *Hanlin xueshi ji*. Containing a total of 51 poems, nine from Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (598-649) and the rest from other major court officials, with the majority of pieces written by officials following the rhymes and topics set for by those of the emperor. The work was thought lost until it was rediscovered in a Japanese monastery during the Qing. The *Zhuying ji* compiled Cui Rong 崔融 (653-706) contains the works from officials present at

and resources to finish their compilation and complete their purpose. Prime examples of this type of anthology are Yin Fan's 殷璠 (fl. 727-755) *Heyue yingling ji* 河岳英靈集 (*Collection of the finest souls of our rivers and alps*) and Yuan Jie's 元結 (719-772) *Qiezhong ji* 篋中集 (*Collection from the book-bin*).⁶ In the Tang, the importance and significance the anthology played would continue to grow as composition became part of the imperial examination system for the first time in history. This change, implemented as part of a push to open official careers to a larger swath of the population and reduce the power of the older wealthy families, would have a profound impact on the status of the anthology. Anthologies like the *Wen xuan* would become key tools for those seeking to prepare for these exams. The pattern of genre selection and organization set forth by the *Wen xuan* would also become a standard by which later compilers would build their anthologies.

In this wide landscape of Chinese anthologies, the *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (*Finest flowers of the preserve of letters*) (hereafter WYYH) is distinct for several reasons. Compiled in

the court of Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705) with the poems ordered by the official's rank. The work was lost by the time of the Song, but a fragmentary version was found among the materials at Dunhuang. The *Zhengsheng ji*, while well-regarded in the Tang, has been lost to history. For more information on these anthologies see Pauline Yu, "Chinese Poetry and Its Institutions," *Hsiang Lectures on Chinese Poetry Volume 2* (2002): 55-56.

⁶ The *Heyue yingling ji* is a fragmentary work found among the texts discovered at Dunhuang. The work follows in the footsteps of the *Wen xuan* collecting only those pieces deemed as worthy or meritorious by the compiler. Only roughly three juan of materials survive, but of the surviving poems Li Bo 李白 (701-761) and Wang Changling 王昌齡 (698-756) are the most heavily represented poets. For more information on these pieces see Wang Yunxi 王運熙, "Shi *Heyue yingling ji xu lun sheng* Tang shige" 釋河岳英靈集序論盛唐詩歌 in *Tang shi yanjiu lunwen ji* 唐詩研究論文集 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1959), 1, 26-36; Paul W. Kroll, "The *Heyue yingling ji* and the Attributes of High Tang Verse", in Wilt Idema, ed., *Reading Medieval Chinese Poetry: Text, Context, Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 169-201. On the *Zhuying xueshi ji* see Jia Jinhua, "The 'Pearl Scholars' and the Final Establishment of Regulated Verse," *T'ang Studies* 14 (1996): 1-20. The *Qiezhong ji* was compiled by Yuan Jie shortly after the An Lunshan 安祿山 (703-757) rebellion. Due to this rebellion and the ensuing chaos that followed, Yuan's own political aspirations had been cut short. The *Qiezhong ji* reflects Yuan's frustration with his situation as he collects the works of other unrecognized individuals whose lives were interrupted by the rebellion. On the *Qiezhong ji* see Sun Wang 孫望, "*Qiezhong ji zuozhe shiji*" 篋中集作者事輯 (1937; rpt. in *Wosou zagao* 蝸叟雜稿 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 159-95; Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 231, 238-43.

the early years of the Northern Song dynasty 北宋朝, this general anthology stands out among its peers due to its prodigious length, staggering compilation history, and the important role it plays in the preservation, study, and reception of Tang dynasty 唐朝 literature.

The Current State of Scholarship

Despite its importance and historical influence, it is only in recent times that the WYYH has received any scholarly attention and even then, the majority of that attention has been from Chinese and Japanese scholars. The most prominent among these scholars is Ling Chaodong 凌朝棟. Ling's book, *Wenyuan yinghua yanjiu* 文苑英華研究, is the first in any language to look at the WYYH, its compilation, history, and influence at length.⁷ Published in 2005, Ling's work has spurred new interest in the WYYH among Chinese scholars, providing them with examples and suggestions on how the work can be an effective tool in their work in the Tang.⁸

In Japan there have been a few scholars who have used the WYYH in their work. The first is Hanabusa Hideki 花房英樹, a *Wen xuan* specialist who wrote on the compilation of the WYYH.⁹

⁷ Ling began his career as an educator in 1995. Later in his career, Ling obtained a master's degree and later a Ph.D. from Nanjing University 南京大學. He later became a professor in the Chinese department at Weinan Normal University 渭南師範大學. Ling eventually served as chair of the Chinese department and published several works on history education and the *Shi ji*. See Ling Chaodong 凌朝東, *Wenyuan yinghua yanjiu* 文苑英華研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005).

⁸ These scholars include He Shuiying 何水英, “*Wenyuan yinghua shi yanjiu*” 文苑英華詩研究, Ph.D. diss., Guangxi Normal University, 2010; Chen Ruijuan 陈瑞娟, “*Wenyuan yinghua bianji yuefushi de tedian yiji jiazhi*”, 文苑英華編輯樂府詩的特点以及价值, *Kexue jingji shehui* 33.2 (2015): 170-173; Huang Yanni 黃燕妮, “*Song dai Wenyuan yinghua jiaokan zhi yanjiu*” 宋代文苑英華校勘之研究, Ph.D. diss., Wuhan daxue, 2013; Chen Xi 陳曦, “*Wenyuan yinghua biao Zhuang lei Gongwen qianci yanjiu*” 文苑英華表裝類公文謙詞研究, M.A. thesis, Lanzhou daxue, 2019; and Gong Bendong 巩本棟, “*Wenyuan yinghua de wenti lei ji yiyi*” 文苑英華的文体分类及意义 in *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 55.6 (2015): 1-10.

⁹ See Hanabusa Hideki 花房英樹, “*Bun'en eika no hensan*” 文苑英華の編纂, *Tōhōgakuhō* 19 (1950): 116-135.

The next is Tosaki Tetsuko 戸崎哲彦 who has written three studies on Liu Zongyuan's (773-819) works as they appear in the WYYH.¹⁰

In the West, little attention has been paid to the WYYH. One study concerns its connection with the other great works of the Song. Johannes Kurz covers some aspects of this in his “The Compilation and Publication of the *Taiping yulan* and *Cefuyuan gui*.”¹¹ Paul Kroll published a short article on the WYYH for the *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*.¹² Another short article on the WYYH, written in French, can be found in *A Sung Bibliography*.¹³ William Nienhauser has studied the structure of the biography (*zhuan* 傳) section of the WYYH in his “A Structural Reading of the *Chuan* in the *Wen-yuan ying-hua*.”¹⁴ The only Western scholar to attempt an examination of the WYYH, its history and importance, is Stephen Owen, professor emeritus at Harvard University. In his “The Manuscript Legacy of the Tang: The Case of Literature,” Owen draws connections between the compiling of the WYYH and the preservation of Tang literature to the modern age. However, Owen's work provides only a shallow treatment of the history of the WYYH itself. Owen's analysis on the preservation of Tang literature itself is also deeply flawed, with the author claiming that the WYYH represents roughly one third of all

¹⁰ See Tosaki Tetsuhiko 戸崎哲彦, “*Bun'en eika no chūki no kaisōsei-shoshū no Ryū Sōgen no sakuhiin o chūshin ni shite*” 『文苑英華』の註記の階層性-所収の柳宗元の作品を中心にして, *Hikone ronsō* 291 (1994): 51–75; “*Bun-en eika no chūki no kaisōsei-shoshū no Ryū Sōgen no sakuhiin o rei ni tsuite*” 文苑英華の註記の階層性-所収の柳宗元の作品を例について, *Hikone ronsō* 291 (1994): 17–42, “*Nan Sō Bun'en eika izen no 'Ryūshū' no shurui, tokuchō oyobi sono kankei, keitō o rei ni shite*” 南宋『文苑英華』以前の『柳集』の種類・特徴およびその関係・系統を例にして, *Hikone ronsō* 289 (1994): 55–80.

¹¹ See Joannes Kurz, “The Compilation and Publication of the *Taiping yulan* and *Cefu yuangui*”, *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* Vol. 1 (1 January 2007): 39-76.

¹² See Paul Kroll “Wen-yüan ying-hua,” in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, eds. William Nienhauser, Charles Hartman, Y.W Ma and Stephen H. West, 897-898 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

¹³ See Chan Hing-ho, “Wen-yüan ying-hua” in *A Sung Bibliography*, ed. Yves Hervouet, 442-443 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978).

¹⁴ See William Nienhauser, “A Structural Reading of the *Chuan* in the *Wen-yuan ying-hua*,” *Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol.36 (1 May 1977): 443.

Tang pieces found in the Song imperial library. This analysis, along with a majority of the author's other claims, are not supported by historical data or textual evidence.¹⁵

Given the scanty, and flawed, treatment this work has received from Western scholars, in my dissertation I propose to (1) study and document the process by which the WYYH was compiled, (2) consider and scrutinize the printing and transmission history of the text to the modern day, (3) probe the relationship between the WYYH and other medieval general anthologies, and (4) examine the importance of the text and the influence and value it holds for Tang studies.

In studying the compilation history of the WYYH, it is important to understand what the motive was for putting together such a large anthology arranged by genre. We know that the compilation was initiated under Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) and a group of scholars. But, how did the idea for it originate? Who actually participated in the compilation and who was attached to it in name only? What was their background? Which materials did they have at their disposal in the imperial library? The answers to these questions all determined the shape of the collection, which genres were selected, and how works were selected. After the initial compilation, we know that it took over 200 years for the WYYH to finally be printed. During the course of that 200 years, the work went through four major recompilations, survived the fall of the Northern Song capital and the ensuing flight south, and made it through the reconstitution of the Southern Song imperial library. Two of the recompilations occurred during the reign of Song Zhenzong 宋真宗 (968-1022). Two more were done during the Southern Song. A recompilation with less than ideal results was done during the reign of Song Xiaozong 宋孝宗 (1127-1194). Another privately sponsored project was guided by Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), a major political and literary figure who

¹⁵ See Stephen Owen, "The Manuscript Legacy of the Tang: The Case of Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 67 (December 2007): 295-326.

played a major role in the history of the WYYH. What changes were introduced during these re-compilations? Why did the WYYH languish for so long before being printed? How did such a large work survive the destruction of the Northern Song? Who was Zhou Bida and what was the source of his interest in the WYYH? These are all questions I will seek to answer in chapters two and three of this dissertation.

The WYYH is part of a long line of imperially sponsored general anthologies. Prior to it, we have the *Wen xuan*, sponsored and compiled under the auspices of the Liang crown prince Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531), and the *Wenguan cilin* 文館詞林 (Forest of compositions of the literary academy) a general anthology compiled in 1,000 *juan* compiled in the early Tang by Xu Jingzong 許敬宗 (592-672). What remains of the *Wenguan cilin* is a reconstruction from fragments found in Japanese monasteries. This work has been virtually inaccessible until the past several decades. Nevertheless, it occupies an important place in Chinese literary history. Of particular interest is the relationship and connections between these three anthologies. In my fourth chapter, I will endeavor to answer the following questions. What is the relationship between these three anthologies? Do they share the same genre structure? Within a given genre, do they share the same sub-categories? Can a direct connection be drawn between the WYYH and the *Wen xuan*?

The final set of questions to examine is the importance the WYYH has for the study of Tang and even late Northern and Southern Dynasties literature. At 1000 *juan* with over 19,000 collected pieces from over 2,200 authors, the WYYH represents the single largest source of Tang dynasty literature to survive to the present age. It also includes a number of important Northern and Southern Dynasties works that were not included in the *Wen xuan* or any other early source. Nevertheless, few scholars have examined the issue of what these materials have meant for the study of the Tang. How have they been used for the study of individual writers? What is the value

of these large collections of pieces arranged by genre? How has the collection itself influenced later anthologies? How exactly have scholars made use of the collections? In my fifth chapter, I will strive to answer these questions, citing specific examples from various periods. The answers to these questions are vital for us to gauge the influence the WYYH has had in the Chinese literary and scholar tradition and determine its utility for modern scholarship on medieval Chinese history and literature.

I hope in this dissertation to provide the reader with a grounding in all facets of the WYYH critical to developing an understanding and appreciation for the work and the important role it has played in Chinese literature and more specifically Tang literature. To the best of my knowledge this will be the first comprehensive study of the WYYH produced in a Western language. With it, I hope that more scholars will find interest and utility in the WYYH's pages.

Chapter 2

Putting Together the Pieces: The Compilation

The compilation of the WYYH was one of a myriad of scholarly activities that took place in the early years of the Song. The dawn of the Song dynasty was filled with struggle and conflict as the first Song ruler, Song Taizu 宋太祖 (927-976), overthrew the northern Later Zhou and fought to establish supremacy among the rival kingdoms and states that sprung up after the fall of the Tang. With this struggle for survival and being a military man himself, Taizu had little interest in writing or literature and little trust in men of letters.¹⁶ After Taizu's death in 976, his brother Song Taizong 宋太宗 (939-997) ascended the throne. Taizong's reign brought with it a renewed scholarly vigor that had not been seen since the early years of the Tang dynasty. With this renewed activity, came a new set of Imperially sponsored literary projects under Taizong and his successor, the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (*Imperial encyclopedia of the Taiping period*) in 1,000 卷 *juan*, *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (*Expanded records of the Taiping period*) in 500 *juan*, the *Cefu yuangui*

¹⁶ Peter Bol has made the following observation about Song Taizu, "He preferred practical to cultured men, and the armies were a major source of eminently practical men of proven achievement. And yet, as Worth points out, when his brother T'ai-tsung took the throne and completed the conquest, he showed a marked preference for the "civil." See Peter Bol, *This Culture of Ours – Intellectual Transitions in Tang and Sung China* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press: 1992), 49-50.

冊府元龜 (*Primal mirrors from the records archives*) in 1,000 *juan*, and the WYYH in 1,000 *juan*.¹⁷ These works are known as the *Song si dau shu* 宋四大書 (Four great books of the Song). Work on these projects spanned a period of nine years from 977 to 986. This massive undertaking coincided with the creation of a new imperial library as well as coordinated efforts to re-establish the library's holdings. In this chapter, I will focus on compilation of the WYYH, exploring the backgrounds of the compilers, the status of the Song imperial library, and what we know of the compilation process.¹⁸

Compilers

The compilers of the WYYH were a diverse group comprised of both experienced scholars and government officials as well as those who were just embarking in their official careers. They hailed from both the north and the south of China, from the Song and from those smaller kingdoms

¹⁷ For studies on the *Taiping yulan* see Zhou Shengjie 周生杰, *Taiping yulan yanjiu* 太平御覽研究 (Chengdu: Ba shu shushe, 2008). For studies on the *Taiping guangji* see Russell Kirkland, "A World in Balance: Holistic Synthesis in the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*," *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 23 (1993): 43–98; Niu Jingli 牛景麗, *Taiping guangji de chuanbo yu yingxiang* 《太平廣記》的傳播與影響 (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2008); Alexi Kamran Ditter, Jesse Choo, and Sarah M. Allen, *Tales from Tang Dynasty China: Selections from the Taiping Guangji* (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2017). For studies on the *Cefu yuangui* see Liu Naihe 刘乃和, *Cefu yuangui xin tan* 冊府元龜新探 (Zhengzhou: Zhengzhou shuhua she, 1989); Chia-fu Sung, "Between Tortoise and Mirror: Historians and Historiography in Eleventh-Century China" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2010).

¹⁸ Ronald Egan has written on the status on the imperial library in the Song, notably mentioning the Song government's reliance on soliciting donations from private libraries and collections as a means to expand the imperial collection. Egan also writes on the reception of printing in the Song as well as the changing and varied attitude by which printed works were received by officials and literati. Of interest is that starting early in the dynasty and continuing throughout it, there was a very negative view towards low-quality printed materials, especially prints created for those taking the imperial exams. This stands in contrast with the fact that by the time of Taizong's predecessor, Zhenzong, the imperial libraries had amassed a massive collection of printing blocks used to produce officially sanctioned editions of important works including the *Taiping yulan*, *Taiping guangji*, and *Cefu yuangui*. This, when combined with compilation projects such as the WYYH, speaks to the imperial governments desire to ensure learners were provided with correct, high quality sources for their use. See Ronald Egan, "To Count Grains of Sang on the Ocean Floor: Changing Perceptions of Books and Learning in the Song Dynasty" in eds. Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerdt, *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900-1400*, 33-62, (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

that had fallen to the Song. The most complete description we have of those involved in the compilation process comes from the *Song huiyao* 宋會要:

In 982, the Emperor ordered the Hanlin Academician Recipient of Edicts Li Fang 李昉 (925-996), Scholar Hu Meng 扈蒙 (915-986), Auxiliary Hanlin Academician Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916-991), Secretariat Drafter Song Bo 宋白 (936-1012), Drafter Jia Huangzhong 賈黃中 (940-996), Lü Mengzheng 呂蒙正 (946-1011), Li Zhi 李至 (947-1001), Vice Director of the Bureau of Honors Li Mu 李穆 (928-984), Vice Director of the Board of Provisions Yang Huizhi 楊徽之 (921-1000), Investigating Sensor Li Fan 李範 (dates unknown), Assistant Director of the Palace Library Yang Li 楊礪 (930-999), Editorial Director Wu Shu 吳淑 (947-1002), Lü Wenzhong 呂文仲 (d. 1007), Hu Ting 胡汀 (dates unknown), Adjunct Editorial Official Zhan Yiqing 戰貽慶 (dates unknown), Directorate of Education Aide Du Hao 杜鎬 (938-1013), and Vice Director of Palace Buildings Shu Ya 舒雅 (d. 1009) to inspect the collected works of previous generations, to collect those that were essential and vital and, separating them according to category, in 1,000 *juan*. In 987 the work was completed and called *Wenyuan yinghua*. Li Fang, Hu Meng, Lü Mengzheng, Li Zhi, Li Mu, Li Fan, Yang Li, Wu Shu, Lü Wenzhong, Hu Ting, Zhan Yiqing, Du Hao, and Shu Ya completed their assignment. Additionally orders were given to Hanlin Academician Su Yijian 蘇易簡 (958-996), Secretariat Drafter Wang You 王祐 (dates unknown), Drafter Fan Gao 范杲 (938-993), Song Shi 宋湜 (950-1000) to join with Song Bai and the others in completing the work.¹⁹

¹⁹ All titles used follow the translations provided in Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Imperial Titles in China* (Palo Alto, Stanford University Press, 1985).

太平興國七年九月，命翰林學士承旨李昉、學士扈蒙、直學士院徐鉉、中書舍人宋白、知制誥賈黃中、呂蒙正、李至、司封員外郎李穆、庫部員外郎楊徽之、監察御史李範、祕書丞楊礪、著作佐郎吳淑、呂文仲、胡汀、著作佐郎直史館戰貽慶、國子監丞杜鎬、將作監丞舒雅，閱前代文集，撮其精要，以類分之，為千卷。雍熙三年十二月書成，號曰《文苑英華》。昉、蒙、蒙正、至、穆、範、礪、淑、文仲、汀、貽慶、鎬、雅繼領他任，續命翰林學士蘇易簡、中書舍人王祐、知制誥范杲、宋湜與宋白等共成之。²⁰

From this passage, we can see that the *Song huiyao* identifies a total of seventeen individuals who were assigned to work on the compilation. Ling Chaodong in searching through the biographies of the *Song shi* for mentions of the WYYH has identified an additional six individuals mentioned as having participated in the work, bringing the total number of compilers to twenty-three.²¹ Among these twenty-three, a number did not see the project through until its end, being drawn off by other responsibilities or projects. Others, such as Li Fang, were likely involved only in name.²² Both of these situations arose from other compilation projects that were taking place at the time, namely the *Taiping guangji*, and the assignment of some scholars to multiple projects. This is most certainly true of Li Fang and other Northern scholars at the court who enjoyed a greater level of

²⁰ Xu Song 徐松, *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 205.

²¹ In addition to these twenty-three individuals, the *Songshi jishi* 宋詩紀事 identifies an additional six individuals connected with the compilation. These eight are not identified in any other historical work and due to the fact that the *Songshi jishi* is of the *Shihua* 詩話 genre and its compilation dates to the Qing dynasty 清朝, the association of the identified individuals with the WYYH can be doubted. See Ling, 28-31.

²² Hager has, rightly, argued that due to his multitude of official duties, it is doubtful that Li could have been involved to any large degree in the compilation of the WYYH and other Song compilation projects. This was due to the fact he was concurrently serving as Minister of Finance and “effective Prime Minister”. See John Haeger, “The Significance of Confusion: The Origins of The *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88.3 (July 1968): 403.

trust than their peers who had joined the Song from conquered southern rivals.²³ Among the scholars who participated in the compilation process, there were several who worked on all three of Taizong's great literary projects. These include Li Fang, Hu Meng, Song Bo, Li Mu, Xu Xuan, and Wu Shu.²⁴

Given the varied backgrounds, origins, and experience of these scholars, the question to be answered is what role each of these individuals played in the compilation process. As mentioned above, some of those mentioned as having been involved may have taken a mostly supervisory role. Still others, such as Hu Meng, passed away before the work on the WYYH had finished. We have no historical mention of the role that most of the compilers played or what their day to day work may have been entailed. Still, by examining some of the compilers, their extant works, and the positions that they occupied we can gain some sense of their contributions to the overall work.

As with other newly established dynasties, the Song, with its origins in the Later Zhou, needed both its own officials and those from its conquered rivals in order to quickly and efficiently stabilize and cement its power. This situation can be seen in the compilation of the WYYH as in the other great literary projects of Taizong's reign, with nearly half of the officials participating in the project having come from the of Song's conquered rivals. Below I will examine a few of these compilers based on their official careers, their achievements, and any of their mentioned works. Among the officials serving in the Song government during Taizong's reign, there were many who joined court from the Song's conquered rivals. These officials, especially those from the south,

²³ We have clear evidence from multiple sources that the early Song monarchs had a distrust of officials that joined their courts from conquered rivals in the south. This preference led many of the southern officials and scholars to occupy ranks and offices much lower than they had previously enjoyed. For an examination of the situation and standing of Northern and Southern scholars at the court of Song Taizong and his brother Song Taizu see Johannes Kurz, "The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilations Project," *T'oung Pao* 87 (January 2001): 293. Kurz also has a book-length study in German: *Das Kompilationsprojekt Song Taizongs (reg. 976–997)* (Bern and New York: Peter Lang, 2003).

²⁴ See Kurz, "The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilations Project", 310.

brought with them knowledge and experience vital to the early court. Among those officials who worked on the WYYH eleven hailed from the Southern Tang and the Later Zhou.

From the Southern Tang we have Xu Xuan, Wu Shu, and Lü Wenzhong. We will begin the examination of these officials starting with Xu Xuan. Xu was born in Guiji 會稽 (modern day Shaoxing, Zhejiang 浙江省紹興), his family later emigrating to Yangzhou 揚州 (modern day Yangzhou, Jiangsu 江蘇省揚州). Xu displayed literary talent early in life and achieved literary fame early. After beginning his official career in the State of Wu 吳, Xu would go on to serve in various positions under all three rulers of the State of Southern Tang 南唐. It was while serving under the final Southern Tang emperor, Li Yu 李煜 (937-938), that Xu gained favor with Song Taizu while initially attempting to negotiate an armistice on behalf of the Southern Tang court. Taizu was impressed with Xu and under the sponsorship of Li Fang, Xu went on to serve in various positions in the Song court. In his career Xu worked on the compilations of both the *Taiping guangji* and *Taiping yulan* in addition to his work on the WYYH. Along with this, Xu and his younger brother Xu Kai 徐鉉 (920-974) produced a version of the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 on which all recent scholarship of the work has been based. Xu also compiled a Daoist canon (*Dao zang* 道藏), histories of the Wu and Southern Tang (*Wu lu* 吳錄 and *Jiangnan lu* 江南錄), a collection of essays (*Zhi lun* 質論), a collection of *zhi guai* 志怪 stories (*Jishen lu* 稽神錄), and many other works including his collected works.²⁵ From this information, we can tell that Xu was an accomplished writer, editor, and literatus. With his work on the histories of the Southern dynasties and his work on the *Taiping yulan* and *Taiping guangji* Xu would have been very

²⁵ For a detailed biography of Xu Xuan see Helmut Wilhelm, “Hsu Hsuan” in *Sung Biographies*, ed. Herbert Franke, 424-427 (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1976).

knowledgeable about the sources and works available in the imperial library. When combined with his impressive background, this shows that Xu was eminently prepared for work on the WYYH and likely played a major role in the compilation work.

Wu Shu, Xu Xuan's son-in-law, was born in Danyang 丹陽 (modern day Danyang, Jiangsu 江蘇省丹陽). His father Wu Wenzheng 吳文正 (dates unknown) served in the state of Wu. Wu Shu began his official career in the Southern Tang court, eventually attaining the *jinshi* 進士 degree. With the fall of the Southern Tang, Wu saw a long delay in obtaining an official appointment, and even temporarily fell into poverty, before he was accepted to a position at the Song court as a member of the Institute of Academicians, *xueshi yuan* 學士院. From the time he was a young child, Wu was renowned for his ability to quickly compose documents. This served him well at the court of Taizong, allowing him to gain favor with Taizong, eventually composing the emperor's veritable record (*shilu* 實錄).²⁶ Like his father-in-law, Wu was involved in all three of Taizong's great compilation projects. In addition to this work, Wu also completed a work on the *Shuowen jiezi*, two *zhiguai* compilation (*Jianghuai yiren lu* 江淮異人錄 and *Nueming lu* 虐名錄), and a commonplace book written in rhyme-prose (*Shi lei fu* 事類賦) in 30 *juan*.²⁷ As a southern official, Wu would likely have been denied high position at the court, giving him more time for involvement in Taizong's compilation projects. Given his proficiency with prose writing, we can assume that Wu was one of those who was uniquely qualified for his work on the *Wenyuan yinghua*.

²⁶*Song shi* 宋史, (Beijing: *Zhonghua shuju*, 1981), 255.13040-13041.

²⁷ Franke, 426.

Lü Wenzhong was born in Xin'an 新安 (modern day Xin'an, Henan province 河南省新安). Lü's father Lü Yu 呂裕 (dates unknown), served in the Southern Tang military. Lü himself obtained the *jinshi* degree during the Southern Tang and later obtained a position in Song court. He participated in the compilation of all three great works of the Northern Song and was known to be a master of prose. Lü was a favorite of Taizong, with the emperor frequently consulting Lü when reading stele inscriptions (*beiwén* 碑文). Taizong also frequently commanded Lü to read to him from the *Wen xuan* and the *fu* on the Yangtze River and sea. In his time at the Song court Lü also served as ambassador to the Korean kingdom of Goryeo where he was renowned for his writing. Lü has his collected works listed in 10 *juan*. As with Xu and Wu, Lü is listed as being involved in the work of all three of Taizong's compilation projects.²⁸ Given the trust the emperor seems to have placed in Lü, it is not surprising that he was chosen by the emperor to participate in these prestigious projects. With his knowledge of stele inscriptions and the *Wen xuan*, Lü would have been well-prepared for work on the WYYH.

From the Later Zhou came Li Fang, Hu Meng, Li Mu, Yang Huizhi, Wang Hu 王祐 (dates unknown), and Zhan Yiqing 戰貽慶 (dates unknown). Of these officials, Li Fang is probably the most well-known. Li was the adopted son of his uncle Li Zhao 李沼 (Dates Unknown) who had no children of his own. Li first rose to prominence in the Later Han attaining the *jinshi* degree. In the Later Zhou, while on a military campaign he came to the emperor's attention because of his well-written dispatches. This led to Li attaining various high positions during the Later Zhou. With the establishment of the Song, he was almost immediately given a position in the new dynasty. Li himself was an accomplished poet, writing poems in the so-called Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) style

²⁸ *Song shi*, 255.9870-9872.

and leaving a collected works that totaled 50 *juan* of materials. Throughout the remainder of his life, Li would find himself at various times both in and out of favor with the emperor. Because of this, Li was forced to spend large portions of his life in posts outside the capital. Though Li is listed as one of the primary compilers of the WYYH, *Taiping guangji*, and *Taiping yulan*, due to his long periods of time spent outside the capital and many official positions, it is doubtful that he was engaged to more than a nominal degree in any of the projects. For example, during the compilation of the WYYH from 982-986 Li was serving in several important positions at court, including positions that required him to assist in the Song war efforts and help with the conscription of new troops. Given this, it is doubtful that Li made any meaningful contribution to the WYYH.²⁹

Hu Meng, born in Youzhou 幽州 (modern day Anci county Hebei province 河北省安次縣) was renowned for his skill at writing from a young age. Hu attained the *jinshi* degree as a young man during the Later Jin and would serve in various positions during the Later Han and Later Zhou where he gained acclaim for his literary skills. In the early Song Hu served in various official positions, including working on preparing the history of Five Dynasties (*Jiu wudai shi* 舊五代史). Later he would also complete the veritable record of Song Taizu's reign (*Taizong shilu* 太宗實錄), participate in the compilation of the *Taiping yulan*, and edit a medical work (*Gujin bencao* 古今本草). Despite his excellent pedigree, it is doubtful that Hu played more than a small part in the compilation of the WYYH. When work commenced on the book in 982, Hu was already in his late sixties. By the final year of work on the WYYH, 986, Hu was stricken with an illness and died at the age of seventy-two.³⁰

²⁹ Franke, 552-555.

³⁰ *Song shi*, 255.9239-9340.

Li Mu was born in Yangwu 楊武 (modern-day Yangwu county, Henan 河南省陽武縣) where as a child he displayed a strong knowledge and affinity for the classics. Li attained the *jinshi* degree during the Later Zhou. After the establishment of the Song Li found himself constantly out of favor with the court, being removed from office or demoted a total of three times. While at court, Li worked on the compilation of the veritable record of Taizu's reign (*Taizu shilu* 太祖實錄) and the *Jiu wudai shi*. In 984 Li was suddenly overcome with a bout of epilepsy and died.³¹ Given his frequent falling out with the court, it is difficult for us to judge what role Li might have played in the compilation of the WYYH. Li would likely have been involved in the start of the compilation work, but due to his sudden death that was likely the extent of his involvement.

Yang Huizhi was born in Pucheng 蒲城 (modern day Pucheng, Fujian province 福建省浦城) Yang came from a military family, with his grandfather serving as an army official. It was Yang's father, Yang Cheng 陽澄 (dates unknown) who broke with the family's military tradition, instead pursuing a career as an official.³² From the time he was a child, Yang had a passion for poetry first even receiving praise from the renowned poet Jiang Wenyu 江文蔚 (901-952). Yang attained the *jinshi* degree during the Later Zhou. In the Song, Yang found himself subject of the wrath of Song Taizu for insults against Taizu made by Yang during the Later Zhou. It was only at the behest of Taizu's brother, the future emperor Taizong, that Yang's life was spared, being demoted and banished from the capital instead. Yang was a prolific writer, and after assuming the throne, Song Taizong, having heard of Yang's renown, asked him to submit his poems to the throne. Yang submitted several hundred of his poems to the throne, gaining Taizong's recognition and

³¹ *ibid.*, 255.9329.

³² *Ibid*, 255.9866.

securing an official position in the capital. Because of his prowess as a poet and newfound respect from the emperor, Yang would go on to play a major role in the compilation of the WYYH.

Overall, it was the efforts of the southern scholars, with the exception of Yang Huizhi, especially those scholars from the Southern Tang, that comprised the bulk of the contributions to the work on the WYYH. As Kurz has stated, “The relative stability of the southern states had allowed scholars to pursue literature at a time when this was not possible in the war-stricken north. It was the knowledge and the expertise of these men that Taizong needed for the compilation of the *Taiping yulan*, the *Taiping guangji*, and the *Wenyuan yinghua*.”³³ Unlike their peers in the north, scholars in the relatively peaceful south were afforded the time and opportunity to verse themselves in the various scholarly arts. Added to this, scholars from the southern kingdoms were rarely given important positions in the Northern Song court, thus leaving them with more time to concentrate their efforts on the compilation work.

Song Imperial Library

An important item of discussion in the compilation of the WYYH is the state of the Song libraries during the reigns of Song Taizu and Song Taizong. As materials for the various sections of the WYYH had to be drawn from existing sources, we must consider the extant materials available at the time. The initial library of the Northern Song court was that left to it from the Northern Zhou. Due to the successive dynasties and wars that had been waged in the north after the fall of the Tang, little attention had been given to the gathering of materials or literary matters. Song Taizu occupied himself with matters of war and consolidating the foundations of his empire. We read this about the imperial library at the beginning of his reign:

³³ See Kurz, “The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong’s Compilations Project”, 298.

At the start of the Jianlong era (960-962) the Three Institutes only contained a little more than 12,000 *juan* of books. After the pacification of the vassal states, their plans and records were received [in the Three Institutes], with Shu and Jiangnan contributing the bulk of the material. A total of 13,000 *juan* was received from Shu, and more than 20,000 *juan* from Jiangnan. An imperial edict made the submission of [private] books possible. Consequently, books from all over the empire were re-collected in the Three Institutes, and the number of volumes gradually became complete. After the Liang made Bian[liang] (Kaifeng) their capital (907), in the Zhenming period they first made several ten bays of a small building northeast of the present Right Youqing Gate into the Three Institutes. It was quite low and cramped and hardly gave shelter from wind and rain. Guard huts and patrol roads were located next to them. And guardsmen and stablemen made a racket from morning until evening. Every time the scholars received imperial orders to discuss and compile books, they had to move to another place before they could complete their work.

建隆初，三館所藏書僅一萬二千餘卷。及平諸國，盡收其圖籍，惟蜀、江南最多，凡得蜀書一萬三千卷，江南書二萬餘卷。又下詔開獻書之路，於是天下書複集三館，篇帙稍備。自梁氏都汴，貞明中始以今右長慶門東北小屋數十間為三館，湫隘才蔽風雨，周廬微道，出於其側，衛士驩卒，朝夕喧籟。每諸儒受詔有所論撰，即移於它所始能成之。³⁴

³⁴ Li Dao 李燾, *Xu zizhi tongjian changpian* 續資治通鑒長篇 (Taipei, Zhongguo xueshu mingzhu, 1986), 19.2b-3a. Translation by Johannes Kurz, “The Compilation of the *Taiping yulan* and the *Cefu yuangui*”, *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* Vol.1 (January 2007): 41-42.

Li Dao's record confirms the sorry state of the imperial library holdings at the establishment of the dynasty. The imperial library itself held less than 13,000 *juan* of materials. This limited number of works was possibly exposed to the elements and placed into a building so small that scholars had to move materials to other locations in order to pursue their work and discussions. It is under these conditions that Taizong found the imperial library upon his ascension to the throne.

After coming to the throne, we know that while he continued to pursue the military campaigns of his brother, Taizong, being more literary minded, sought to establish legitimacy of the new dynasty by other means. We read:

Soon after the ruler ascended the throne, he inspected the place (the imperial library). He turned to his retinue and said: "Shall We really store charts and records of the whole empire in this miserable place and invite here the eminently talented men from all corners of the state?" At once he ordered officials to establish the Three Institutes on the grounds of the old Carriage Livery northeast of the left Shenglong Gate. He ordered the imperial commissioner to supervise the artisans from early in the morning until late at night. The design of the buildings was based on plans that he made. From the start of construction until the finished building imperial visitations were frequent. Its high-soaring elegance, sublimity and splendor were of the highest order in the inner court. On the first day of the second month, a *bingchen* day (March 13, 978), an imperial decree named it the Institute for the Veneration of Literature (Chongwen yuan). In the western wing a side door was opened to give the emperor personal access. All books from the old building which were arranged in the eastern corridor of the Institute formed the collection of the Institute for the Glorification of Literature (Zhaowen guan). The books in the southern corridor belonged to the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (Jixian yuan), while the books in the western

corridor arranged in four repositories and categorized according to the classics, histories, philosophers, and belle-lettres, formed the collection of the Institute of Historiography (Shi guan). Original manuscripts and copies of texts within these six archives totaled 80,000 *juan*.

上初即位，因臨幸周覽，顧左右曰：「若此之陋，豈可蓄天下圖籍，延四方賢俊耶！」即詔有司度左升龍門東北舊車輅院，別建三館，命中使督工徒，晨夜兼作。其棟宇之制，皆親所規畫，自經始至畢功，臨幸者再，輪奐壯麗，甲於內庭。二月丙辰朔，詔賜名為崇文院。西序吞便門，以備臨幸，盡遷舊館之書以實之。院之東廊為昭文書，南廊為集賢書，西廊有四庫，分經史子集四部，為史館書。六庫書籍正副本凡八萬卷。³⁵

From this, we can see that Taizong massively increased investment in the imperial libraries, ordering the construction of new library buildings as well as three new government departments to use the space. This passage also shows us that Taizong himself had a distinct interest in literature and reading as he had a special entrance for himself constructed in the west side of the building. By the year 978, the number of *juan* of materials stored in the imperial library had increased to around 80,000, a sevenfold increase overall.³⁶ This marked increase in the library's content came from several sources. The first being the libraries of states conquered by the Song during the reigns of Taizu and Taizong.³⁷ The next large source of books came from imperial efforts to obtain copies that existed in private collections and libraries. Private collectors were offered cash and favors

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ Ling, 41.

³⁷ With the defeat of the Later Shu in 965, the Song added an additional 13,000 *juan* of materials to its holdings, delivered in 967. Later when the Southern Tang fell in 975, the Song added more than 20,000 *juan* of additional materials to its holdings. This comes despite the fact that the last Tang ruler ordered all library materials burned as the capital was falling. For further information see Kurz, "The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilations Project", 296-297.

from the court for allowing copies to be made of their works. The original was returned to its collector while the copy was placed in the imperial holdings.³⁸ We can safely assume that by the start of work on the WYYH in 982, the number of imperial holdings had grown even further.

Though the compilers of the book likely sought out firsthand materials where available, they are also likely to have turned to other places for materials. The first and most obvious would have been other extant anthologies from the Tang. In the “Yiwen zhi” 藝文志 of the *Song shi* we find roughly eighty-six titles listed with the character of the previous dynasty, *Tang* 唐, listed in the title.³⁹ We can safely assume that there are other anthologies for individual writers, specific topics, and collections as well. The next place the compilers likely turned were to the commonplace books or *lei shu* 類書. The same compilers and officials that worked on the WYYH previously worked on the *Taiping yulan*, a massive 1,000 *juan lei shu* compiled earlier in Taizong’s reign, that combined several earlier Tang *lei shu* including the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 and the *Wensi boyao* 問思博要. These *lei shu* would have proved to be valuable sources for works no longer available in other forms.

Compilation

Early in his reign, Song Taizong ordered the preparation of three great works, to combine and summarize the writings of previous generations and dynasties. Sadly, the historical records of his reign have left us with little information about his motives for ordering these compilation

³⁸ These efforts actually began during the reign of Song Taizu but seem to have picked up speed during the reign of Taizong. We know that in 994 book collectors were offered 1000 copper cash for each *juan* of original manuscript offered to the court for copying. Offers of 300 *juan* or more were awarded with official positions. See Kurz, “The Compilation of the *Taiping yulan* and the *Cefu yuangui*”, 42.

³⁹ The *Song shi* catalog may not give an accurate picture of the sources available to the WYYH compilers as it is a reflection of the state of the Southern Song imperial library. Added to this, many of the sources available in the Northern Song were likely lost after the fall of Kaifeng and the flight to the south. For a list of anthologies in the *Song shi*, 38.1217.

projects. The amount of work and time needed for such great undertakings varied but was on the order of years for each book.⁴⁰ As discussed above, records indicate that between twenty-three to thirty individuals associated with the compilation of the WYYH. While on the surface this appears to be a large number, given the sheer magnitude of the work involved, 1,000 *juan* of writings, we know that there would have been a small army of lower level government officials involved with the compilation work as well. These lower level officials would have performed day to day tasks such as finding materials, transcribing, and writing.

As for the higher-level officials discussed above, there is little information as to which officials supervised what portions of the work. The only extant records of individual contributions come from the official biographies of Yang Huizhi and Wang Dan 王旦 (957-1017).⁴¹ In Wang's biography we read he "prepared and edited the *shi* section of the *Wenyuan yinghua* 預編文苑英華詩類".⁴² In Yang's biography we read "At the time an imperial edict was issued commanding Li Fang and others to collect the writings of previous generations, sorting them by genre as the *Wenyuan yinghua*, because Huizhi was skilled in literary matters, he was assigned to compile the *shi* 詩 section, totaling 180 *juan*" 會詔李昉等采緝前代文字，類為文苑英華，以徽之精於風雅，分命編詩，為百八十卷。⁴³ From these lines, we know that Yang and Wang were charged with the work on *shi* section of the WYYH, likely with Yang taking charge of the work. Outside

⁴⁰ Song Taizong's great compilation projects were undertaken over a 10-year period from 977 to 986. Work commenced with the compilation of the *Taiping yulan*, from 977-983, and the *Taiping guangji*, from 977-978, proceeding in parallel. The work on the WYYH proceeded from 982-986.

⁴¹ Wang is not listed among the official compilers of the WYYH, but we find mention of his work on the compilation in his official biography. Wang attained the rank of *jinshi* during the reign of Taizong and thus was one of the younger officials tasked with working on the WYYH. See *Song shi*, 255.9542-9548.

⁴² *ibid*, 255.9543.

⁴³ *ibid*, 255.9867.

of these scant data, there are no other records of how work on the WYYH proceeded or how the work was divided among the different officials involved.

Chapter 3

The Refiner's Fire – Changes in and Transmission of the Text

After the initial work done during the reign of Taizong, the WYYH went through a rather turbulent history throughout the remaining years of the Song. This chapter will trace the transmission and alteration of the work through the Northern and Southern Song along with its printing and transmission to the modern era.

Changes under Zhenzong

Continuing in the tradition of his father, Taizong, Song Zhenzong ordered the compilation of the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 from 1005-1013. During this same period Zhenzong also ordered the officials at his court to revisit the forgotten WYYH. The first of his compilation projects took place in 1007. From the *Yuhai* 玉海 we read,

“In the fourth year of the Jingde period (1007) in the 8th month on a *dingsi* day (October 7th) by imperial edict the three ministries separately collated the *Wenyuan yinghua*. The previous arrangement (of pieces) was not fully satisfactory, and subsequently the court officials were

ordered to select the writings of former worthies, re-compile them, deleting the superfluous, supplying deficiencies, and rearranging them. The number of *juan* remained as before.”

景德四年八月丁巳，詔三館分校文苑英華，以前所編次未盡充愜，遂令文臣擇前賢文章，重加編錄。芟繁補缺換易之，卷數如舊⁴⁴

Until this project was undertaken, we can assume that the work itself had lain mostly undisturbed in the imperial library. Zhenzong, wishing to build upon the literary accomplishments of his predecessor, ordered that perceived errors and deficiencies in the text be corrected. This recollation and correction process did not change the total number of *juan* in the anthology, but the wording of the account above should lead us to wonder what changes were made to the content of the work. From the same chapter of the *Yuhai* we read that during the reign of Song Taizong the work had already been deemed complete (*chengshan* 稱善). Despite this, the record cited above shows that the worthiness of the work's contents was in doubt during the reign of Zhenzong. We have two additional notes from the *Yuhai* that shed further light on Zhenzong's reasoning.

“Today scholars far and wide read from a small number of books but cannot read extensively. The *Wenyuan yinghua* being compiled by the previous emperor, was collated and corrected by the chosen literary scholars of the three departments. Printers blocks were prepared for it to be published along with Li Shan's *Wen xuan*.

今方外學者少書誦讀，不能廣博。文苑英華先帝續次，當擇館閣文學之士校正，與李善文選并鏤闕頒布。⁴⁵

⁴⁴ See Wang Yinglin 王應麟, *Yuhai* 玉海 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 54.17.

⁴⁵ See *Yuhai* 54.56.

“In the fourth year of the Jingde reign period (1007) on a *dingsi* day, the order was given for the officials to edit and correct the *Wenyuan yinghua* and *Wen xuan* to prepare them for printing and distribution.” 景德四年(1007)八月丁巳，命直館校理校勘文苑英華及文選摹印頒行。⁴⁶

From these accounts, we can speculate that Zhenzong wished to continue building upon the literary successes of his father. Given that the Liang dynasty literary classic, *Wen xuan*, was still a popular source among aspiring imperial examinees, it seems that Zhenzong wished to prepare a new edition of the *Wen xuan* to be printed along with the WYYH. As part of this work, Zhenzong ordered a re-collation of the work be undertaken.⁴⁷

In addition to this, it has been claimed that an additional reason for this work was due to changing literary attitudes at the court.⁴⁸ This theory is sound given that by the time of Zhenzong, a new generation of scholars, raised and educated primarily at the Song court, had risen to prominence.⁴⁹ With their zeal to print the WYYH alongside the *Wen xuan*, it only makes sense that these scholars would also edit the WYYH and its contents to suit their views on literature. By this time, twenty years after the original compilation of the work, the imperial library would also have grown in its holdings providing these scholars with a variety of new sources unavailable to the original compilers. With this theory, comes a slew of questions. What changes were made to the content of the work and how extensive were they? Were there any changes made to the

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Though these blocks for printing were prepared, the two works were never printed together as the blocks were lost to a fire.

⁴⁷ The project to collate and print this Northern Song edition of the *Wen xuan* would continue on without the WYYH. The collation work itself was finished in 1025 and the printing blocks completed in 1029. The completed work was presented to the emperor in 1031 over 20 years after the original project begun. For more on this see Fu Gang 傅剛, *Wen xuan banben yanjiu* 文選版本研究 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 151–52.

⁴⁸ See Ling, 44–45.

⁴⁹ This is opposed to the original group of compilers, half of whom had their origins in the southern courts conquered by the Song. See chapter 2 of this work for further discussion.

categories of the work? Since we lack the original work, it is sadly impossible for us to answer these questions.

Perhaps owing to persistent errors in the work, Zhenzong ordered another re-collation of the anthology in 1009 that proceeded in two stages. The *Yuhai* tells us “In the second year of Xiangfu (1009) on November 19th the order was given for Erudite for the Chamberlain of Ceremonials Shi Daiwen to collate [the *Wenyuan yinghua*]. On *xinhai* of the 12th month the order was given again for Zhang Bing, Xue Ying, Qi Lun, and Chen Pengnian to re-collate.” 祥符二年十月辛亥命太常博士石待問校勘十二月辛未又命張秉，薛映，戚論，陳彭年覆校.⁵⁰ This re-collation project, unlike the one that took place in 1007, proceeded in two phases. Initially, Shi Daiwen 石待問 (dates unknown) was assigned to the project. Less than a month later, possibly due to unsatisfactory work by Shi, Zhang Bing 張秉 (952-1016), Xue Ying 薛映 (951-1024), Qi Lun 戚論 (dates unknown), and Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 (961-1017) were commanded to participate in the project.⁵¹ Unlike the record of the previous re-collation project, the exact reasons for this round of work are unknown. Ling believes that the primary focus of this round of re-

⁵⁰ See *Yuhai* 54.56.

⁵¹ Of all these individuals, only Chen Pengnian is moderately well known. Chen grew up during the Southern Tang and was considered a gifted writer. During the Song, he attempted the *jinshi* examination three times before passing, being well known for his antics and sometimes frivolous writing. During the reign of Taizong, Chen was dismissed from court due to scandal. During this period, his family survived by leasing out their household servants and engaging in mercantile work. It was during the reign of Zhenzong that Chen was recalled to court and gained notoriety. Aside from attaining high position in Zhenzong’s court, Chen also worked on the *Cefu yuangui* and oversaw reforms to the imperial exam system, changing the testing procedures so that all personal information about the test takers was hidden from the examining officials. These changes are credited with cutting down on favoritism and cheating thus ensuring a fairer system. In addition to this, Chen is credited with compiling the *Guang yun* 廣韻 an important Song rhyme book that expanded on the classic *Qie yun* 切韻. This book was the first rhyme book written under imperial sponsorship and an important guide in the modern study of classical Chinese phonetics.

collation was the prose sections of the work. His claim is based on the limited number of *shi* 詩 pieces attributed to each scholar in the *Quan Song shi* 全宋詩. Ling argues that since each scholar only has a limited number of *shi* poems attributed to him, it is an indication they had little facility in writing poetry and thus did not work on the poetry section.⁵² There is no historical evidence to support such an argument. In addition, since many scholars' works have been lost to the ages, the pieces that have survived are not always an indication of an author's original corpus. I would propose that this re-collation project most likely included poetry as well as prose. This attempt at further revision of its contents likely reflected continued dissatisfaction with the WYYH on the part of Emperor Zhenzong. This attempt was also the last attention the work would receive for nearly another 200 years.

What happened to the WYYH between the Northern Song and the Southern Song remains a mystery. Stephen Owen has argued that the re-collated version from 1009 did not survive a fire that devastated the imperial library in 1015 and that the version used in the Southern Song was probably not the version from the Northern Song imperial library.⁵³ I am hesitant to accept this argument for several reasons. While this fire did cause a great amount of damage, we have no concrete records stating what was destroyed; this means any arguments as to what was lost are merely speculation. Additionally, as Ling has pointed out, we have clear evidence from the Southern Song that re-collation efforts at the time were based on the edition of the work from the Imperial Archives, what is commonly called the *Mige ben* 秘閣本, an indication that their efforts

⁵² See Ling, 45-46.

⁵³ See Owen, 313-14.

were based on a previous imperial library edition.⁵⁴ Moreover, we lack any evidence showing what happened to the re-collated version after its completion. Owen acknowledges there were multiple copies made of many of the works in the Northern Song imperial library, but he assumes that the Imperial Palace only contained one copy of the re-collated edition. This assumption ignores the existence of places such as the Taiqing lou 太清樓 where copies of various works were stored for the personal use of the emperor and his officials. It is very likely that an additional copy or copies were stored in various places throughout the imperial compound. Thus, it is highly probable that a copy or copies from the Zhenzong recollation projects survived into the Southern Song. Additional evidence for the existence of more than one copy of the work comes from the only mention we have of it between the reigns of Zhenzong and Xiaozong. The record comes from the *Song huiyao* 宋會要 listed in under the reign of Song Emperor Zhezong 宋哲宗. It reads simply, “In the 5th month [the Song court] sent a copy of the *Wenyuan yinghua* to Goryeo.” 五月賜高麗文苑英華.⁵⁵ Since to this date the work has not been printed and existed only in manuscript form, if only one copy of the work existed at the court, it is highly unlikely that it would be sent as a gift to Korea. As to which version of the WYYH survived to be used by the southern Song, we have little indication. After the Jurchen invasion of the north in 1127, the entire collection of the imperial library was lost. The Southern Song reestablished the imperial library in 1131. But,

⁵⁴ The *Yuhai* reads, “Because the Imperial Archives edition contained many errors and mistakes, Emperor Xiaozong ordered Zhou Bida to collate the work in order to present it [to the court]. 孝宗以秘閣本多舛誤命周必大校讎以進. See *Yuhai*, 54.18.

⁵⁵ See *Song huiyao jigao*, 62.47

from the start it depended almost entirely on donations from private collections and libraries to rebuild its collection. As John H. Winkle has noted,

“The Imperial Library reconstituted its holdings largely from private sources. With few exceptions, it was the individual library owner who provided the desired works. Who owned these private libraries? How extensive were their holdings? How well collated were their texts? The private libraries known to have contributed works to the Imperial Library were allowed by persons in official circles. Moreover, most contributors were civil service personnel, that is scholar-officials. Geographically dispersed, but apparently aware of each other’s activities by virtue of their role as officials, members of this group appear to have been easily made aware of the government’s bibliographic needs. Furthermore, they seem to have been predisposed to satisfy these needs by granting the government the privilege of making copies of their texts if they did not provide the originals.”⁵⁶

As Winkle notes, the library depended almost entirely on the donations from the scholar-official class to reestablish its collection. These private collections ranged in size from a few dozen *juan* to catalogs that list private libraries with collections ranging from 20,000 to almost 50,000 *juan*. We also have records of the descendants of Northern Song officials donating works that had been passed down through their families. With this in mind and considering the evidence of a manuscript copy being sent to Korea, I would propose that the Southern Song copy of the WYYH is likely to have been donated from one of these private collections.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ See John H. Winkle, *The Imperial Library in Southern Sung China, 1127-1279. A Study of the Organization and Operation of the Scholarly Agencies of the Central Government* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1974), 28.

⁵⁷ For a detailed discussion on the work involved in reconstituting the Southern Song imperial library, see *ibid.*, 28-32.

The last of the re-collation projects occurred in the Southern Song in the reign of Emperor Xiaozong 宋孝宗 (1127-1194). The first was carried out in the court under imperial order in 1181. As stated above, at the time Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204) was assigned to organize and direct the project. Despite the effort put into the project, Zhou was not pleased with the results.⁵⁸ His dissatisfaction came partially because of the poor work on the part of the scholars involved in the project and partially because of the large number of errors that still existed in the text. Expressing this dissatisfaction in his preface to the WYYH Zhou stated, “Since the time of the original compilation many years had passed. More than one set of hands was involved [in the work], their work was tedious and repetitive. The beginnings and endings were not connected together. In some cases, one poem was split into two and two poems were combined into one. Names of authors are incorrectly assigned, and the sequence was the reverse of what it should be—such examples are more than can be counted.” 惟是原修舊時歷年頗多，非出一手，業脞重複，首尾衡決，一詩或析為二，二詩或合為一，姓氏差誤，先後顛倒，不可勝計。⁵⁹

It is precisely because of this that after his retirement to Jizhou 吉州 (modern Ji’an 吉安, Jiangxi province) Zhou took up the project again. This last recompilation resulted in the version of the work that we have today. Below is Zhou’s record of his activities.

I have observed that Emperor Taizong from the Taiping reign period, civilizing all that is under heaven, gathering writings and records from the various nations, assembling

⁵⁸ It should be noted that a correction is needed in the history that Owen provides for the work. This ignores the first collation project undertaken by Zhou Bida while still in office. See Owen, 313.

⁵⁹ Interestingly this preface is not contained in the modern printing of the WYYH and instead is found among Zhou’s collected works in the *Quan Song wen* 全宋文. See Tuotuo 脫脫 (1314-1356) comp., *Quan Song wen* 全宋文 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2006), 230.183-185.

renowned literati to his court, ordered the compilation of the three great books, *Taiping yulan*, *Cefu yuangui*, and *Wenyuan yinghua* each in 1,000 *juan*. Presently, the two former works have already been printed in Fujian and Sichuan. Only the *Wenyuan yinghua* have the scholar officials uniquely done without. It contains Tang writings and a few from Northern and Southern dynasties. At the time, printed copies were rare, and even the works of Han Yu, Liu Zongyuan, Yuan Zhen, Bo Juyi were not widely circulated. The works of others such as Chen Zi'ang, Zhang Yue, Zhang Jiuling, Li Ao and various other famous scholars were rarely seen. Thus, the collators selected entire *juan* of works from Liu Zongyuan, Bo Juyi, Quan Deyu, Li Shangyin, Gu Yun, and Luo Yinbei for the work. During the reign of Emperor Zhenzong, Yao Xuan selected 11 *juan* of works and called it the *Tang wencui*. Being simple and thus exquisite, it has become popular. In recent years, we have been deluged with printings of Tang writings, and even without the *Yinghua*, they have circulated. Moreover, it (the *Yinghua*) is so vast and overflowing, there is not enough manpower, thus not having it available is a good thing. As I was serving Emperor Xiaozong, I heard of the sagacious directive desiring to print Jiang Dian's *Wen hai*. I submitted a petition that the work be abandoned, the number of errors making it unreadable. The emperor thereupon ordered the institute officials to gather the *Huangchao wenjian* 皇朝文鑑. I, following the *Yinghua*, found that though imperial library had a copy, it was riddled with errors and unreadable. Soon after, I submitted a petition indicating that its selection process was erroneous and unworthy of serious regard. At the time, his majesty provided twelve staff members to proofread and correct the work, all of whom were scholars little acquainted with writing. Each month they were given food and money, and after one year all were appointed to fill vacancies in the palace guard. Taking this work as a lesson, they

frequently pompously added “muddy” notes and decorations to their copies. Their work was added to the *mige*, where later generations will use it as a source text. I had three concerns (about this work): At the beginning of the dynasty, though the texts were all hand copied, their notes and collation were exceedingly fine. Later as learning changed, their basic meaning was lost. Today, although printed copies have replaced the old books, these are often inferior, this is the first example.⁶⁰ Before the taboo names are in the ancestral hall one must only omit a stroke from the character. In the *fu* section, the collators change *Shang* 商 to *Yin* 殷, change *hong* 洪 to *hong* 弘, sometimes even fitting the rhyme scheme all the way through the piece. When it comes to Tang taboo names and the taboo names of this dynasty, they aren’t consistent in their changes; this is the second example. Originally where one phrase or multiple phrases were missing, or where ancient language was used, they pretended to understand where they did not, adding things themselves. This caused the writings of previous generations to become blemished and flawed. This is the third example. Recently, I was attached to Commandant Fan Zhongyi 范仲藝 (dates unknown) in Jing. All of the assistants and deputies did a bit of work.⁶¹ Luckily, later I retired and

⁶⁰ Here Zhou presents a larger criticism of the state of literature in his day. He laments that though printing has brought greater access and availability to certain works, the overall quality of books on the whole has decreased significantly. Zhou points out that though books at the beginning of the dynasty were handwritten, they were of superior quality. Whereas the printed works of his day were lacking and laden with mistakes. Huang Yanni 黄燕妮 has pointed out the Chinese developed printing and a print culture some 600 years before Europe and that though this may be viewed as a great accomplishment by some, it was also a significant loss to their culture. This is because, in China many handwritten copies of works were lost very early on. While in Europe these copies were preserved and, in many cases, printed themselves in different editions. See Huang Yanni 黄燕妮, *Song dai Wenyuan yinghua jiaokan yanjiu* 宋代文苑英華校勘研究 (Chengdu, Bashu shushe, 2017), 87-90.

⁶¹ This likely refers to the period, late in his career, that Zhou had been dismissed from the court of the newly crowned emperor Song Guangzong 宋光宗 (1147-1200). Zhou was assigned as governor of Tanzhou 潭州 (modern day Changsha 長沙 Hunan province). Based on his comments, it is likely that Zhou enlisted the help of local officials to work on the WYYH.

sought after other editions, and consulting with my scholar friends, I left what was doubtful.⁶² Doubting, I abandoned the original work. I drew my work from the classics, histories, masters, collections, annotations, *Tong dian* 通典, *Tong jian* 通鑑, *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚, *Chu xue ji* 初學記, *yuefu* 樂府 poetry, Buddhist and Daoist writings, as well as *xiao shuo* 小說 leaving nothing out. Since the time of the original compilation many years had passed. More than one set of hands was involved [in the work], their work was tedious and repetitive. The beginnings and endings were not connected together. In some cases, one poem was split into two and two poems were combined into one. Names of authors are incorrectly assigned, and the sequence was the reverse of what it should be—such examples are more than can be counted. Among them, in the *fu* section they used *yuan lai* 員來 without consulting the *Zhengyi* commentary to the “Qin shi” 秦誓 in the *Shang shu* 尚書; do they not know that the modern character *yun* 云 is an abbreviated form of *yun* 員?⁶³ Using *yao jiu* 堯韭 (sweet flag) to match *shunying* 舜英 (hibiscus), this is not from the *Bencao* 本草 commentary.⁶⁴ Did they not know it should be written as *changpu* 菖蒲?

⁶² Here Zhou alludes to a passage from the *Lun yu* 論語 2/19, “Zi-zhang was studying with an eye to an official career. The Master said, “Use your ears widely, but leave out what is doubtful; repeat with caution and you will make few mistakes. Use your ears widely and leave out what is hazardous; put the rest into practice with caution and you will have few regrets. To make few mistakes in speech and to have few regrets in action; therein lies an official career.” 子張學干祿。子曰：『多聞闕疑，慎言其餘，則寡尤。多見闕殆，慎行其餘，則寡悔。言寡尤，行寡悔，祿在其中矣。 See *Lun yu* 論語 (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 22-24. Translation by DC Lau.

⁶³ Here Zhou uses the characters 云 and 員, both pronounced *yun*, as an example of the ignorance found in the imperial workforce. Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648) in his commentary to the *Shang shu* 尚書 that “*Yun* 員 is none other than *yun* 云.” 員即云也。 See *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Shanghai; Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 815. This would have been common among scholars in Zhou’s day as the *Shang shu* and its commentaries, including Kong’s, would have been part of their basic education.

⁶⁴ This line refers to the term *yaojiu shunrong* 堯韭舜榮 (sweet flag and hibiscus) from Xiao Yi’s 蕭譯 (508-555) *Xuan lan fu* 玄覽賦. This piece appears in the *fu* section of the WYYH and is one of the earliest

Again, in the *cuo* 磋 in *qiecuo* 切磋, in the *qu* 驅 in *quchi* 驅馳, in the *fan* 帆 in *guafan* 掛帆, in the *zhuang* 裝 in *xian zhuang* 仙裝, in the *Guang yun* all of these have a *ze* 仄 tone. In common usage *qiecuo* 切磋 has been changed to *xiaoke* 效課, *zhu* 駐 has replaced *qu* 驅, *xi* 席 has replaced *fan* 帆, and *zhang* 仗 has replaced *zhuang* 裝.⁶⁵ Presently all of these have been corrected; detailed commentary is found with each individual piece and need not all be mentioned here. We started our block carving in the first year of the Jiatai reign period (1201) and finished in the autumn of the fourth year (1204). My wish to have this work circulate in this generation to make widely known Xiling's 熙陵 [Emperor Taizong's]

collected pieces in the book. See *Wenyuan yinghua*, 575-580. For commentary on this term, see Xiong Qingyuan 熊清元, *Xiao Yi ji jiaozhu* 蕭譯集校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2018), 28-31. The *bencao* 本草 mentioned here is likely the *Shennong bencao* 神農本草 the earliest extant Chinese medical text.

⁶⁵ In this section Zhou provides evidence of the shoddy work done by the collators during Xiaozong's reign. In the previous sentence, Zhou lists four characters; *cuo* 磋, *qu* 驅, *fan* 帆, and *zhuang* 裝 are all characters that have both *ping* 平 tone and *qu* 去 tone entries in the *Guang yun*, placing them in *ze* 仄 tonal group as well. In Zhou's day, the workers would likely have only recognized these characters for the *ping* tone entry, being unaware of their additional *ze* tone. With this, these workers likely thought they were fixing the prosody of the pieces in question by changing these characters to something they knew had a *ze* tone. This once again highlights the ignorance of the workforce Zhou had been given and we can almost feel his frustration with the situation, having a workforce that lacked what must have been common knowledge for an educated official such as Zhou. The words Zhou highlights here appear in the WYYH with the following frequency: *qiecuo* 切磋 23 times, *quchi* 驅馳 88 times, *guafan* 掛帆 1 time, and *xianzhuang* 仙裝 1 time. Zhou appears to have been deeply concerned about these mistakes. In one of the occurrences of *qie cuo* it appears that he added a note explaining the changes in tones since the Tang. It reads "In the *Tang yun* [The *Tang yun* 唐韻, compiled in 732 by Sun Mian 孫愐, is a revision of the *Qie yun* 切韻 of 601] the character *cuo* 磋 has the *fanqie* spelling *qian ge* 千箇. This has the same meaning as (the other *fanqie* spelling of) *cuo*. Changing this to *xiao ke* 效課 is incorrect." 唐韻有磋字千箇切與磋義同改作効課恐非. See *Wenyuan yinghua*, 59.267.

splendor in honoring literary culture, and display Fuling's 阜陵 [Emperor Xiaozong's] excellence in being fond of goodness has become the ambition of this old man.⁶⁶ Being deeply afraid that those to come will not know of its origin [of the printing project], I thus list Xingguo to Yongxi as the publication date and relate the mistakes made in the whole course here. There are many unanswered questions, and I respectfully await the advice of future savants. The seventh day of the seventh month. Respectfully noted,

Zhou Bida

臣伏睹太宗皇帝丁時太平，以文明化成天下，即得諸國圖籍，聚名士於朝，詔修三大書：曰《太平御覽》，曰《冊府元龜》，曰《文苑英華》各一千卷。今二書閩，蜀已刻，惟《文苑英華》士大夫家絕無而僅有。蓋所集唐文章，如南北朝間存一二。是時印本絕少，雖韓，柳，元，白之文尚未甚傳，其他如陳子昂，張說，九齡，李翱等諸名士文集世尤罕見，故修書官於宗元，居易，權得輿，李商隱，顧雲，羅隱輩或全卷取入。當真宗朝，姚鉉銓擇十一，號《唐文萃》由簡故精，所以盛行。近歲唐文摹印浸多，不假《英華》而傳，況卷帙浩繁，人力難及，其不行於世則宜。臣事孝宗皇帝，間聞聖論欲刻江鈿《文海》。臣奏其去取差謬不足觀，帝乃詔館職哀集《皇朝文鑑》。臣因及《英華》，雖秘閣有本，然舛誤不可讀。俄聞傳旨取入，

⁶⁶ *Xiling* 熙陵 refers to the mausoleum of Song Taizong while *Fuling* refers to *Yongfuling* 永阜陵 the mausoleum of Song Xiaozong.

遂經乙覽。時御前置校正書籍一二十員，皆書生稍習文墨者，月給餐錢，滿數歲補進武校尉。既得此為課程，往往妄加塗注，繕寫裝飾，付之秘閣，後世將遂為定本。臣過計有三不可：國初文集雖寫本，然讐校頗精，後來學改易，失本旨。今乃盡以印本易舊書，是非相亂，一也。凡廟諱未祧之前，止當闕筆，而校正者於賦中以商易殷，以洪易弘，或值押韻，全韻隨之，至於唐諱及本朝諱存改不定，二也。原缺一句或數句，或頗用古語，乃以不知為知，自增捐，使前代遺文幸存者轉增疵類，三也。頃嘗屬荆帥范仲藝、均倅丁介稍加校正；晚幸退休，徧求別本，與士友詳議，疑則闕之。凡經、史、子、集、專注、《通典》、《通鑑》、及《藝文類聚》、《初學記》，下至樂府，釋老，小說之類，無不參用。惟是原修書時歷年頗多，非出一手，業脞重複，首尾衡決，一詩或析為二，二詩或合為一，姓氏差誤，先後顛倒，不可勝計。其間賦多用『員來』，非讀《秦誓正義》，安知今之《云》字乃《員》之省文？以堯韭對舜英，非《本草注》，安知其為菖蒲？又如切磋之磋，驅馳之驅，掛帆之帆，仙裝之裝，《廣韻》各有側聲，而流俗改切磋為效課，以駐易驅，以席易帆，以仗易裝，今皆正之，詳注逐篇之下，不復徧舉。始雕於嘉泰改元春，至四年秋訖工，蓋欲流傳斯世，廣熙陵右文之盛，彰阜陵好善之優，成老臣發

端之志。深懼來者莫知其由，故列興國至雍熙成書歲月，而述證誤本末如此。闕疑尚多，謹俟來哲。七月七日，具位臣周某謹記。⁶⁷

In his preface, Zhou fails to reveal any additional information about the earlier compilation work. We can induce from his comments however that the text itself was in a miserable state. We may even go so far as to assume that the Southern Song imperial library text did not represent any one full version of the text, instead being an amalgamation of different versions donated to the library from various collections. Zhou praises the contents of the WYYH, while at the same time lamenting the fact that it has lain unpublished for so long. Zhou goes on to recount his work in petitioning the emperor for the resources needed to revise the work and prepare it for publishing. We are told that he was assigned a total of twelve scholars to help him in the process. But Zhou is quick to lament about the quality of the workforce assigned to him. We're told that they were a poorly educated group whose work was rife with problems. This group added unclear notes and flourishes to their writing, pretending to understand work that was beyond them. They also mixed the taboo characters for the ruling Song emperors with those from Tang. Lastly, this group of collators also engaged in the practice of adding their own writing into the texts, contaminating them. Zhou correctly laments that this could have been the final version of the text that was left to future generations. Had this truly been the case, the WYYH may have been relegated to the dustbin of history, being judged an unreliable and unworthy text by post-Song scholars and intellectuals.

Luckily Zhou did not allow himself to be satisfied with the work as it was done. He tells us that after his retirement from court he personally undertook the work of rectifying errors in the

⁶⁷ See *Quan Song wen*, 230.183-185.

WYYH and preparing a final version of the text. From the detail provided in his preface, we have the most complete account of any of the four compilations. Zhou tells us that the state of the text after nearly 200 years, multiple compilations, and numerous sets of hands involved had many problems. Zhou observes that the contents of the work contained many errors. The beginning and ending of pieces were reversed, groups of poems were combined into one, singular poems were divided into many, and authors names were mistakenly assigned. Zhou lists many other mistakes ranging from characters with the wrong tone, to mistaken characters, to the wrong names for plants being used. Combined together, these errors presented an enormous challenge for Zhou who tells us that throughout the process he regularly consulted with other scholars as well as consulting a variety of other source materials including a number of anthologies and *leishu*.⁶⁸ Overall, the entire process took Zhou and those working with him a total of four years to complete.

From all of this, we can see that a final version of the WYYH took well over two hundred years before finally being printed and made available for wide use. Yet despite his far-reaching work, there were still additional errors in Zhou's work that needed correction. Peng Shuxia 彭叔夏 (fl. 1192) was a colleague of Zhou's at the Southern Song court.⁶⁹ Peng himself was also highly critical of the collation work done at the court of Emperor Xiaozong. Given this, he along with another scholar by the name of Hu Ke 胡柯 (dates unknown), worked on their own corrections

⁶⁸ Unfortunately, Zhou does not provide an exact list of the sources he consulted in his work. This poses some challenge to our understanding of the text as we don't know the quality of those texts Zhou consulted. Given the shameful state of the Southern Song imperial library, it can be assumed with some certainty that Zhou relied on his own collection and the private libraries of others to accomplish his work.

⁶⁹ Very little is known about Peng Shuxia. We know that he shared a birthplace with Zhou, Luling 廬陵 (modern day Ji'an, Jiangsu) and that he achieved the rank of *jinsi* in 1192.

to the WYYH, eventually producing the *Wenyuan yinghua bianzheng* 文苑英華辨證 in 10 *juan*.⁷⁰

The work includes further corrections beyond those included by Zhou in his work and was included at the end of the first printed edition of the WYYH.⁷¹

On the topic of printing, there has been some debate as to when the first printed version of the WYYH was produced. Some scholars maintain that the first known printing of the WYYH would have taken place in the Northern Song during the reign of Emperor Zhenzong. Their arguments are based on a line regarding the first collation under Zhengzong in 1007 wherein officials were commanded to “...edit and correct the *Wenyuan yinghua* and *Wen xuan* to prepare them for printing and distribution.” Those who assume this indicates a printed version of the WYYH was produced as a result of recompilation work are sorely mistaken, as is recorded in the *Yuhai* the wooden blocks prepared for the printing the *Wenxuan* and WYYH were later destroyed in a fire. Added to this, we have the attestation of Zhou Bida that up until his time, the WYYH had remained unprinted unlike its companion works, the *Taiping yulan* and *Taiping guangji*.⁷²

Given this information, the question remains, when exactly was the first printing of the WYYH? The earliest recorded printing of the work comes from Zhou himself. In his *Zuanxiu Wenyuan yinghua shishi* 纂修文苑英華事始 he tell us “The work of carving and printing started

⁷⁰ Peng and Hu are believed to have worked with Zhou in his post-retirement recompilation of the WYYH.

⁷¹ Peng’s work on the *Wenyuan yinghua bianzheng* would come to be seen as a standard of textual criticism, winning praise from scholars for many generations to come. Hu Weixin 胡維新 (b. 1534) in his preface to the Ming printing of the WYYH observed, “Owing to the exactness and clearness of his arrangement of his work it has become highly esteemed by scholars.” 由於其條理的精密與清晰度超越前人，故為學林所推重. On this work see *A Sung Bibliography*, 443–44.

⁷² From Zhou we are told that prior to his time, these two works had both been printed in Fujian and Sichuan.

in 1201 and proceeded for four years, finishing in 1204” 始雕于嘉泰改元春至四年訖工.⁷³ Given the work required to prepare and print a work the size of the WYYH, four years of work is to be expected.⁷⁴ With his passing in the 12th month of 1204, and given the large amount of time and attention paid by Zhou to the final WYYH recompilation during his retirement, we may infer that Zhou was involved with the printing project and it may have represented one of the last projects

⁷³ Li Fang 李昉, *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華, Beijing; Zhonghua shuju, 1982, 1.

⁷⁴ As Denis Twitchett has noted, “Printing did not make cheap editions of a very large range of books available overnight. But once the printing revolution had begun, it steadily gathered momentum, and by the early twelfth century the printed book was everywhere. The long-term social impact of this innovation was drastic and far-reaching.” Dennis Twitchett, *Printing and publishing in medieval China* (New York: Frederic C. Beil, 1983), 17. We know that early, mass printed items included Buddhist and Daoist religious texts as well as calendars and almanacs. The focus of printers being on cheap items that would have mass appeal. The first government efforts at book production would come in the 5 dynasties, eventually being perfected in the early Northern Song. As Twitchett notes, the efforts of these printers, both government and commercial, slowly expanded over the centuries and by the time Zhou was prepared to print the WYYH, books both large and small were being widely produced for mass consumption. It can be safely assumed that the printer Zhou worked with at the time would have had sufficient experience to produce a work as large of as the WYYH. Should we find it strange that a private individual would undertake such a monumental printing task at a local county printer, Twitchett reminds us that during the Northern Song, “Various ministries of the central government, bureaus attached to local administrations, and local officials undertook the printing of a wide variety of books on a quasi-official basis; canonical scriptures and commentaries and model examination essays for use in local schools, works on institutions and local histories, anthologies and literary works, all sorts of practical handbooks on subjects such as medicine, botany, and agriculture, appeared under their auspices. Many private individuals undertook the printing of their own books both literary and practical, or reprinted rare works for distribution.” *ibid.* 38. Thus, the idea that a retired official such as Zhou could have sponsored a project such as this is not so far-fetched. The work of printing this edition of the WYYH was most likely done using the wood block method common in China at the time. While moveable type printing had existed in one form or another for several hundred years in China, the technology had never quite caught on, owing to the massive number of individual characters a printer would be required to keep in stock. As Twitchett has noted, “Moveable type then, although the Chinese perfected all the necessary techniques and processes, failed to catch on. The basic reason was the same as that which bedevils every Chinese printer to this day; a technique which is ideally suited to the needs of an alphabetic writing system with a small number of comparatively simple letters proved enormously costly and cumbersome when it was used to print a script demanding a constant stock of about ten thousand different characters, and the ever present need to cut new characters for which there was no type in stock.” *ibid.* 85. With the wood block method, the text to be printed was first copied to satisfaction by a calligrapher. Once ready, the page of text was then carved in relief into a wooden block that was then used for the actual printing process. This process was repeated for each page of the text, amounting to hundreds or even thousands of individual wood blocks. With the comparative size of the WYYH, at 1,000 *juan*, and given what was likely to be the modest size of a county printer, it is no wonder that the printing process took nearly four years.

of his life. With this, it can also be safely assumed that the work of printing itself took place in Zhou's place of retirement, modern day Ji'an, Jiangxi province.

As to the number of copies produced in the Jizhou printing and who they were given to, we have little information. Given the large size of the work, the number of years involved, and the likely relatively small size of this provincial level printing establishment, we can assume that a limited number of copies were produced.⁷⁵ This view is supported by scholar Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘 (1872-1949), who noted, "Although the book had been printed, it was not transmitted among the provinces and prefectures. Even at the end of the Song, it had yet to be shared with the world." 書雖刊成，未能傳播於州郡，終宋之世，其書迄未行於世。⁷⁶ The one copy we do have some knowledge of is the copy that was presented to the Southern Song imperial court. This would reside in the Southern Song capital of Hangzhou for over seventy years before the fall of the city to Mongol invaders in 1277. It is unknown what toll this invasion took on the imperial library. Both Song and Mongol forces had begun the use of incendiary projectiles at this point in history, so it is likely that the imperial library's collection suffered damage due to these devices and the conquering of the city in general. At this point the imperial WYYH copy was transported, along with the rest of the surviving imperial library collection, to the new Yuan capital. We are left without much indication as to its resting place during the Yuan. With the establishment of the

⁷⁵ As to what happened to the carved blocks used to produce this edition of the WYYH, history remains silent. It was common for many different editions of the same version of a work to be produced as a printer might store and reuse the blocks at a later point. There was also some trade in printing blocks among various printers, with blocks for works being traded and reused by different printers. But given the number of printing blocks involved, the length of the work itself, the WYYH itself being a relatively unknown work, and the lack of other printed editions before the Ming edition, it can be assumed that the printing blocks were not used to prepare other printings.

⁷⁶ Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘, *Cangyuan qunshu tiji* 藏園群書題記 (Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 1009.

Ming in 1368, the work was transported to the new imperial library in what is modern day Nanjing. This copy rested there until the 19th year of the *Yongle* 永樂 reign era (1421) when it, along with the rest of the imperial library holdings, was transported to the imperial library in the new capital of Beijing. At the time of its transport the work was likely already fragmentary, owing to the damage cited above. While stored in the imperial library access to the fragments was limited to all but the highest officials. The remnants of the WYYH sat in obscurity within the imperial library archives until the reign of the final Qing emperor Puyi 溥儀 (1906-1967). At this time, imperial officials, seeking to clear the library stores of what they considered “worthless” documents, petitioned the imperial court to burn the WYYH fragments along with other accumulated documents. It was only due to the quick action of Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940) and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909) filing a counter petition that the WYYH fragments and other writings were saved from destruction. Instead, it was transferred to the Jingshi Library 京師圖書館 (predecessor to the modern Beijing Library 北京圖書館). Today, these same fragments are housed in the Beijing National Library 北京國家圖書館. Along with these fragments, are others bought from private collections by Fu Zengxiang during his work on the WYYH in the early 20th century.

Ling has pointed out that of the original 1,000 *juan* in the Jizhou printing, only roughly 150 *juan* of unique materials survive to this day. These fragments are stored in three separate locations. The Beijing Library currently houses 150 *juan* of this copy, inherited from the Qing imperial holdings, with 20 *juan* of these materials being duplicates of those held elsewhere. An additional 20 *juan* of materials exist outside of the Beijing collection: 10 *juan*, which were sold at auction to

a Singaporean buyer in 1995 and have since disappeared, and an additional 10 *juan* that are held by the Academia Sinica in Taiwan.⁷⁷

Looking beyond the Jizhou printing, we know that throughout the Yuan and Ming, many copies of the WYYH were produced by hand. These *chaoben* 抄本 were circulated much more widely than the actual printed edition.⁷⁸ In fact, it is on one of these *chaoben* that the first Ming printing of the WYYH was based. This printing was undertaken in the first year of the Longqing reign period 隆慶元年 (1567), by Hu Weixin 胡維新 (b. 1534), as he was serving as investigating censor in Fuzhou and Quanzhou (modern day Fuzhou and Quanzhou, Fujian province 福建省福州泉州). As Hu himself states in his preface to the Ming printing, “As for the transmission of the *Wenyuan yinghua*, the Song produced a printed edition that is currently stored within the palace.

⁷⁷ The 10 *juan* sold at auction were originally purchased from a private collector in the 1940's by Chen Qinghua 陳清華 (1894-1978). In the 1950's, Chen would sell them to Wang Nanping 王南屏 (1924-1985). The collection was borrowed by the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1974 for a printing project. After Wang's death, the total 10 *juan* were sold at an auction in Beijing hosted by China Guardian Auctions 中國嘉德拍賣 of Hong Kong. They were sold to an anonymous buyer from Singapore for a total of 1.43 million RMB. The 10 *juan* held by the Academia Sinica in Taiwan were purchased from a private collector by Xu Senyu 徐森玉 (1888-1971). Xu eventually donated the collection to the Academia Sinica. For a detailed discussion of these collections, see Li Zongkun 李宗焜, “Songben *Wenyuan yinghua*” 宋本文苑英華 in *Wenyuan yinghua juan erbaiqishiyi zhi juan erbaibashi, fulu juan erbaiqi juan shou canye* 文苑英華: 卷二百七十一至卷二百八十, 附錄卷二百七卷首殘葉 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2008), 1-32 and Ling 55-57.

⁷⁸ Ling postulates that most of these *chaoben* were based on the final Song edition prepared by Zhou Bida. He identifies two possible routes of transmission. The first being copies made from the printed edition stored in the Southern Song imperial library and eventually transmitted to the Yuan and Ming imperial libraries. The problem with this theory is that few except for high ranking imperial officials would have had access to this book, regardless of the dynasty. This is exhibited by the fact that Hu Weixin, the preparer of the Ming print edition, lacked access to the imperial copy himself at the time of his work. The other more likely theory, put forward by Ling, is that written copies were prepared by those who worked with Zhou at the time of his final compilation. It is likely that those who worked with Zhou on the compilation project, being bibliophiles themselves and lacking access to the more expensive printed edition of the final work, would have created handwritten copies of the WYYH for their own personal collections. See Ling, 60-62.

In past times, those who hadn't attained rank in the Hanlin Academy were unable to view the book; presently the book has been lost" 苑之傳也，宋有刻也，然藏之御府，昔非掌中秘之書者不獲見；而今并逸之矣. Hu goes on to state that for his printing of the WYYH he "purchased rare editions of the *Wenyuan yinghua* to create the printing blocks." 購文苑英華善本梓之.⁷⁹ Of the WYYH copies that existed during the Ming, Ling has identified fifteen that have survived to the present day in various libraries and institutions throughout China and Taiwan.⁸⁰ The issue presented by this first Ming printing is its reliability. By the time of its printing, almost 300 years had passed since the time of Zhou Bida's original work. In this time the text had mostly circulated in the form of these *chaoben*, a process that inherently introduces further mistakes and changes to the text of the original work. This is confirmed by the work done by Fu Zengxiang in his *Cangyuan qunshu tiji* 藏園群書題記, where he compares the text of the extant Song printing with that of the Longqing Ming printing as well as extant Ming *chaoben*. Fu demonstrates that all but a few of the extant versions differ in major ways from the extant Song text.⁸¹ This first Ming printing was followed by others throughout the remaining years of the dynasty, all of which focused on corrections to the original printed Ming text.

The content of the WYYH remained unchanged until modern times, when the scholar Fu Zengxiang took an interest in the work.⁸² As a bibliographer and scholar focused on rare editions

⁷⁹ See *Wenyuan yinghua*, 4.

⁸⁰ See Ling, 60-63.

⁸¹ See Fu Zengxiang, 894-905.

⁸² Fu began his career as a government official during the waning years of the Qing dynasty. After passing his examinations, he served at several positions both in and out of the court. With the fall of the Qing government, Fu found himself as an administrator and teacher at a succession of girl's schools throughout the capital. Later, Fu would serve as an advisor to several important figures throughout the Republican Era. As a scholar, he was a keen bibliographer and scholar of rare books. For an account of Fu Zengxiang see

of texts, Fu took an interest in the WYYH after the remnants of the Song printing were saved from the incinerator by court officials. In this work, Fu meticulously compared the extant Song pieces with those that appeared in the Ming Longqing printing.⁸³ His work found many inconsistencies between the Ming printing and the extant Song text. These corrections to the text were later published as the *Wenyuan yinghua jiaoji* 文苑英華校記.⁸⁴ The Song remnants used by Fu would later be included in the first modern edition of the WYYH, produced by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.⁸⁵ The Ming Longqing edition served as the base for this edition, with Song text being substituted where it was still extant.

Howard Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 2: 46–47.

⁸³ In the process of his work, Fu was able to acquire several more *juan* of materials of the Song printing from the hands of private book collectors. These eventually made their way into the Beijing Library collection as well.

⁸⁴ Despite his tremendous work, the work done by Fu was incomplete and problematic in places. Li Zongkun 李宗焜 has demonstrated this in his essay “Songben Wenyuan yinghua”, a companion piece to the Academia Sinica Institute of History and Philology printing of their Song WYYH fragments. See Li Zongkun, 1-32.

⁸⁵ See Li Fang 李昉, ed., *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1966).

Chapter 4

A Place in Tradition - The *Wenyuan yinghua* and Other Medieval Anthologies

This chapter will focus on general literary anthologies beginning with the *Wen xuan*, their history and the place and context the WYYH fills in that history. Lastly the relationship between the *Wen xuan* and WYYH will be examined.

Anthologies

In the Six Dynasties we see the development of what would become a very active anthology culture in China. Due to the thriving literary culture of the time, large amounts of writing began to be produced, with this accumulation came the desire to sort these pieces in a more manageable way. The driving desire behind the creation of these anthologies was to provide examples of what the authors considered “worthy literature.” This desire can be traced back to the earliest Ruist “classic”, the *Shijing* 詩經 and *Shujing* 書經, both traditionally believed to have been compiled by Confucius himself out of a desire to provide “worthy” examples of poetry and prose. During this period we see a variety of anthology types begin to emerge, these include comprehensive

anthologies (*zongji* 總集) in which the compiler provides selected examples of literature in a variety of genres, specific collections of individual authors' writings, and still others were collected into more specialized anthologies for specific genres.⁸⁶ Each of these anthologies represented a unique purpose or view espoused by the compiler. Professor David Knechtges has likened each of these anthologies to a garden, in which some gardeners carefully chose what is to be displayed in their collection, carefully pruning and selecting only those they deem of the greatest value. Still other gardeners add to their collection seemingly at random, making a hodgepodge that may seem indecipherable to the outsider.⁸⁷

Wen xuan

The *Sui shu* 隋書 “Jingji zhi” 經籍志 lists 249 different anthologies, all with varying purpose and content. One of the only two anthologies from this time to have survived intact through the tumult of the age is the *Wen xuan* 文選 (*Selections of Refined Literature*).⁸⁸ Compiled in the early Liang Dynasty 梁朝 by the Crown Prince Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531) and members of his court, the work reflects his attempt to provide readers with a guide to over two thousand years of writings. Xiao Tong writes in the preface:

The names of men of letters and great talents overflow the blue bags, and the texts of swift writings from moist brushes fill the yellow covers. Unless one omits the weeds,

⁸⁶ See David Knechtges, “Pre-Tang Anthologies and Anthologization” in *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature*, Wiebke Denecke et al. eds., 293-302 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁸⁷ See David Knechtges, “Culling the Weeds and Selecting Prime Blossoms – The Anthology in Early Medieval China” in *Culture and Power in the Reconstitution of the Chinese Realm, 200-600*, Scott Pearce et al. eds., 202-203 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

⁸⁸ The other anthology that has survived to the present time is the *Yutai xinyong* 玉台新詠. For more information on the loss of books throughout Chinese history see Glen Dudbridge, *Lost Works of Medieval China* (London: The British Library, 2000).

and collects only the purest blossoms, though one doubles his effort, it will be difficult to read more than half.⁸⁹

詞人才子，則名溢於縹囊；飛文染翰，則卷盈乎緗帙。自非略其蕪穢，集其清英，蓋欲兼功，太半難矣。

From this and other lines in the preface we can see that Xiao Tong had two primary purposes in compiling the *Wen xuan*. The first was to add to the legitimacy of his family's rule by connecting with the literary roots of China's remote past. The second was making literature and writing more accessible for readers. Due to the large quantity of writing that had accumulated over the course of history, it would be difficult for the reader to know which pieces to focus their attention on, thus was the need for an anthology of carefully selected writings.

To achieve this goal Xiao Tong and those who worked with him compiled a general anthology comprising 30 *juan* that included genres ranging from *fu*, lyric poetry, condolences, historical essays, etc. The received version of the *Wen xuan* contains thirty-seven genres, but some scholars argue that a total of thirty-nine genres are present in the text. Professor Shimizu Yoshio 清水凱夫 has argued that the original version of the *Wen xuan* contains only thirty-seven genres, and that Xiao Tong had very little involvement in the selection of pieces contained therein.⁹⁰ Other scholars, including David Knechtges, Fu Gang 傅剛, and Qu Shouyuan 屈守元, have pointed to problems in chronological ordering, as well as other editions of the *Wen xuan* that point to the

⁸⁹ Translation from David Knechtges, *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature, Volume One* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 86-87.

⁹⁰ Shimizu has proposed that Xiao Tong was only nominally involved in the compilation of the *Wen xuan*. He has suggested that instead it was the scholar Liu Xiaochuo 劉孝綽 (481-539) who was responsible for the selection of many of the pieces included in the work. This idea is based on his own research into the relationship that the writers had with Liu. For more information see Shimizu Yoshio 清水凱夫, "Monzen senja kō – Shōmei taishi to Ryū Koshaku" 文選撰者考 - 昭明太子と劉孝綽, *Gakurin* (1984:3): 46-64; Han Jiguo 韓基國, trans. "Wen xuan zhuanzhe kao - Zhaoming taizi he Liu Xiaochuo" 《文選》撰者考 - 昭明太子和劉孝綽, *Liuchao wenxuan lunwen jii*, 1-18.

existence of two additional genres.⁹¹ These scholars also argue for the direct involvement of Xiao Tong in the selection and compilation process, a view that is partially supported by lines from the preface to the work. Based on the arguments presented, this scholar will maintain the view of the *Wen xuan* containing 39 genres.

From the time of its completion in the Liang until the Sui we have no record of the *Wen xuan* or the reception it received. The earliest record of any commentary attached to the *Wen xuan* comes from Xiao Tong's nephew Xiao Gai 蕭該 (ca. 553-ca. 610) whose work *Wen xuan yinyi* 文選音義 provided readers with glosses giving the correct pronunciation and meaning of certain characters contained in the anthology.⁹² In the late Sui the scholar Cao Xian 曹憲 (541-645) also composed a work entitled *Wenxuan yinyi*, which also provided glosses on pronunciation and meaning. In his retirement Cao Xian founded a school in his natal home of Yangzhou 揚州 (modern-day Yangzhou, Jiangsu), which drew hundreds of students who came to study the *Wen xuan* with Cao. In the early Tang 唐, several of these students, including Li Shan 李善 (630-689) and Gongsun Luo 公孫羅 (n.s.), would go on to produce their own *yinyi* commentaries as well as

⁹¹ See Fu Gang 傅剛, “Lun *Wen xuan* de ‘nan’ ti” 論文選的難題, *Zhejiang xuekan* 101 (1996), 86-89; Fu Gang 傅剛, *Zhaoming Wen xuan yanjiu* 《昭明文選》研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2001), 185-192.

⁹² We find mention of this work in both the *Sui shu* 隨書 and *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 as the *Wen xuan yin* 文選音, but it has been lost. See Wei Zheng 魏徵 comp., *Sui shu* 隨書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 35. 1082 and Liu Xu 劉昫 comp., *Jiu Tang Shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), 47, 2077. There have been fragments of a work entitled *Wen xuan yin* 文選音 discovered in the caves at Dunhuang, which have been studied by multiple scholars. These studies have led some scholars to claim they are remnants of Xiao Gai's work, while others claim they are not. Given these mixed opinions it is difficult to provide a concrete answer. For a detailed study of these fragments and the arguments claiming the fragments belong see Xiao Gai's work see Wang Zhongmin 王重民, *Dunhuang guji xulu* 敦煌古籍叙錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), 323. For arguments favoring a different origin see Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, “Lun Wenxuan yin canjuan zhi zuozhe jiqi fangyin” 論文選音殘卷之作者及其方音, *Qinghua xuebao* 13 (1934), also in *Wenxue ji* 問學集, vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1966), 177-191.

more detailed commentaries to the *Wen xuan*.⁹³ From the efforts of these scholars we witness the birth of *Wen xuan* studies or *Wen xuan xue* 文選學 in the Tang Dynasty.⁹⁴ In his commentary to the *Wen xuan* Li Shan divides the original 30 *juan* into 60. His commentary became the standard for scholars using the text in the Tang and beyond and is commonly referred to as *Zhaoming Wenxuan* 昭明文選 or simply as *Li Shan Wen xuan* 李善文選.

Throughout the Tang dynasty we have evidence that the *Wen xuan* was in use among literati and scholars. The work was especially influential during the early and high Tang periods, but slowly began to lose prestige throughout the rest of the dynasty. This early prominence may in fact owe in part to the structure of the imperial examinations during the Tang. From historical sources, we see that for a period of time *jinshi* 進士 examinees were required to compose both *fu* 賦 and *shi* 詩 pieces.⁹⁵ Given this requirement, students of the age may have found the *Wen xuan* to be a convenient study tool, as it collected pieces that provided models for writing. Further evidence of

⁹³ The Gongsun Luo commentary, simply entitled *Wen xuan zhu* 文選注 is mentioned in the *Jiu Tang shu*, but is not lost. One other interesting thing to note is an additional commentary to the *Wen xuan* produced by the scholar Lu Shanjing 陸善經 (fl. 742-758). His commentary unknown until it was discovered among those included in a fragmentary version of the *Wen xuan* found in Japan called the *Wen xuan jizhu* 文選集註. Originally consisting of 120 *juan* only 24 survive today. The work was discovered in several Japanese monasteries and contains not only the Lu Shanjing commentary, but also other commentaries including those of Li Shan and the Wuchen. Scholars are unsure of the exact dating of the work though some maintain that it is a Japanese work; while others, such as Zhou Xunchu 周勛初, maintain that it is a product of the Tang dynasty.

⁹⁴ For a detailed study of *Wen xuan xue* during the Sui and Tang see Wang Xibo 王習波, *Sui Tang Wen xuan xue yanjiu* 隋唐文選學研究 (Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005).

⁹⁵ See Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, 54. With the reunification of the Chinese realm under the Tang, there was an increased demand for educated officials to fill the burgeoning ranks of the new Tang bureaucracy. With its carefully selected genres and pieces, the *Wen xuan* provided needed examples for these scholar-officials. The work would eventually come to serve as an important preparatory tool for those seeking to take the important *jinshi* exam. Aside from being tested on their knowledge of Ruist classics, examinees were tested further on composition pieces from different genres. By the middle of the Tang, these composition pieces had settled on the *fu* genre. For further discussion on this topic see David Knechtges, “*Wenxuan cifu yu Tang dai keju kaoshi zhi guanxi*” 《文選》辭賦與唐代科舉考試之關係, *Journal of Oriental Studies* 47 (2014): 1-15.

the prevalence of the *Wen xuan* comes from two poems we have from the poet Du Fu 杜甫(712-770).

From “Morning Clearing at the Waterside Pavilion, A Piece Sent to Yan Yun’an” Shuige chaoji fengjian Yan Yun’an 水閣朝霽，奉簡巖雲安

Calling for a servant girl to bring a pot of wine,
I continue to follow my son in reciting the *Wen xuan*.
呼婢取酒壺，續兒誦文選⁹⁶

From “Zong Wu’s Birthday” 宗武生日

Be thoroughly versed in the writing principles of the *Wen xuan*,
熟精文選理⁹⁷

Given the strong evidence that the *Wen xuan* played an important role in the education of those who aspired to rise into official rank and position, we can safely infer that many of those in the Tang were quite familiar with the *Wen xuan*, its contents, and its classification system. I will now proceed to explore what influence this familiarity had on the compilation of the *Wenguan cilin* 文館詞林.

Wenguan cilin

The Tang itself was an era which saw increased interest in the production of literary anthologies, possibly more than any previous era. This interest in collecting and displaying literature applied to works of preceding dynasties as well as those of the Tang itself. We have record of over a hundred anthologies compiled during the Tang, many of which survived into the

⁹⁶ Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, *Qian zhu Du shi* 錢注杜詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), 6.171.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 16.559.

proceeding centuries (but few to the modern age).⁹⁸ The *Wenguan cilin*, a product of this age, is the only surviving great comprehensive anthology we have from the Tang Dynasty.⁹⁹ Emperor Gaozong 唐高宗 (628 - 683) ordered its compilation in the early Tang with Xu Jingzong 許敬宗 (592-672) being ordered to lead the project and the completed work being presented to the throne in 658.¹⁰⁰ Because of the scarcity of records relating to the project, we do not know how many people worked on the compilation with Xu, nor do we know the exact purpose of its compilation.

⁹⁸ The content of these anthologies varied in their content, length, and time periods covered. Some, like the *Xu Wen xuan* 續文選 and Li Kangcheng's 李康城 (Dates unknown) *Yutai houji* 玉台後集, sought to continue upon the work of other famous collections (the *Wen xuan* and *Yutai xinyong* 玉台新詠). Others, like the *Guwen yuan* 古文苑 preserved historical pieces by genre. Another interesting artifact of Tang anthology culture was the trend of producing anthologies containing the best examples of poetry of the dynasty from its founding down to the compiler's time. The most famous example of this type of Tang anthology is probably the *Heyue yingling ji* compiled by Yin Fan. Yin collects pieces (including his own) ranging from 714-755. This anthology and others like it are of particular interest because they provide insight into how those in Tang viewed their literary world at the time. In the *Heyue yingling ji* we find authors, such as Wang Changling 王昌齡 (690-756), whose work was well received by those in later dynasties. At the same time, we find others who are relatively unknown today. This reminds us that our modern views on Tang literature, as well as much of our received corpus, have been heavily influenced by those in the dynasties proceeding the Tang and might not fully reflect the views of those who lived in the Tang as contemporaries to those we now revere. For a more detailed discussion of Tang anthologies see Paul Kroll, "Anthologies in the Tang" in *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature*, Wiebke Denecke et. all ed., 303-315 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁹⁹ For general studies on the *Wenguan cilin* see Lin Jialin 林家驥, "Ribei ying Hongren ben *Wenguan cilin* ji qi wenxian jiazhi" 日本影弘仁本《文館詞林》及其文獻價值, *Hangzhou daxue xuebao* (1988:4): 93-100, 147; Huang Zhixiang 黃志祥, "Shichuan qianian zhi zongji guibao – *Wenguan cilin canjuan chutan*" 失傳千年之總集瑰寶：文館詞林殘卷初探, *Dongfang zazhi* 19:3 (1985): 31-35.

¹⁰⁰ Xu's family claimed origins in Gaoyang 高陽 (modern-day Baoding, Hebei 保定河北省), with Xu himself begin born in Chang'an 長安 (modern-day Xi'an, Shaanxi 西安陝西) where his father served as an official of both the Chen 陳 and Sui 隋 dynasties. We know little of Xu's time between the end of the Sui and the establishment of the Tang other than that he and his father were captured by General Yuwen Huaji 宇文化及 (D. 619) during the coup that ended the Sui. When faced with the demand to submit to the general, Xu conceded, while his father did not and was executed. Xu continued his career in the Tang initially as an advisor to Li Shimin 李世民 (598-649), the future Emperor Taizong 唐太宗. After Li's rise to the throne, Xu would serve in increasingly high positions throughout the reigns of Taizong and Gaozu. Additionally, Xu served as the keeper of imperial history throughout the rest of his career. A position that would later be criticised by Chinese historians who claim Xu altered and twisted the imperial histories to his own liking. Xu would also prove instrumental in the rise of Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705) in her rise to prominence at the court of Gaozong. Lastly Xu supervised many important imperial commission works. These included the *Wenguan cilin*, a smaller anthology called the *Fanglin yaolan* 芳林要覽, several dynastic histories, a massive *lei shu* called the *Wensi boyao* 文思博要, and several others.

Although, based on its appearance early in the dynasty around the same time as the compilation of other large projects such as the *Wensi boyao* 文思博要 (The Wide Ranging and Essential in Literary Thought), it may have been compiled as a state-sponsored large literary project, the goal of which was to bolster the legitimacy of the ruling house.¹⁰¹

The *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 lists the work in 1,000 *juan* with Xu as the sole compiler.¹⁰² In comparison, the *Xin Tang shu* lists the work in the same number of *juan* but with Xu Jingzong and Liu Bozhuang 劉伯莊 (dates unknown) as compilers.¹⁰³ Why there is a discrepancy in this ascription is unknown. But, in examining Liu Bozhuang's biography in the *Jiu Tang shu*, we do find one line where the *Wenguan cilin* is credited to him. This discrepancy does make sense, for Liu was also involved with Xu in the compilation of the *Wensi boyao*. Why the authors of the *Jiu Tang shu* do not mention him is unknown.

After the *Wenguan cilin* was presented to the throne, due its size and the difficulty involved with making copies, the work did not enter into major circulation. However, from the following source we do find evidence of the *Wenguan cilin* being consulted by those at court:

During the second year of the Chuigong reign period (687), on the fourteenth day of the second month, King Kim Bareul Myeong dispatched an envoy seeking writings pertaining to the Tang rites, and various other writings. Empress Wu ordered the responsible officials

¹⁰¹ We know that the *Wensi boyao* was another massive compilation project undertaken at the beginning of the Tang under the direction of Wei Zheng 魏徵. Originally consisting of 1,200 *juan* only the preface and a few fragments survive today. For more information see David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 212. The work seems to have survived into the Northern Song, where it was used as one of the base texts in the compilation of the *Taiping yulan*. We know this from a reference in the *Yuhai* 玉海 recounting the imperial order commanding the compilation of the *Taiping yulan* which reads: "Together with the *Xiuwen yulan*, *Yiwen leiju*, *Wensi boyao* and all other books of previous eras compile a work arranged by category of 1000 *juan*." 同以前代修文御覽，藝文類聚，文思博要及諸書分門編為一千卷. See *Yuhai*, 54.34-35.

¹⁰² See *Jiu Tang shu*, 47. 2077

¹⁰³ See Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 comp, *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 60. 1621.

to write out the sections on the auspicious and inauspicious rituals. In addition, they searched the *Wenguan cilin* for sections pertaining to admonitions and compiled them into 50 *juan*, which were given to the envoy.

垂拱二年，正名遷使來朝，因上表請唐禮一部并雜文章，則天令所司寫吉凶要禮，並於文館詞林採其詞涉規誡者，勒成五十卷以賜之。¹⁰⁴

From the account of the visit of this envoy from Silla, we can see that some members of the Tang court during this period were actively using the *Wenguan cilin*, although perhaps not for literary purposes. We can also see that at least portions of the work may have been disseminated in a similar way throughout the empire.¹⁰⁵

Further evidence of portions of the *Wenguan cilin* being consulted comes from the “Yiwen zhi” 藝文志 section of the *Xin Tang shu*. Attributed to Cui Xuanwei 崔玄暉 (639-706) is the *Xunzhu Wenguan cilin ce* 訓注文館詞林策 (*Annotated Decrees of the Wenguan cilin*) listed in 20 *juan*.¹⁰⁶ Although brief, this listing provides further evidence that the *Wenguan cilin* continued to be consulted at court.¹⁰⁷

After the An Lushan 安祿山(703-757) rebellion and with the gradual decline of the Tang, the *Wenguan cilin* all but disappeared from China and perhaps indeed from the memory of most scholars. This view is supported by an account from the Northern Song scholar Yang Yi 楊億 (974-1020) of an encounter with a Japanese monk at court.

¹⁰⁴ *Jiu Tang shu*, 150. 5334.

¹⁰⁵ One point that is of interest from this account is that the *Wenguan cilin* does not appear to have been used for literary purposes. Given its size and the difficulty involved in accessing its various genres, it may well have proved to serve better as a general reference than as any sort of literary guide.

¹⁰⁶ See *Xin Tang shu*, 60.1622.

¹⁰⁷ The *Cefu yuangui* also records this work under Cui's name listed as being in 20 *juan*. See Wang Qinruo 王欽若 comp., *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 606.7277.A.

In the third year of the Jingde reign period (1007), I assumed a position in the Memorial-forwarding office. There was a Japanese monk who came to present tribute and an edict was issued to question him. The monk didn't speak Chinese but could write. Thus, he was commanded to respond in writing. He replied, "I reside in the Tendaizan Enryakuji Monastery. There are 3,000 monks who live there. My name is Jaku Shō, my courtesy name is Master Entsu... The books in the monastery included *Shi ji*, *Han shu*, *Wen xuan*, *Wujing*, *Lunyu*, *Erya*, *Zuilang riyue*, *Taiping yulan*, *Yu pian*, *Jiang Fang ge*, *Laozi*, *Liezi*, *Shenxian zhuan*, *Chaoye qianji* [*Chaoye qianzai* 朝野僉載], *Boshi lutie*, *Chuxue ji*. Japan has the *Kokushi hifuron*, *Nihongi*, *Wenguan cilin*, *Kongen roku*, and other books. The Buddhists discuss many types of petitions, notes, and biographies, so many that they cannot be enumerated.

景德三年，予知銀臺通進司，有日本僧人入貢，遂詔問之。僧不通華言，善書札，命以牘。對云：住天臺山延歷寺，寺僧三千人，身名寂照，號圓通大師。。。書有《史記》，《漢書》，《文選》，《五經》，《論語》，《孝經》，《爾雅》，《醉鄉日月》，《御覽》，《玉片》，《蔣魴歌》，《老子》，《列子》，《神仙傳》，《朝野僉記》，《白氏六帖》，《初學記》。本國有國史秘府論，《日本紀》，《文館詞林》，《混元錄》等書，釋氏論及疏鈔傳之類多有，不可悉數。

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While we do have some references to the *Wenguan cilin* from Song sources, it is still of interest to see that even someone as knowledgeable as Yang Yi, representative of the Xikun 西昆 style of

¹⁰⁸ Jiang Shaoyu 江少虞 (12th cent.), *Song chao shishi lei yuan* 宋朝事實類苑 (Shanghai; Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 43.569.

poetry, seems to have mistakenly thought this work was of Japanese origin.¹⁰⁹ We can also discern from this passage that although it did not circulate in China, copies of the *Wenguan cilin* continued circulating in Japan for some time. These Japanese copies would in fact be key to the return of the *Wenguan cilin* to China.

By the time of the Southern Song, besides mentions in reference works, all traces of the *Wenguan cilin* had disappeared in China. Not until the nineteenth century when the quest to search out and reassemble lost books began among Chinese scholars residing in Japan were fragments of the *Wenguan cilin* recompiled. It was because of the efforts of those early scholars and government officials that today we currently have a total of thirty *juan* recovered from various monasteries and collections around Japan. While this is small when compared with the work's original size, these remnants have still provided us with many valuable pieces of poetry and prose.¹¹⁰ Some of them were thought to be lost or only fragmentary, while others give variant readings for already existing pieces. The chart below provides a reference for which *juan* have survived and their contents.

Contents of the extant <i>Wenguan cilin</i>	
<i>Juan</i> no.	Genre
152, 156-158, 160	Lyric Poetry 四言詩
346-348	Eulogy 頌
414	Sevens 七

¹⁰⁹ Yang's lack of knowledge regarding the *Wenguan cilin* is unsurprising given that very little of the work survived into the early years of the Song. The only mention of the *Wenguan cilin* comes from the *Yiwen zhi* of the *Song shi*, where a work titled *Wenguan cilin shi* 文館詞林詩 in 1 *juan* attributed to Xu Jingzong. With only 1/1000th of the actual text surviving to the Northern Song it is no wonder that Yang was unfamiliar with the work. See *Song shi* 宋史, 209.5393. Other works that make mention of the *Wenguan cilin* in 1000 *juan* include the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 and the *Tongzhi* 通志. See Wang Pu 王溥(922-982) comp., *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955), 63.656. and Zheng Qiao 鄭樵(1104-1162) comp., *Tongzhi* 通志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 70.825.

¹¹⁰ An example of this recovery of lost pieces comes in the form of *xuan yan* 玄言 poetry from the Six Dynasties. Because this style of poetry quickly fell out of favor, few examples of it have survived. It was only with the rediscovery of the *Wenguan cilin* that we are able to see many more examples of poetry written in this style.

452-53, 455, 457, 459	Epitaph 碑
507	Edict 詔
613	Decree 敕
662	Edict 詔
664-670	Edict 詔
691	Decree 敕
695	Command 令
699	Instruction 教

Like the *Wen xuan*, the *Wenguan cilin* gathers an assortment of poetry and prose ranging from the pre-Qin through the early Tang. From the chart above we can gain a clearer, if still rough, idea of the genres it contained from the remnants that have been gathered. From these we can infer that its categorization of literature may have been similar to that of the *Wen xuan*. Though not present in the extant materials, we can infer that the first category of the collection was *fu*, followed by *shi* poetry and other genres. In each genre the pieces are divided into sub-genres with pieces in chronological order, just as in the *Wen xuan*. One interesting thing we do see is that the ordering of the extant genres differs from that in the *Wen xuan*. There is no strong argument for why this was the case, but it may reflect different views from the compilers on the importance of these genres.¹¹¹

One major difference that we find between the *Wenguan cilin* and the *Wen xuan* comes at the beginning of each genre section. In the *Wen xuan* we have only the introductory preface, which provides information about the compilers' thoughts about the importance of each genre, its manner of compilation, and the uses to which it was put. But in the *Wenguan cilin*, we find that Xu and those working with him provided a small preface before each genre section. It is truly regrettable that only one of these survives. It reads:

¹¹¹ One thing that may be of interest to note here is the *juan* of decree *chi* 敕 that seems to be placed in the middle of the edict *zhao* 詔 sections. This *juan* is fragmentary in nature and it might be misplaced.

Your Servant, Xu Jingzong, carefully notes: *Chi*, means ‘correct/rectify’.¹¹² The *Shu jing* states, “*Chi* is the order from the Heavens.”¹¹³ Thus its name was taken from this. King Mu of Zhou’s ordering Deng Fu to receive the command is an example of this type of writing.¹¹⁴ When Emperor Wu of Han criticized Yang Pu, his writing is especially distinguished. Today we have searched the historical writings to prepare the section on imperial decrees.¹¹⁵

臣敬宗謹案：敕者正也。《書》稱：敕天之命。其名蓋取此也。周穆王命鄧父受敕憲即其事也。漢責楊僕，其文尤著。今歷採史籍，以備敕部。

Although short, this preface provides interesting insights into the compilation of the *Wenguan cilin*, including how the compilers viewed the use of this form of writing, and its historical origins. If more of these prefaces existed in the received *Wenguan cilin*, we would have a clearer idea of how different genre forms were viewed by those at court during the early Tang.

Because so little of the original work survives, it is hard to concretely establish a link between the *Wenguan cilin* and the *Wen xuan*. Despite this, there is still evidence to support the basic idea of a connection between the two works. The first comes from the structure and

¹¹² Here we find that the preface quotes directly from the *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 which reads 敕者正也. See Huang Shulin 黃叔琳, comm. Li Xiang 李詳 supp. comm., Yang Mingzhao 楊明照 ed. and comm., *Zengding Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu* 增訂文心雕龍校注, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000). 4.264.

¹¹³ “Being charged with the favoring appointment of Heaven, we must be careful every moment, and in the smallest particular.” 敕天之命，惟時惟幾 Translation from James Legge, *The Chinese Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), 3.89; Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1981), 1.17.

¹¹⁴ Here we find another direct quote from the *Wenxin diaolong*. The original reads verbatim 周穆王命鄧父受敕憲即其事也. See Huang Shulin, 4.266. Note the variant ways of writing the recipient of the order’s name: 鄧 in *Wenguan cilin* and 郊 in *Wenxin diaolong*. It is of interest that the compilers choose to quote twice from the *Wenxin diaolong*, it also leads one to wonder how often they may have quoted from the work in the other sectional prefaces.

¹¹⁵ See Luo Guowei 羅國威, *Ri cang Hongren ben Wenguan cilin jiaozheng* 日藏弘仁本文館詞林校正 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju; 2001), 691. 397.

categories of the *Wenguan cilin*. Despite the limited information available, they appear to be similar to those contained in the *Wen xuan*. Second, the time period covered by the work is about the same as that of the *Wen xuan*. From the description of the work and the limited view of the contents available, we can see, just like the *Wen xuan*, the work was meant to cover a period from antiquity to an unknown point sometime before the Tang. Third, just like the *Wen xuan* the work was undertaken at the beginning of a dynasty as part of a continuing effort to add to the legitimacy of the ruling house through scholarly attainment. While these are not direct links, they do point to some degree of influence that the *Wen xuan* had on the *Wenguan cilin*.

Wenyuan yinghua

Possibly because of problems in its transmission from the Northern Song to the Southern Song, we have no official preface to the WYYH. The loss of the preface makes it difficult for us to understand the intent of the compilation as well as the sources from which its contents may have been drawn. Despite the loss of the preface, an examination of the work reveals that it contains over 20,000 pieces from over 2,200 different authors. A vast majority of these works come from Tang writers.¹¹⁶ There are 37 genres contained in the work, some of which are similar to the *Wen xuan* while others are quite different. See Figures 1 and 2 below for a complete layout and a comparison of equivalent genres.

Figure 1			
文選		文苑英華	
Genre	No. of pieces	Genre	No. of pieces

¹¹⁶ Outside of any connection to the *Wenxuan*, this focus on works from the Tang could be a reflection of the general tendency throughout the Song to favor works from the Tang, especially the High Tang, over those of earlier periods. Song writers viewed themselves as upholders of a continuing tradition established in the Tang and from which they should draw inspiration and exemplary works. For further discussion on this point see Stephen Owen, “The Song Reception of Earlier Literature” in *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature*, Wiebke Denecke et. al. eds., 315-324 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

<i>Fu</i> 賦	56	<i>Fu</i> 賦	1,378
Lyric Poetry 詩	443	Lyric Poetry 詩	10,726
Elegy 騷	17	Songs 謠行	362
Sevens 七	24	Miscellaneous Writings 雜文	285
Edict 詔	2	Decrees from the Secretariat 中書 制誥	1,065
Patent of Enfeoffment 冊	1	Edicts from the Hanlin Academy 翰林制詔	604
Command 令	1	Examination Questions 策問	84
Instruction 教	2	Decree 策	208
Examination Questions 策文	13	Judgment 判	1,056
Memorial 表	19	Memorial 表	1,171
Letter of Submission 上書	7	Memorandum 牋	9
Communication 啟	3	Dictate 狀	312
Accusation 彈事	3	Proclamation 檄	13
Memorandum 牋	3	Announcement 露布	8
Note of Presentation 奏記	1	Accusation 彈文	6
Letter 書	24	Dispatch 移文	8
Dispatch 移*	1	Communication 啟	237
Proclamation 檄	5	Letter 書	241
Rebuttal 難*	1	Petition 疏	47
Response to Question 對問	1	Preface 序	593
Hypothetical Discourse 設論	3	Treatise [Disquisition] 論	176
Ci 辭	2	Opinion 議	90
Preface 序	9	Linked Pearls 連珠	54
Eulogy 頌	5	Hypothetical Dialogues 喻對	4
Encomium 贊	2	Eulogy 頌	67
Mandate through Prophetic Signs 符命	3	Encomium 讚	160
Treatises from the Histories 史論	9	Inscription 銘	79
Evaluations and Judgments from the Histories 史述贊	9	Admonition 箴	23
Treatise 論	14	Biography 傳	35
Linked Pearls 連珠	50	Notes 記	312
Admonition 箴	1	Lament 諡哀冊文	37
Inscription 命	1	Discussion on Posthumous Titles 諡議	30
Dirge 誄	8	Dirge 誄	9
Lament 哀	3	Epitaph 碑	294
Epitaph 碑	5	Necrology 誌	222

Grave Memoir 墓誌	1	Grave Memoir 墓表	7
Conduct Description 行狀	1	Conduct Description 行狀	23
Condolence 弔文	2	Offering 祭文	263
Offering 祭	3		
* Indicates a genre for which existence is debated			

Figure 2	
Genres With An Equivalent	
文選	文苑英華
<i>Fu</i> 賦	<i>Fu</i> 賦
Lyric Poetry 詩	Lyric Poetry 詩
Edict 詔	Edicts from the Hanlin Academy 翰林制詔
Examination Questions 策文	Examination Questions 策問
Memorial 表	Memorial 表
Communication 啟	Communication 啟
Memorandum 牋	Memorandum 牋
Dispatch 移	Dispatch 移文
Proclamation 檄	Proclamation 檄
Preface 序	Preface 序
Linked Pearls 連珠	Linked Pearls 連珠
Eulogy 頌	Eulogy 頌
Encomium 贊	Encomium 讚
Treatise 論	Treatise 論
Inscription 銘	Inscription 銘
Admonition 箴	Admonition 箴
Dirge 誄	Dirge 誄
Epitaph 碑	Epitaph 碑
Grave Memoir 墓誌	Grave Memoir 墓表
Conduct Description 行狀	Conduct Description 行狀
Offering 祭	Offering 祭文
Genres Without An Equivalent	
文選	文苑英華
Elegy 騷	Decrees from the Secretariat 中書制誥
Sevens 七	Miscellaneous Writings 雜文
Instruction 教	Decree 策
Command 令	Judgment 判
Patent of Enfeoffment 冊	Dictate 狀
Letter of Submission 上書	Announcement 露布
Accusation 彈事	Accusation 彈文

Note of Presentation 奏記	Letter 書
Letter 書	Petition 疏
Rebuttal 難	Biography 傳
Response to Question 對問	Opinion 議
Hypothetical Discourse 設論	Notes 記
Ci 辭	Lament 諡哀冊文
Mandate through Prophetic Signs 符命	Discussion on Posthumous Titles 諡議
Treatises from the Histories 史論	Illustrative Dialogues 喻對
Evaluations and Judgments from the Histories 史述贊	Necrology 誌
Lament 哀	
Condolence 弔文	

From a comparison of the genres listed in the tables above, we can see that there are noticeable differences in the categories of the two works. Some categories such as the *sao*, *qi*, and *nan* were not included in the compilation of the WYYH. But, new categories such as the *ge xing*, *shu*, and *zhuan* were. This can be ascribed to a number of different factors. The *qi* was a genre that had fallen out of use by the time of Tang. Others such as the *sao* and *nan* were genres that had been questioned almost since the time of the *Wen xuan*'s compilation. The addition of new genres can be explained by assuming that new forms had appeared since the compilation of the *Wen xuan*, especially in the Tang. One last thing of interest that can be seen from the comparisons of genre is the *yiwén* 移文 genre found in the WYYH. The existence of this genre at the time provides further evidence for the existence of the much debated *yi* genre within the *Wen xuan*.

While the major genres in each work remain similar, the biggest difference is evident in their subgenres. To illustrate the differences in these subgenres I have prepared the following chart based on the *fu* section in each anthology.

<i>Wenxuan</i> 文選	<i>Wenyuan yinghua</i> 文苑英華
Metropolises and Capitals 京都	Heavenly Phenomena 天象
Sacrifices 郊祀	Seasons 歲時
Plowing the Sacred Field 耕籍	Geography 地類

Hunting 畋獵	Water and Waterways 水
Recounting Travel 紀行	Virtues of the Emperor 帝德
Sightseeing 遊覽	Metropolises and Capitals 京都
Palaces and Halls 宮殿	Suburban Sites 邑居
Rivers and Seas 江海	Palaces 宮室
Natural Phenomena 物色	Gardens 園囿
Birds and Animals 鳥獸	Imperial Audiences 朝會
Aspirations and Feelings 志	Offerings 禮祀
Sorrowful Laments 哀傷	Imperial Journeys 行幸
Literature 論文	Persuasions 諷諭
Music 音樂	Ruist Learning 儒學
Passion 情	Army Travels 軍旅
	Way of Governance 治道
	Plowing the Sacred Field 耕籍
	Music 樂
	Bells and Drums 鍾鼓
	Diverse Performances 雜伎
	Food and Drink 飲食
	Auspicious Signs 符瑞
	Human Affairs 人事
	Aspirations and Feelings 志
	Archery 射
	Board Games 博弈
	Crafted Items 工藝
	Implements and Vessels 器用
	Apparel and Insignia 服章
	Paintings 圖畫
	Precious Objects 寶
	Silks and Fabrics 絲帛
	Boats and Conveyances 舟車
	Fire 薪火
	Hunting and Fishing 畋漁
	Daoism and Buddhism 道釋
	Travel Notes 紀行
	Sightseeing 遊覽
	Sorrowful Laments 哀傷
	Birds and Animals 鳥獸
	Insects and Fish 蟲魚
	Grasses and Trees 草木

As is clear from this chart, the sub-genre classifications used in the WYYH are much more complicated and extensive than those used in the *Wen xuan*. Because of his involvement with the scholars at his court in the compilation process, Xiao Tong most likely had some input on the selection of each subgenre. Each subgenre was placed within the *Wen xuan* for a specific purpose. The compilation of the WYYH proceeded in quite a different manner. Because there was no central figure directing the work, and there was no driving purpose behind its compilation, the compilers were left with only their own experience to rely upon. As a result, they seem to have created a classification system similar in nature to those used in the *leishu*.¹¹⁷ While more research is needed to expound upon this theory, I believe it is critical to our understanding of the compilation process, as it would have influenced how works were chosen for inclusion into the work.

It is worth noting that within the *fu* section of the *Wen xuan* we find the subgenres divided into different thematic categories. Below is a comparison of the thematic categories in the *fu* sections of the *Wen xuan* and those in the WYYH.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ *Lei shu* is a type of reference book used by scholars to classify and sort knowledge according to different categorical schemes. As Xiaofei Tian has noted, “A *leishu* is thus much more than just a chest of drawers serving as a repository of knowledge and material aids to memory: it possesses in miniature the dimensions of the cosmos. Like the imperial garden, from which a *leishu* frequently takes its name, it is supposed to present an organized system of knowledge of the world, reflecting an orderly universe in its comprehensive, structured arrangement of ideas, concepts, and things. Its compilation, imperially commissioned, is also a means of demonstrating the state’s cultural power and political legitimacy.” See Xiaofei Tian, “Literary Learning and Encyclopedias and Epitomes” in Wiebke Denecke et. all *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 136. In the West these books have at times been compared to the modern encyclopedia, but they are structurally quite different. Unlike the modern encyclopedia, *lei shu* focused on organizing their collected poetry and prose according to a selected set of categories with these categories would then be further divided into sub-categories. The earliest known example of a *lei shu* is likely the *Huang lan* 皇覽 compiled during the Three Kingdoms period under the auspices of Cao Wei 曹魏 (220-266) Emperor Wen of Wei 魏文帝. Around 200 *lei shu* have survived to the modern age, two of the largest being *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 and the *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成. For more information on the history of *lei shu* see Harriet T. Zurndorfer, “Fifteen hundred years of the Chinese encyclopedia” in Konig-Woolf, *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 505-528.

¹¹⁸ *Wen xuan* categories taken from Knechtges, “Pre-Tang Anthologies”, 296-297.

<i>Wen xuan</i>	<i>Wenyuan yinghua</i>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Imperial Themes <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Metropolises and Capitals 京都 b. Sacrifices 郊祀 c. Plowing the Imperial Field 耕籍 d. Hunting 畋獵 2. Travel <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Recounting Travel 紀行 b. Sightseeing 遊覽 3. Poems on Things (<i>Yongwu</i> 詠物) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Palaces and Halls 宮殿 b. Rivers and Seas 江海 c. Natural Phenomena 物色 d. Birds and Animals 鳥獸 4. Expression of Personal Sentiments <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Aspirations and Feelings 志 b. Laments 哀傷 5. Literature and Music <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Literature 論文 b. Music 樂 6. Passions and Erotic Sentiments <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Passions 情 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Heaven and Earth <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Heavenly Phenomena 天象 b. Seasons 歲時 c. Geography 地類 d. Water and Waterways 水 2. Imperial Themes <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Virtues of the Emperor 帝德 b. Metropolises and Capitals 京都 c. Suburban Sites 邑居 d. Palaces 宮室 e. Gardens 園囿 f. Imperial Audiences 朝會 g. Offerings 禮祀 h. Imperial Journeys 行幸 3. Governance <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Persuasions 諷諭 b. Ruist Learning 儒學 c. Army Travels 軍旅 d. Way of Governance 治道 e. Plowing the Sacred Field 耕籍 4. Performance <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Music 樂 b. Bells and Drums 鐘鼓 c. Diverse Performances 雜伎 5. Humanity <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Food and Drink 飲食 b. Human Affairs 人事 c. Aspirations and Feelings 志 6. Games <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Archery 射 b. Board Games 博弈 7. Poems on Things (<i>Yongwu</i> 詠物) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Crafted Items 工藝 b. Implements and Vessels 器用 c. Apparel and Insignia 服章 d. Painting 圖畫

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e. Precious Objects 寶 f. Silks and Fabrics 絲帛 g. Boats and Conveyances 舟車 h. Fire 薪火 8. Daoism and Buddhism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Daoism and Buddhism 道釋 9. Travel <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Travel Notes 紀行 b. Sightseeing 遊覽 10. Sorrowful Laments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Sorrowful Laments 哀傷 11. Flora and Fauna <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Birds and Animals 鳥獸 b. Insects and Fish 蟲魚 c. Grasses and Trees 草木
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As can be seen from the chart provided above, the WYYH categories are much more expansive than those found in the *Wen xuan*. This makes sense considering the size of the work and its connection to the *lei shu*. Of note are the shared categories between the works including Imperial Themes, Poems on Things, and Travel. The inclusion of new categories in the WYYH is also of particular note. These include Heaven and Earth, Governance, Performance, Games, Humanity, Game, Buddhism and Daoism, as well as Flora and Fauna. An additional explanation for the appearance of these new categories is the way in which the *fu* genre had evolved by the time of the Song. It only makes sense that the compilers of the WYYH would have viewed the genre, and its categories, in a different manner from Xiao Tong and his co-compilers. As mentioned above, the WYYH compilers follow groupings similar to the *lei shu*, starting with the largest most important categories and moving down in order of importance.

In the modern age, many scholars simply state that the WYYH was intended to be a continuation of the *Wen xuan* without examining what evidence there is to support this claim. In this section I will present a brief overview of the argument as well as propose a theory when the

idea of this connection first arose based on the evidence available. The first major work to mention the idea of the WYYH continuing the *Wen xuan* was the *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目. It states:

“*Wen xuan* compiled by [Crown Prince] Zhaoming of the Liang in 30 *juan*. It ends in the early Liang. The works collected in this book (WYYH) begin at the end of the Liang, and thus it continues the *Wen xuan*. Its format and editorial principles are somewhat the same. But the divisions [i.e. categorization] are even more complicated and trivial. This is because later, genres constantly increased, so that the old divisions could not include them.”

梁照明文選三十卷,迄於梁初,此書所錄則起於梁末,蓋即上續文選體例,亦略相同而門目更為煩碎,則後來文體日增,非舊目所能括也.¹¹⁹

Though this is the first major mention of this idea, it may not have been the intention of the original compilers. Since we lack the original preface of the work and any record relating to its compilation, we have no clear idea of the original intent of the compilers. Additionally, the phrase “begin at the end of the Liang” raises problems. An examination of the contents of the WYYH reveals that there are in fact many pieces that come from the early Liang, and several more which come from earlier in the Six Dynasties, the earliest dating from the Wei 魏. For example, in his study of these early pieces Ling identifies three poems from the Wei , six poems from the Southern Song 南宋, six from the Southern Qi 南齊, and 613 from the Liang.¹²⁰

The connection between the WYYH connection and the *Wen xuan*, however, may have begun during the reign of Song Zhenzong, during one of the recompilation projects. It is here that

¹¹⁹ See Ji Yun 紀昀 comp., *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 168. 1691.

¹²⁰ For further discussion of these findings see Ling, 137-139.

we find a version of the *Wen xuan* being prepared for printing with the WYYH. We read the following description, “In the fourth year of the Jingde reign period (1007) in the 8th month on a *dingsi* day (October 7th), the auxiliary [of the Palace Library] was ordered to prepare and collate the WYYH and the *Wen xuan* to be printed and published” 景德四年八月丁巳, 命直館校理校勘文苑英華及文選, 摹印放行.¹²¹ This is the earliest recorded reference of the two works being mentioned together. From this account it is apparent that the re-collated version of the WYYH discussed above was prepared for printing together with the *Wen xuan*. Based on this evidence, I would propose that the idea of the WYYH continuing the *Wen xuan* originated during the reign of Emperor Zhenzong. This is not only the soundest conclusion that can be drawn from the extant historical data, it also provides an explanation for the changes that were made to the work during Zhenzong’s reign. Perhaps these changes were even meant to bring its contents in line with those of the *Wen xuan*.

From its presentation to the throne in the early Liang, the *Wen xuan* had a profound influence on Chinese scholars and on Chinese anthologies well into the Song dynasty. The work not only served as a reader for young students in the Tang, it became the model by which other general anthologies were to be based. As David Knechtges has observed, “Compilers of anthologies such as the *Wen xuan* must have been familiar with the principles of selection and organization used in earlier collections. Their anthologies were not generated *ex nihilo*, but represent the result of several centuries of experimentation with genre classification.”¹²² Indeed, the principles of creating an anthology set forward by Xiao Tong influenced compilers of general and other types of anthology throughout the Tang and Song.

¹²¹ See *Yuhai*, 54.18.

¹²² See *Wen xuan*, 4.

Though little remains of the *Wenguan cilin*, it provides a fragmentary glimpse at what the next imperially sponsored general anthology after the *Wen xuan* contained. From its contents we can tell that it covered a time period similar in length to its predecessor and that its categories were also similar in nature. Though obviously not intended to have a direct relationship with the *Wen xuan*, what little we do know of the *Wenguan cilin* shows the influence the *Wen xuan* had on its compilation in terms of genre selection and structure.

The WYYH itself remains somewhat an enigma to those who study it. While it provides us with a large number of poetry and prose pieces from the Tang that may otherwise have been lost to history, due to its complicated transmission history it is hard to ascertain where these pieces were collected and at what point in its history they were added to the work. We can see that the *Wen xuan* had an undeniable influence on the WYYH in terms of structure and content. Whether the work was originally intended to continue the *Wen xuan* is difficult to discern from the scant records available. But we can say with some certainty that the connection between the two works was established during the reign of Song Emperor Zhenzong at the very latest.

While Xiao Tong set out to establish a reduced selection of writings that would be more accessible to the reader, later general anthologies took a vastly different approach. If the *Wen xuan* is meant to be a small garden displaying cautiously handpicked specimens arranged in careful order, then the *Wenguan cilin* and WYYH could best be considered gargantuan botanical gardens or arboretums where the curator's prime motive is to display as many different types of a specimen as possible.

Chapter 5

Influencing the Future - The *Wenyuan Yinghua* and the Reception of Tang

With over 200 years passing between its original compilation and the time of its first printing and even more time before it became available to the common scholar, some scholars have questioned the extent of the influence of the WYYH. But, as the Qing dynasty scholar Geng Wenguang 耿文光 (1830-1908) has written:¹²³

“The *Wenyuan yinghua* holds three virtues. Complete editions from the Tang are exceedingly rare, it can be used to supplement them, this is the first. When there are differences between texts, it can be consulted for collation, this is the second. It was not removed from antiquity, its rules and styles are complete, they can be taken as a model, this is the third.”

¹²³ Geng Wenguang 耿文光 (1830–1908) was a book collector and bibliographer from the late Qing dynasty. Born in Suxi village, Lingshi county, Shanxi province 蘇溪村靈石縣山西省, to a family with a history of book collecting. Geng passed the *jinshi* examination in 1862 and spent most of his career as teacher, writer, and book collector. Geng’s most well-known work is his *Wanjuan jinghualou cangshu congji* 萬卷精華樓藏書記, a book catalog.

文苑英華有三善唐人文字足本頗少可以補遺一也與本集互有異同可資校勘二也去古未遠體例賅備可供取法也三也。¹²⁴

As Geng rightly points out, the WYYH is an important source for Tang pieces, serves as an important source for correcting and collating texts, and provides us with many important examples from various genres and styles in the Tang. Continuing on this thought, the writers of the *Siku quanshu zongmu* when speaking of the value of the WYYH wrote:

In the past 450 years collections of Tang poetry have gradually been lost to the ages. Of the collections listed in the “Jingji zhi” 經籍志 of the *Song shu* 宋書 fewer than one in ten survives. As with Li Shangyin’s 李商隱 (813-858) *Fannan jiayi ji* 樊南甲乙集. It (the original) has long been lost.¹²⁵ Any copies extant today were copied from the WYYH. Another example is the *Zhang Yue ji* 張說集 Although there are editions presently extant, they can be combined with the WYYH pieces to edit and rectify (the text). In addition, there are 61 miscellaneous pieces contained only in the WYYH.¹²⁶ Those who seek to examine Tang writings must rely what is preserved in this book. It is truly a deep ocean of writings.

¹²⁴ See Geng Wenguang 耿文光, *Wanjuan jinghualou cangshu congji* 萬卷精華樓藏書記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 249.

¹²⁵ Arguably one of the most famous Tang poets, Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813-858) lived during a time of great turmoil in Tang. With a weak central government following the An Lushan rebellion and a powerful faction of eunuchs at court, Li passed the *jinshi* examination in 837 and immediately assumed a role in government. Li’s official career was one of trouble and opposition due to his association with Liu Fen 劉蕡 (d. 842) and his anti-eunuch faction. Li’s poetry is renowned for its beauty and imagery. A significant portion of Li’s extant poetry survives to the modern era because of the WYYH. For translations and commentary on Li’s works see James J.Y. Liu, *The Poetry of Li Shang-yin* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969).

¹²⁶ Zhang Yue 張說 (667-730) was a native of Hedong 河東 (modern-day Yongji city Shanxi Province 永濟市山西省). Zhang had a very successful government career, eventually rising to serve as Prime Minister under several Tang emperors. Outside of his official career, Zhang was also an accomplished poet and writer.

於舊文集 則宋志所著錄者殆十不存一即如李商隱樊南甲乙集久已散佚今所存本乃全自是書錄出又如張說集雖有傳本而以此書所載互校尚遺漏雜文六十一篇則考唐文者惟賴此書之存實為著作之淵海。¹²⁷

Here the compilers of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* emphasize the importance of the WYYH and the significant role it plays in our knowledge and reception of Tang literature. As they affirm, the WYYH is a key tool to investigations into Tang literature. In this chapter I will discuss the value the work has for the field of Tang studies, the influence the WYYH had on later works, and lastly briefly cover the influence of the *Wenyuan yinghua bianzheng* in Chinese literary studies.

***Wenyuan yinghua* as a source**

The WYYH itself is a vital tool to our understanding of and research in the field of Tang writings. Its content is an indispensable source for many texts that would have otherwise been lost to the ages. The work is composed of roughly one-tenth pieces dating from before the Tang dynasty and nine-tenths pieces with their origin from the Tang through the five dynasties. What is striking is the difference between these sets of pieces. The WYYH's pre-Tang pieces are carefully selected and curated, as if the compilers sought to complement and supplement the content and genres set down by the *Wen xuan*. Many of these pieces, while still extant in the early Northern Song, are now lost to us outside of the WYYH in the modern age.¹²⁸ Conversely, the compilers' goal in collecting the WYYH's Tang pieces seems to have focused on quantity, collecting as many pieces

¹²⁷ See Ji Yun, 187.547

¹²⁸ Overall the WYYH preserves 555 pieces of pre-Tang literature written by 232 authors. A prime example of these pieces is the *Xuan lan fu* 玄覽賦 written by Liang Dynasty emperor Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508-555). For more information see Ling, 144-145. The pieces were eventually collected in Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762-1843) comp., *Quan shanggu sandai Han Qin Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958); Lu Qinli 逯欽立 (1910-1973) comp., *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983); and Zhang Pu 張溥 (1602-1641) comp., *Han Wei Liuchao baisan mingjia ji* 漢魏六朝百三名家集 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2002)

as possible while still maintaining some small standard of quality while selecting. Though to some this may seem somewhat counter intuitive, we must thank the compilers for their foresight in doing this. Below, we will explore the various ways that the WYYH enhances and aids in our research and understanding of Tang literature.

Chuan qi 傳奇(stories) are an important part of Chinese literature for their didactic messages and the insights they provide into the world views of the time. Typically, *chuan qi* can be separated into two forms. The first are those written in vernacular or *bai hua* 白話. Though rare in the Tang, stories in this form were very common by the Southern Song. The other form *chuan qi* traditionally take are those written in the classical form of writing or *wen yanwen* 文言文. The Tang is considered the height of this type of *chuan qi* and the WYYH is a major source of these works. One of the more popular of these preserved *chuan qi* is the *Zhen zhong ji* 枕中記 by Shen Jiji 沈既濟 (750-797).¹²⁹ Though a version of this story is preserved in the *Taiping guangji*, the version found in the WYYH is of better quality.¹³⁰

The individual collection *bieji* 別集 has an important place in Chinese literary history. It is the writings preserved in these collections that influences our views on different writers and to a large extent the influence of their work. Some writers, concerned with how they or their works

¹²⁹ Shen Jiji 沈既濟 (750-797) was a native of Wuxing 吳興 (modern day Zhejiang province 浙江省). Shen was a renowned story writer and historian. In his official career, Shen served in several important court positions but also had setbacks, being banished from court on several occasions. One important point to note is that the version of the *Zhen zhong ji* received in the WYYH differs in several major areas from the one received in the *Taiping guangji*. This is of importance to our discussion because it shows that there was likely no collaboration between those who worked on the two compilation projects. For discussions on the differences between the two versions of the *Zhen zhong ji* see Sarah Allen, "Tang Stories: Tales and Texts" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2003), 46-47 and Li Jianguo 李劍國, *Tang wu dai zhiguai chuanqi xulu* 唐五代志怪傳奇敘錄 (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1993), 269-273.

¹³⁰ One important thing to note is the questionable criteria by which pieces of this type were sorted by the WYYH compilers. Pieces that today are considered to be *chuan qi* by modern scholars were placed in the *za wen* 雜文 (miscellany) genre by the original compilers. For further discussion on this and *chuan qi* in the WYYH see Ling, 200-205.

would be remembered, produced individual collections during their lifetimes. Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846) with his *Bo shi Changqing ji* 白氏長慶集 and Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) with his *Dongpo qi ji* 東坡七集 are examples of this. But for most writers their individual collections were produced by friends or family after their deaths or by their admirers at an even later date. In the “Jingji zhi” 經籍志 of the *Jiu Tang shu* we find 110 individual collections listed from the beginning of the Tang (618) to the first year of the Kaiyuan 開元 (713) reign period. Of these, fewer than ten have survived to modern day. Though this is but one small sampling, it illustrates how much has been lost to the ages. With that, the content of the WYYH affords scholars the opportunity to reconstruct or rediscover individual collections and pieces. An excellent example of this is the famous High Tang period poet Bao Rong 包融 (695-764).¹³¹ Though highly regarded in his day, the *Xin Tang shu* records just one collection of *shi* poetry, *Bao Rong shi* 包融詩, attributed to him in one *juan*.¹³² The work itself did not survive until modern times, but eight of Bao’s *shi* pieces survive, five of which are contained only in the WYYH. Another example comes in the work of the Tang poet Xie Guan 謝觀 (793-865).¹³³ Xie is mainly known as a writer of *fu*

¹³¹ Bao Rong 包融 was a native of Yanling in Runzhou 潤州延陵 (modern day Danyang, Jiangsu 丹陽市 江蘇省). Bao, along with Yu Xiulie 於休烈 (692-772), He Chao 賀朝 (dates unknown), and Wan Qirong 萬齊融 (dates unknown) formed a group called the “Four Literary Companions” (Wenci zhiyou 文詞之友). In the first year of the Kaiyuan reign period (713) Bao, along with He Zhizhang 賀知章 (659-744), Zhang Xu 張旭 (b.670), Zhang Ruoxu 張若虛 (670-730) called themselves the “Four Literati from Wu” (Wuzhong sishi 吳中四士). Bao, along with his sons Bao He 包何 (dates unknown) and Bao Ji 包佶 (d. 792) also renowned poets, would become known to later generations as the Three Bao’s (San bao 三包). This and all other information we have about Bao and his sons comes from the Yuan dynasty work, *Tang caizi zhuan* 唐才子傳. See Xin Wenfang 辛文房, *Tang caizi zhuan* 唐才子傳 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957).

¹³² See *Xin Tang shu*, 60.1609.

¹³³ A native of what is modern day Anhui province 安徽省, little is recorded about Xie or his life. We know that he passed the *jinshi* examination in 838, eventually serving in many provincial level positions.

with a work, *Xie Guan fu* 謝觀賦, attributed to him in 8 *juan*.¹³⁴ The WYYH preserves 18 of his *fu* pieces. A closer examination of his “Zhao Li furen hun fu” 招李夫人魂賦 (*Fu* on summoning the soul of Lady Li), reveals that attached to the piece are two of his short *fu* pieces, which were otherwise unknown.¹³⁵ They read:

White jade is pure, red thoroughwort is fragrant; / Suddenly the jade is broken, the thoroughwort is injured.¹³⁶

Oh soul, do not again travel to another land; Why not return to comfort our sovereign?

白玉潔兮紅蘭芳，忽玉折兮蘭已傷。

魂兮勿復遊他方，盍歸來兮慰我皇。

Prismatic clouds on skirts, flowing clouds on sleeves; / Suddenly they come, suddenly they go.

Oh soul, do not again roam to another region; /Return and greet His Majesty.

彩雲裾兮流霞袂，倏而來兮忽而逝。

魂兮勿復遊四裔，歸來兮膺萬歲。¹³⁷

Beyond these examples, due to its size and the sheer number of pieces it collected, the WYYH has served as an important source for scholars seeking to reconstruct the individual collections of previous generations. This practice started before the first printed version of the WYYH was even

¹³⁴ See *Xin Tang shu*, 60.1615.

¹³⁵ These pieces are written in imitation of the famous *fu* by the Han emperor Han Wudi 漢武帝(156-87), *Li furen fu* 李夫人賦 (*Fu* on Lady Li). For more information on the original piece, its background, and the relationship between Lady Li and Han Wudi see David Knechtges, “Han Wudi de fu” 漢武帝的賦 in *Di sanjie guoji cifu xue xueshu yantao hui lunwen ji* 第三屆國際辭賦學學術研討會論文集 (Taipei: Guolin Zhengzhi daxue wenxue yuan, 1996). 1-14.

¹³⁶ Here the *honglan* 紅蘭 refers to Chinese thoroughwort or *Eupatorium chinense*. See Bernard E. Read, *Chinese Medical Plants From The Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu* (Beijing: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1936), 8.

¹³⁷ See *Wenyuan yinghua*, 96.438-39.

completed. The famous Southern Song scholar official Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) in his edition of Han Yu's 韓愈 (768-824) collected works, *Zhu Wengong jiao Changli xiansheng wenji* 朱文公校昌黎先生文集 states, "Fang tells us that he obtained this piece from the *Wenyuan yinghua*, and thus the poem "Chun xue" 春雪 was included in the collected works." 方云此詩得于文苑英華 其后即以正集中春雪詩.¹³⁸ The Fang mentioned here is none other than Fang Songqing 方崧卿 (1135-1194) a contemporary of Zhu's and collator of a previous edition of Han Yu's collected works, the *Han ji ju zheng* 韓集舉正.¹³⁹ This highlights the fact that in the Southern Song, even before the work was printed, we have contemporaries of Zhou Bida using the WYYH as an important tool in their studies of Tang writings.

The next example of this type of use comes in efforts centered around reconstructing the scholar Li Yong's 李邕 (678-747) collected works.¹⁴⁰ The *Jiu Tang shu* lists an edition of Li's works in 70 *juan* in his biography, showing us that his writings were extant in 945 when the book was completed.¹⁴¹ But, in the ensuing war and chaos of the Song conquest of China, this edition was lost with no record of it in the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 of the *Song shi*. In the Ming, Zhang Xie 張燮 (1574-1640), seeking to compile a new collected works for Li, used the WYYH to compile

¹³⁸ See Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Zhu Wengong jiao Changli xiansheng wenji* 朱文公校昌黎先生文集 in *Sibu congtan* 四部叢刊.

¹³⁹ Fang Songqing 方崧卿 (1135–1194) was a book collector and collator from the Southern Song. A native of Putian 莆田 (modern day Putian, Fujian province 莆田福建省), Fang passed the *jinshi* examination in 1163. Fang eventually married the daughter of Prime Minister Ye Yong 葉顥 (1100-1167) and served in several provincial level positions throughout his career. It is said that in his 30-year career, Fang spent almost all of his official salary collecting books eventually amassing a collection of over 40,000 *juan* worth of materials. Fang produced several works of textual criticism including several on Han Yu, *Han shi nianpu* 韓氏年譜, *Han shi biannian* 韓氏編年, and *Han ji juzheng* 韓集舉正.

¹⁴⁰ Li Yong 李邕 (678-747) was the son of the famous scholar Li Shan 李善. Born in Chang'an, Li began his official career early. Though famous for his calligraphy, Li would encounter many problems throughout his career being banished multiple times and being sentenced to death twice on allegations of corruption.

¹⁴¹ See *Jiu Tang Shu*, 190.5043.

the *Li Beihai ji* 李北海集 in 6 *juan*.¹⁴² Continuing his work with the WYYH, Zhang compiled the collected works of Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (656-710) in the *Song xueshi ji* 宋學士集 in eight *juan*.¹⁴³ Though these are just two examples, many scholars in the Ming seeking to reconstruct the collections of Tang writers used the WYYH as a source for their work. The previous examples highlight a major difference between the WYYH and its predecessor the *Wen xuan*. From early in the Tang until the early Northern Song, the *Wen xuan* had been an important tool for students and prospective imperial officials due to its relatively small size, variety of genres, and carefully chosen pieces. The WYYH on the other hand, due to its size, the period in which it emerged, and the relatively late date of its printing, could never have fulfilled the same purpose. Instead, the WYYH would serve more as a literary repository of sorts, providing scholars with access to pieces that would otherwise be lost, scattered, or difficult to gather in one place.

Continuing on the subject of the WYYH as a literary repository, this brings us to another strength of the collection. The WYYH brings together many examples of writings within the same genre, something that would not happen to such a broad extent in normal literary collections. It is this large amount of materials that provides an aid to scholars in their studies as they seek to

¹⁴² Zhang Xie was born Zhangzhou 漳州 (modern day Zhangzhou, Fujian province 漳州福建省). From his youth, Zhang excelled at the classics and writing. Though he passed the provincial levels exams at age 20, after seeing his own, Zhang Ting 張廷, removed from office without reason, Zhang had little interest in continuing his official career. Zhang instead focused his life on writing as well as collating and reconstructing texts. The works he is best known for are *Dong xiyang kao* 東西洋考, *Qun yulou ji* 群玉樓集, and a collection of writings from the Han and Wei dynasties the *Qishier jia wenxuan* 七十二家文選.

¹⁴³ Born in Fenzhou 汾州 (modern day Fenyang Shanxi province 汾陽市山西省), Song is one of the most renowned poets of the early Tang. After passing the *jinshi* exam, Song experienced many ups and downs in his career, spending time in high positions at court, along with long periods of time spent in banishment. After falling from favor again during the Tang Ruizong 唐睿宗 (662-716), Song was ordered to take his own life by imperial command during the first year of Tang Xuanzong's 唐玄宗 (685-762) reign. An edition of Song's collected works was produced by his contemporary Wu Pingyi 武平一 (dates unknown) but had been lost by the Ming. The only extant edition of Song's works is the one produced by Zhang Xie based on Song's works found in the WYYH.

understand specific genres and perform literary studies across collections. An example of this is humble literary preface (*xu* 序). In the WYYH there are 58 prefaces to prose collections, 27 prefaces to poetry collections, 55 prefaces to individual poems, and a variety of prefaces to other types of genres. These prefaces provide us with valuable information about literary criticism during the Tang, individual writers' thoughts and feelings about their own works, as well as the transmission and condition of individual pieces and collections over longer periods of time. Gu Tao's 顧陶 (783-856) *Tang shi leixuan* 唐詩類選 is an illustration of this.¹⁴⁴ The work itself has been lost, but two prefaces to it were preserved in the WYYH. Through these prefaces, we can understand more about Gu's feelings towards the collection as well as the state of pieces within the collection.

The strength of the collection is further demonstrated by the WYYH's collection of *shi* pieces on Buddhist monasteries and cloisters (*siyuan* 寺院) in 435 pieces. This compares to the *Wen xuan* which only collects one piece on a Buddhist site.¹⁴⁵ These pieces give us a valuable look into an area of poetry that would be difficult to otherwise find and organize pieces about. Scholars can analyze the treatment of these sites in poetry as well as gather information about their structure and function. Even though this and the previous paragraph illustrate just two small examples, they illustrate the value of having so many pieces of the same type or genre gathered together in one location.

¹⁴⁴ Gu himself was an official in the late Tang. The *Tang shi leixuan* represents Gu's views on Tang poetry, comprising 1,231 poems in 20 *juan*. The work was still extant in the Southern Song but has since been lost. The prefaces are *Tang shi leixuan xu* 唐詩類選序 and *Tang shi leixuan houxu* 唐詩類選後序. A study of these prefaces has been done by Jin Chengyu 金程宇, *Zhuixun xiaoshi de Tang shi xuanben Gu Tao Tang shi leixuan de fuyuan yu yanjiu* 追尋消逝的唐詩選本 顧陶唐詩類選的復原與研究 (Nanjing: Gudian wenxian yanjiu, 2016), 90-99.

¹⁴⁵ This piece is Wang Jin's 王巾 (d.505) "Toutuo si beiwen" 頭陀寺碑文 (Stupa for the Dhūta Temple). For a study on this piece see Richard B. Mather, "Wang Chin's "Dhuta Temple Stele Inscription" as an Example of Buddhist Parallel Prose" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1963): 338-359.

Outside of the areas discussed above, the WYYH proves to be a valuable tool for scholars in various fields of scholarship. An important example of this is using the WYYH to sort out authors and the different pieces attributed to them. In the WYYH we find 98 pieces of *shi* poetry attributed to a Chen Tao 陳陶. There has been considerable discussion about who exactly this Chen Tao is, as the name might refer to two different individuals. The first is a Chen Tao (803-879) who lived during the Late Tang. The other Chen Tao (894-968) lived during the Five Dynasties. Because the dates of these two individuals are so close, it has been difficult for scholars to know which of them is the author. An example of this confusion comes in the *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 where a set of pieces by the Five Dynasties Chen Tao, “Xu gushi er shi jiu shou” 續古詩二十九首, has been mistakenly included and attributed to the Tang dynasty Chen Tao.¹⁴⁶ For the 98 pieces attributed to Chen Tao in the WYYH, we can avoid mistaken attributions such as this because we know that the WYYH compilers refused to include the works of any living person and the Five Dynasties Chen Tao was still alive during the early Northern Song.

In other cases, the WYYH serves as a tool further enabling scholars in the specific area of studies of the Tang. The Qing scholar Xu Song 徐松 (1781-1848) provides one of the earliest, and most important work of this kind. Examples of this approach are found in his *Dengke jikao* 登科記考 in which he studies the Tang imperial examination system.¹⁴⁷ For this study Xu relied almost

¹⁴⁶ See Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645-1719) comp., *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960) 746.8485-8487.

¹⁴⁷ Xu Song 徐松 was born in Shaoxing 紹興 (modern day Shaoxing Zhejiang province 紹興浙江省). The son of an imperial official, Xu travelled with his father between postings when he was young before eventually settling in the capital. After placing first in the imperial exams of 1805, Xu was immediately appointed to work as one of the compilers of the *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文. During this early period in his career, Xu would also compile aforementioned *Dengke jikao*, the *Tang liang jing chengfang kao* 唐兩京城坊考, and the *Song hui yao jigao* 宋會要極高 which he gathered from the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典. Xu would eventually spend several years exiled to the Xinjiang 新疆 region, visiting many important sites including Dunhuang 敦煌 and editing an important treatise on the region.

entirely on data from the WYYH, where the compilers had included large quantities of exam pieces from the Tang. These contents included much of the content from the *Tang dengke wen xuan* 唐登科文選.¹⁴⁸ Xu's is not the only work to rely on copious amounts of materials from the WYYH. In addition, we have Xu's *Tang liang jing chengfang kao* 唐兩京城坊考, Wu Ting Xie's 吳廷燮 (1865-1947) *Tang fangzhen nian biao* 唐方鎮年表, and Lao Ge's 勞格 (1820-1864) *Tang yushitai jingshe mingbiao* 唐御史台精舍題名考 and *Tang shangshu shenglang guanshi zhuti ming kao* 唐尚書省郎官石柱題名考.¹⁴⁹ In more recent times Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890-1969) in his *Jinming guan conggao chubian* 金明館叢稿初編 along with Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 (1885-1961) in his *Tangren xing di lu wai san zhong* 唐人行第錄外三種 and *Langguan shizhu timing xinkao ding wai sanzong* 郎官石柱題名新考訂外三種 have also made use of extensive materials from the WYYH.¹⁵⁰ Beyond these studies, Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良 (1917-2005) has used the genres of the WYYH in his works *Tangdai muzhi hui bian* 唐代墓誌彙編 and *Tang dai muzhi hui bian xuji* 唐代墓誌彙編續集.¹⁵¹ Even more recently in 2009, Chen Wenxin 陳文新 has used the examination

¹⁴⁸ Compiled in the Southern Tang 南唐 by Le Shi 樂史 (930-1007), the *Tang dengke wenxuan* 唐登科文選 in 50 *juan* was an important source of Tang imperial examination materials. The compilers of the WYYH relied heavily on this book as a source of materials for their work. For an examination on this topic see Chen Shangjun 陳尚君, *Tang dai wenxue congkao* 唐代文學叢考 (Beijing: Zhongguo she hui ke xue chubanshe, 1997), 160.

¹⁴⁹ Xu Song 徐松, *Tang liang jing chengfang kao* 唐兩京城坊考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002); Wu Ting Xie 吳廷燮, *Tang fangzhen nian biao* 唐方鎮年表 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980); Lao Ge 勞格, *Tang yushitai jingshe mingbiao* 唐御史台精舍題名考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997) and *Tang shangshu shenglang guanshi zhuti ming kao* 唐尚書省郎官石柱題名考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992).

¹⁵⁰ See Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, *Jinming guan conggao chubian* 金明館叢稿初編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980); Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, *Tang ren xing di lu* 唐人行第錄外三種 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1962) and *Lang guan shizhu timing xin kao ding wai san zhong* 郎官石柱題名新考訂外三種 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984).

¹⁵¹ See Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, *Tang dai muzhi huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992) and *Tang dai muzhi huibian xuji* 唐代墓誌彙編續集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001). The WYYH contains a total of 233 works from this genre with a majority of them

questions from the WYYH, creating an annotated version them in his *Tangdai shi lu shi ce jiaozhu* 唐代試律試策校註. Chen's work not only shows the continued utility of the WYYH was a source for such texts, but also demonstrates the value it holds for the study of non-literary areas such as Tang examinations and the Tang administrative system.¹⁵²

When speaking of the WYYH as a tool for use by scholars, the work of Chen Shangjun 陳尚君 must also be mentioned. Chen has done an outstanding amount of work on both the *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 and *Quan Tang Shi* 全唐詩 focusing on corrections to the texts and their content. In his work, Chen has relied extensively on the WYYH to aid in his efforts. Some of the work that Chen has done has focused on identifying pre-Tang pieces mistakenly included in the *Quan Tang shi* and *Quang Tang wen*. For example, in his *Tangdai wenxue congkao* 唐代文學叢考 when writing about Six Dynasties poet Chen Zhao's 陳昭 (dates unknown) "Zhao jun ci" 昭君詞 from *Quan Tang shi juan* 19 Chen said, "The WYYH in *juan* 204 attributes this poem to Yin Keng 陰鏗 (511-563).¹⁵³ Later those who compiled the *Yin Zijian ji* 陰子堅集 collected this piece because of this mistake." 《文苑英華》卷二零四以此詩歸陰鏗，後人編《陰子堅集》據以收入，亦誤。¹⁵⁴ As Chen demonstrates here, the WYYH can be an important tool in correcting mistaken attributions such as this and in understanding how they originated.

The *Wenyuan yinghua*'s influence on later works

originating in the Tang. See Timothy Davis, "Potent stone: Entombed epigraphy and memorial culture in early medieval China" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2008).

¹⁵² See Chen Wenxin 陳文新, *Tang dai shi lu shi ce jiaozhu* 唐代試律試策校註 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2009).

¹⁵³ Yin Keng 陰鏗 (511-563) was a native of Wuwei 武威 (modern day Wuwei Gansu province 武威甘肅省). Yin rose to prominence during the Liang and Chen Dynasties, serving in several important positions and becoming renowned for his writing.

¹⁵⁴ See Chen Shangjun, 125.

Another important aspect of the WYYH's influence and legacy that must be touched on is the influence it had on later works. A starting point in this examination is works directly related to the WYYH itself. The first of these works to appear was the *Wenyuan yinghua zuanyao* 文苑英華纂要 in 84 *juan* compiled by Gao Sisun 高似孫 (1158-1231) in 1223.¹⁵⁵ The work seeks to select the best pieces from the WYYH, putting them in a more manageable form than the original work.¹⁵⁶ The next work directly associated with the WYYH is the *Wenyuan yinghua xuan* 文苑英華選 in 60 *juan* compiled by Gong Mengren 宮夢仁 (1623-1713) and printed in 1702. This work, smaller in size, was intended to serve as an abridgement of the *Wenyuan yinghua zuanyao*.

Moving on from works directly associated with the WYYH, we come to works influenced by it. The first such work to examine is the *Song wen jian* 宋文鑑 compiled in the Southern Song by Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137-1181).¹⁵⁷ Originally titled *Huangchao wenjian* 皇朝文鑑, the work collects poetry and prose from the early northern Song, sorting them by genre in 150 *juan*.¹⁵⁸ The interesting thing about this work is that its genre structure closely follows that laid out by the WYYH with some expansion. Below is a comparison of the genre structures found in the 2 works:

Figure 1			
<i>Wenyuan yinghua</i> 文苑英華		<i>Song wenjian</i> 宋文鑑	
Genre	No. of Pieces	Genre	No. of Pieces

¹⁵⁵ A younger contemporary of Zhou Bida, Gao was native of Yinxian 鄞縣 (modern day Ningbo Zhejiang province 寧波浙江省). After passing the *jinshi* examinations in 1184. Gao served as an official in several provincial positions. He has several works that survive to modern day.

¹⁵⁶ See Gao Sisun 高似孫, *Wenyuan yinghua zuanyao* 文苑英華纂要 (Shanghai: Shanghai gui chubanshe, 2002).

¹⁵⁷ Son of the famous scholar Lü Daqi 呂大器 (dates unknown). Lü was a native of Wuzhou 婺州 (modern day Jinhua, Zhejiang province 金華浙江省). Of equal notoriety with Zhu Xi, Lü rose to become a representative member of the Rationalist school of Neo-Confucianism and a prolific writer.

¹⁵⁸ See Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙, *Song wen jian* 宋文鑑 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).

<i>Fu</i> 賦	1,378	<i>Fu</i> 賦	71
Lyric Poetry 詩	10,726	Regulated <i>Fu</i> 律賦	19
Songs 詞行	362	Lyric Poetry 詩	871
Miscellaneous Writings 雜文	285	<i>Sao</i> 騷	23
Decrees from the Secretariat 中書制 誥	1,065	Edicts 詔	41
Edicts from the Hanlin Academy 翰 林制詔	604	Imperial Decrees 勅	7
Examination Questions 策問	84	Amnesties 赦文	5
Decree 策	208	Investitures 冊	9
Judgment 判	1,056	Imperial Letters 御札	3
Memorial 表	1,171	Notes to Inferiors 批答	36
Memorandum 牋	9	Announcements 制	69
Dictate 狀	312	Edicts 誥	150
Proclamation 檄	13	Petition 奏疏	162
Announcement 露布	8	Memorial 表	157
Accusation 彈文	6	Memorandum 牋	1
Dispatch 移文	8	Admonition 箴	11
Communication 啟	237	Inscription 銘	34
Letter 書	241	Eulogy 頌	8
Petition 疏	47	Encomium 贊	19
Preface 序	593	Epitaph 碑文	7
Treatise [Disquisition] 論	176	Notes 記	90
Opinion 議	90	Preface 序	85
Linked Pearls 連珠	54	Treatise [Disquisition] 論	70

Hypothetical Dialogues 喻對	4	Judgment 義	3
Eulogy 頌	67	Decree 策	25
Encomium 讚	160	Opinion 議	20
Inscription 銘	79	Allocution 說	15
Admonition 箴	23	Precept 戒	7
Biography 傳	35	Fiat 制策	4
Notes 記	312	Story 說書	3
Lament 諡哀冊文	37	Exams on the Classics 經義	2
Discussion on Posthumous Titles 諡 議	30	Letter 書	70
Dirge 誄	9	Communication 啟	83
Epitaph 碑	294	Examination Questions 策問	14
Necrology 誌	222	Miscellaneous Writings 雜著	31
Grave Memoir 墓表	7	Hypothetical Discourse 對問	4
Conduct Description 行狀	23	Dispatch 移文	2
Offering 祭文	263	Linked Pearls 連珠	4
		Music 琴操	4
		Writings of the Former Liang 上梁 文	3
		Calligraphy 書判	8
		Prefaces and Postfaces 題跋	46
		Exposition 樂語	51
		Lament 哀辭	9
		Offering 祭文	58
		Discussion on Posthumous Titles 諡	6

	議	
	Conduct Description 行狀	5
	Necrology 墓誌	37
	Grave Memoir 墓表	8
	Tomb Passage Inscriptions 神道碑	10
	Biography 傳	17
	Announcement 露布	2

From the comparison above, the *Song wenjian* largely continues a majority of the categories found in the WYYH. Though sometimes with slightly different names. Below is a list of the genres shared between the works.

Figure 2	
<i>Wenyuan yinghua</i> 文苑英華	<i>Song wenjian</i> 宋文鑒
<i>Fu</i> 賦	<i>Fu</i> 賦
Lyric Poetry 時	Lyric Poetry 時
Miscellaneous Writings 雜文	Miscellaneous Writings 雜著
Decrees from the Secretariat 中書制誥	Decrees 誥
Edicts from the Hanlin Academy 翰林制詔	Edicts 詔
Examination Questions 策問	Examination Questions 策問
Decree 策	Decree 策
Judgment 判	Judgement 義
Memorial 表	Memorial 表
Memorandum 牋	Memorandum 牋

Announcement 露布	Announcement 露布
Letter 書	Letter 書
Communication 啟	Communication 啟
Petition 疏	Petition 奏疏
Preface 序	Preface 序
Treatise [Disquisition] 論	Treatise [Disquisition] 論
Opinion 議	Opinion 議
Linked Pearls 連珠	Linked Pearls 連珠
Hypothetical Discourse 喻對	Hypothetical Discourse 對問
Eulogy 頌	Eulogy 頌
Encomium 讚	Encomium 贊
Inscription 銘	Inscription 銘
Admonition 箴	Admonition 箴
Biography 傳	Biography 傳
Notes 記	Notes 記
Lament 諡哀冊文	Lament 哀辭
Discussion on Posthumous Titles 諡議	Discussion on Posthumous Titles 諡議
Epitaph 碑	Epitaph 碑文
Necrology 誌	Necrology 墓誌
Grave Memoir 墓表	Grave Memoir 墓表
Conduct Description 行狀	Conduct Description 行狀
Offering 祭文	Offering 祭文
Dispatch 移文	Dispatch 移文

As can be seen a majority of the genre are the same in the 2 works with 33 genres shared between them. There are, however, slight differences between some of the terms used. This can be seen in petition *shu* 疏 vs *zou shu* 奏疏, necrology *zhi* 誌 vs *muzhi* 墓誌, and others. This difference in terms is likely due to changes in the lexicon that arose during the intervening 200-year period between the compilation of the 2 works. Moving on from their shared categories, we find the categories not shared between the works.

Figure 3	
<i>Wenyuan yinghua</i> 文苑英華	<i>Song wenjian</i> 宋文鑒
Songs 詞行	Regulated <i>Fu</i> 律賦
Dictate 狀	<i>Sao</i> 騷
Proclamation 檄	Imperial Decrees 勅
Accusation 彈文	Amnesties 赦文
Dispatch 移文	Investitures 冊
Dirge 誄	Imperial Letters 御札
	Notes to Interiors 批答
	Announcements 制
	Allocution 說
	Precept 戒
	Fiat 制策
	Story 說書
	Exams on the Classics 經義
	Music 琴操
	Prose of the Former Liang 上梁文

	Calligraphy 書判
	Prefaces and Postfaces 題跋
	Exposition 樂語
	Tomb Passage Inscriptions 神道碑

There are wholly 19 new genres in the *Song wenjian* which do not appear in the WYYH and 6 genres from the WYYH that were not included in the *Song wenjian*. Some of these differences can be explained by changes in literary taste in the Song. An example of this is Regulated *Fu lu fu* 律賦 genre which while not prevalent during the Tang, gained popularity during the Northern Song.¹⁵⁹ The inclusion of other genres, like the *Sao* 騷, represent a purposeful choice by the *Song wenjian* compilers. Though pieces of this genre appear in the WYYH, they are aggregated into the catchall genre of Miscellaneous Writings *zawen* 雜文. In the *Song wenjian* the decision was made to make it an independent genre. The inclusion of the remaining new genres is one that has been criticized by some scholars as superfluous causing the work to be muddled.¹⁶⁰

Continuing on the topic of genres, we turn now to another work whose genre classification structure is deeply influenced by the WYYH. The *Yuding lidai fuhui* 御定歷代賦匯 completed in 1767 by Chen Yuanlong 陳元龍 (1652-1736), this work collects the *fu* of various dynasty ordering

¹⁵⁹ For a discussion on the evolution of the Regulated *Fu* in the Tang see Robert Neather, “The “fu” genre in the Mid-Tang – A Study in Generic Change” (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1995), 33-84.

¹⁶⁰ Despite this criticism, scholars such as Zhu Xi have praised the *Song wenjian*. Zhu stated, “The arrangement of this work is very purposeful. The petitions and judgments which it records contain important principles of government. Over 200 years of our ancestors’ guidelines and the changes therein are contained therein. This is something the *Wen xuan* and *Tang wen cui* cannot compare to.” 此書編次篇篇有意其所載奏議亦系一時政治大節祖宗二百年規模與後來中變之意盡在其中非選粹此也。 See Chen Zhensun 陳振孫, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 15.155. For a brief synopsis of the criticism directed towards the work see Ji Yun, 187.547.

them by genre. As can be seen below, the selection of these genres follows the pattern set down by the WYYH.¹⁶¹

Figure 4			
Wenyuan yinghua 文苑英華		Yuding lidai fuhui 御定歷代賦匯	
Sub-genre	No. of Pieces	Sub-genre	No. of Pieces
Heavenly Phenomena 天象	189	Heavenly Phenomena 天象	280
Seasons 歲時	28	Seasons 歲時	128
Geography 地類	58	Geography 地理	334
Water and Waterways 水	81	Cities and Towns 都邑	70
Virtues of the Emperor 帝德	21	Way of Governance 治道	158
Metropolises and Capitals 京都	2	Ceremonies 典禮	110
Suburban Sites 邑居	19	Auspicious Signs 禎祥	80
Palaces 宮室	47	Imperial Journeys 臨幸	21
Gardens 園囿	4	Hunting 搜狩	21
Imperial Audiences 朝會	5	Learning 文學	74
Offerings 禮祀	33	Martial Arts 武功	64
Imperial Journeys 行幸	16	Human Nature and the Way 性道	92
Persuasions 諷諭	4	Agriculture 農桑	39
Ruist Learning 儒學	30	Palaces 宮殿	104
Army Travels 軍旅	32	Buildings 室宇	154
Way of Governance 治道	29	Implements and Vessels 器用	142
Plowing the Sacred Field 耕籍	9	Boats and Conveyances 舟車	16

¹⁶¹ See Chen Yuanlong 陳元龍 comp., *Yuding lidai fuhui 御定歷代賦匯* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).

Music 樂	86	Music 音樂	161
Bells and Drums 鍾鼓	10	Jade and Silk 玉帛	87
Diverse Performances 雜伎	17	Apparel 服飾	30
Food and Drink 飲食	9	Food and Drink 飲食	42
Auspicious Signs 符瑞	68	Painting 書畫	34
Human Affairs 人事	64	Crafts and Skills 巧藝	52
Aspirations and Feelings 志	13	Taoism and Buddhism 仙釋	44
Archery 射	6	Perusing Antiquity 覽古	107
Board Games 博弈	6	Parables 寓言	59
Crafts and Skills 工藝	9	Grasses and Trees 草木	140
Implements and Vessels 器用	90	Flowers and Fruits 花果	151
Apparel and Insignia 服章	29	Birds and Animals 鳥獸	233
Painting 圖畫	10	Fish and Insects 鱗蟲	115
Precious Things 寶	47	Aspirations and Feelings 言志	102
Silks and Fabrics 絲帛	15	Heartfelt Longing 懷思	63
Boats and Conveyances 舟車	19	Travel Accounts 行旅	45
Fire 薪火	11	Untrammelled Detachment 曠達	42
Hunting and Fishing 畋漁	11	Beauties 美麗	50
Daoism and Buddhism 道釋	10	Persuasions 諷喻	22
Travel Accounts 紀行	2	Emotions 情感	33
Sightseeing 遊覽	13	Human Affairs 人事	16
Sorrowful Laments 哀傷	11		
Birds and Animals 鳥獸	85		
Insects and Fish 蟲魚	47		

Grasses and Trees 草木	73	
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From the above, the WYYH contains a greater number of sub-genres in the *fu* section at 43 vs the 38 sub-genres contained in the *Yuding lidai fuhui*. The latter, though containing a similar structure of sub-genres, does not subdivide its pieces into as many specific sub-genres. Continuing on below, we see that of those sub-genres, the works share a total of 19.

<i>Wenyuan yinghua</i> 文苑英華	<i>Yuding lidai fuhui</i> 御定歷代賦匯
Heavenly Phenomena 天象	Heavenly Phenomena 天象
Seasons 歲時	Seasons 歲時
Geography 地類	Geography 地理
Suburban Sites 邑居	Cities and Towns 都邑
Palaces 宮室	Palaces 宮殿
Auspicious Signs 符瑞	Auspicious Signs 禎祥
Human Affairs 人事	Human Affairs 人事
Aspirations and Feelings 志	Aspirations and Feelings 言志
Crafts and Skills 工藝	Crafts and Skills 巧藝
Implements and Vessels 器用	Implements and Vessels 器用
Painting 圖畫	Painting 書畫
Boats and Conveyances 舟車	Boats and Conveyances 舟車
Hunting and Fishing 畋漁	Hunting 搜狩
Travel Accounts 紀行	Travel Accounts 行旅
Daoism and Buddhism 道釋	Taoism and Buddhism 仙釋
Sightseeing 遊覽	Sightseeing 覽古
Birds and Animals 鳥獸	Birds and Animals 鳥獸

Insects and Fish 蟲魚	Fish and Insects 鱗蟲
Grasses and Trees 草木	Grasses and Trees 草木

Moving on in our examination, we come to the *Quan Tang wen* and the *Quan Tang shi*. Completed in the Qing, these works were envisioned as all-encompassing sources for Tang poetry and prose. The WYYH served as one of the major sources for these works, with many pieces being drawn from it. In addition to this, the WYYH serves as an important source for modern scholars as they seek to make corrections to the collections or compare different versions of a selected piece. It can be said that while the WYYH served as a source for the former works, further scholarship and research have helped to organize, order, and correct the pieces of the WYYH.¹⁶²

The *Wenyuan yinghua bianzheng*

To conclude our discussion, we will look at the *Wenyuan yinghua bianzheng* (hereafter WYYHBZ) compiled by Peng Shuxia in 10 *juan*. In his preface to the work, Peng tells us:

When Yigong [Zhou Bida] retired to spend his old age in the countryside, he ordered me to proofread. With a superficial reading, how could errors be avoided? But with corrections, deliberations, and hard work scattered throughout this work, the reader will find it hard to take account of them all. Thus, I have assembled the explanations, separated by category, providing several examples for each, without recording all of the information. Minor differences are not recorded here. The original commentary was rather sketchy, and now details have been added. For things that were not annotated, I have appended them to this work. The final printing is in 10 *juan* and is titled *Wenyuan yinghua bianzheng*.

¹⁶² For further discussion on this point, see Ling, 226-227.

益公既退老丘園，命以校讎，庸見淺聞，寧免謬誤，然攷訂商確用功爲多，散在本文，覽者難徧，因薈粹其說，以類而分，各舉數端，不復具載。小小異同，在所弗錄，原注頗略，今則加詳，其未注者，仍附此篇，勒成十卷，名曰文苑英華辨證。¹⁶³

Peng is one of those who worked with Zhou Bida on the final recompilation of the WYYH. As a result of this work, Peng published his own set of corrections to the text. As he tells us above, part of his purpose was to provide clear guidance and corrections to the WYYH in order to assist future readers. As a result of this attention to detail, Peng's work would come to be regarded as an example of textual criticism. The *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* tells us:

In Peng Shuxia's book the examinations and assessments are precise. They are generally separated into inherited errors that must be corrected; Those were which there is other evidence, but which cannot be carelessly corrected; and cases in which there are two interpretation, which must not be hastily corrected...

叔夏此書，考核精密，大抵分承訛當改、別有依據不可妄改、義可兩存不必遽改

¹⁶⁴

To this point, an examination of the structure of the WYYHBZ supports the findings of the *Siku quanshu* compilers. Below is the layout of the categories used by Peng:

Characters Used 用字
Rhymes Used 用韻
Matters of Evidence 事證
Matters of Error 事誤

¹⁶³ See *Wenyuan yinghua*, 5255.

¹⁶⁴ See Ji Yun, 187.547.

Matters of Doubt 事疑
Personal Names 人名
Titles and Honors 官爵
Commanderies and Counties 郡县
Chronology 年月
Names 名氏
Titles 題目
Categories 門類
Omitted Text 脫文
Similarities and Differences (Discrepancies) 同異
Rejoining Separated Pieces 離合
Taboos 避諱
Foreign Places 異域
Birds and Beasts 鳥獸
Grasses and Trees 草木
Random Notes 雜錄

As can be seen from the categories above, Peng was very detailed in his work. It is this attention to detail that has led to the WYYBZ being so highly esteemed by later scholars. This has also allowed the work to serve as an important tool towards understanding the WYYH and an important tool for studies of medieval Chinese literature in general. This last point is especially true, as Peng provides annotations, notes, and corrections for the various pre-Tang and Tang pieces, information that may have otherwise been lost to time. Additionally, the value the WYYHBZ holds for literary studies comes in the information it contains about different styles of poetry and prose. An example

of this comes from its analysis of the rules of Tang regulated *fu*. In his treatise Peng provides an overview of these rules with examples. This information would have been common knowledge to those in the Song, but few works on this topic have survived to the modern era.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

A collector of any kind faces the penultimate decision of which subjects to include in their collection. For the zookeeper, this is a decision of which animals to raise and display to the public. For the artist, it is a decision about which pieces to display in a gallery. For the anthologist, it is selecting which pieces best fit the purpose of the anthology. We can then imagine how challenging the selections for a work on the scale of the WYYH must have been. With such a large volume of materials to work through, the compilers of the WYYH were faced with a gargantuan task. The compilation of the text can be split into four distinct phases spread over more than 200 years. The first phase occurred with the initial compilation of the WYYH during the reign of Song Taizong. This phase occurred during a flurry of literary activity at the court. Most of the compilers were involved in multiple projects, including some overlap with the work on the *Taiping guangji*, in addition to their normal duties at the court. We have seen that due to their previous work on *leishu*, the *Taiping yulan* and *Taiping guangji*, the compilers used some of the same categories from those works as they sub-divided each genre.

The second phase of work on the WYYH proceeded under Taizong's heir, Song Zhenzong. It is apparent that Zhenzong was dissatisfied with the initial work done on the WYYH as he ordered two re-

compilations of the work during his reign. This dissatisfaction may have arisen due to changing literary tastes at the court. We have no way of knowing what changes were introduced to the WYYH's content during this phase. But it is likely that during this time the connection between the WYYH and the *Wen xuan* was first introduced. This idea is supported by the fact that a printing of the two works was prepared together, but the printing blocks were destroyed before the actual printing of the WYYH text could take place.

We are unsure about the status and state of the WYYH in the years between the end of Zhenzong's projects and the third phase of work that took place during the reign of Song Xiaozong. As described in my third chapter, very little of the Northern Song imperial library survived the dynasty's flight south after the fall of Kaifeng. In fact, the Southern Song imperial library relied almost entirely on donations or copies from private libraries during its initial reconstitution. Because of this, we have no way of knowing where the Southern Song copy of the text originated or which phase of work it was based on. We do know that Xiaozong ordered yet another recompilation of the text during his reign. Zhou Bida informs us that this work was less than ideal due to the sorry state of the text and the incompetence of the workers assigned to the work. This, in fact, led to the fourth and final phase of work on the text, the private recompilation project undertaken by Zhou Bida upon his retirement from court. Sources indicate that this was likely the most focused of all the different phases of work. This focus produced not only a final printed version of the work, but an additional work focused on corrections to the text, the WYYHBZ, produced by Peng Shuxia, who joined Zhou in his compilation work.

As can be seen, the WYYH was very much of a living text over the first 200 years of its existence. With four major phases of work on the text and the intervening destruction of the Northern Song, the fact that the entirety of the text has survived to the modern age is already somewhat miraculous. It also shows that despite its length, there were at least some literati in the Song who held the book in some regard, as they continued to use and work on improving the work and its contents. This knowledge is also vital to the modern user of the WYYH, for knowing the genesis and textual history of this work tells us much about the reliability of its contents and explains why historically some have been critical of it.

The printing and transmission of the WYYH after the recompilation work done by Zhou Bida present another interesting set of particulars for the work. The initial printing of the WYYH was completed by a local printer in 1204 in Zhou's home area of Jizhou. Due to the size of the text and the likely limited resources of this small area, it is unlikely that a large number of copies were produced in this printing. The only copy we have exact knowledge of is the one that was presented to the imperial court and stored in the Southern Song imperial library. Portions of this copy survived into the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties. But access to it was restricted to only high-ranking government officials. The WYYH was not printed again until the Ming. Due to the aforementioned restrictions this, and subsequent printings, were based on handwritten copies or *chaoben* that had been preserved in private libraries and collections. These *chaoben*, though inferior to the final printed Jizhou edition, likely originated during the work done by Zhou in his private recompilation efforts. The problem presented by these *chaoben* is the inaccuracies and errors that they introduced into the text. Subsequent printings in the Ming and Qing focused on trying to correct these errors, but these printings too were based on *chaoben*. It was not until early twentieth century through the work of scholars such as Fu Zengxiang that these later printings were collated and corrected with the extant pieces of the Song Jizhou printing that survived in the imperial library and some private collections. Today all modern printings of the WYYH use the Jizhou text where it is extant. With this knowledge of its transmission and printing in mind, we can explain many of the problems or errors that may be present in the text and know with certainty where the modern printed text originated.

Looking beyond the compilation, transmission, and printing of the text, we can see that the WYYH is part of a literary tradition of imperial anthologies dating back to the Liang dynasty and the imperially sponsored creation of the *Wen xuan* by Xiao Tong. Xiao established this tradition by selecting texts deemed exemplary pieces of writing across a wide spectrum of genres, combining them together into a body of texts that would become the *Wen xuan*. It can be argued that this act had important significance beyond purely the purely didactic. Xiao in fact issued this anthology to enhance his family's power and prestige. His actions would be emulated by the Tang with collections such as the *Wenguan cilin*, a predecessor to the WYYH. We have seen the *Wen xuan's* influence on both of these later anthologies in terms of genre

selection and sub-categories within each genre. We have also seen that in the case of each of these three anthologies, their creation was tied to a normative behavior, being created to display the glory of a new dynasty and the power that its rulers wielded. The act of gathering the works of previous generations and selecting and refining them into a subset of model works is an endeavor only a ruler could undertake and one by which he could show his dedication not only to marital undertakings, as he had done in the formation of his rule, but to literary ones as well. With the *Wenguan cilin* and its preservation in Japan, we can also see that despite their size, such large anthologies like it and the WYYH were produced and disseminated for use over long distances.

In chapter five, we saw that the WYYH has been influential in several different ways. The first is as a repository of Tang literature. The sheer volume of materials contained in the work means it is the largest singular source of extant Tang literary materials to survive through the ages. This means that the WYYH itself has served as a source for many other influential works, including the *Quan Tang shi* and *Quan Tang wen*. Furthermore, the WYYH is an important source of Tang *chuan qi*, which provide much information about the Tang world view and morals. The Since the Southern Song and even before its first printing, the WYYH has served as an important tool for scholars seeking to reconstruct the collections of individual authors. Scholars have also found utility in the large quantities of materials from the same genre contained in the work. This gathering of materials presents scholars the chance to study changes, trends, and commonalities in genres in a way that they would otherwise be hard-pressed to find in other sources. Scholars such as Chen Shangjun have found the works collected in the WYYH a critical tool in their work in the areas of textual correction and criticism.

In the long history of Chinese anthologies, the WYYH occupies a special place among its peers. Aside from its incredible survival over 200 years in manuscript form, the contents of this great work provide us with a significant portion of the literary corpus upon which our understanding of the Tang literary world rests. From the time of the Song, the WYYH has continued to prove its worth as both a source and tool as new generations of scholars discover the value it holds for their work. Nevertheless, there are still many in the scholarly community who are unaware of its value. It is my hope that the materials presented in this

dissertation have, in some small way, contributed to the conversation about the WYYH and its value to the scholarly world.

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