

RESTRUCTURING CULTURAL MEMORY IN THE TANG YULIN

By

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Abstract

The *Tang yulin* 唐語林 (Forest of Conversations on the Tang), compiled by Wang Dang 王讜 (ca. 1046-ca. 1106) toward the end of the Northern Song 北宋 (960-1127), contains over eleven hundred anecdotes about the Tang 唐 (618-907) selected from fifty miscellaneous collections. Wang Dang re-organized these anecdotes into fifty-two categories, of which thirty-five were inherited from the categories of the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (New Conversations of Tales of the World, ca. 438) and seventeen were additions from Wang. The *Tang yulin* is often regarded as a vital source primarily for the study of Tang history and literature, but its Song dynasty perspective on the historical and anecdotal representations of the past has not yet been sufficiently studied.

This essay treats the *Tang yulin* as a Song scholar's effort to selectively recycle the fragmented records of the Tang, give these discontinuous narratives structure, and bestow meaning through such structure. The discussion here holds that the origins of these anecdotal accounts can be traced to the oral culture of ancient China and treats the literary tradition *yu* 語, “conversations,” as a bridge connecting oral culture and textual narratives. It argues that the term *yu* in the title *Tang yulin* represents at the same time the oral origins and transmission of anecdotal memories of the past and the textual tradition that preserves and perpetuates such memories. Based on the theories of Maurice Halbwachs¹ and Jan Assmann,² this study approaches these anecdotal narratives from the perspective of cultural memory. With the *Tang*

¹ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1992).

² Jan Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” Trans. John Czaplicka, in *New German Critique* 65 (Spr/Sum 1995): 125-33. Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*. Trans., Rodney Livingstone (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

yulin as a case study, the dissertation aims to bring into focus both the role anecdotal literature plays as vehicle and repository of cultural memory, and the function anecdotal collections play in restructuring cultural memory. It treats the whole body of miscellaneous anecdotal accounts as the cultural memory of the past, and Wang Dang's selection and re-organization of these accounts as re-structuring Song dynasty cultural memory of the Tang and constructing his own image of the Tang. In so doing, Wang Dang elevated these trivial narratives out of the cultural archives of the past to construct his own supplement to the Tang histories, and thus he can be viewed as a historian outside of the official venues of historiography. Exploring how the fragmented memories of the Tang were restructured in Wang Dang's work, this study finds the *Tang yulin* to be a text shaped by the particular historical, social, cultural and intellectual circumstances of its own time. It reveals a Song perspective on the cultural memory of the Tang that was conditioned by and directed to the cultural and intellectual concerns at the heart of Song literati culture.

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List of Abbreviations

- Han shu* Ban Gu 班固 (32-92). *Han shu* 漢書 (History of the Han). 10v. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962.
- Hucker Hucker, Charles O (1919-1994). *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Jiu Tang shu* Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946). *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old history of the Tang). 1975. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1986.
- Shi ji* Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145 B.C. – ca. 86 B.C.). *Shi ji* 史記 (The Grand Scribe's Records). Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980) et al. eds. 10v. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1963.
- Taiping guangji* Li Fang 李昉 (925-996). *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Era of Great Peace). Tainan: Pingping Chubanshe, 1974.
- Tang yulin jiaozheng* Zhou Xunchu 周勛初 and Wang Dang 王讜. *Tang yulin jiaozheng* 唐語林校證 (Forest of Conversations on the Tang, Collated and with Textual Criticism). Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1987.
- Xin Tang shu* Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), and Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1062). *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang). 1975. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1986.

Zizhi tongjian

Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086). *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑
(Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government). Vol. 265 of *Sibu
beiyao* 四部備要 (Essentials of the Four Branches of Literature).
Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua Shuju, 1965.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The *Tang yulin* 唐語林 (Forest of Conversations on the Tang), compiled by Wang Dang 王讜 (ca. 1046-ca. 1106) toward the end of the Northern Song 北宋 (960-1127), contains over eleven hundred anecdotes about the Tang 唐 (618-907) selected from fifty miscellaneous collections. Wang Dang re-organized these anecdotes into fifty-two categories, of which thirty-five were inherited from the categories of the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (New Conversations of Tales of the World, ca. 438) and seventeen were additions from Wang. The *Siku quanshu*'s 四庫全書 introduction to the *Tang yulin* reads:

Although this book emulates the *Shishuo [xinyu]*, the decrees and regulations, notable stories and old facts, *bon mots* and exemplary deeds recorded therein and [those recorded in] the official histories often elaborate and illuminate one another. If one examines what Liu Yiqing (403-444) [compiled] to solely esteem the Pure Conversation, it is different. Moreover, among the various books it has taken from, those extant are already few. [Therefore] its merit of gathering and assembling cannot be allowed to perish.

是書雖倣世說，而所紀典章故實，嘉言懿行，多與正史相發明，視劉義慶之專尚清談者不同。且所采諸書，存者已少，其裒集之功，尤不可沒。³

Similar comments had been common in the bibliographic introductions to the *Tang yulin* from Song dynasty on. Because of such traditional views of the collection, the *Tang yulin* has often been regarded as a primary source for the study of Tang history and literature. Zhou Xunchu 周勛初, the editor of the most recent and most thoroughly-collated *Zhonghua Shuju* 中

³ “*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*” 四庫全書唐語林提要, in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 813-4.

華書局 edition of the *Tang yulin jiaozheng* 唐語林校證, also comments that because many anecdotes in the *Tang yulin* are now the only extant record of the particular event the *Tang yulin* has been regarded as an irreplaceable source for the study of the Tang.⁴ However, due to the miscellaneous nature of the material and the issues resulted from its textual transmission, the *Tang yulin* has not been widely studied. Existing studies, mainly by Chinese scholars, focus on two aspects of the *Tang yulin*. First, its accounts are used for the study of Tang dynasty social and cultural history. For example, using the material from the *Tang yulin*, Ho Tzu-hui 何姿慧 studies the society and life in Tang dynasty in her 1998 thesis and Kuang Mingyue 鄺明月 studies Tang literati culture in her 2003 thesis. Kuang subsequently published two articles in 2008, one on Tang dynasty *shi* 士 mentality and the other on a comparison of the narrative styles of the *Tang yulin* and the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang).⁵ Second, the narratives of the *Tang yulin* are examined for the purpose of linguistic studies. For example, Zhao Yanli 趙艷麗 systematically studies the diction of the *Tang yulin* in her 2007 thesis, Zheng Liping 鄭麗萍 focuses on the polysyllabic words in the *Tang yulin* in another 2007 thesis, and Zeng Lamei 曾臘梅 discusses the effort of using the *Tang yulin* for the correction and supplement of the

⁴ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 17-21.

⁵ See Ho Tzu-hui 何姿慧, *Tang yulin suojian Tang dai shehui shenghuo shiliao kaoshu* 唐語林所見唐代社會生活史料考述 (A View of Society and Life in Tang Dynasty from *Tang yulin*, Thesis, Taiwan Zhongxing University 台灣中興大學, 1998); Kuang Mingyue 鄺明月, *Tang yulin yanjiu* 唐語林研究 (A Study on the *Tang yulin*, Thesis, Huazhong Normal University 華中師範大學, 2003); Kuang Mingyue, “Tang yulin yu Tang dai shiren xintai” 唐語林與唐代士人心態 (*Tang yulin* and the *shi* Mentality in the Tang), *Keji zixun* 科技資訊 (Science and technology information) 31 (2008): 214-5; Kuang Mingyue, “*Tang yulin* yu jizhuanti shishu *Jiu Tang shu* bijiao” 唐語林與紀傳體史書舊唐書比較 (A Comparison between the *Tang yulin* and the Annals-Biography Style History *Jiu Tang shu*), *Kaoshi zhoukan* 考試周刊 (Weekly journal on exams) (2008): 45.

Hanyu dacidian in her 2009 thesis.⁶ Other than the studies listed above, the *Tang yulin* seems to have not yet attracted much scholarly attention, and I have not found any translations or western studies on this collection so far.

However, as an anecdotal collection on the Tang compiled during the Song, the *Tang yulin* has a lot more to offer for discerning a Song perspective on the historical and anecdotal representations of the Tang. Wang Dang selectively recycled the anecdotal material from his fifty source books and re-organized the material according to his own categorization system. He did not seem to be satisfied with the fact that most of his source books did not apply any kind of structure to their contents, simply recording anecdotal accounts in no particular order, with no categories or even titles. Wang Dang organized the recycled anecdotes into fifty-two categories, of which thirty-five were inherited from the structure of the *Shishuo xinyu* and seventeen were his own additions. It indicates his ambition, if nothing else, in providing a structured depiction of the anecdotal memories on the Tang and in offering a certain degree of guidance to the interpretation of such miscellaneous memories of the past through such structure.

Moreover, the *Tang yulin* is a text shaped by the particular historical, social, cultural and intellectual circumstances of its own time. Wang Dang lived at the end of the Northern Song dynasty. Possibly while he was still young, Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086) served as chief

⁶See Yu Zhixin 余志新, “Tang yulin ciyu zhaji” 唐語林詞語札記 (Notes on the Diction of the *Tang yulin*) in *Journal of Chuzhou University* 滁州學院學報9, no.5 (September, 2007): 31-2, 73; Zhong Xiaoyong 鐘小勇, “Luelun Tang yulin zai jindai hanyu cihui yanjiu zhong de jiazhi” 略論唐語林在近代漢語詞匯研究中的價值 (A Brief Discussion on the Value of *Tang yulin* to Contemporary Study of Chinese Diction) in *Journal of Suihua University* 綏化學院學報 25, no.1 (February, 2005): 113-7; Zhao Yanli 趙艷麗, *Tang yulin cihui yanjiu* 唐語林詞彙研究 (A Study on the Diction in the *Tang yulin*, Thesis, Sichuan University 四川大學, 2007); Zheng Liping 鄭麗萍, *Tang yulin fuyinci yanjiu* 唐語林複音詞研究 (A Study on the Polysyllabic Words in the *Tang yulin*, Thesis, Anhui University 安徽大學, 2007); Zeng Lamei 曾臘梅, *Tang yulin ciyu yu Hanyu dacidian dingbu* 唐語林詞語與漢語大辭典訂補 (Diction in the *Tang yulin* and the Correction and Supplement of the *Hanyu dacidian*, Thesis, Jiangxi Normal University 江西師範大學, 2009).

councilor and carried out his reform on the economic, financial, and educational policies of the court.⁷ Wang Anshi's *Xinfa* 新法 (New Policies, promulgated during 1069-1073) divided the court into opposing factions, and the effect of faction struggle lasted well into the later part of twelfth century. It is under such political circumstances that Wang Dang served at court. Wang Dang's time was also an era of heated intellectual debates over political and philosophical issues. The tension between Wang Anshi's idealistic vision and Sima Guang's 司馬光 (1019-1086) pragmatic approach to the institutions of government and that between Su Shi's defense of intellectual diversity and Cheng Yi's 程頤 (1033-1107) new culture of Daoxue 道學 (the Dao learning)⁸ were all possible intellectual influences on Wang Dang's work.

The compilation of the *Tang yulin* had its context in the historiographical and literary traditions of the Northern Song as well. Not long before Wang Dang's time, court sponsored projects produced several official histories such as the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang) and the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror to aid in government), while private projects also produced histories such as Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 (1007-1072) *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史 (New History of the Five Dynasties) and Su Zhe's 蘇轍 (1039-1112) *Gushi* 古史 (History of Antiquity). The Song court also sponsored the compilation of large encyclopedic works (*leishu* 類書) for the purpose of constructing a comprehensive system of knowledge of its time, such as the *Wenyuan Yinghua* 文苑英華 (Finest Flowers from the Garden of Belles-Letres), the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Grand Tortoise of the Treasury of Books), the *Taiping*

⁷ Qi Xia 漆俠, *Wang Anshi bianfa* 王安石變法 (Wang Anshi's Reform, Shijiazhuang: Hebei renim, 2001).

⁸ Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

Yulan 太平御覽 (Imperial Overview from the Era of Great Peace, 976-983) and the *Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records from the Era of Great Peace). From a didactic perspective, court scholars and officials produced categorically organized works such as the *Shengzheng* 聖政 (Sagacious government policies) and *Baoxun* 寶訓 (Precious instructions). These were “case-by-case, conversation-by-conversation encapsulations of the imperial ancestors’ instructions or legislations 祖宗家法” that functioned as “self-study manuals for the sitting ruler,” “source book” for preparing court lectures to “present old models” 進故事, and “a constitutional vehicle for the ministers to interpret or even debate the proceeding and especially the founding emperor’s intention.”⁹ These collections of case-by-case historical episodes could have very well influenced Wang Dang’s intentions and design for his book. On a much lighter note, the Northern Song also saw a significant increase in the number of private anecdotal collections called *biji* 筆記, “miscellaneous records.”¹⁰ Representative works include Ouyang Xiu’s 歐陽修 (1007-1072) *Guitian lu* 歸田錄 (Records Written for Returning to the Farm), Su Shi’s 蘇軾 (1037-1101) *Chouchi biji* 仇池筆記 (Jottings by the Chou Pond) and *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林 (Forest of Records by the Master of Eastern Slope), Zhao Lingshi’s 趙令時 (1051-?) *Hou qing lu* 侯鯖錄 (Records of the Marquis’ Mackerel), and Kong Pingzhong’s 孔平仲 (*jinshi* 1065) *Xiu Shishuo* 續世說 (Sequel to the *Shishuo*). Wang Dang, Zhao Lingshi and Kong Pingzhong were all active members of Su Shi’s literary circle, and the works of his peers would inevitably influence

⁹ Sung Chia-fu, *Between Tortoise and Mirror: Historians and Historiography in Eleventh-Century China* (Dissertation. Harvard University, 2010), 76.

¹⁰ Li Yumin 李裕民, *Songdai biji xiaoshuo daguan* 宋代筆記小說大觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2001). Zhang Hui 張暉, *Songdai biji yanjiu* 宋代筆記研究 (Studies on Song Dynasty Miscellanies, Wuchang: Huazhong shida, 1993).

Wang's compilation of the *Tang yulin*. However, because none of Wang Dang's own writings are extant except for a brief preface to the *Tang yulin* listing its source books and categories, we have no textual records on possible influences or compilation principles of Wang's collection. Observations or speculations on these aspects have to be based on the analysis of the content and structure of the *Tang yulin* itself, and on a case-by-case basis as well when dealing with particular narratives, categories, themes and topics of the collection. Still, the *Tang yulin* should be viewed as essentially a Song scholar's effort to selectively recycle the fragmented records of the Tang, give these discontinuous narratives structure, and bestow meaning through such structure. Therefore, it represents, first and foremost, a Song perspective on the historical and anecdotal representations of the past. As a result, through selectively recycling and systematically restructuring the anecdotal memories of the Tang, Wang Dang constructed his own supplement to the Tang histories, and thus he can be viewed as a historian outside of the official venues of historiography.

Therefore, this dissertation takes an approach similar to the New Historicist pursuit of "counterhistory" through anecdotal accounts.¹¹ The New Historicist counterhistory "opposes itself not only to dominant narratives, but also to prevailing modes of historical thought and methods of research," and, when successful, "ceases to be counter."¹² Often times, the anecdotal narratives examined here also seem to "disrupt" the factually oriented historical narratives and "tantalize with flashes of an always inaccessible 'real'"¹³ the way the New Historicist anecdotes do. But rather than a "counterhistory," the study here treats these anecdotal accounts as the

¹¹ Catherine Gallagher, "Counterhistory and the Anecdote" in Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, eds., *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 49-74.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

fragmented cultural memory of the past that is neither factual nor fictional, or both factual and fictional. These narratives are organic integrations of factual basis and fictional exaggeration, and they are as true, and at the same time as false, as the personal memory. They are vehicles of memory, not only memories of individuals, but also as a whole the memory of the society and the culture. They are factual in the sense that they represent cultural reality and ideological truth rather than historical reality and empirical truth, just like the personal memory can be more true to one's mentality than one's factual experience.

In his article "Historiographical Anecdotes as Depositories and Vehicles of Cultural Memory," Harald Hendrix discusses the genre of "historiographical anecdotes" in biographies of leading intellectuals of the European Renaissance period. He points out that due to the "narrative structure at the basis of almost all anecdotes," they have "a particularly strong mnemotechnic effect: people remember them almost automatically and don't find any difficulty in reproducing them when required."¹⁴ They are particularly effective in producing cultural memory,¹⁵ and they "tend to live very long lives" and "resist falsification" even when originally made up intentionally by historical biographers.¹⁶ Such effectiveness shows that the historical anecdotes "must possess qualities that are judged more essential than the historian's search for empirical truth."¹⁷ Hendrix argues that "in historiographical discourses anecdotes have the rhetorical function of an exemplum: with great efficiency they convey the inner logic of historical facts,

¹⁴ Harald Hendrix, "Historiographical Anecdotes as Depositories and Vehicles of Cultural Memory," in *Genres as Repositories of Cultural Memory*. The Proceedings of the XVth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association "Literature as Cultural Memory", Leiden 16-22 August 1997, vol. 5. Edited by Hendrik van Gorp, and Theo D' Haen (Amsterdam/Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000), p. 18.

¹⁵ Hendrix, "Historiographical Anecdotes," p. 20.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

and in a way that people will easily remember it. This makes the factual basis of anecdotes virtually irrelevant, since it is not their function to communicate empirical facts. They communicate an interpretation of empirical facts.”¹⁸ Therefore, “they should be examined as such: not as true or false stories – like so many historians have been investigating them – but as indications of ideologies,” and examined this way “at least in origin, during the period in which they are being conceived.”¹⁹ While Hendrix mainly addresses the biographical “historical anecdotes” closely associated with the life and personality of the historical figures they depict, and in particular, the biographical anecdotes intentionally created by historical biographers, his ideas are useful to the study of miscellaneous anecdotal accounts such as the *Tang yulin* as well. Though, collectively speaking, the miscellaneous narratives in an anecdotal collection are not particularly related to a single historical figure, nor set in any specific biographical context, they also possess the quality that often transcends the factual basis of the anecdotal accounts. Often times they do not function to communicate empirical facts, but rather the cultural reality and ideological truth embedded in them as interpretations of empirical facts.

Taking Hendrix’s claims as a starting point, this dissertation further identifies three aspects of the nature of anecdotal narratives that are characteristics to the concept of “cultural memory.” Before I introduce these three aspects and relate anecdotal narratives to cultural memory, I will comment on the Chinese concept of memory and introduce the definitions of cultural memory itself. In order to properly lay the foundation for the discussion on medieval Chinese anecdotal narratives from the perspective of the modern Western concept “cultural memory,” this dissertation first explores traditional Chinese notions of memory and proposes to

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 22.

understand the Chinese concept of memory from the perspective of processes. One process in particular, the process of memory transmission, enables the discussions on the oral origins of anecdotal memories of the society,²⁰ as well as on the oral and textual transmission of such memories beyond the physical presence and lifetime of individuals. It perpetuates and preserves the fragmented memories of the society, and produces as a whole the cultural memory of the past in the forms of fragmented writings such as *xiaoshuo* 小說, “minor discourses,” and *zashi* 雜史, “miscellaneous histories,” outside of official historiographical venues.

The concept of cultural memory itself has been developed rather recently as a result of the growing scholarly attention to the collective and cultural aspects of memory. Ever since Maurice Halbwachs started to emphasize the social nature of memory in the 1980s,²¹ scholarly attention has been increasingly turned to social practices of commemoration.²² In addition to formal discourses produced by historiography, these social practices, in forms such as tradition, myth, and anecdotes, produce what is identified as “collective,” or “cultural,” memory.²³ In his

²⁰ For discussions on the oral origins of anecdotal accounts, see the following works: Bernhard Karlgren, “On the Nature and Authenticity of the *Tso Chuan*,” *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 32, no. 3 (1926): 1-65; William H. Nienhauser, Jr., “The Origins of Chinese Fiction,” *Monumenta Serica*, 38 (1988–89): 191 – 219; William H. Nienhauser, Jr., “Literature as a Source for Traditional History: The Case of Ou-yang Chan,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 12 (1990): 1-14; William H. Nienhauser, Jr. “Creativity and Storytelling in the *Ch’uan-ch’i*: Shen Ya-chih’s T’ang Tales,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 20 (1998): 31-70; Glen Dudbridge, *Religious Experience and Lay Society in T’ang China: A Reading of Tai Fu’s Kuang-i chi* (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Sarah Allen, *Tang Stories: Tales and Texts* (Dissertation, Harvard University, 2003). Allen, Sarah. “Tales Retold: Narrative Variation in a Tang Story.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 66, no. 1 (2006): 105-43. Jack W. Chen, “Blank Spaces and Secret Histories: Questions of Historiographic Epistemology in Medieval China,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69, no. 4 (2010): 1071-91. Kai Vogelsang, “From Anecdote to History: Observations on the Composition of the *Zuozhuan*,” in *Oriens Extremus* 50 (2011): 99-124.

²¹ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1992).

²² For a survey on the working definitions, traditions, lineages of enterprises, disputes, approaches, and sociological theories concerning social memory, see Olick and Robbins, “Social Memory Studies: From ‘Collective Memory’ to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 105-40.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 109-112.

1995 article “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” Jan Assmann defines the concept “cultural memory” and stresses the following characteristics: 1) “the concretion of identity or the relation to the group,” 2) the “capacity to reconstruct,” 3) its “formation” – “the objectivation or crystallization of communicated meaning and collectively shared knowledge,” 4) its “organization” – “the institutional buttressing of communication and the specialization of the bearers of cultural memory,” 5) its “obligation – a clear system of values and differentiations in importance that structure the cultural supply of knowledge and symbols,” and 6) its “reflexivity” – “its practice-reflexivity in interpreting common practice in terms of ethno-theories such as proverbs, rituals; its self-reflexivity in drawing on itself to operate in social context; and its reflecting the self-image of the group through a preoccupation with its own social system.”²⁴ In this article Assmann does not seem to distinguish the concept of “cultural memory” from Halbwachs’s “collective memory,”²⁵ or Fentress’s “social memory.”²⁶ Assmann states “the concept of cultural memory comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose ‘cultivation’ serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image. Upon such collective knowledge, for the most part of the past, each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity.”²⁷

Then again, in his 2006 book *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, Assmann redefines the concept in the introductory chapter “What Is ‘Cultural Memory?’” and distinguishes it with concepts of “communicative memory” and “collective memory.”

²⁴ Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” Trans. John Czaplicka, in *New German Critique* 65 (Spr/Sum 1995): 130-2.

²⁵ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 38.

²⁶ Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. ix-x.

²⁷ Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” *Ibid.*, p. 132.

“Communicative memory” is a concept Assmann developed to emphasize the social aspect of individual memory identified by Halbwachs. The nature of communicative memory is both bodily/physically and socially conditioned, operating within a social framework.²⁸ It is individually specific, highly functionalized, and closely related to the formation of individual identity. It is short, spanning a period of less than a hundred years, “a generational memory that changes as the generations change.”²⁹ According to Assmann, collective memory functions as a sociogenetic force,³⁰ similar to Friedrich Nietzsche’s “bonding memory” or “will’s memory” in the sense that it binds the individuals sharing the collective memory to similarly shared point of view, identity, social obligations, and sometimes religious or political purposes; and at the same time, individuals find a sense of belonging through such shared memory. Assmann states, “the task of this [collective] memory, above all, is to transmit a collective identity,” and “collective memory is particularly susceptible to politicized forms of remembering” where memories are “made” through commemoration.³¹ This is in line with various scholars’ view that collective memory is highly selective.³²

The concept of “cultural memory,” on the other hand, “takes a major step beyond the individual who alone possesses a memory in the true sense,” and sets up a needed “symbolic and cultural framework” for the operations of memory.³³ It is a concept close but different from

²⁸ Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, p. 3-4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5-9.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6-7.

³² Olick and Robbins, p. 110.

³³ Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), p. 8.

Bernstein's concept of "tradition." It is "symbolically stored memory" to ensure the memory does not die with its particular temporal context, using such cultural memory techniques as rituals, festivals and canonized texts. Assmann relates cultural memory to the passing of time, when the "memory space of many thousands of years open up, and it is writing that plays the decisive role in this process."³⁴ He also invokes Derrida's concept of the "archive," stating that "in written cultures, handed-down meanings, translated into symbolic forms, swells into vast archives of which only more or less limited, albeit central parts are really needed, inhabited, and tended, while all around hoards of knowledge that are no longer needed languish in a state that at the margins comes close to disappearance and oblivion."³⁵ He distinguishes between functional memory and stored memory, and defines the latter as amorphous, without boundaries and structuring principles. "Cultural memory, in contrast to communicative memory, encompasses the age-old, out-of-the-way, and discarded; and in contrast to collective, bonding memory, it includes the noninstrumentalizable, heretical, subversive, and disowned,"³⁶ and is "complex, pluralistic, and labyrinthine; it encompasses a quantity of bonding memories and group identities that differ in time and place and draws its dynamism from these tensions and contradictions."³⁷ While Assmann's "cultural memory" seems to be rather inclusive, other scholars seem to use the term specifically to refer to the "stored" or "archived" memory in Assmann's categorization of memory. For example, Marita Sturkin, in her study of the Vietnam War, the Aids epidemic and the politics of remembering, defines cultural memory as memory "shared outside the avenues of

³⁴ Ibid., p. 28.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 24-5.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 29.

formal historical discourse, yet is entangled with cultural products and imbued with cultural meaning.”³⁸

To the study of medieval Chinese anecdotal narratives in this dissertation, three main characteristics of cultural memory prove to be particularly relevant. First, cultural memory is the memory that can last across time and space. Anecdotal accounts, by their nature, tend to spread, and are created to be spread in the first place. Thus they are miscellaneous memories that will not die when detached, as a result of being transmitted across time and space, from their original owner, be it an individual, a collective of individuals, or a political entity. Often anecdotal memories are detached enough that they are not “personal” or “individual” in the sense that the accuracy of details would not make significant differences in the interpretation of the memory, and not “collective” in the sense that the social and political interest and the identity of the collective entity are no longer tied with the interpretation and perpetuation of the memory. In this sense, they are truly cultural. Cultural memory might co-exist at the same time with the personal memory or collective memory of the original owner in the case that the memory is spread rapidly across space beyond the connections to its original owner, but most likely in the case of ancient China, cultural memory is memory that has outlived its original owner and has migrated from the individual to the collective and eventually to the cultural realm. Second, cultural memory exists in the cultural archives outside of the official venues of historiography. Most anecdotal narratives are indeed left out of official histories and are passed down as memories “archived” in miscellaneous collections often put in such inferior categories as *xiaoshuo* 小說, “minor discourses,” and *zashi* 雜史, “miscellaneous histories,” by official dynastic bibliographies. Third,

³⁸ Sturkin, *Tangled Memories* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), p. 26.

cultural memory is a type of symbolically stored memory. As a result of being transmitted across time and space, the factual details of the anecdotal accounts lose their significance, while the cultural reality and cultural significance associated to these accounts become more important. Thus the anecdote gains a symbolic nature in that the face value of the narrative becomes overshadowed by the embedded and conventionally recognized cultural value, and the anecdote itself becomes a symbol of the cultural value it represents. Chapters four and five of the dissertation will examine the Chinese concept of memory from the perspective of processes, and analyze these three important characteristics of cultural memory in anecdotal narratives with representative examples from the *Tang yulin*.

This dissertation's approach to the anecdotal narratives from the theoretical perspective of cultural memory has its roots and inspiration in existing studies of Chinese literature from the perspective of memory and remembrance. Early studies of memory within the context of traditional Chinese literature focus mainly on the individual, "autobiographical" memories. One example is Stephen Owen's work in *Remembrances: The Experience of the Past in Classical Chinese Literature* (1986). Owen emphasizes the articulation or manipulation of individual memory when it is transformed into narratives, and is interested more in the act of remembrance than in memory itself. Therefore, rather than putting the texts in their social contexts to reveal the social aspect of individual memories, Owen puts them in the context of literary traditions, focusing on how texts serve as vehicles of remembrance – an approach neatly in line with his overall analogy between text and memory. Recent studies of memory in the context of Chinese literature turn more attention to the social context of individual memories, and memories that reflect collective social, historical experience. Many studies focus on the theme of traumatic memory in Chinese history, especially that of the destruction and violence during the mid-

seventeenth century transition from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) to the Manchus's Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Some of these studies use concepts from theories of sociology and psychology to analyze the changing conditions of memory.³⁹ A main difference from earlier studies of memory is the raised awareness of the collective and cultural aspects of memory in recent studies.

Two representative examples of recent studies on autobiographical memory in traditional Chinese literature from the perspective of its social context reveal a newly developed interest in collective experience and communities of commemoration. They also represent the recent attention paid to memory writings marginalized by texts remembering historical events from mainstream perspectives. Allan Barr studied the personal and public memories of the “*Ming History Case*” (*Mingshi an* 明史案) of 1663. Instead of memories of the martyrs, Barr focuses on the memoirs of two survivors, Fan Han 范韓 (1634-1705+) and Lu Xinxing 陸莘行 (1652-1707+). Barr observes that many of Lu Xinxing's memories “must have been learned, borrowed, and inherited from a common stock of memories constructed, sustained and transmitted by the Lu family,”⁴⁰ Quoting Robert Bellah, Barr invokes the concept of the “community of memory,” where “a community is involved in retelling its story, its constituent narrative, and in so doing, it offers examples of the men and women who have embodied and exemplified the meaning of the

³⁹For examples, see Lynn Struve's “Confucian PTSD: Reading Trauma in a Chinese Youngster's Memoir of 1653,” Vera Schwarcz's “Circling the Void: Memory in the Life and Poetry of the Manchu Prince Yihuan (1840-1891),” Peter Zarrow's “Historical Trauma: Anti-Manchism and Memories of Atrocity in Late Qing China,” and Klaus Mohlhahn's “Remembering the Bitter Past: The Trauma of China's Labor Camps, 1949-1978” in *History & Memory* 16, no. 2 (2004); as well as Li Wai-ye's “History and Memory in Wu Weiye's Poetry,” and Robert Hegel's “Dreaming the Past” in *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature* edited by Wilt L. Idema, Li Wai-ye, and Ellen Widmer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 99-148, 345-74.

⁴⁰ Barr, “*Ming History* Inquisition,” p. 13.

community.”⁴¹ Philip Kafalas bases his study on Gaston Bachelard’s idea that “if the self emerges from remembering, it must be housed in a metaphorical architecture built of remembered spaces.”⁴² Kafalas examines several pieces of autobiographical prose in late imperial Chinese literature to study how childhood, dream and trauma were remembered in relation to the memories of meaningful physical structures, such as *jia* 家, the “family,” or rather the physical “house.” He argues that the “mental architecture, as metaphorical housing of what remembering produces, has its roots in physical architecture.”⁴³ The physical space in memory becomes a symbolic architecture, a structuring device of memory – “structures that house the raw material of the remembered and remembering self.”⁴⁴ Kafalas concludes that our memories depend on such a constructed framework and its integration into some larger social commonality.

In the study of anecdotal narratives here, the categorization system of an anecdotal collection offers a similar “symbolic architecture” to house the miscellaneous anecdotal memories of the past. Rather than Kafalas’ “mental architecture” that houses personal memory and offers meaningful structure to the remembered and the remembering self, categorization systems of anecdotal collections are symbolic architectures that house the cultural memory of a society and offer meaningful structures to the memory. At the same time they also offer guidance to how the anecdotal past should be remembered and interpreted in order for it to make sense to the remembering society. In selectively recycling the anecdotal material of the past and re-organizing it in its own categorization system, the *Tang yulin* restructured the space of the

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 13.

⁴² Kafalas, “Mnemonic Locations,” p. 93.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 94.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 100.

cultural memory of Tang and re-constructed a “symbolic architecture” that is meaningful to its own time, and to the remembering culture. Wang Dang’s architecture had its roots and inspiration in the *Shishuo xinyu* tradition, but he intentionally expanded the symbolic space of the tradition with his own additional categories. With examples of representative cases of anecdotes and categories, this dissertation will try to show that Wang’s architecture was shaped by the social and historical context of his own time, and designed to address the cultural and intellectual concerns of the literati culture of the Song.

Fragmented and anecdotal narratives have gained considerable scholarly attention in Western scholarship. Most recently topics ranging from Xie Lingyun’s 謝靈運 (385-433) fragmented records on mountains⁴⁵ to Yuan Mei’s 袁枚 (1716-1798) miscellaneous writings on cooking and dining⁴⁶ have become research interests of scholars specialized in the literature and culture of various time periods of ancient China. Especially relevant to the study of the *Tang yulin* here are the investigations on anecdotal collections. A few examples of recent studies are discussed below.

Anna Shields examines the representation of the Yuanhe 元和 reign (806-820) of Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805-820) of Tang in three anecdotal collections from the ninth century, the *Guo shi bu* 國史補 (Supplement to the History of the State) by Li Zhao 李肇 (? - after 829), the *Yin hua lu* 因話錄 (Records of Hearsay) by Zhao Lin 趙璘 (803-after 868), and

⁴⁵ Ping Wang, “Fragments of ‘Famous Mountains:’ Xie Lingyun’s ‘You mingshan zhi’ 遊名山志 (Records of Traveling Famous Mountains),” Presentation at the 2012 AAS Annual Conference, Toronto, Canada, on March 16, 2012.

⁴⁶ Yan Liang, “Pieces of Food and Culture: Yuan Mei and His Recipe Book *Suiyuan shidian* 隨園食單” Presentation at the 2012 AAS Annual Conference, Toronto, Canada, on March 16, 2012.

the *Zhi yan* 摭言 (Collected Sayings) by Wang Dingbao 王定保 (870-940).⁴⁷ Shields argues that the emphases of these three collections shift from the personal perspective of Li Zhao, to the most distant and admiring view of Zhao Lin, to the historical and even nostalgic version of Wang Dingbao. Such a shift reveals the ongoing reconsideration of Yuanhe literary culture and the achievements of Yuanhe writers such as Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) and Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846). Shields notes that “as literati gossip was replaced with more factual historical accounts and primary texts in these anecdote collections, a new vision of mid-Tang cultural values emerged, one that began to create different narratives for literary and intellectual history.”⁴⁸ Manling Luo examines the intellectual discourse in the late eighth-century miscellany *Feng shi wenjian ji* 封氏聞見記 (Records of Things Heard and Seen by Mr. Feng) by Feng Yan 封演 (fl. 750-800).⁴⁹ Treating the collection as an innovative project within its particular historical context, Luo points out that “combining the traditional reportage-style miscellany and the genre of the discourse (*lun* 論), Feng Yan transforms the *wenjian ji* into a new mode of independent intellectual exploration.”⁵⁰ Feng Yan “not only creates an order of knowledge that decentralizes court authority, but also establishes a distinct style of analytical inquiry to achieve what he considers to be a true understanding of the world’s diverse phenomena.”⁵¹ Luo comments that Feng’s work

⁴⁷ I have preserved the translations of titles and authors’ dates by Anna Shields. Anna M. Shields, “From Literati Gossip to Intellectual History: Shifting Perspectives on the Yuanhe 元和 Era in Tang Anecdote Collections.” *Chugoku shigaku* 中國史學 (Studies in Chinese History), 20 (2010): 1-32, 201.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁴⁹ I have preserved the translations of title and author’s dates by Manling Luo. See Manling Luo, “What One Has Heard and Seen: Intellectual Discourse in a Late Eighth-Century Miscellany,” *Tang Studies* 30 (2012): 23-44.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*.

illustrates “an emergent trend of using the miscellany as a flexible yet serious medium of self-expression in the late medieval period.”⁵² The view of the anecdotal collection as the medium of self-expression and self-fashioning can be traced back to the many studies on the *Shishuo xinyu*. Nanxiu Qian’s *Spirit and Self in Medieval China: The Shih-Shuo Hsin-Yu and Its Legacy* contains overview discussions on the imitations of the *Shishuo xinyu* from all later dynasties of China as well as from the Korean and Japanese cultures.⁵³ Her chapters on the Tang and Song imitations such as the *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語 and the *Tang yulin* are especially important to the study here. Qian’s recent comparative study on the two biographical traditions in Chinese women’s history: the *lienü* 列女 and the *xianyuan* 賢媛,⁵⁴ offers a thorough discussion on the social and intellectual context behind the development and transformation of these categories. It provides a valuable example for my discussion of categories functioning as symbols and structure of the anecdotal past with embedded cultural meanings both inherited from a long literary tradition and shaped by the changing social and intellectual contexts.

Important studies on anecdotal material from the perspective of memory include the works by Rania Huntington and Manling Luo from which the study here has benefited greatly. In her 2005 study, Rania Huntington examines memories of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) in late Qing *biji* 筆記 (miscellanies or casual memoirs) and *zhiguai* 志怪 (accounts of the strange)

⁵² Ibid..

⁵³ Nanxiu Qian, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China: The Shih-Shuo Hsin-Yu and Its Legacy* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2001).

⁵⁴ Nanxiu Qian, “Lienü versus Xianyuan: The Two Biographical Traditions in Chinese Women’s History,” In *Beyond Exemplar Tales: Women’s Biography in Chinese History*, edited by Joan Judge and Hu Ying (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2011), pp. 70-88.

narratives.⁵⁵ She focuses on fragmentary recollections of the rebellion “when it is not the primary subject of discussion” and accounts “not assembled into larger, coherent wholes,”⁵⁶ rather than historical works and diaries exclusively devoted to the rebellion. She argues that these texts form a “unique generic space”⁵⁷ of memory, including first-person autobiographical memory, third-person, or anonymous legends, and the complicated mix of personal experience and literary convention.⁵⁸ Such memories in the most formless genre, the *biji*, and their relationship to other kinds of memory narratives on the Taiping Rebellion are the focus of Huntington’s study. She uses two organizing metaphors to illustrate the connections between memory and genre. The first one is a parallel drawn between spirits and memory – both present embodiments of the past; and the second one between genres of writing and spaces to remember and serve the dead.⁵⁹ Huntington distinguishes three types of spirits, memories and their corresponding spaces in rituals and genres of writing: and the spirits of ancestors – the personal and familial memories – claimed by individuals, enshrined in ancestral halls and remembered in funerary genres; the deified spirits – the shared, collective memories – remembered by a wider community, worshiped in temples and recorded in hagiography, or historiography; and the wandering hungry ghosts – the memory that seems to have become a common place for everyone, yet unclaimed by any individual or group, without service in halls or temples, lumped together in marginalized genres and categorized as miscellaneous. The third category of memory

⁵⁵ Rania Huntington, “Chaos, Memory, and Genre: Anecdotal Recollections of the Taiping Rebellion,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 27 (2005): 59-91.

⁵⁶ Huntington, “Chaos, Memory and Genre,” p. 63.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59-61.

and tales, or legends, about obscure or anonymous strangers are “a crucial part of the narrative landscape, providing both a backdrop for, and the link between, personal memory and the large stories of history” and “taken together they help to create a sense of general human experience in ordinary or extraordinary times.”⁶⁰ Huntington discusses the patterned arrangements at the level of collections to reveal the interplay of private and public memory, analyzes the genre and structure at the level of the text, and the use of themes and common motifs, such as fate, moral retribution, martyrdom, haunting, and refuges from history, at the level of the stories.

Manling Luo studies anecdotal collections from the Tang from the perspective of cultural memory. In her 2011 article, Luo examines “how the miscellany form makes possible a distinct mode of cultural memory construction, the piecing together of anecdotes gathered from oral and written sources to create a composite, multifaceted picture of the past,” or as Luo terms it, the “mosaic memory.”⁶¹ She examines four monothematic post-An Lushan rebellion collections devoted to the memory of the Kaiyuan-Tianbao era (713-756): Li Deyu’s 李德裕 (787-849) *Ci Liu shi jiuwen* 次柳氏舊聞 (Jottings of Tales Heard from the Lius), Zheng Chuhui’s 鄭處誨 (*jinshi* 834) *Minghuang zalu* 明皇雜錄 (Miscellaneous Record of the Illustrious Emperor), Zheng Qi’s 鄭棨 (fl. Late ninth century) *Kai Tian chuanxin ji* 開天傳信記 (Record of Transmitted Facts from Kaiyuan and Tianbao), and Wang Renyu’s 王仁裕 (880-956) *Kaiyuan Tianbao yishi* 開元天寶遺事 (Left-over Anecdotes from Kaiyuan and Tianbao).⁶² Luo shows

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 60.

⁶¹ Manling Luo, “Remembering Kaiyuan and Tianbao: The Construction of Mosaic Memory in Medieval Historical Miscellanies,” *T’oung Pao* 97 (2011): 263.

⁶² I have preserved the translations of titles and dates of authors originally by Manling Luo. See Manling Luo, “Remembering Kaiyuan and Tianbao,” pp. 263-300.

“how compilers created idiosyncratic versions of mosaic memory as a result of their personal motives and cultural positions” and these individual versions “constitute a cumulative representation that reveals important features of mosaic memory as communal discourse.” Luo’s interest in a composite picture of the past created by the literati community also is found in her most recent study, where, using Liu Su’s 劉肅 (fl. 806-820) *Da Tang xinyu* as an example, she treats the writing of historical miscellanies as the means of constructing a “kaleidoscopic history” of the “Great Tang,” and a specific identity for the literati community in the post-An Lushan rebellion era.⁶³

The *Tang yulin*, in this sense, can also be viewed as an image of the Tang constructed by a Song dynasty literati scholar by restructuring Tang cultural memory through his own selection and re-categorization of the anecdotal narratives. Compared to the “mosaic memory” and the “kaleidoscopic history” of the “Great Tang” constructed by the literati scholars of the post-An Lushan era as discussed by Manling Luo, Wang Dang’s construction of the image of the Tang is from a much more distant perspective. It is an image constructed with much less tendency to identify with such memory and use it for self-expression and self-fashioning, than perhaps to preserve such memory and use it as past examples for the purpose of self-cultivation. The anecdotes in the *Tang yulin* cover a wide range of historical figures and social occasions, but the authors and origins of many of these records are no longer traceable. Therefore, the anecdotes in the *Tang yulin* are not about any particular type of experience of a particular individual or group; instead, they come from a society’s memory of the past that, in a sense, was collage-like and cultural. It is a collage of bits and pieces of floating memory of a large group of people on a wide

⁶³ Manling Luo, “Anecdotes and Community: A Kaleidoscopic History in the *New Tales of the Great Tang*,” Presentation at the 2012 AAS Annual Conference, Toronto, Canada, on March 16, 2012.

range of topics and events, gathered, selected, and structured by Wang Dang, resulting in an alternative way by which the past dynasty is remembered.

In his chapter on the Northern Song literature in the *Cambridge History of Chinese Literature* (2010), Ronald Egan comments on the nature of miscellanies or anecdotal collections, and the striking increase in the number of such collections during the Song. “The most weighty and instructive narratives” about the past were incorporated in official biographies and histories, the miscellany compilers collected marginal records that have “little didactic or historiographical value, or that may strain credulity or otherwise be of uncertain provenance and credibility,” for the purpose of supplementing the official historical record.⁶⁴ By the end of the eleventh century, the interest in miscellaneous records had grown to include the recent, the personal, the trivial and quotidian, the amoral and even the heterodox. Considering Assmann’s system, official histories can be viewed as the functional memory of the past, as the collective memory selectively constructed by the ruling group; while anecdotes are marginalized, noninstrumentalizable memories of the past stored away in cultural “archives,” without immediate use or function. For the anecdotes in the *Tang yulin*, it is no longer possible to identify whose individual memory, or which group’s collective memory, an anecdote was. Time has moved memories that were once individual, or once shared by a particular group, into the realm of cultural memory of a past dynasty.

The study of memory in general, and the collective and social aspects of memory in particular, has also become a trend in Chinese scholarship over the past decades. Western studies on memory are translated, reproducing in Chinese fundamental works such as Halbwachs’s *On*

⁶⁴ Ronald Egan, “The Northern Song (1020-1126),” 454-5.

Collective Memory and Harald Welzer's *Social Memory: History, Remembrance, Tradition*.⁶⁵

These theories became the basis of new perspectives and approaches in various disciplines of research in China, including studies of history, culture, anthropology, popular religion and literature.⁶⁶ Scholars have also been analyzing the adaptation and application of western theories on the social aspects of memory to the context of their own research fields.⁶⁷ However, compared to the much-studied concepts of collective, social and historical memory, the concept of cultural memory in Chinese scholarship appears to be in need of clarification. It is mostly used as an alternative term for collective memory or a blanket term for memories of local communities or minority groups in anthropological and ethnographical studies. Often times it is

⁶⁵ See Maurice Halbwachs, *Lun jiti jiyi* 論集體記憶 (On Collective Memory), trans. Bi Ran 畢然 and Guo Jinhua 郭金華; and Harald Welzer, *Shehui jiyi: lishi, huiyi, chuancheng* 社會記憶：歷史，回憶，傳承 (Social Memory: History, Remembrance, Tradition), trans. Ji Bin 季斌, Wang Lijun 王立君, Bai Xikun 白錫堃.

⁶⁶ In his 2010 review, Bai Zixian 白子仙 identifies seven categories in Chinese memory studies over the past twenty years that are based on western theories: identity, generations and social stratifications, collective amnesia, violence and power, rumor and collective amnesia, reputation and collective amnesia, and the continuity of social memory. See Bai Zixian 白子仙, "Jiti jiyi lilun jingyan yanjiu de qige weidu: 1989-2009" 集體記憶理論經驗研究的七個維度: 1989-2009 (Seven Dimensions of Empirical Studies on the Theories of Collective Memory: 1989-2009), in *Economic Research Guide* 經濟研究導刊 80, no.6 (2010): 200-1. Though Bai's review seems to be somewhat unbalanced and his categories overlapped, it nevertheless indicates a raised awareness of the widespread influence western theories of collective memory have on many disciplines of research in China.

⁶⁷ A few examples are listed here: Wang Mingke 王明珂 analyzes theories and methodology used in historical research with regard to the concepts of fact, memory and mentality. Lai Guodong 賴國棟, in his 2009 dissertation, reflects on the study of historical memory based on twentieth century western theories. Taking Halbwachs' collective memory as a starting point, Liu Yaqui 劉亞秋 discusses social memory from the perspective of power and social determinism with a focus on the role of individual memory. He offers to define the concept of "memory glimmer" 記憶微光 which is the disruption or collision between individual and collective memory. He points out that, though too weak to be a separate memory category, memory glimmer describes one alternative of social memory and implies a different reality that has been overlooked. See Wang Mingke 王明珂, "Lishi shishi, lishi jiyi yu lishi xinxing" 歷史事實，歷史記憶與歷史心性 (Historical Facts, Historical Memory and Historical Mentality), in *Lishi Yanjiu* 歷史研究 (Historical Research) 5 (2001): 136-91; Lai Guodong 賴國棟, *Lishi jiyi yanjiu: jiyu 20 shiji xifang lishi lilun de fansi* 歷史記憶研究：基於20世紀西方歷史理論的反思 (The Study on Historical Memory: A Reflection Based on Twentieth Century Western Theories on History), Dissertation, Fudan University, 2009; Liu Yaqui 劉亞秋, "Cong jiti jiyi dao geti jiyi: dui shehui jiyi yanjiu de yige fasi" 從集體記憶到個體記憶：對社會記憶研究的一個反思 (From Collective Memory to Individual Memory: A Critical Reflection on the Social Memory Studies), in *Chinese Journal of Sociology* 社會 30, no.5 (2010): 217-42.

applied loosely and superficially in case studies of various disciplines including art design, communications, and media study.⁶⁸ Cultural anthropology studies of China's minority groups tend to border on the study of cultural memory as well,⁶⁹ often taking local history and local culture as cultural memory. Moreover, it seems that the concept of cultural memory has not been applied to the particular context of literary study in China. Most studies focus on collective memory in late imperial and modern literature,⁷⁰ especially in the “Shanghen wenxue” 傷痕文學 (Scar Literature) that emerged in the late 1970s.⁷¹ Hong Zhigang's 洪治剛 review report of the “Literature and Memory” conference held at Jinan University 暨南大學 during Dec. 5-6, 2009 again reveals a focus on the literary creativity in contemporary literature, and its connections to the individual memory of the author and collective memory of the people.⁷² Among the very few studies that treat traditional literature, one example is Li Qiuxiang's 李秋香 study on Qin and

⁶⁸ For examples, see Liu Zhaohua 劉朝華, “Sheji zhong de wenhua jiyi” 設計中的文化記憶 (Cultural Memory in Design), in *Technology Trend* 科技風 13 (2010): 74; and Wang Weiping 王偉平 “Dianshi jilupian de wenhua jiyi gongneng” 電視紀錄片的文化記憶功能 (The Cultural Memory Function of TV Documentaries), in *The Press* 新聞戰線 6 (2010): 74-6.

⁶⁹ For example, see Liu Zuxin 劉祖鑫, “Jinshajiang hugu Daizu Poshuijie de lishi jiyi yu wenhua rentong” 金沙江河谷傣族潑水節的歷史記憶與文化認同 (Historical Memory and Cultural Identity of the Dai's Water-sprinkling Festival in the Jinsha River Valley), in *Journal of Yunnan Normal University (Humanities and Social Sciences)* 雲南師範大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 42, no. 5 (2010): 111-6.

⁷⁰ For example, see Zhou Donghua 周東華, “Minguo chunian jiangnan jiaohui nvsheng jiti jiyi zhong de guozu rentong” 民國初年江南教會女生集體記憶中的國族認同 (National and Clan Identities in the Collective Memory of Female Students in Churches of the Jiangnan Region at the Beginning of the Republican Era), in *Xueshu Yuekan* 學術月刊 3 (2010):145-151.

⁷¹ For example, see Xu Zidong's 許子東, *Dangdai xiaoshuo yu jiti jiyi: xushu wenge* 當代小說與集體記憶: 敘述文革 (Contemporary Novels and Collective Memory: Narrating the Cultural Revolution, Taipei: Maitian Chubanshe, 2000).

⁷² Hong Zhigang 洪治剛, “‘Wenxue yu jiyi’ xueshu yantaohui zongshu” “文學與記憶”學術研討會綜述 (General Review of the “Literature and Memory” Conference, Dec. 5-6, 2009 Jinan University 暨南大學). *Literary Review* 文學評論 2 (2010): 221-3.

Han's popular beliefs in saints and sages to illustrate the selectivity of community memory and demonstrate the construction of historical culture approval.⁷³ There are also very few works that study memory within the specific context of anecdotal literature. One example is Shi Huanxia's 石煥霞 discussion on memory, narration and imagination about the examination hall through a brief analysis of several Qing dynasty miscellaneous records.⁷⁴ I have not found any research on collective memory in medieval anecdotal literature in Chinese scholarship, or any on a well-defined concept of "cultural memory" in the literature of any period. It seems that at this point Chinese scholarship has not made the connection between the study of cultural memory and that of traditional literature, especially traditional anecdotal literature.

Therefore, this dissertation deems it worthwhile to study the *Tang yulin*, an anecdotal collection of about historical figures, events and cultural aspects of the Tang that was compiled during the Song dynasty, from the perspective of cultural memory. The study aims to shed light on the understandings of anecdotal literature as vehicle and repository of cultural memory and anecdotal collections as restructured spaces of selectively recycled cultural memory that represent images of the past constructed within and shaped by the social and intellectual context of the collections' own times.

⁷³ Li Qiuxiang 李秋香, "Jiti jiyi de xuanzhexing yu lishi wenhua rentong de jian'gou – yi Qin Han shengxian xinyang wei ge'an" 集體記憶的選擇性與歷史文化認同的建構 – 以秦漢聖賢信仰為個案 (Selectivity of Community Memory and Construction of Historical Culture Approval—Taking the Qin and Han Dynasty Saints and Sages Belief for Example). *Journal of Hubei University of Economics* 湖北經濟學院學報 8, no.5 (2010): 118-22.

⁷⁴ Shi Huanxia 石煥霞. "Guanyu xiangwei de jiyi, xushu yu xiangxiang – yi Qing dai shiren biji wei zhongxin de kaocha" 關於鄉閘的記憶，敘述與想像 – 以清代士人筆記為中心的考察 (Memory, Narration and Imagination about Examination Hall—A Research on Qing Scholar-Gentry Notes Novel [provided English title]). *Journal of Fujian Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)* 福建師範大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 151, no.4 (2008): 136-141.

The dissertation has altogether six chapters. Chapter one is an introduction to the dissertation, situating the current study within the big picture of existing research on the *Tang yulin*, anecdotal literature and cultural memory. Chapter two is an overview on Wang Dang, the compiler of the *Tang yulin*, offering discussions on his dates, family background, political career, and his literary and artistic achievements as well as his social connections. Chapter Three introduces the source titles and structure of the *Tang yulin* and its complicated textual history.

Chapter four explores the idea of *yu* 語, “conversations,” as first (section 4.1), the main characteristic of the narratives in the *Tang yulin*; second (section 4.2), as the oral origin and means of oral transmission of the anecdotal memories of the past; and third (section 4.3), as the literary tradition that, with its roots in *xiaoshuo* 小說 and *zashi* 雜史, functions as a bridge connecting the anecdotal memories of the past circulated and transmitted within the oral culture⁷⁵ and the textual accounts that perpetuates and preserves them. In order to offer a conceptual basis for the connections between the anecdotal memories of the past and the oral culture, this chapter (in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) proposes the perspective of understanding the traditional Chinese

⁷⁵ The concept of oral culture here is different from the oral cultures on which Walter Ong bases his concepts of “primary orality” and “secondary orality.” Orality is understood as thought and its verbal expressions in oral cultures. To distinguish different kinds of orality, Walter Ong defines “primary orality” as “the orality of a culture totally untouched by any knowledge of writing or print,” and “secondary orality” as that of “a culture in which a new orality is sustained by telephone, radio, television, and other electronic devices that depend for their existence and functioning on writing and print.” See Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, p. 11. Though not part of his formal definition system, Ong also mentions the kind of “residual orality” in cultures that are exposed to writing and print, but writing and print are not fully used in daily lives (Ibid., pp. 92-3). Still, Ong seems to overlook the cultures where literacy is not a homogeneous phenomenon: writing and print can be fully used in daily lives of a small group of highly literate members of the society, but not the daily lives of the illiterate masses. The culture of ancient China was not a culture of “primary orality” or “secondary orality,” and not exactly of “residual orality.” It was rather a culture in an equilibrium state, where writing and mass illiteracy co-existed for hundreds or even thousands of years. This is a culture where the interactions of orality, manuscript culture and print culture are most interesting, and we may try to understand the dynamics of such interactions through searching for and analyzing the possible textual marks left by the attempt to incorporate characteristics of orality in textual records that record the activities of the oral culture, such as the *Tang yulin*.

concept of memory as “processes.” The process of memory production is explored with examples of the meanings and usages of such mnemonic terms as *zhi* 識, *ji* 記, and *zhi* 誌/志; the process of memory storage is discussed with examples of the meanings and usages of *cang/zang* 藏, *shi* 識 (noun), and *jiyi* 記憶; the process of memory retrieval is discussed with terms such as *yi* 憶, *nian* 念, *shi* 識 (verb), and *wang* 忘; the process of memory transmission is examined with representative mnemonic and communicative terms such as *ji* 記, *zhi* 誌/誌, and *yu* 語. After the conceptual discussion on the understanding of traditional Chinese concept of memory, the chapter turns to focus on the transmission process of anecdotal memory in section 4.2.3. As trivial, fragmented memories shared by groups, communities and even the whole society, anecdotal accounts often have their origins in the oral culture of the society, and are orally circulated and transmitted. The discussion here offers examples of the oral origins and oral transmission of anecdotal memory from the *Tang yulin*, and presents records of ancient Chinese oral culture found in various texts. With these examples and records, the discussion here views the ancient Chinese oral culture as a plethora of modes of communicative actions such as *yan* 言 (speaking), *yu* 語 (conversing), *tan* 談 (discussing, chatting), *shuo* 說 (persuading, telling), *hua* 話 (talking, storytelling), which all had their textual counterparts with subtle differences to one another when used in the titles of anecdotal collections. Section 4.3 then takes *yu* 語, “conversations,” as an example to discuss the connections between the oral culture, the literary tradition of “conversations,” *xiaoshuo* and *zashi*, and the production of cultural memory. Section 4.3.1 traces the earliest “conversations” titles to the Confucian tradition with examples of texts such as the *Lun yu* 論語, the *Kongzi jiyu* 孔子家語 where the word *yu* in the titles represents the dynamics between the oral transmission of teaching and doctrine, and the commemoration

and consolidation of such fragmented oral teaching in the compilation text. Section 4.3.2 takes the *Guo yu* 國語 as an example to explore the “conversations” titles as *waizhuan* 外傳, “outer commentary,” and *zashi* 雜史, “miscellaneous histories,” within the historiographical tradition. Section 4.3.3 discusses the “conversations” titles as *xiaoshuo* 小說, “minor discourses,” with such early examples as the *Yulin* 語林 and the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語. Section 4.3.4 connects *zashi* and *xiaoshuo* to the concepts of cultural memory and the production of cultural memory. The discussion throughout chapter four also highlights two aspects of the distinct nature of anecdotal accounts that are characteristic of cultural memory: First, they are accounts and memory transmitted across time and space, beyond the individual’s life span or the existence of groups, societies and dynasties; and as a whole, they do not belong to any particular individual or group, nor do they address or represent any particular events or topics. Second, they are accounts and memories that tend to be left outside of the official venues of historical discourse and that exist in the vast cultural archives of the society – in miscellaneous collections and oral tradition.

Chapter five focuses on the analysis of the content and structure of the *Tang yulin* from the perspective of cultural memory. It illustrates with examples how the restructuring of cultural memory in the *Tang yulin* was shaped by the social, cultural, and intellectual context of the compiler’s time, as well as by the literary tradition the collection claimed. Section 5.1 first establishes the idea of anecdotal literature as vehicle and repository of cultural memory with examples on the level of individual anecdotes. Section 5.1.1 first uses an anecdote on Lu Qi’s wickedness to illustrate the “fuzzy” or “indistinct” nature of anecdotal memory and the idea of *shi* 實, “truth,” here as historical truth. Section 5.1.2 then takes an anecdote about a woman’s dream of a steelyard before giving birth as an example to illustrate the way personal memory

migrates, or rather spreads, into the realms of collective and cultural memory over time, and to show the development of a symbolic nature of anecdotal accounts that is characteristic of cultural memory. Section 5.1.2 also uses an anecdote about a court musician's memory of old owls gathering on the roof of a palace as an example to illustrate the idea of the migration of memory from marginalized social groups to the literati culture.

Section 5.2 discusses the restructuring of cultural memory in the *Tang yulin* on the level of groups of anecdotes that form "memory templates" (5.2.1), categories of anecdotes that form the structure of memory in the *Tang yulin* (5.2.2), and on the level of whole collections of anecdotes that serve as the *Tang yulin's* sources (5.2.3), each with representative examples. The discussion here on particular examples of "memory templates" and categories will show, on a case by case basis, that the restructuring of cultural memory in an anecdotal collection is facilitated and shaped by the social, intellectual and cultural context and concerns of the compiler's own time. While the anecdotal collection tries to impose structure and order on the miscellaneous memory of the past, the fluid nature of cultural memory inherited from its oral origins rather determines its resistance to systematic categorization. The discussion on the level of individual anecdotes, groups of anecdotes and anecdotal categories also reveals a third aspect of the nature of anecdotal accounts that is characteristic of cultural memory – these fragmented memories of the past are often symbolically stored in linguistic "handles" such as idioms, in "memory templates," and in larger structural frameworks such as categorization systems of anecdotal collections. Over the time, these forms and structures of memory storage acquire the characteristic that is more and more abstract, in the sense that their meanings gradually become independent of empirical details, and symbolic, in the sense that they become more true to the

cultural significance and cultural values they signify rather than the historical facts, or rather false facts, that involve in their narratives.

Section 5.2.3 examines the *Tang yulin*'s selective use of its source material in restructuring the cultural memory and reconstructing its own image of the Tang. Using a simple statistical clustering method, the discussion here first divides the fifty or so source titles of the *Tang yulin* roughly into four groups. Then from each group, one title representative of the issue at hand is selected for close examination. Among the large source collections, the *Tang yulin*'s high coverage of the *Guoshi bu* demonstrates a shared principle of compilation – to offer supplements to the official historical discourse (section 5.2.3.1), while its low coverage of the *Da Tang xinyu* suggests the possibility that it was intended to be a response to the *Da Tang xinyu* in both content and structure, and to offer a different image of Tang cultural memory (section 5.2.3.2). The discussion here also touches upon how Wang Dang may have worked through his source books, and how his compilation was influenced by the intellectual orientation of his own time. Among the smaller source collections, the *Tang yulin*'s high coverage of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* is used as an example to discuss the phenomenon of the circular transmission of cultural memory from source title to a text and then from the text back to the source title, and its related issues (section 5.2.3.3); while the *Tang yulin*'s low coverage of several source books brings the discussion back to the issue of Wang Dang's less preferred topics (section 5.2.3.4). Chapter six is the conclusion, and a list of bibliography and an appendix section of translations, charts and tables follow the six chapters.

Chapter Two: Wang Dang, The Compiler of the *Tang yulin*

Although there is no official biography, a rough picture of Wang Dang's 王讜 life can still be pieced together using the fragmented evidence found in the histories, literary works and miscellaneous records about historical figures and events around his time. Based on these fragmented and miscellaneous records, this chapter will try to present a discussion as detailed as possible on Wang Dang's family background, his career, his literary and artistic achievements, as well as his social connections.

2.1 Wang Dang's Dates

Wang Dang, the compiler of the *Tang yulin*, was a minor official of the Song and a native of Chang'an 長安, capital of the previous Tang dynasty. The “*Tang yulin tiyao*” 唐語林提要 (Introduction to the *Tang yulin*) in the *Siku quanshu* reads “[Wang] Dang’s name is not seen among the biographies of [official] histories. When examining the entry on Pei Ji in [his] book, [one finds] the character ‘Ji’ is [replaced with] a blank space with a note saying ‘name of the emperor.’ During the Song, only Huizong’s [reign] avoided ‘Ji’ as a taboo, therefore [Wang] Dang was someone lived during the Chongning (1102-1106) and Dagan (1107-1110) [reigns]” 讜之名不見史傳。考書中裴佶一條，佶字空格，注云御名。宋惟徽宗諱佶，則讜為崇寧大觀間人矣。⁷⁶ This estimation by the collators of the *Siku quanshu* had been accepted and quoted by later bibliographers and scholars such as Zhou Zhongfu 周中孚 (1768-1831), Lu Xinyuan 陸

⁷⁶ See “*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*” 四庫全書唐語林提要 in the Appendix of the *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 813-4.

心源 (1838-1894) and Yu Jiayi 余嘉錫 (1884-1955) in their prefaces and postscripts to various editions of the *Tang yulin* in their collections.⁷⁷ However, this estimation is challenged by Yan Zhongqi 顏中其 (1926-2000) who, with detailed textual analysis on the connections between Wang Dang and Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), concludes that Wang Dang was possibly less than ten years younger than Su Shi.⁷⁸ Yan estimates that Wang Dang was born around the sixth year of the Qingli 慶歷 (1041-1048) reign of Renzong 仁宗 (1010-1063, r. 1022-1063), which was 1046.⁷⁹ At the beginning (1102) of the Chongning reign, Wang Dang was almost sixty years old, and at the end (1110) of the Dagan reign, he was almost seventy. Thus the years of Chongning and Dagan reigns (1102-1110) estimated by the “*Tang yulin tiyao*” in the *Siku quanshu* should actually be the years toward the end of Wang Dang’s life, and it is also possible that Wang Dang passed away around that time.⁸⁰ Zhou Xunchu 周勛初, the compiler of the modern Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 edition of the *Tang yulin jiaozheng* 唐語林校證 (1987, rpt. 1997), agrees that Wang Dang possibly died during the Chongning and Dagan years around the age of sixty or seventy.⁸¹ Therefore, this dissertation will tentatively note Wang Dang’s years as (ca. 1046-ca. 1106) with an estimated deviation of approximately five years.

⁷⁷ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 815-6, 819. See the appendix section of the *Tang yulin jiaozheng* for the introductions, prefaces and postscripts to the *Tang yulin* by various scholars. For complete translations of these texts, see the appendix section of this dissertation.

⁷⁸ Yan Zhongqi 顏中其, “Guanyu *Tang yulin* zuozhe Wang Dang” 關於唐語林作者王讜, in *Zhongguo lishi wenxian yanjiu jikan* 中國歷史文獻研究集刊 (Anthology of studies on Chinese historical texts, Changsha: Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, 1980), 219-24.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*.

⁸¹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 1.

Nonetheless, the observation made in the “*Tang yulin tiyao*,” that is the “character ‘Ji’ is [replaced with] a blank space with a note saying ‘name of the emperor’” 佶字空格，注云御名 in the entry on Pei Ji, offers evidence on the time of *Tang yulin*’s compilation. Yan Zhongqi argues that, first, Wang Dang possibly compiled the collection in the early years of Huizong’s 徽宗 (1082-1135, r. 1101-1126) reign; and second, even if he compiled the *Tang yulin* before Huizong took the throne the publication of the collection was still during Huizong’s reign.⁸² Based on this, Yan estimates that the compilation of the *Tang yulin* was possibly after the Shaosheng 紹聖 (1094-1098) reign when Wang Dang entered his years of old age, and the completion and publication of the collection was no later than Huizong’s reign (1101-1126).⁸³

2.2 Wang Dang’s Family Background

Wang Dang (ca. 1046-ca. 1106), style name Zhengfu 正甫, was born to a family of distinguished court officials. He was the son of Wang Peng 王彭, the Director-in-Chief of the Superior Prefecture of Fengxiang 鳳翔 (*Fengxiang fu dujian* 鳳翔府都監),⁸⁴ and the grandson of Wang Kai 王凱, the Deputy Military and Surveillance Commissioner (*Jiedu guan cha liuhou* 節度觀察留後)⁸⁵ of the Victory-by-Means-of-the-Martial Army (*Wusheng jun* 武勝軍).⁸⁶ Wang Kai was the grandfather of both Wang Dang and his cousin Wang Shen 王詵 (ca. 1048-ca.

⁸² Yan Zhongqi, “Guanyu *Tang yulin* zuozhe Wang Dang,” p.224.

⁸³ Ibid..

⁸⁴ Hucker, p. 216, p. 536.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 144.

⁸⁶ Victory-by-Means-of-the-Martial Army (*Wusheng jun* 武勝軍) and Peace-by-Means-of-the-Martial Army (*Wuning jun* 武寧軍) mentioned later were both names of regional armies of the Song Empire.

1104),⁸⁷ an accomplished painter and calligrapher of the time. If we trace Wang Dang's lineage further back, he was also the fifth-generation grandson of Wang Quanbin 王全斌 (908-976), who was the very first Military Commissioner (*Jiedu shi* 節度使)⁸⁸ of the Peace-by-Means-of-the-Martial Army (*Wuning jun* 武寧軍) and one of the founding generals of the Song Empire. Biographies of Wang Quanbin and Wang Kai can be found in the *Song shi* 宋史.⁸⁹ The beginning of Wang Quanbin's biography reads:

Wang Quanbin (908-976) was a native of Taiyuan in the Bing Prefecture. His father served [Emperor] Zhuangzong⁹⁰ (885-926, r. 923-926) [of the Later Tang] and was made the Commissioner of the army stationed at Kelan. He privately kept over one hundred warriors and Zhuangzong suspected him of having a different intention [from being loyal to the Emperor]. [Zhuangzong] summoned him, he was fearful and did not dare to go. At that time [Wang] Quanbin was twelve. He told his father, "This is probably because My Honorable [Father] is suspected to have other designs. I am willing to offer myself, Quanbin, as a hostage, the suspicion [on you] surely will be lifted." His father followed his plan and was indeed able to preserve his safety. Because of this he let [Wang Quanbin] serve under his tent [in the army].

⁸⁷ For details on Wang Shen's life, see Weng Tongwen 翁同文, "Wang Shen (ca. 1048-ca. 1104) shengping kaolue" 王詵生平考略 (An Outline of Textual Research on the Life of Wang Shen), in *Yilin congkao* 藝林叢考 (A Series of Textual Research in the Forest of Arts) by Weng Tongwen (Taipei: Lianjing Chubanshe, 1977), pp 71-104. A separate study is devoted to the detailed history, as well as military and cultural activities, of this Wang family from Taiyuan during Five dynasties and Northern Song times.

⁸⁸ Hucker, 144.

⁸⁹ See "Wang Quanbin zhuan" 王全斌傳 (Biography of Wang Quanbin) with "Wang Kai zhuan" 王凱傳 (Biography of Wang Kai) as an appendix in the *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1977), 255.8919-26.

⁹⁰ i.e., Li Cunxu 李存勖, also written as 李存勗.

王全斌，并州太原人。其父事莊宗，為岢嵐軍使，私畜勇士百餘人，莊宗疑其有異志。召之，懼不敢行。全斌時年十二，謂其父曰：「此蓋疑大人有他圖，願以全斌為質，必得釋。」父從其計，果獲全，因以隸帳下。⁹¹

The name of Wang Quanbin's father is not mentioned here. All we know is that when Wang Quanbin was twelve his father served Emperor Zhuangzong 莊宗 of the Later Tang 後唐. However, the biography later states Wang Quanbin died at the age of sixty-nine *sui* at the end of the Kaobao 開寶 (968-976) reign,⁹² therefore Wang Quanbin should be twelve *sui* in 919 which was four years before Zhuangzong established the dynasty of Later Tang in Luoyang 洛陽. It is possible that Wang Quanbin's father started to serve Zhuangzong even before Zhuangzong took the throne, but the narrative here strongly suggests the authority Zhuangzong had over him was powerful in the imperial way. It is also possible that this discrepancy was caused by textual error on Wang Quanbin's age or even by less than careful historiography on the side of the *Song shi* compilers. But if the passage is viewed from a perspective free from conventional ideas of "official" history, it is equally possible that this opening anecdote in Wang Quanbin's biography in the *Song shi* was only meant to serve a "legendary," rather than "factual," function for the purpose of illustrating the character of the protagonist. At this point we have reached a murky period when tracing the Wang family history back into the early years of the Five Dynasties 五代 (907-960). So far what can be concluded about Wang Dang, the compiler of the *Tang yulin*, is that his family came from one branch of the "Wang Clan of Taiyuan" 太原王氏 toward the end of the ninth century.

⁹¹ *Song shi*, 255.8919.

⁹² See *Song shi*, 255.8924. Kaibao was the third reign of Emperor Taizu 太祖 (i.e., Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤, 927-976, r. 960-976) of the Song.

With the above discussion in mind, it is rather interesting to find an anecdote about Wang Tong 王通 (ca. 584-617), a Sui 隋 (581-618) dynasty Confucian teacher from the Wang Clan of Taiyuan, favorably edited and enhanced by Wang Dang to be the very first entry of the *Tang yulin*. The entry on Wang Tong is made the first entry of the “Dexing” 德行 (Virtuous Conduct)⁹³ category, which possibly implies that the compiler regarded him as the best example of virtuous conduct. One may argue that a figure from the Sui dynasty naturally comes first because he is chronologically earlier than others who appear in the collection, but as will be discussed in later chapters the content of the collection is not always arranged in chronological order. Moreover, the collection, entitled “*Tang*” *yulin*, has a specific focus on the historical figures and events of the Tang. Thus, the fact the account on Wang Tong from the Sui not only included but also placed as the first example of virtuous conduct, and at the same time heavily edited and enhanced, strongly indicates the compiler’s favorable attention. The anecdote on Wang Tong, also posthumously known as Wenzhong Zi 文中子 (Master Wenzhong), reads:

Master Wenzhong (i.e., Wang Tong 王通, ca. 584-617)⁹⁴ lived as a recluse at the Bainiu xi (The White Ox Creek) toward the end of the Sui dynasty and wrote the *Wang shi liu*

⁹³ The *Tang yulin*’s 1100 anecdotes were grouped into altogether 52 categories. The first thirty-five categories were inherited from the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語. Detailed discussions on the categories of the text will be found in later chapters of this dissertation. Throughout the dissertation I follow Richard Mather’s translations of the titles of these categories. See Richard Mather, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies and University of Michigan Press), 2002.

⁹⁴ Wang Tong’s style name was Zhongyan 仲淹 and his another title was Wang Kongzi 王孔子. He was a native of Tonghua 通化 in the Hedong 河東 Commandary, modern Tonghua 通化 in Shanxi 山西. His family was one side branch of the then distinguished “Wang Clan of Taiyuan” 太原王氏. Wang Tong advocated rather radical ideas of Confucianism. Though his offspring claimed many distinguished political figures of Sui and early Tang as his disciples, his doctrine was in fact not widely accepted by the ruling houses. His works include the *Xu liujing* 續六經 (Sequel to the Six Classics) also called *Wang shi liujing* 王氏六經 (Six Classics of the Wang Family), which is no longer extant, and the *Zhongshuo* 中說 (Discourse on the Mean), which is extant but considered to be heavily manipulated by later editors. Scholars from the Song dynasty on regarded most of the texts recounting Wang

jing (Six Classics of the Wang Family). Those who faced north and received his teachings were all eminent men of that time who, at the beginning years of the state [of the Tang], often occupied the ranks of assisting the mandate of [Heaven]. From the time after the Zhenguan (627-649) reign onward, [the period] within three hundred years was called the “Supreme Rule,” and the *Six Classics of the Wang Family* was eventually not transmitted.⁹⁵ When it came to the beginning of the Yuanhe (806-820) reign, Liu Yuxi (772-842) composed the stele text for Wang Yun, the Surveillance Commissioner⁹⁶ at Xuanzhou. He profusely praised that Master Wenzhong was able to manifest and illuminate the Way of the King and establish his teachings based on the Great Mean, and that those who traveled to his gate [to study with him] were all distinguished talents of the world. Other than this [record], among the drafts and proposals by scholar-officials

Tong’s life and fame, and his major works, as later forgeries. Still, Wang Tong’s teachings were recognized as a major influence to the early development of Neo-Confucian thoughts in late Tang and early Song.

For studies on Wang Tong and his teachings, see Ding Xiang Warner, “Wang Tong and the Compilation of the Zhongshuo: A New Evaluation of the Source Materials and Points of Controversy,” in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121, no. 3 (2001): 370-90; Deng Xiaojun 鄧小軍, *Tangdai wenxue de wenhua jingshen* 唐代文學的文化精神 (The Cultural Spirit of the Tang Dynasty Literature, Taipei: Wenjin Chubanshe, 1993); Wing-on Henri Yeung 楊永安, *Wang Tong yanjiu* 王通研究 (A Study on Wang Tung, Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 1992); Yin Xieli 尹協理, *Wang Tong lun* 王通論 (A Discussion on Wang Tong, Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1984); Luo Jianren 駱建人, *Wenzhong zi yanjiu* 文中子研究 (A Study on Master Wenzhong, Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1984); Howard Wechsler, “The Confucian Teacher Wang T’ung (584?-617): One Thousand Years of Controversy,” in *T’oung Pao* 63 (1977): 225-72; Wang Lizhong 王立中, *Wenzhong zi zhenwei huikao* 文中子真偽彙考 (A Collection of Textual Studies on the True or False Records of Wenzhong Zi, Changsha: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1938); and Wang Yinlong 汪吟龍, *Wenzhong zi kaixin lu* 文中子考信錄 (Records of Textual Study and Verification on Wenzhong Zi, Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1934).

⁹⁵ The text quoted in the *Yongle dadian*, with the *Jiashi tanlu* identified as its source, reads “from the time after the Zhenyuan (785-805) reign onward, within several years literature was illuminated and subsequently brought to principles, and the *Six Classics of the Wang Family* was eventually not transmitted” 自貞元後，數年間文明繼理，而王氏六經卒不傳。 See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.1; *Yongle dadian*, 6838.20a in Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (The Yongle Encyclopedia, eds. Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 (1335-1418) et. al., 100 vols., Taipei: Shijie Shuju, 1962).

⁹⁶ Hucker, p. 283, #3269.

and grand masters and the volumes of official histories, there is none that speaks of⁹⁷

Master Wenzhong.

文中子，隋末隱於白牛谿，著王氏六經。北面受學者皆時偉人，國初多居佐命之列。自貞觀後，三百年間號至治，而王氏六經卒不傳。至元和初，劉禹錫撰宣州觀察使王贇碑，盛稱文中子能昭明王道，以大中立言，游其門者皆天下俊傑；自餘士大夫擬議及史冊，未有言文中子者。⁹⁸

According to Zhou Xunchu, this short entry in the *Tang yulin* was taken from the *Jiashi tanlu* 賈氏談錄,⁹⁹ and as compared to the original account, it has gained quite a few additions.

The additions are numbered here:¹⁰⁰

- 1) the phrase “wrote the *Wang shi liu jing* (Six Classics of the Wang Family)” 著王氏六經
- 2) the phrase “were all eminent men of that time” 皆時偉人
- 3) the whole sentence “from the time after the Zhenguan (627-649) reign onward, [the period] within three hundred years was called the ‘Supreme Rule,’ and the Six

⁹⁷ The *Jiashi tanlu* 賈氏談錄 text and the quoted text in the *Yongle dadian* both read *yanji* 言及, “to mention, to speak of” instead of just *yan* 言, “to speak.” See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.1; *Yongle dadian*, 6838.20a.

⁹⁸ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.1. This entry in the *Siku quanshu* edition of the *Tang yulin* reads the same, see *Tang yulin*, 1.1a-b in the *Jingyin Siku quanshu*, v.1038:3a.

⁹⁹ The *Jiashi tanlu* was compiled by Zhang Ji 張洎 (934-997) in the third year (970) of the Kaibao 開寶 (968-976) reign but was later lost. The book however was compiled into the Song dynasty encyclopedia *Lei shuo* 類說 and some of its entries were quoted in the *Shuo fu* 說乎 and the *Yongle dadian* of the Ming dynasty. Based on these texts, the *Siku quanshu* collators restored the *Jiashi tanlu* and the edition became the base text for later printed editions. There are extant manuscript editions of the *Jiashi tanlu* as well, such as the old Hairilou 海日樓 manuscript edition. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 802-3.

¹⁰⁰ These differences between the *Tang yulin* text and the *Jiashi tanlu* 賈氏談錄 text are identified in Zhou Xunchu’s notes to the entry (*Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.1-2). In the *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, the source titles are all identified by the term *yuanshu* 原書, “the original book,” see “Explanation on [the Terms and Procedure Used in] Collation” 校讎說明 (*Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 1).

Classics of the Wang Family was eventually not transmitted” 自貞觀後, 三百年間號至治, 而王氏六經卒不傳

- 4) the phrase “composed the stele text for Wang Yun, the Surveillance Commissioner at Xuanzhou” 撰宣州觀察使王贇碑

This comparison is based on Zhou Xunchu’s notes to the entry. It shows altogether thirty-seven characters were inserted into the original entry of seventy-one characters, adding more than fifty percent of the text. Zhou Xunchu did not specifically indicate which edition of the *Jiashi tanlu* text he used for the comparison.¹⁰¹ But the entry on Master Wenzhong in the *Siku quanshu* edition of the *Jiashi tanlu* does not have any of the above-mentioned additions.¹⁰² The same entry in the *Lei shuo* edition of the *Jiashi tanlu*¹⁰³ does contain the first phrase, “wrote the *Wang shi liu jing* (Six Classics of the Wang Family)” 著王氏六經, but not the other three pieces of text on the list of additions. However, the entry quoted in the *Yongle dadian* with the *Jiashi tanlu* noted as its source does read roughly the same with that in the *Tang yulin*, except for a few

¹⁰¹ It is believed that multiple editions of the *Jiashi tanlu* were consulted, including the *Siku quanshu* edition, the various printed editions from the Ming and Qing, as well as old manuscript editions such as the Hairilou 海日樓 manuscript. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 802-3.

¹⁰² See *Jiashi tanlu*, 7a, on *Siku quanshu*, 1036:132. It should be noted that at one point Zhou Xunchu criticizes the *Siku quanshu* edition of the *Jiashi tanlu* for being carelessly put together because sentences, and sometimes even sections of texts, are often found left out when compared to the *Jiashi tanlu* entries quoted in the *Yongle dadian*. The example he uses to support this criticism is exactly the entry on Master Wenzhong discussed here (*Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 802). But I think the entry on Master Wenzhong might not serve as a good example to support Zhou Xunchu’s criticism on the *Siku quanshu* version of the *Jiashi tanlu*, see my following discussion based on the entry in the *Lei shuo* edition of the *Jiashi tanlu* which is earlier than the quote in the *Yongle dadian*. The *Jiashi tanlu* entry in the *Lei shuo* is significantly shorter than the entry in the *Tang yulin* and the *Yongle dadian*, but similar to that in the *Siku quanshu* edition of *Jianshi tanlu*. Zhou’s criticism on the *Siku quanshu* edition of the *Jiashi tanlu* being carelessly collated and having missing texts may stand in the case of other entries, but I think its entry on Master Wenzhong is probably a lot closer to the original entry in the *Jiashi tanlu*.

¹⁰³ See both *Leishuo*, 15.8b in the *Siku quanshu*, 873:256; and *Leishuo*, 15.8a-b, edited by Yan Yiping 嚴一萍, in Wang Shumin’s 王叔岷 *Leishu huibian* 類書彙編 series (Taipei: Yiwen Yinshuguan, 1970).

textual variants.¹⁰⁴ But I think this should not be taken as proof that the *Tang yulin* and the *Jiashi tanlu* had no significant differences in the entry on Master Wenzhong. The *Yongle dadian* used the *Tang yulin* as one of its sources as well and quoted extensively from it. It is quite possible that the section on Wang Tong in the *Yongle dadian* chose to preserve the longer entry from the *Tang yulin*, as it contains more information on Wang Tong, but cited *Tang yulin's* source title, the *Jiashi tanlu*, as its own source because that is where the account was originally taken from. Moreover, the Song dynasty encyclopedia *Lei shuo* was a much earlier text than the *Yongle dadian*, and the entry on Master Wenzhong in the *Lei shuo* edition of the *Jiashi tanlu* is significantly shorter than the *Tang yulin* entry. The *Siku quanshu* collators surely had access to the longer quote in the *Yongle dadian* but, still, chose to record the shorter text when they restored the *Jiashi tanlu*. Therefore, though we have no access to the edition of the *Jiashi tanlu* Wang Dang consulted, we can still argue that the entry on Master Wenzhong in the *Lei shuo* and the *Siku quanshu* editions of the *Jiashi tanlu* must be very close to the original, and that the *Tang yulin* entry indeed gained at least three of the four additions listed above.

These significant additions to the short account on Master Wenzhong seem all the more interesting when considering Wang Dang's general style of compilation. Details on how Wang Dang treated his source material are discussed in the following chapters of this dissertation. One general observation is that, if there are textual differences, the *Tang yulin* entries are normally shorter than the original texts. It seems that Wang Dang often chose to leave out the details or subjective comments he deemed unnecessary or unclear. Then, what motivated him to add to this particular anecdote on Master Wenzhong? Among the additions listed above, phrase #1) “wrote the Six Classics of the Wang Family” 著王氏六經 offers to point out Wang Tong's scholarly

¹⁰⁴ *Yongle dadian*, 6838.20a.

achievement; phrase #4) “composed the stele text for Wang Yun, the Surveillance Commissioner at Xuanzhou” 撰宣州觀察使王贇碑¹⁰⁵ offers the information on where Liu Yuxi’s favorable comment on Wang Tong can be found and verified; phrase #2) “were all eminent men of that time” 皆時偉人 is a purely flattering phrase inserted to further emphasize the distinguished status of Wang Tong’s disciples; and the sentence #3) “from the time after the Zhenguan (627-649) reign onward, [the period] within three hundred years was called the ‘Supreme Rule,’ and the *Six Classics of the Wang Family* was eventually not transmitted” 自貞觀後, 三百年間號至治, 而王氏六經卒不傳 offers the reason why the *Six Classics of the Wang Family* was no longer extant. It was not transmitted because during the three hundred years of “Supreme Rule,” the nation was perfectly regulated and the *Six Classics of the Wang Family* was needed. The three hundred years of “Supreme Rule” was presumably, as the text here suggests, the achievement of the “eminent men of that time” 時偉人 who, “at the beginning years of the state [of the Tang], often occupied the ranks of assisting the mandate of [Heaven]” 國初多居佐命之列. And all these eminent men were “those who faced north and received [Wang Tong’s] teachings” 北面受學者 and learned from the *Six Classics of the Wang Family* Wang Tong wrote. Thus these additions to the original *Jiashi tanlu* text inserted an explanation for the loss of the

¹⁰⁵ The text quoted in the *Yongle dadian* reads “the [text for the] Stele on the Sacred Way of Wang Zan, the Surveillance Commissioner at Xuanzhou” 宣州觀察使王贇神道碑 (*Yongle dadian*, 6838.20a). In fact, the person Liu Yuxi wrote a stele text for was Wang Zhi 王質 (d. 836). In the *Liu Binke wenji* 劉賓客文集 (Anthology of Liu [Yuxi], the Advisor to the Heir Apparent), the “Stele on the Sacred Way of the Revered Gentleman Wang, the Late Chief Military Training, Surveillance, and Supervisory Commissioner of the Xuan, She, and Chi Commandaries, the Prefect of the Xuan Commandary and Vice Censor-in-Chief, and the Posthumously Entitled Left Policy Advisor of the Tang” 唐故宣歙池等州都團練觀察處置使宣州刺史兼御史中丞贈左散騎常侍王公神道碑 reads “the Attendant-in-ordinary’s [or Policy Advisor’s] personal name, which should not be mentioned, was Zhi, his style name was Huaqing” 常侍諱質，字華卿 (See *Liu Binke wenji*, 3.5b-7a, in *Sibu beiyao*; Hucker, p.115, #262; p. 185, #1461; p.283, #3269; p. 395, #4834; p.522, #6944; p.545, #7319; p.592, #8174). Wang Zhi was a fifth generation grandson of Wang Tong, see his biography in the *Jiu Tang shu* (163.4267). The name “Yun” 贇 in the *Tang yulin* and “Zan” 贊 in the *Yongle dadian* quote are both textual errors.

Six Classics of the Wang Family, and it is an explanation that tremendously glorifies the *Six Classics of the Wang Family* and the teachings of Wang Tong. Without these additions, though Liu Yuxi's comment highly praises Wang Tong and his teachings, the account sounds more pitiful for the loss of Wang Tong's work and for his lack of recognition. With the four additions that offer a glorifying explanation, the account now reads more proud than pitiful and Wang Tong thereby gains the image of an accomplished Confucian teacher whose teachings were responsible for the prosperity of the Tang dynasty.

If the purpose of these additions to the original anecdote on Master Wenzhong was indeed to glorify the Sui dynasty Confucian teacher from the Wang Clan of Taiyuan, what could be the motivation for Wang Dang to do so? Could this be a form of self-glorification through family lineage? There is no explicit historical evidence that Wang Dang was a descendant of Wang Tong. The stele text by Liu Yuxi, as mentioned in the anecdote above, was in fact for Wang Zhi 王質 (d. 836), the name "Wang Yun" in the anecdote on Master Wenzhong is known to be a textual error.¹⁰⁶ The biography of Wang Zhi in the *Jiu Tang shu* and the *Xin Tang shu* both read, "Wang Zhi, style name Huaqing, was a native of Qi in Taiyuan. His fifth generation ancestor in direct lineage, style name Zhongyan, was a great Confucian at the end of the Sui dynasty, [posthumously] called Master Wenzhong" 王質，字華卿，太原祁人。五代祖通，字仲淹，隋末大儒，號文中子。¹⁰⁷ Wang Zhi had two sons, Wang Fu 王扶 and Wang Qingcun 王慶存. Wang Fu was an Adjutant (*Canjun* 參軍)

¹⁰⁶ See note above.

¹⁰⁷ See *Jiu Tang shu*, 163.4267.

in Taiyuan.¹⁰⁸ When tracing the descendants of Wang Tong through records in the histories, Wang Zhi who died in 836, and his two sons whose dates are unknown, are as far down the family line as one can get;¹⁰⁹ and when tracing the ancestors of Wang Dang, Wang Quanbin's father from Taiyuan, who served as a military commissioner around 920, is as far up as one can reach. Tracing the lineage of the distinguished Wang Clan of Taiyuan through the murky period of late Tang and early Five Dynasties could be an interesting, but possibly futile, project. It may have to rely on extant private or local records that survived both the war fire during the dynastic transition and the long period of textual transmission from Song to present day. For the current study, the tentative speculation is that Wang Dang may have chosen to elevate the status of Wang Tong, the Sui dynasty Confucian teacher, because he recognized, or imagined, a loose association with Wang Tong through family lineage based on the fact they were both from the Wang Clan of Taiyuan.

A closer look at historical records about Wang Tong reveals him to be a controversial figure. Wang Tong was the brother of Wang Du 王度, the author of the *Gujing ji* 古鏡記 (Record of An Ancient Mirror), and Wang Ji 王績 (ca. 590-644) the poet and official at the end of Sui and early Tang. There is no official biography for Wang Tong in the *Sui shu*, and no mention of him and his academy in early Tang histories of the Sui. Wang Tong's fame largely depended on the efforts of students and offspring who promoted his status as "the Confucian of Sui dynasty" through exaggerated accounts of his life and teaching. Extant works attributed to Wang Tong, such as the *Zhongshuo* 中說 (Discourses on the Mean), were mostly deemed as

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*.

¹⁰⁹ For a recent discussion of Wang Tong's family, including his brothers, sons, grandsons, and the Wang Clan of Taiyuan, see Chen Jue, *Record of an Ancient Mirror: An Interdisciplinary Reading* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), p.39-42.

forgeries by later scholars.¹¹⁰ Chen Jue points out all these efforts were “part of an apocryphal movement in history which promoted Wang Tong’s teaching and achievements after his death.”¹¹¹ During the movement, influential ministers of the early Tang court such as Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643), Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579-648) and Du Ruhui 杜如晦 (585-630) were added to the list of Wang Tong’s disciples.¹¹² Chen Jue further relates the promotion of Wang Tong’s status as the “Confucius of Sui dynasty” to “the early Tang apocryphal movement in general which lasted from the reign of Taizong 太宗 (r. 627-649) throughout the reign of Empress Wu 武后 (690-705) in order to promote the status of certain important families and individuals.”¹¹³ As a result, Wang Tong, though not widely known during his lifetime, became famous even to the bordering countries by mid-Tang.¹¹⁴ At this point, according to Chen Jue, apocryphal accounts on Wang Tong became accepted, and Wang Tong’s contribution to Confucianism was confirmed by scholars such as Li Ao 李翱 (774-836), Liu Yuxi and Pi Rixiu 皮日休 (fl. 867).¹¹⁵ While modern scholars argue for Wang Tong’s influence and contribution to the mid-Tang

¹¹⁰ Ding Xiang Warner offers a detailed analysis on the authorship, possible time of composition and reliability of available textual sources with regard to the life and teaching of Master Wenzhong, including the “Wenzhong Zi shijia” 文中子世家 (Biography of Master Wenzhong) and the “Wang shi jiashu zalu” 王氏家書雜錄 (Miscellaneous Notes on the Wang Family Papers) by Wang Tong’s son, family records by his brother Wang Ji 王績 (ca. 590-644), correspondences among family and friends, early Tang sources such as poetry and writings of Wang Tong’s students and his grandson Wang Bo 王勃 (650-676), as well as late Tang sources such as official biographies of Wang Ji and Wang Bo, Liu Yuxi’s stele text for Wang Zhi, etc., and most of all the *Zhongshuo* attributed to Wang Tong himself. See Ding Xiang Warner, “Wang Tong and the Compilation of the *Zhongshuo*: A New Evaluation of the Source Materials and Points of Controversy,” in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121, no. 3 (2001): 370-90.

¹¹¹ Chen Jue, *Record of an Ancient Mirror: An Interdisciplinary Reading*, p.39.

¹¹² Ding Xiang Warner, pp. 382-5.

¹¹³ Chen Jue, p. 41.

¹¹⁴ *Liu Binke wenji*, 3.5b-7a, in *Sibu beiyao*.

¹¹⁵ Chen Jue, p. 41.

revival of Confucianism and the development of early Song Neo-Confucianism,¹¹⁶ the reception of Wang Tong's teaching during the Song seemed somewhat mixed. On the one hand, the promotion of Wang Tong's status seemed to have regained its momentum right around Wang Dang's time. Ruan Yi 阮逸 (fl. ca. 1022-1063) is believed to be responsible for the creatively edited, now extant version of Wang Tong's *Zhongshuo* and is believed to have enhanced it from its five *juan* edition in the Tang to his own ten *juan* edition. Gong Dingchen 龔鼎臣 (fl. 1034) also brought forth a reproduction of a Tang manuscript of the *Zhongshuo*, which was quite different from Ruan's edition but now no longer extant. After Wang Dang's time, Chen Liang 陳亮 (1143-1194) again produced a sixteen *juan* edition of the *Zhongshuo* modeled after the *Analects*, which is no longer extant either.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, Song scholars such as Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (d. 1171), Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202) and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) all criticized that the records produced with regard to Wang Tong were largely forgeries.¹¹⁸

Wang Dang roughly lived right after the time when Ruan Yi and Gong Dingchen had promoted Wang Tong's status and teaching and Sima Guan had started to suspect the reliability of their records, and before the time when Chen Liang still tried to promote Wang Tong's teaching but more scholars such as Chao Gongwu, Hong Mai and Zhu Xi all turned to criticize it. It is within such intellectual context that Wang Dang chose to include Wang Tong's account as the very first example of the "Virtuous Conduct" category of his *Tang yulin*, and favorably

¹¹⁶ See Yin Xieli 尹協理, *Wang Tong lun* 王通論 (A Discussion on Wang Tong, Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1984). See also Chen Jue, p. 41, n. 70; Ding Xiang Warner, p. 370; Wechsler, p. 231.

¹¹⁷ Ding Xiang Warner, pp. 373, 385-90

¹¹⁸ Chen Jue, p. 39, n. 64.

edited the text to provide verification to Wang Tong's fame and explanation to his lack of recognition. Looking further into Wang Dang's collection, in the "Wenxue" 文學 (Litters and Scholarship) category, the first three anecdotes are all have connections to Wang Tong as well. The first anecdote (#177 in Zhou Xunchu's numbering system) is about Wang Tong giving his grandson Wang Bo 王勃 (650-676) a topic of composition.¹¹⁹ The second anecdote (#178) is about Wang Tong's disciple Du Yan 杜淹 (d. 628) being recognized and promoted by Wenhuan 文皇 (The Literary Emperor, i.e., Li Shimin 李世民, r. 627-649) because of his literary talent. And the third (#179) is about Wang Tong's grandson Wang Bo again. Here the argument of a chronological order is relatively more valid. But for Du Yan, a relatively less famous literary figure of early Tang, to be included at all in the category, his connection with Wang Tong still seems to have influenced the compiler's choice. However, Wang Dang's initial intention of starting the two important categories of his collection, the "Virtuous Conduct" and the "Letters and Scholarship," both with stories of Master Wenzhong can only be speculated. Did Master Wenzhong represent his ideal of a Confucian teacher of virtue and literary talent? Was he

¹¹⁹ See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.114-5. Zhou Xunchu identifies the origin of this entry as the *Zhi tian lu* 芝田錄. The anecdote (#177) reads:

Master Wenzhong saw Wang Bo playing around with the writing brush and the ink stone in his young age, and asked, "Are you writing literature?" [Wang Bo] said, "Yes." Thereby [Master Wenzhong] gave him as the topic "Ode on the Grand Duke Meeting King Wen [of Zhou]." [Wang Bo's ode] reads, "Ji Chang (i.e., King Wen of Zhou, ca. 1152- ca. 1056 B.C.) was fond of virtue, while Lü Wang (i.e., the Grand Duke Jiang 姜太公, ca. 1156- ca. 1017 B.C., style name Ziya 子牙) laid dormant in his lustrous talent. Though the walls and gates of the city close, the wind and clouds still distant. A fishing boat anchored by a rock; an angling beach covered with sand. The path is hidden and the mountains secluded, the creek deep and the bank slant. [The Grand Duke's] panther-like strategy stopped the vile and his dragon-like astuteness drove out the evil. Though they met and knew each other, [the Grand Duke] still waited for the sitting-chariot. Holding hands with the Lord and King, how come it came so late!"

文中子見王勃少弄筆硯，問曰：「爾爲文乎？」曰：「然。」因與題太公遇文王贊，曰「姬昌好德，呂望潛華。城闕雖近，風雲尚賒。漁舟倚石，釣浦橫沙。路幽山僻，溪深岸斜。豹韜攘惡，龍鈐辟邪。雖逢相識，猶待安車。君王握手，何期晚耶！」

trying to promote Master Wenzhong's status due to possible lineage associations between them? What did Wang Dang gain or lose from so doing? Take the case of Ruan Yi as an example. With "numerous revisions and interpolations" to Wang Tong's *Zhongshuo*, Ruan Yi seemingly tried to shift the focus of the text to parallel the intention of the *Analects* in advising the ruler, and tried "to accentuate Wang Tong's reputation as a 'second Confucius.'"¹²⁰ He was harshly criticized by his contemporaries such as Li Dui 李兌 for "engaging in heterodoxy only as a scheme to fish for favor and reward."¹²¹ At the same time, Ding Xiang Warner offers a brief suggestion that "the unappreciated Ruan Yi felt some kinship for the unorthodox figure of Wang Tong and made himself his champion."¹²² In the case of Wang Dang, there are no extant comments either from himself or his contemporaries on his possible intention of compiling the *Tang yulin*, not to mention comments on the inclusion and revision of a single anecdote in the collection. Be it lineage association, or promotion of family or individual status, or kinship felt between unappreciated scholars, the connections between Wang Tong and Wang Dang, if any, can only be suggested or speculated for now.

2.3 Wang Dang's Career

Wang Dang did not hold any distinguished positions at court and there are no records of him passing the *jinshi* examination. However, he was the son-in-law of Lü Dafang 呂大防 (1027-1097), the Grand Councilor (*Zaixiang* 宰相)¹²³ during the Yuanyou 元祐 reign (1086-1094) of Emperor Zhezong 哲宗 (i.e., Zhao Xu 趙煦, 1076-1100, r. 1086-1100). Due to the

¹²⁰ Ding Xiang Warner, p. 388.

¹²¹ Ding Xiang Warner, p. 389.

¹²² Ding Xiang Warner, p. 389.

¹²³Hucker., 514-5.

political prestige of both his own and his wife's family, Wang Dang was appointed to several minor court positions during the reign of Emperor Zhezong. He successively served as the River Transport Director (*Pai'an si* 排岸司)¹²⁴ of the District East of the Capital (Jingdong 京東), very briefly as Aide in the Directorate of Education (*Guozi jian cheng* 國子監丞),¹²⁵ then as Aide in the Directorate for Imperial Manufactories (*Shaofu jian cheng* 少府監丞),¹²⁶ and Controller-general (*Tongpan* 通判)¹²⁷ of Binzhou 邠州.¹²⁸

Though benefiting from family connections, Wang Dang's career path was not smooth. His appointments were often criticized by important court officials of the time as the results of Lü Dafang's political power and nepotism. For example, in the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (Long Draft of Continued Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government), the entry on the *xinchou* 辛丑 day of the eighth month of the third year (1088) of the Yuanyou 元佑 (1086-1094) reign records a memorial by Liu Anshi 劉安世 (1048-1125), the Right Exhorter (*You zhengyan* 右正言), on the harm of nepotism. He gave a long list of relatives and sons of important ministers who received their appointments through nepotistic connections, and Wang Dang was one of them. Liu Anshi said, "The day Lü Dafang, the Grand Chancellor, was appointed as Vice Director of the Secretariat, he [ordered] the Departmental Appointment¹²⁹ for

¹²⁴Ibid., 361.

¹²⁵Ibid., 125, 146, 299.

¹²⁶Ibid., 125, 415.

¹²⁷Ibid., 555.

¹²⁸ Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 1.

¹²⁹ According to Hucker, *Tangchu* 堂除, "Departmental Appointment," was a term during the Song dynasty to signify "the appointment of an official by the Executive Office (*Dutang* 都堂) of the Department of State Affairs

his son-in-law Wang Dang to be the River Transport Director of the District East of the Capital” 宰相呂大防任中書侍郎日，堂除其女婿王讜京東排岸司。¹³⁰ Lü Dafang became the Vice Director of the Secretariat on the *wuwu* 戊午 day of the eleventh month in the first year (1086) of the Yuanyou reign, Wang Dang being appointed the River Transport Director of the District East of the Capital should be soon, if not immediately, after that. By the time Liu Anshi memorialized against the appointment in 1088, Wang Dang had been in the position for roughly two years.

In the fourth year (1089) of the Yuanyou reign Wang Dang was appointed Aide in the Directorate of Education (*Guozi jian cheng* 國子監丞), Wu Anshi 吳安詩, the Right Remonstrator, argued against the appointment. The *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* record reads “Changed [the official title of] Wang Dang, the newly appointed Aide in the Directorate of Education, to be Aide in the Directorate for Imperial Manufactories. [Wang] Dang was the son-in-law of the Chief Minister Lü Dafang. This is for the reason that the remonstrating official¹³¹ commented that his [appointment] would not convince public opinion, and [Lü] Dafang himself also appealed [to the throne] to change the appointment” 改新除國子監丞王讜為少府監丞。讜

(*Shangshu sheng* 尚書省) without recourse to normal Evaluation Process (*xuan* 選); the practice was terminated by imperial order in 1172.” A variant term of the same usage was *Tangxuan* 堂選. See Hucker, p. 487, #6293, #6295.

¹³⁰ See Li Tao 李燾 (1115-1184), *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (Long Draft of Continued Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government, Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 et. al. eds., Taipei: Shijie Shuju, 1961), 413.12a.

¹³¹ The remonstrating official here was identified to be Wu Anshi 吳安詩 in Su Zhe’s 蘇轍 (1039-1112) memorial in the fifth year (1090) of the Yuanyou reign, see commentary in Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 430.15a. See also Lu Xinyuan’s 陸心源 (1838-1894) “*Tang yulin ba*” 唐語林跋 (Postscript to the *Tang yulin*) in the ninth *juan* of his *Yigutang tiba* 儀顧堂題跋 (Prefaces and Postscripts Written at the Yigu Hall) in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 816.

，宰臣呂大防子婿。諫官言其不協公論，而大防亦自請改除故也。¹³² Therefore Wang Dang only held the position Aide in the Directorate of Education very briefly before being reappointed to be Aide in the Directorate for Imperial Manufactories.

According to Yan Zhongqi, Wang Dang lived at the capital throughout the Yuanyou reign, and the fragmented records on Wang Dang's career reflect the struggle among political factions during the Yuanyou reign of Emperor Zhezong.¹³³ After memorializing against Wang Dang's appointment, Wu Anshi was soon removed from the office of Right Remonstrator and was re-appointed in the tenth month of the same year (1089) as Auxiliary in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (*Zhi Jixian yuan* 直集賢院), a title for “someone assigned to the Academy without having nominal status as a member,”¹³⁴ and Expositor-in-waiting (*Shijiang* 侍講), basically the position of an attendant responsible for explaining the classical texts.¹³⁵

As will be discussed in the following section, Wang Dang was among Su Shi's 蘇軾 (i.e., Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, 1037-1101) literary circle and associated with many poets and calligraphers who were friends of Su Shi. But politically, he was protected by his father-in-law Lü Dafang and belonged to the faction Lü Dafang built around himself through political favors. Sometimes Wang Dang, as the son-in-law of Lü Dafang, became the channel of building such associations. For example, in the sixth year (1091) of the Yuanyou reign when Lü Dafang and Liu Zhi 劉摯 (1030-1098) were both in power, Yang Wei 楊畏, the Vice Director of the Ministry of Revenue

¹³² Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 430.14b-15a.

¹³³ Yan Zhongqi, pp. 221-2.

¹³⁴ Hucker, p.155, #942.

¹³⁵ Hucker, p.422, #5215. See Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 430.15a.

(*Huibu yuanwailang* 戶部員外郎)¹³⁶ was recommended by Zhao Junxi 趙君錫, the Vice Censor-in-Chief (*Yushi zhongcheng* 御史中丞)¹³⁷ at the time, and was promoted to be Palace Censor (*Dianzhong shi yushi* 殿中侍御史).¹³⁸ The *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* describes the power struggle reflected in this particular episode involving Yang Wei as such, “[Yang] Wei first was on good terms with [Liu] Zhi, later Lü Dafang was also on good terms with [Yang Wei]. At that time, [Lü] Dafang and [Liu] Zhi each had their different opinions and they both desired to obtain [Yang] Wei as their aid. [Zhao] Junxi recommending [Yang] Wei was in fact [Liu] Zhi’s intention. However, [Yang] Wei eventually chose to aid [Lü] Dafang” 畏初善摯，後呂大防亦善之。時大防與摯各有異意，皆欲得畏為助。君錫薦畏，實希摯風旨也。然畏卒助大防。¹³⁹ In this episode, Wang Dang was the channel that brought Yang Wei to Lü Dafang’s attention. The *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* also quotes Shao Bowen’s 邵伯溫 (1057-1134) *Bianwu* 辨誣 that Yang Wei “met the Chancellor Lü [Dafang] through Wang Dang, the Chancellor Lü [Dafang]’s son-in-law, and the Chancellor Lü [Dafang] also favored him” 因呂相之壻王讜見呂相，呂相亦愛之。¹⁴⁰

There are two more records showing Wang Dang’s association with Lü Dafang and those within Lü Dafang’s social and political circles. In *juan* 128 of Wang Chang’s 王昶 (1724-1806)

¹³⁶ Hucker, p.597, #8251; p.258, #2789.

¹³⁷ Hucker, p.592, #8174.

¹³⁸ Hucker, p.502, #6562.

¹³⁹ Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 457.11a.

¹⁴⁰ Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 457.11b. See also Yu Jiaxi’s 余嘉錫 (1884-1955) “Siku quanshu *Tang yulin* tiyao bianzheng” 四庫全書唐語林提要辯證 (Dispute and Proof of the Introduction to the *Tang yulin* in the Siku quanshu) in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 818-9.

Jinshi cuibian 金石萃編 (A Selected Compilation of Inscriptions on Metal and Stone), there are inscriptions on the Mount Hua by Lü Dafang and several others, one of them was written by Wang Dang. This is the only piece of writing by Wang Dang I could find other than the brief preface he wrote for the *Tang yulin*. It reads “Ziwei (Purple Tenuity), the Revered Gentleman Lü, prayed for snow with Lu Na of Wenshang, Cheng Zhi of Luoyang, and Wang Dang of Fanchuan in his company. [Wang] Dang inscribed on the nineteenth day of mid-winter in the *guichou* year of the Xining reign” 紫微呂公祈雪，汶上盧訥、洛陽程旨、樊川王讜從。熙寧癸丑仲冬十九日讜題。¹⁴¹ Yu Jiayi’s 余嘉錫 (1884-1955) identifies “Ziwei, the Revered Gentleman Lü” 紫微呂公 as Lü Dafang and the year of *guichou* was the sixth year (1073) of the Xining 熙寧 (1068-1077) reign.¹⁴² The second record shows Wang Dang was also an acquaintance of Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) through Lü Dafang’s connection with Cheng. This is also possibly the only extant record that offers a fragmented view of Wang Dang’s opinion on contemporary affairs at court. The record is found in the first half of the twenty-first section of the “Yishu” 遺書 (Documents Left Behind) in the collection *Er Cheng quanshu* 二程全書 (Complete Documents about the Two Cheng [Brothers]), in a passage entitled “Shi shuo” 師說 (Discourses on the Teacher) recorded by Zhang Yi 張繹 (1071-1108), a student of the Cheng

¹⁴¹ See also Yu Jiayi, “Siku quanshu *Tang yulin* tiyao bianzheng” in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 819.

¹⁴² Yu Jiayi, “Siku quanshu *Tang yulin* tiyao bianzheng” in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 819. Yu comments that “the year of *guichou* was the sixth year (1073) of the Xining (1068-1077) reign. The postscript by Wang [Chang] identifies ‘Ziwei, the Revered Gentleman Lü’ as Lü Gongbi (1007-1073), I note that, in the Biography of Lü Dafang in the History of Song, [Lü] Dafang started to manage the Hua Prefecture in the fourth year (1071) of the Xining reign, and previously he had served as a Drafter at the Document Drafting Office, and therefore he was called ‘Ziwei, the Revered Gentleman Lü.’ 癸丑者，熙寧六年也。王氏跋謂紫微呂公爲呂公弼，余案宋史呂大防傳，大防以熙寧四年知華州，其先嘗直舍人院知制誥，故稱爲紫微呂公。”

Brothers. It records a discussion between Cheng Yi and Lü Dafang on Cheng's refusal of a court appointment and a dialogue between Cheng Yi and Wang Dang that followed. It reads,

When the Empress Dowager Xuanren entered the royal mausoleum, Master Cheng went to participate in the [funeral ceremony], and the Revered Gentleman Lü from the Ji [Commandary] served as the intermediary [between him and the court]. At that time, the court bestowed the official position [of a collator] at the [scholarly] institutes upon the Master, and the Master persistently declined. The Revered Gentleman said to the Master, “Even Zhongni was not like this.” Master Cheng replied, “How could the Revered Gentleman say this? Who am I that I dare to be compared with Zhongni? Even if it is so, I, as someone who learns from Zhongni, surely do not dare to differ with the way of Zhongni. Because of [my refusing the appointment], the Revered Gentleman said that Zhongni was not like this, why?” The Revered Gentleman said, “Chen Heng assassinated his Lord, [Zhongni] requested [Duke Ai 哀 of Lu] to undertake to punish him. [But when] Lu did not heed [his request] he also stopped [insisting on his request].”¹⁴³ Before the Master had the chance to reply, it happened that the Revered Gentleman Miao, the

¹⁴³ See *Lun yu*, 14.22; Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Confucian Analects*, 1:284-5. The passage in the “Xianwen” 憲問 (Xian Asked) chapter reads:

Chen Chengzi murdered Duke Jian. Confucius bathed, went to court, and informed Duke Ai, saying, “Chen Heng has slain his sovereign. I beg that you will undertake to punish him.” The duke said, “Inform the chiefs of the three families of it.” Confucius retired and said, “Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter, and my prince says, ‘Inform the chiefs of the three families of it.’” He went to the chiefs, and informed them, but they would not act. Confucius then said, “Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter.”

陳成子弑簡公。孔子沐浴而朝，告於哀公曰：「陳恆弑其君，請討之。」公曰：「告夫三子！」孔子曰：「以吾從大夫之後，不敢不告也。君曰『告夫三子』者。」之三子告，不可。孔子曰：「以吾從大夫之後，不敢不告也。」

Commander-in-Chief of the Palace Command,¹⁴⁴ arrived. The Master retreated to the office [of Lü Dafang] and met Wang Dang, the Revered Gentleman's son-in-law. [Wang] Dang said, "Have you, my teacher, gone too far? How do you, my teacher, want the court to treat you?" The Master said, "It's just like when the imperial court proposed the ceremony at the northern suburb. The proposal did not conform to the ritual propriety, and invited laughing and mocking from the world and from future generations. How could they not know there is someone named Cheng who also once studied ritual propriety, why did they not ask him?" [Wang] Dang asked, "What about the ceremony at the northern suburb?" [The Master] said, "This is the imperial court's affair, the imperial court did not ask and [now] you ask about it, this is not the place to talk about it." After that there was someone who asked whether the affair of Chen Heng mentioned by Revered Gentleman [Lü] from the Ji [Commandary] was true. [The Master] said, "According to his biography, Zhongni was no longer a Grand Master at that time. The Revered Gentleman [Lü] misspoke."

宣仁山陵，程子往赴，呂汲公為使。時朝廷以館職授子，子固辭。公謂子曰：「仲尼亦不如是。」程子對曰：「公何言哉？某何人，而敢比仲尼？雖然，某學仲尼者，於仲尼之道，固不敢異。公以謂仲尼不如是，何也？」公曰：「陳恆弑其君，請討之，魯不用則亦已矣。」子未及對，會殿帥苗公至，子辟之幕府，見公婿王讜。讜曰：「先生不亦甚乎？欲朝廷如何處先生也？」子曰：「且如朝廷議北郊，所議不合禮，取笑天下。後世豈不曰有一程某，亦嘗學禮，何為而不問也？」讜曰：「北郊如何？」曰：「此朝廷事，朝廷不問而子問之，非可言之所也。」其後有問：「汲公所言陳恆之事，是歟？」曰：「於傳，仲尼是時已不為大夫，公誤言也。」¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ *Dianshuai* 殿帥 was the abbreviated term for the Song dynasty title *Dianqian shiwei si Du zhihuishi* 殿前侍衛司都指揮使, Commander-in-Chief of the Palace Command. See Hucker, p.507, #6649.

¹⁴⁵ See *Er Cheng quanshu* 二程全書 (Complete Documents about the Two Cheng [Brothers]), 21a.1a, in *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 (Essentials of the four branches of literature), v. 364.

It seems that most of Wang Dang's political associations were through his connection to Lü Dafang. Though Wang Dang once served as the Controller-general of Binzhou after the Yuanyou reign,¹⁴⁶ most of the records on his political career were from the Yuanyou years when Lü Dafang was in power. He may have occupied other regional posts, but there are no other records about his later career in the histories. As an insignificant figure in Northern Song political history, Wang Dang did not attract much historiographical attention and he seemed to be only passively involved in the power struggles of the Yuanyou time, mainly as someone under Lü Dafang's nepotistic protection.

2.4 Wang Dang's Literary and Artistic Achievements and Social Connections

Compared to his less than successful political career, Wang Dang's leisure life as a member of the literati class seemed much more colorful. Much like his cousin Wang Shen, Wang Dang was talented in calligraphy and painting and associated with many of his time with similar artistic inclinations. Both Wang Dang and Wang Shen were friends of the famous poet and calligrapher Su Shi. An anecdote in chapter fifteen of Shao Bo's 邵博 (d. 1158) *Wenjian hou lu* 聞見後錄 (Later Records of Things Heard and Seen) illustrates Wang Dang's friendship with Su Shi. The anecdote reads:

Of all the ancients, Dongpo would only render the poems of Tao Yuanming (365-427), Du Zimei (i.e., Du Fu 杜甫, 712-770), Li Taibai (i.e., Li Bo 李白, 701-762), Han Tuizhi (i.e., Han Yu 韓愈, 768-824), and Liu Zihou (i.e., Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元, 773-819) into calligraphy. For the Nanhua [Temple] he rendered in calligraphy Liu Zihou's "For the

¹⁴⁶ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 1, 37, n.5.

Tombstone of the Chan Master Dajian (638-713), the Sixth Patriarch [of Chan Buddhism].” The Nanhua [Temple] also wanted him to render in calligraphy the inscription on the tombstone of Liu Mengde (i.e., Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫, 772-842), [Dongpo] then refused to do it. Lü Weizhong (i.e., Lü Dafang 呂大防), the Grand Councilor, composed a passage for the tombstone of the monk Fa Yunxiu. The Grand Councilor desired to let Dongpo render it in calligraphy for the tombstone inscription, but did not dare to tell [Dongpo] himself, instead he asked his son-in-law,¹⁴⁷ Wang Dang, to tell him. Dongpo first asked for his draft and read it closely, then said, “[Su] Shi (i.e. Su Dongpo) shall render it in calligraphy.” Probably it was because [Lü] Weizhong’s writing was indeed good.

東坡于古人但寫陶淵明杜子美李太白韓退之柳子厚之詩。為南華寫柳子厚六祖大鑿禪師碑，南華又欲寫劉夢得碑，則辭之。呂微仲丞相作法雲秀和尚碑，丞相意欲得東坡書石，不敢自言，委甥王讜言之。東坡先索其藁，諦觀之，則曰軾當書。蓋微仲之文自佳也。¹⁴⁸

Su Shi’s friendship with the Wang family started with Wang Dang’s father Wang Peng 王彭. Su Shi recounted how he met Wang Peng in the eulogy “Wang Danian Aici” 王大年哀辭 (Lament of Wang Danian) he wrote upon Wang Peng’s death.¹⁴⁹ The eulogy starts with:

¹⁴⁷Sheng 甥, nephew was an alternative term for son-in-law in ancient China.

¹⁴⁸Shao Bo 邵博, *Wenjian hou lu* 聞見後錄 (Later records of Things heard and seen), rpt. in *Jing yin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (The complete library of the four branches of literature, photo facsimile reprint of the Erudite Literature Pavilion copy, 1776), 1039:286a.

¹⁴⁹ Li Zhiliang 李之亮, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu* 蘇軾文集編年箋註 (Prose Anthology of Su Shi in Chronological Order with Annotations and Commentary, Chengdu: Bashu Shushe 巴蜀書社, i.e., Sichuan Guji Chubanshe 四川古籍出版社, 2011), 8:506-10. Li Zhiliang dates the eulogy to the fourth year (1081) of the Yuanfeng 元豐 (1078-1085) reign, when Su Shi was in exile in Huangzhou. But Yan Zhongqi dates it to the fourth or fifth year (1089-1090) of the Yuanyou reign, See Yan Zhongqi, p. 220.

At the end of the Jiayou (1056-1063) reign, I served as an attendant¹⁵⁰ at Qixia [i.e., Fengxiang鳳翔]¹⁵¹ while My Lord Wang Peng from Taiyuan, whose personal name I should refrain from mentioning, style name Danian, supervises the various armies¹⁵² of the Superior Prefecture.¹⁵³ Our residences were next to each other and everyday we accompanied each other. At that time, Chen Gongbi, the Prefect,¹⁵⁴ managed his subordinates very strictly. His dignity [even] made bordering commandaries shudder; clerks and officials did not dare to raise their head to look at him. Only you, My Lord, were leisurely and self-assured, never once humbled your facial or verbal expressions, and [Chen] Gongbi also respected you. At the beginning I regarded it as strange and asked those who knew My Lord. They all said that this was the great-grandson of [Wang] Quanbin, whose personal name I should refrain from mentioning, the late Military Commissioner of the Peace-by-Means-of-the-Martial Army, and the son of [Wang] Kai, whose personal name I should refrain from mentioning, the Deputy Military and

¹⁵⁰ The title *Congshi* 從事, “Retainer,” was given to unranked subordinates on the staff of various dignitaries of the central government from Han to the Sui dynasty (Hucker, p. 535, #7176), but in the Song, the title *Congshi lang* 從事郎, “Gentleman for Attendance,” was a prestige title for civil officials from 1080 on (Hucker, p.535, #7177). In the context of this text, the title is used loosely to refer to the local post Su Shi held in Fengxiang 鳳翔 almost twenty years before the composition of this lament in 1081 in Huangzhou. The post was *Fengxiang Qianpan* 鳳翔簽判 or *Fengxiang Qianshu panguan ting gongshi* 鳳翔簽書判官廳公事 (Notary of the Administrative Assistant of Fengxiang, Hucker, p.154, #911, #922) which basically is a position of an attendant clerk. Therefore the title here is translated as “attendant.”

¹⁵¹ Qixia 岐下 was another name of Fengxiang 鳳翔.

¹⁵² The title of *Jianjun* 監軍 (Army-Supervising Commissioner, Hucker, p.147, #815) is implied in this sentence. But the position held by Wang Peng was actually *Bingma dujian* 兵馬都監 (Military Director-in-Chief, Hucker, p.384, #4687), See Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 8:63.507.

¹⁵³ *Fu* 府, “Superior Prefecture,” refers to a unit of territorial administration comparable to an ordinary Prefecture (*zhou* 州) but in a specially honored or strategic location (Hucker, p.216, #2034), in the case here, it refers to the Superior Prefecture of Fengxiang 鳳翔府.

¹⁵⁴ Hucker, p.482, #6221.

Surveillance Commissioner of the Victory-by-Means-of-the-Martial Army. When young, you followed your father to suppress the rebels at Ganling, fought under the city wall. Those whom you commanded cut off over seventy heads and you yourself shot and killed two people, but you were not rewarded when the merit was reported. Someone tried to persuade you, My Lord, to speak for yourself. You, My Lord, laughed and said, “I fought for My Lord and my father. How could it be for the awards?” I heard this and regarded you as worthy, and I started to seek the right hand of fellowship with you.

嘉祐末，予從事岐下，而太原王君諱彭，字大年，監府諸軍。居相鄰，日相從也。時太守陳公弼馭下甚嚴，威震旁郡，僚吏不敢仰視，君獨侃侃自若，未嘗降色詞，公弼亦敬焉。予始異之，問於知君者，皆曰“此故武寧軍節度使諱全斌之曾孫，而武勝軍節度觀察留後諱愷之子也。少時從父討賊甘陵，博戰城下，所部斬七十餘級，手射殺二人，而奏功不賞。或勸君自言，君笑曰：吾為君父戰，豈為賞哉！”予聞而賢之，始與論交。

You, My Lord, your learning was extensive and refined, there were no books that you were not well versed in, and you especially liked my essays. Whenever I produce one passage, you would always clap your hands and be pleased for a whole day. At the beginning I did not know the Dharma of the Buddha, you, My Lord, spoke of its general ideas for me, always inducing and revealing the utmost secrecy, confirming with your own [experience] and not causing others to doubt. My love for the Buddhist books was probably originated from you, My Lord. After that, you, My Lord, became a general and your merit was heard everyday. You requested to challenge yourself at the borders, and Han [Qi] 韓琦 (1008-1075), the Duke of the State of Wei and Wen [Yanbo] 文彥博 (1006-1097), the Duke of Lu both thought of it a feasible idea. The late Emperor was just about to use your talent to the fullest, but you, My Lord died of illness.

君博學精煉，書無所不通，尤喜余文。每出一篇，輒拊掌歡然終日。予始未知佛法，君為言大略，皆推見至隱，以自證耳，使人不疑。予之喜佛書，蓋自君發之。其後君為將，日有聞，乞自試於邊，而韓魏公、文潞公皆以為可用。先帝方欲盡其才，而君病卒。

Your son [Wang] Dang is known to the world for his literary talent and scholarship, and his proposals and discourses. He also socializes in my circle. While I lament for your unrecognized [talent], I nonetheless am glad for your having a [worthy] son. At your funeral I wrote a poem to lament [your death] and with it to bid farewell to you. Its lyric reads, “As a general, you were versed in military arts but at the same time benevolent, which is very much like your father, but complemented with literary talent. As a scholar-official, you cultivated your knowledge of the Book of History and the Book of Poetry, discoursed and discussed with emotion, to which your son is similar. As you rushed and went around to the four directions, the valiant and the heroic were your friends. As you died without your name heard [by others], the fault belongs to your companions and friends. The thousand-*li* horse can run as soon as it touches the ground and the tiger is striped from the moment it is born. Testify this with you and your son, so that my word is verified.

其子讜，以文學議論有聞於世，亦從予游。予既悲君之不遇，而喜其有子。於其葬也，作相挽之詩以餞之。其詞曰：“君之為將，允武且仁。甚似其父，而輔以文。君之為士，涵咏書詩。議論慨然，其子似之。奔走四方，豪傑是友。沒而無聞，朋友之咎。驥墮地走，虎生而斑。試其父子，以考我言。”

In this eulogy, Su Shi praises both father and son's literary talents. Su Shi got to know Wang Peng around 1063 when he first started his political career in the Superior Prefecture Fengxiang. Wang Peng appreciated Su Shi's literary talent and was possibly the first person that introduced Buddhist thoughts to young Su Shi. Su Shi also cherished his friendship with Wang

Peng and spoke highly of him in his writings where Wang Peng was mentioned. In the short anecdote “Tuxiang xiaoer ting shuo Sanguo yu” 途巷小兒聽說三國語 (The Conversation on ‘Little Boys in the Walkways and Alleys Listening to the Telling of the Three Kingdoms’)¹⁵⁵ in his *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林 (Forest of Records at the East Slope), Su Shi recorded Wang Peng’s comments on “the influences from the gentlemen and the petty men” 君子小人之澤. Here he introduced Wang Peng as a military officer who “knew literature and writings quite well” 頗知文章.¹⁵⁶ Su Shi also highly praised Wang Dang’s literary and scholarly abilities as he wrote in the eulogy to Wang Peng, “[Wang] Dang is known to the world for his literary talent and scholarship, and his proposals and discourses. He also socializes in my circle. While I lament for your unrecognized [talent], I nonetheless am glad for your having a [worthy] son” 謙以文學議論有聞於世，亦從予遊。予既悲君之不遇，而喜其有子。¹⁵⁷ It is possible that Wang Dang did enjoy literary fame to a certain extent during his lifetime, but none of his literary works were transmitted or even mentioned in the extant writings of his contemporaries, and this makes his literary accomplishment a difficult argument to substantiate.

¹⁵⁵ The short text reads “Wang Peng used to say, ‘the little boys in the walkways and alleys are mean and trouble-making. Their families detest and suffer from them, often give them some money and make them gather and sit together to listen to the telling of ancient tales. When it comes to the telling of the affairs from the Three Kingdoms, if they hear Liu Xuande is defeated, there would be some frowning and bursting into tears; if they hear Cao Cao is defeated, they would immediately be happy and sing with delight. From this we know the influences from the gentlemen and the petty men would not be cut off [even after] a hundred generations.’ [Wang] Peng was the son of [Wang] Kai. He served as a military officer and knew literature and writings quite well. I once composed a lamentation for him. His style name was Danian.” 王彭嘗云：“途巷中小兒薄劣，其家所厭苦，輒與錢，令聚坐聽說古話。至說三國事，聞劉玄德敗，顰蹙有出涕者；聞曹操敗，即喜唱快。以是知君子小人之澤，百世不斬。” 彭，愷之子，為武吏，頗知文章，余嘗為作哀辭，字大年。See Su Shi, *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林 (Forest of Records at the East Slope, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1981, rpt. 1997), p.7. The anecdote is also entitled as “A Record on Wang Peng Commenting on the Influences from Cao [Cao] and Liu [Xuande]” 記王彭論曹劉之澤, see Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 8:66.121.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid..

¹⁵⁷ Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 8:63.507.

There is slightly more evidence to Wang Dang's artistic achievements in calligraphy and painting. Among the prefaces and postscripts Su Shi wrote for friends' calligraphy and paintings, there are one on Wang Dang's calligraphy and one on his painting "Zui daoshi tu" 醉道士圖 (Painting of a Drunken Daoist Master). Su Shi's "Shu Wang Shi caoshu" 書王石草書 (On the Cursive Script [Scrolls] by Wang [Zhengfu] and Shi [Caiweng]) written on the twelfth month of the first year (1068) of the Xining 熙寧 (1068-1077) reign reads:

Wang Zhengfu and Shi Caiweng wrote cursive script in front of the Revered Gentleman Han [i.e., Han Qi 韓琦 (1008-1075)]. The Revered Gentleman [Han] said the two masters [wrote] as if they were playing the flute on the Horse Market [street]. None of the guests present knew [what he meant]. The Revered Gentleman [Han] explained for them, "If you are not a skillful hand, you would not dare to play on the Horse Market [street]."

王正甫，石才翁對韓公草書。公言二子一似向馬行頭吹笛。座客皆不曉。公為解之：“若非妙手，不敢向馬行頭吹也。”¹⁵⁸

The anonymous Song dynasty author of the *Airi zhai congchao* 愛日齋從鈔, when commenting on this postscript of Su Shi's, notes that "the Horse Market [street] was located at the northeast corner of the old city of Capital Bian[liang], possibly a place where food sellers, peddlers, and all sorts of merchants gathered" 馬行，在汴京舊城東北隅，蓋粥販百賈所會也。¹⁵⁹ The Horse Market Street was one of the most prosperous places in the capital. Indeed, in such a busy place where people bargain and bicker, peddlers and hawkers shout and cry, one has to be very good at playing the flute in order to attract attention. Moreover, since Shi Caiweng

¹⁵⁸ Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 8:66.127.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*.

was a famous calligrapher of the time, if Wang Dang's calligraphy could be mentioned together with his, then Wang Dang's ability as a calligrapher was indeed quite extraordinary.

It is unknown when Wang Dang painted the “Zui daoshi tu” 醉道士圖 (Painting of a Drunken Daoist Master), but the painting was clearly appreciated by well known scholar officials of the time. Su Shi's “Ba Zui daoshi tu” 跋醉道士圖 (Inscription on the Painting of a Drunken Daoist Master) reads:

I never liked drinking. [Now] looking at [Wang] Zhengfu's [i.e., Wang Dang] painting of the drunken [Daoist] Master, I fear even more the old man who holds the [wine] cup [with one hand] and grabs my ear [with the other] (i.e., he who forces wine on me). By Zizhan [i.e., Su Shi].

僕素不喜酒。觀正甫醉士圖，以甚畏執杯持耳翁也。子瞻書。¹⁶⁰

When Zhang Dun's 章惇 (1035-1105) saw the painting, the humor in Su Shi's inscription on the painting triggers a response. Zhang Dun wrote below Su Shi's inscription:

I looked at the Painting of a Drunken Daoist Master, opened [it up] to the inscriptions by the various gentlemen at the end of the scroll. [When I] reached what Zizhan inscribed, I roared with laughter. By Zihou [i.e., Zhang Dun].

僕觀醉道士圖，展卷末諸君題名，至子瞻所題，發噓絕倒。子厚書。¹⁶¹

Possibly months or years later when Su Shi saw Zhang Dun's response, he continued the discussion with a “Zai ba” 再跋 (Second Inscription) which reads:

¹⁶⁰ Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 9:70.636-7.

¹⁶¹ Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 9:70.637.

On the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month in the first year (1068) of the Xining reign, I again passed through Chang'an, and met [Wang] Zhengfu at Wu Qingchen's¹⁶² residence. I looked at the painting of the drunken [Daoist] Master again, saw what Zihou inscribed and knew he laughed because of me. The old man who grabs my ear [to force wine on me] is indeed whom I fear, [but] if he is Zihou then that is all I could wish for. If we meet on boat on another day, we should again have a good laugh [at this]. Looking at the painting together with [Wu] Qingchen, [Fan] Yaofu (i.e. Fan Chunren 范純仁, 1027-1101), and Ziyou (i.e., Su Zhe 蘇轍, 1039-1112) at this moment. By Zizhan.”

熙寧元年十二月二十九日，再過長安，會正父與母清臣家，再觀醉士圖，見子厚所題，知其為予嚙也，持耳翁為予固畏之，若子厚乃求其持而不得者，他日舟見，當復一嚙，時與清臣堯夫子由同觀。子瞻書。¹⁶³

To this, Zhang Dun¹⁶⁴ again responded:

Although there are rich tastes in wine, it's a regret that very few know about it. Someone like the old man who grabs your ear is indeed too harsh. Zizhan, by nature is fond of mountains and waters, and still he is unwilling to cross the Pond of Immortal's Journey, how much less [would he be willing to] know the taste [of the immortal's journey?] from this (i.e., from drinking)? His fear is justified. When [Wang] Zhengfu goes to [his post in] Fengguo, I, Zihou, will become the magistrate of Wujin. Again I inscribe this to follow

¹⁶² The character *wu* 毋 here should be a textual error for *li* 李 See Yan Zhongqi, p. 221.

¹⁶³ Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 9:70.637.

¹⁶⁴ The following inscription does not indicate clearly who wrote it, from the text and the context of the dialogue between Su Shi and Zhang Dun. I believe this was again Zhang Dun's response to Su Shi's Second Inscription.

up [the discussion] after Zizhan. On the day after the Double Fifth of the *jiyou* year

(1069).

酒中固多味，恨知之者少耳。若持耳翁，已太苛矣。子瞻性好山水，尚不肯渡仙遊潭，況於此而知味乎？宜其畏也。正夫赴豐國時，子厚令武進，復題此以繼子瞻之後。己酉端午後一日。”¹⁶⁵

The series of inscriptions quoted above reveal several interesting points. First, simply from the texts of these inscriptions, we know Wang Dang's painting was viewed by Su Shi, Zhang Dun 章惇 (1035-1105), Li Qingchen 李清臣 (1032-1102), Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039-1112), and Fan Chunren 范純仁 (1027-1101). Second, the phrase “inscriptions by the various gentlemen at the end of the scroll” 卷末諸君題名 in Zhang Dun's inscription suggests even more people at Wang Dang's time viewed and inscribed on his painting than those we can name from the text of extant inscriptions studied here. Third, Wang Dang's painting of the drunken Daoist Master was possibly quite a remarkable piece interesting and memorable enough for a second view when Su Shi passed through Chang'an and gathered with his friends there again. Therefore, it is possible that though without any extant works of painting to speak for him, Wang Dang still can be considered as an extraordinary painter at his time. And in the end, in addition to representing Wang Dang's artistic achievements, his paintings, whether this particular one or his work in general, could have served an important social function as well. As we can conclude from the series of inscriptions, the “Painting of A Drunken Daoist Master” literally opened up a textual space for the dialogue between Su Shi and Zhang Dun to continue over time without having to

¹⁶⁵ Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 9:70.637-8.

meet in person.¹⁶⁶ Certainly there were more people writing in this textual space, but unfortunately, with the painting no longer extant, most of the comments were lost. In this case, only the comments from significant historical figures, such as Su Shi here, and the responses they received, here from Zhang Dun, were collected in their own anthologies and transmitted.

Besides painting and calligraphy, the literary circle around Su Shi also shared the interest in recording and collecting anecdotes. Su Shi himself left behind two collections, *Chouchi biji* 仇池筆記 (Jottings by the Chou Pond) and *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林 (Forest of Records by Dongpo). These two collections contain anecdotes of Su Shi himself and his friends, as well as the stories he heard and recorded. Within Su Shi's circle, Wang Dang, Zhao Lingshi 趙令時 (1051-?), and Kong Pingzhong 孔平仲 (*jinshi* 1065) each compiled his own anecdotal collection. Besides Wang Dang's *Tang yulin*, Zhao Lingshi put together the *Hou qing lu* 侯鯖錄 (Records of the Marquis' Mackerel), penning a good part of anecdotes himself; and Kong Pingzhong compiled the *Xu Shishuo* 續世說 (A Sequel to the *Tales of the World*), with a structure loosely based on that of the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (New Conversations of Tales of the World). Therefore, the compilation of the *Tang yulin* should not be viewed as an isolated project, but instead, Wang Dang enjoyed a community of literati friends with similar interests, all participating in collecting items from the anecdotal tradition of China.

¹⁶⁶ It functioned almost as an ancient blog thread where the two shared their amusement about the painting and their fear of forced wine drinking.

Chapter Three: The *Tang yulin* and Its Textual History

This chapter introduces the text of the *Tang yulin* and offers a detailed discussion on its textual history.

3.1 The Text

The *Tang yulin* was compiled by Wang Dang toward the end of the Northern Song, as Yan Zhongqi estimates, possibly after the Shaosheng 紹聖 (1094-1098) reign when Wang Dang entered his years of old age; and the completion and publication of the collection was likely to be no later than Huizong's reign (1101-1126).¹⁶⁷ The text contains a large amount of anecdotes, over eleven hundred in the most recently collated modern edition.¹⁶⁸ These anecdotes, with only a few exceptions, are all about historical figures, events, traditions and customs from the Tang dynasty. They were selected from fifty miscellaneous collections, most of which were compiled during the Tang and Five Dynasties, with only a few from the early Song time. Wang Dang re-organized these anecdotes into fifty-two categories, of which thirty-five were inherited from the categories of the *Shishuo xinyu* and seventeen were additions from Wang. The original preface by Wang Dang provides a list of the fifty source books he used and a list of the fifty-two categories, but no additional information or comments otherwise. It is translated as follows:¹⁶⁹

S#1) *Guoshi bu* 國史補 (Supplement to State History)

S#2) *Bu guoshi* 補國史 (To Supplement State History)

¹⁶⁷ Yan Zhongqi, "Guanyu *Tang yulin* zuozhe Wang Dang," p.224.

¹⁶⁸ Zhou Xunchu's *Tang yulin jiaozheng*.

¹⁶⁹ The numbers are inserted by me.

- S#3) *Yin hua lu* 因話錄 (Notes Based on Remarks)
- S#4) *Tan bin lu* 譚[談]賓錄 (Notes from Discussions with Guests)
- S#5) *Qi ji* 齊集 (i.e., *Lanzhai ji* [嵐]齋集, Collection from the Lan Study¹⁷⁰)
- S#6) *Youxian guchui* 幽閒鼓吹 (Drums and Trumpets of the Secluded Leisure Time)
- S#7) *Shangshu gushi* 尚書故實 (Past Facts from the Minister)
- S#8) *Song chuang lu* 松窗錄 (Notes [Taken] under the Pine Window)
- S#9) *Luling guanxia ji* 廬陵官下記 (Records during the Official Post at Luling)¹⁷¹
- S#10) *Ci Liu shi jiuwen* 次柳氏舊聞 (Old Things Heard by Mr. Liu, Second Volume)
- S#11) *Gui yuan tan cong* 桂苑談叢 (Series of Discussions at the Osmanthus Garden)
- S#12) *Ji wen tan* 紀聞談 (Records of Discussions on Things Heard)
- S#13) *Dongguan zou ji* 東觀奏記 (Records of Memorials at the Eastern Palace)
- S#14) *Zhenling yishi* 貞陵遺事 (Affairs Left Behind from the Zhen Mausoleum)
- S#15) *Xu Zhenling yishi* 續貞陵遺事 (Sequel to Affairs Left Behind from the Zhen Mausoleum)
- S#16) *Changshi yan zhi* 常侍言旨 (Essence of Words from the Attendant-in-Ordinary)
- S#17) *Zhuan zai* 傳載 (Accounts Recorded)
- S#18) *Yunxi you yi* 雲溪友議 (Colloquy with Friends at the [Wu]yun xi, Creek of [Five] Clouds)

¹⁷⁰ Throughout this dissertation the term *zhai* 齋 is translated as “study” to be differentiated from the term *guan* 館 which is translated as “studio.”

¹⁷¹ This book is no longer extant, partial content of this book can be found in Duan Chengshi’s 段成式 (ca. 803-863) *Youyang zai zu* 酉陽雜俎 (Miscellanea of the Youyang Mountains).

S#19) *Kaitian chuanxin ji* 開天傳信記 (Records of Circulated Trustworthy [Accounts]

during the Kaiyuan and Tianbao Reign)

S#20) *Rongmu xiantan* 戎幕閒談 (Leisurely Discussions in the Military Office)

S#21) *Minghuang zalu* 明皇雜錄 (Miscellaneous Notes of the Luminous Emperor)

S#22) *Yiwen ji* 異聞集 (Collection of Strange Things Heard)

S#23) *Da Tang shuo zuan* 大唐說纂 (Collection of Talks from the Great Tang)

S#24) *Kan wu* 刊誤 (Correcting Errors)

S#25) *Lu shi za shuo* 盧氏雜說 (Miscellaneous Talks [Recorded by] Mr. Lu)

S#26) *Ju tan lu* 劇談錄 (Notes from Jestng Discussions)

S#27) *Yuquan biduan* 玉泉筆端 ([Things at the] Tip of the Writing Brush by [Master]

Yuquan, i.e., Master Jade-Spring)

S#28) *Jinhua zi zhibian* 金華子雜編 (Miscellaneous Collection by Master Jinhua)

S#29) *Pi shi jianwen* 皮氏見聞 (Things Heard and Seen by Mr. Pi)

S#30) *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語 (New Conversations from the Great Tang)

S#31) *Liu Gong jiahua* 劉公嘉話 (Fine Remarks from the Revered Gentleman Liu

[Yuxi])

S#32) *Jiegu lu* 羯鼓錄 (Notes on the Drum of the Jie Tribe)

S#33) *Zhitian lu* 芝田錄 (Notes from the Field of Ganoderma, i.e., the Plant of

Immortality)

S#34) *Zixia ji* 資暇集 (A Collection to Aid Leisurely [Times])

S#35) *Duyang zhibian* 杜陽雜編 (Miscellaneous Collection at Duyang)

- S#36) *Benshi shi* 本事詩 (Poetry on events)¹⁷²
- S#37) *Yutang xianhua* 玉堂閒話 (Leisurely Remarks at the Jade Hall)
- S#38) *Zhongchao gushi* 中朝故事 (Old Affairs from the “Middle” Reign, i.e., the Reigns of Emperors Yizong 懿宗, Zhaozong 昭宗, and Aihuangdi 哀皇帝)
- S#39) *Bei meng suo yan* 北夢瑣言 (Trivial Words from Northern [Yun]meng, i.e., Lake of the Dream of Clouds)
- S#40) *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Collected Essential of the Tang)
- S#41) *Liu shi xuxun* 柳氏敘訓 (Instructions Narrated by Mr. Liu)
- S#42) *Wei Zhenggong gushi* 魏鄭公故事 (Old Affairs of the Wei [Zheng], the Duke of Zheng)
- S#43) *Guochao zhuanji* 國朝傳記 (Biographies and Records of the State Court)¹⁷³
- S#44) *Huichang jieyi* 會昌解頤 (Jokes in the Huichang Reign, 841-846)
- S#45) *Luo zhong ji yi* 洛中記異 (Strange Things Recorded in Luoyang)
- S#46) *Gan zhuan zi* 乾月巽子 (Dried Fruits)
- S#47) *Wen qi lu* 聞奇錄 (Notes on Hearing the Marvelous [Things])
- S#48) *Jia shi tanlu* 賈氏談錄 (Notes on Discussions with Mr. Jia)
- S#49) *Qiuran ke zhuan* 虬髯客傳 (Biography of the Guest with the Curly Beard)

¹⁷² *Benshi shi* 本事詩 is translated as “Poems with Their Original Occasions” in Stephan Owen and Kang-I Sun Chang, *Cambridge History of Chinese Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), vol. 1, p.362.

¹⁷³ Also called *Sui Tang jiahua* 隋唐嘉話 (Fine Remarks on the Sui and Tang).

S#50) *Feng shi jianwen ji* 封氏見聞記 (Records of Things Heard and Seen by Mr.

Feng)¹⁷⁴

To the right are fifty schools¹⁷⁵ of minor discourses. I, Zhengfu, took those that are most essential of them, compiled, grouped those into fifty-two categories, listing the complete index [of the categories] as follows.

右小說五十家，正甫取其尤要者編之，分為五十二門，具目錄於後。¹⁷⁶

C#1) Dexing 德行 (Virtuous Conduct)

C#2) Yanyu 言語 (Speech and Conversation, Quips and Repartee)

C#3) Zhengshi 政事 (Affairs of Government)¹⁷⁷

C#4) Wenxue 文學 (Literature and Scholarship)¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ Book titles with ** are those listed by Wang Dang as his sources, but according to Zhou Xunchu, no *Tang yulin* anecdotes were found in this book.

¹⁷⁵ *Jia* 家, a term normally used for series schools of literary and historical discourses, is used here for the *xiaoshuo*, or minor discourses. Perhaps we can say that Wang Dang's expectation of his collection on anecdotes was to some extent similar to Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (145-ca. 86 B.C.) goal of "establishing the word of a school" 成一家之言.

¹⁷⁶ The numbers are inserted by me. The translations of the first thirty five categories in the *Tang yulin* are based on Richard Mather's and Qian Nanxiu's translations of the categories in the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語. If I follow Mather's translation then Qian's translation is offered in a footnote, and vice versa. If I modified their translations then both Mather's and Qian's are offered in a footnote. See Richard Mather, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies and University of Michigan Press), 2002; Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China: The Shih-shuo hsin-yü and Its Legacy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), pp. 4-5.

¹⁷⁷ Mather: "Affairs of State."

¹⁷⁸ Mather: "Letters and Scholarship."

C#5) Fangzheng 方正 (The Square and the Proper)

C#6) Yaliang 雅量 (Cultivated Tolerance)

C#7) Shijian 識鑒 (Insight and Judgment)¹⁷⁹

C#8) Shangyu 賞譽 (Appreciation and Praise)

C#9) Pinzao 品藻 (Grading Excellence)¹⁸⁰

C#10) Guizhen 規箴 (Admonitions and Warnings)

See note.¹⁸¹

C#11) Suhui 夙慧 (Precocious Intelligence)

C#12) Haoshuang 豪爽 (Virility and Boldness)¹⁸²

C#13) Rongzhi 容止 (Appearance and Manner)¹⁸³

C#14) Zixin 自新 (Self-renewal)

C#15) Qixian 企羨 (Admiration and Emulation)

C#16) Shangshi 傷逝 (Grieving for the Departed)

C#17) Qiyi 栖逸 (Reclusion and Disengagement)¹⁸⁴

C#18) Xianyuan 賢媛 (Worthy Beauties)

¹⁷⁹ Qian: “Recognition and Judgment.”

¹⁸⁰ Mather: “Classification According to Excellence;” Qian: “Ranking with Refined Words.”

¹⁸¹ “Jiewu” (Quick Perception) was left out.

¹⁸² Mather: “Virile Vigor.”

¹⁸³ Mather: “Appearance and Behavior.”

¹⁸⁴ Mather: “Living in Retirement.”

C#19) Shujie 術解 (Technical Understanding)

C#20) Qiaoyi 巧藝 (Skill and Art)¹⁸⁵

C#21) Chongli 寵禮 (Favor and Veneration)¹⁸⁶

C#22) Rendan 任誕 (The Free and the Eccentric)¹⁸⁷

C#23) Jian'ao 簡傲 (Rudeness and Arrogance)¹⁸⁸

C#24) Paitiao 排調 (Taunting and Teasing)

C#25) Qingdi 輕詆 (Contempt and Insults)

C#26) Jiajue 假譎 (Guile and Chicanery)

C#27) Chumian 黜免 (Dismissal from Office)

C#28) Jianse 儉嗇 (Stinginess and Meanness)

C#29) Taichi 汰侈 (Extravagance and Ostentation)

C#30) Fenjuan 忿狷 (Anger and Irascibility)

C#31) Chanxian 讒險 (Slander and Treachery)¹⁸⁹

C#32) Youhui 尤悔 (Blameworthiness and Remorse)

C#33) Pilou 訛漏 (Crudities and Blunders)¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Qian: “Ingenious Art.”

¹⁸⁶ Mather: “Favor and Gifts.”

¹⁸⁷ Qian: “Uninhibitedness and Eccentricity.” Mather: “The Free and Unrestrained.”

¹⁸⁸ Mather: “Rudeness and Contempt.”

¹⁸⁹ Qian: “Slandorousness and Treachery.”

¹⁹⁰ Mather: “Crudities and Slips of the Tongue.”

C#34) Huoni 惑溺 (Delusion and Infatuation)¹⁹¹

C#35) Chouxi 仇隙 (Hostility and Alienation)

*****¹⁹²

C#36) Shihao 嗜好 (Hobbies and Indulgences)

C#37) Lisu 俚俗 (Slang and Customs)

C#38) Jishi 記事 (Records and Happenings)

C#39) Rencha 任察 (Entrustment and Observation)

C#40) Yuning 諛佞 (Flattery and Smarminess)

C#41) Weiwang 威望 (Authority and Reputation)

C#42) Zhongyi 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness)

C#43) Weiyue 慰悅 (Comfort and Delight)

C#44) Jiyin 汲引 (Recommendation and Promotion)

C#45) Weishu 委屬 (Entrustment and Bestowal)

C#46) Biantan 砭談 (Counsel and Discussion)

C#47) Jianluan 僭亂 (Overstepping and Upheaving)

C#48) Dongzhi 動植 (Animals and Plants)

C#49) Shuhua 書畫 (Calligraphy and Paintings)

C#50) Zawu 雜物 (Miscellaneous Objects)

¹⁹¹ Mather: “Blind Infatuations.”

¹⁹² After this line, the categories were added by Wang Dang.

C#51) Canren 殘忍 (Cruelty and Hardheartedness)

C#52) Jice 計策 (Strategies and Intrigues)

To the right, I, Zhengfu, gathered the [minor] discourses of fifty schools, and grouped them into fifty-two categories. The first thirty-five categories are from the *Shishuo [xinyu]* (New Conversations of Tales of the World), the following seventeen categories are added by myself. As a whole, [the collection] is titled *Tang yulin* (Forest of Conversations on the Tang).

右正甫集五十家之說，分為五十二門，其上三十五門出世說，下十七門正甫所續，總號唐語林云。¹⁹³

Zhou Xunchu tried to identify the sources for each anecdote in the *Tang yulin*, and came up with a list of fifty-eight source titles.¹⁹⁴ Comparing Zhou Xunchu's list to Wang Dang's list of source titles in his "Original Preface and Index of the *Tang yulin*" 唐語林原序目, there are five titles Wang Dang listed as his sources but Zhou Xunchu did not identify any anecdotes from them, they are listed as follows with their "S" numbers from Wang Dang's list:

S#23) *Da Tang shuo zuan* 大唐說纂 (Collection of Talks from the Great Tang)

S#42) *Wei Zhenggong gushi* 魏鄭公故事 (Old Affairs of the Wei [Zheng], the Duke of Zheng)

¹⁹³ Zhou Xunchu, "Tang yulin yuan xumu" 唐語林原序目 (The Original Preface and Index of the *Tang yulin*) in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁹⁴ See Zhou Xunchu, "Tang yulin yuanju yuanshu tiyao" 唐語林援據原書提要 (Introductions to the Original Books the *Tang yulin* Quoted from) and "Tang yulin yuanju yuanshu suoyin" 唐語林援據原書索引 (Index [of Entries from] the Original Books the *Tang yulin* Quoted from), *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 763, 839.

S#44) *Huichang jieyi* 會昌解頤 (Jokes in the Huichang Reign, 841-846)

S#45) *Luo zhong ji yi* 洛中記異 (Strange Things Recorded in Luoyang)

S#47) *Wen qi lu* 聞奇錄 (Notes on Hearing the Marvelous [Things])

The comparison also shows Zhou Xunchu identified twelve additional titles that were not included in Wang Dang's list but their anecdotes were found in the *Tang yulin*. These titles are listed as follows with their own "S" numbers continuing the ones on Wang's list:

S#51) *Qianding lu* 前定錄 (Notes on the Pre-destined Fate)

S#52) *Que shi* 闕史 (Neglected History)

S#53) *Tang zhi yan* 唐摭言 (Picked-up Words of Tang)

S#54) *Jiaofang ji* 教坊記 (Records of the Music Office¹⁹⁵)

S#55) *Ye hou jia zhuan* 鄴侯家傳 (Biographies of the Household of Marquis of Ye)

S#56) *Beili zhi* 北里志 (Anecdotes of the Northern Quarter)

S#57) *Minchuan mingshi zhuan* 閩川名士傳 (Biographies of Famous Scholars from the
Min River)

S#58) *Yushi tai ji* 御史臺記 (Records at the Censorate)

S#59) *Wang Guifei zhuan* 王貴妃傳 (Biography of the Honored Consort Wang)

S#60) *Rongzhai suibi* 容齋隨筆 (Casual Jottings at the Rong [i.e., Tolerance] Study)

S#61) *Fan chuan wenji* 樊川文集 (Anthology of [the Scholar in Retirement at] Fanchuan
[i.e., the Fan river], i.e. Du Mu 杜牧, 803-ca. 852)

¹⁹⁵ Hucker, p. 141, #728.

S#62) *Yan Zhenqing ji* 顏真卿集 (Collection of Yan Zhenqing)

Among the fifty or so source titles of the *Tang yulin*, around twenty were lost, only thirty or so are still extant.¹⁹⁶ Zhou Xunchu 周勛初 notes that many records in the *Tang yulin* are now the only extant version of certain events, making the *Tang yulin* a valuable and reliable source for both the study of history and literature of the Tang.¹⁹⁷ The *Tang yulin* was organized in a very different way from its fifty or so source titles. Wang Dang grouped anecdotes in *Tang yulin* into the fifty-two categories listed in his “Original Preface,” while over eighty percent of his source books did not apply any kind of organizational method to their content, simply lumping the anecdotes together in no particular order, with no categories and no titles. Examples are the *Sui Tang jiahua* 隋唐嘉話, *Duyang zabian* 杜陽雜編, and *Song chuang lu* 松窗錄. A small number of Wang Dang’s source books gave titles to their anecdotes, but did not categorize them, such as personal anecdotal collections like the *Bei meng suo yan* 北夢瑣言 and *Gui yuan tan cong* 桂苑談叢, and some anecdotal records on the emperor’s activities like the *Minghuang zalu* 明皇雜錄 and *Dongguan zou ji* 東觀奏記. Only a few of Wang Dang’s sources did organize their anecdotes in categories. For example, the *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語 sets up thirty categories based mainly on moral characteristics, as well as abilities and responsibilities of court officials, such as “Qinglian” 清廉 (The Clean and the Incorrupt), “Zhonglie” 忠烈 (Loyalty and Martyrdom), “Guijian” 規諫 (Admonitions and Remonstrations), “Chifa” 持法 (Enforcing the

¹⁹⁶ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 10.

¹⁹⁷ Zhou Zhongfu 周中孚, “Tang yulin tiji” 唐語林題記 in Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.192-3. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 819-20.

Law), and “Zhengneng” 政能 (Administrative Abilities). The title *Da Tang xinyu* suggests that the collection was intended to follow the tradition set by the *Shishuo xinyu*. However, its categories are quite different from the thirty-six categories in the *Shishuo xinyu*. Wang Dang’s *Tang yulin* inherited all the *Shishuo xinyu* categories except one, “Jiewu” 捷悟 (Quick Perception), and arranged them in the same order as in the *Shishuo xinyu*.

Due to the chaotic textual history of the *Tang yulin*, only the content of the first eighteen categories on Wang Dang’s original list were transmitted more or less as they were; the rest were lost and were reconstructed by collators of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (The Complete Library of the Four Branches of Literature) based on the entries scattered in various rhyme divisions of the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (The Yongle Encyclopedia).¹⁹⁸ The collators organized the recovered anecdotes in the order of reign periods instead of trying to restore them to Wang Dang’s original categories. To better understand the complicated textual issue, the following section offers a detailed account of the *Tang yulin*’s textual history.

3.2 Textual History of the *Tang yulin*

How the *Tang yulin* circulated during the Song dynasty is unknown to us. But from bibliographic records, we know that there were already at least two editions in the Song. The *Junzhai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志 (Record of Reading Books at the Commandery Study) recorded an edition of the *Tang yulin* in ten *juan*, and the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Critical Remarks on the Book Catalogue of Straightforward Study) recorded another edition in eight

¹⁹⁸Zhou Xunchu, “Preface,” in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 15.

juan.¹⁹⁹ As the title *Tang yulin* also appears in the records of Ming dynasty bibliographers,²⁰⁰ the “*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*” 四庫全書唐語林提要 estimates that “it is possible that the whole book was still extant in the beginning years of the Ming” 蓋明初全書猶存也。²⁰¹ The “*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*” also notes that from the Ming “its prints and editions were long lost, therefore the late Ming (1368-1644) dynasty [scholar] Xie Zhaozhe’s (1567-1624) *Wu za zu* (Five Miscellaneous Groups) quotes Yang Shen’s (1488-1559) words, saying ‘the [*Tang*] *yulin* was rarely transmitted, people also hardly know [about it]’” 刊本久佚，故明謝肇淛五雜俎引楊慎語，謂語林罕傳，人亦鮮知。²⁰² However, judging from list of Ming dynasty bibliographic records provided by Zhou Xunchu,²⁰³ it is possible that complete editions of the *Tang yulin* survived till late Ming.

During the Qing, the collators of the *Siku quanshu* took as their base text a fragmented *Tang yulin* edition housed in the library at the Wuying (Martial Valor) Hall 武英殿書庫 that was printed by Qi Zhiluan 齊之鸞 in the second year (1523) of the Jiajing 嘉靖 (1522-1566) reign during the early Ming. They “compared and collated [the Qi Zhiluan edition] against what was recorded in the *Yongle dadian*, deleted the duplicated, and added more than four hundred entries. In addition, we obtained a copy of the ‘Original Preface and Index’ recording titles of the books

¹⁹⁹ See Huang Pilie 黃丕烈 (1763-1825), “*Tang yulin chaoben tiji*” 唐語林鈔本題記 in Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.190 and *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 817.

²⁰⁰ For example the Ming dynasty *Baichuan shuzhi* 百川書志 also recorded an edition of the *Tang yulin* in 10 *juan*, which the Qing dynasty scholar Huang Pilie believes to be the edition seen and noted by Chao Gongwu in his *Junzhai dushu zhi*. See Huang Pilie, “*Tang yulin chaoben tiji*” in Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.190 and *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 817.

²⁰¹ “*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*” 四庫全書唐語林提要, in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 813-4.

²⁰² Ibid..

²⁰³ See detailed discussion below. The list can be found in the *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 810-2.

adopted as source and the overall index of categories. A rough idea of the style and layout [of the book] in its time can still be examined and discerned” 以永樂大典所載參互校訂，刪其重複，增多四百餘條，又得原序目一篇，載所采書名及門類總目，當日體例尚可考見其梗概。²⁰⁴ The *Siku quanshu* edition has eight *juan*, and later editions of the *Tang yulin* are mostly based on it. The now extant editions include the *Juzhen* 聚珍 edition, the *Min fu* 閩覆 edition, the *Xiyinxuan congshu* 惜陰軒叢書 edition, the *Mohai jinhu* 墨海金壺 edition, the *Shoushange congshu* 守山閣叢書 edition, etc.²⁰⁵

A modern edition based on the *Shoushange congshu* text was collated and printed by the Gudian Wenxue Chubanshe 古典文學出版社 in 1957. This edition was reprinted in 1958 by Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 and in 1978 by Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社. In 1987 Zhonghua Shuju published Zhou Xunchu's 周勛初 *Tang yulin jiaozheng* 唐語林校證 (Forest of Conversations on the Tang, Collated and with Textual Criticism), which is based on the *Siku quanshu* edition and collated against the extant incomplete edition of the *Yongle Dadian* and the Qi Zhiluan edition of the *Tang yulin* from the Jiajing reign. Zhou Xunchu's edition notes the source titles for every entry of the collection whose source could be identified. It also compares the *Tang yulin* entries with texts in its source books and parallel passages in related historical records such as the *Xin Tang shu*, the *Jiu Tang shu*, the *Zizhi tongjian*, and other miscellaneous collections. The Zhou Xunchu edition enhances the collection with entries previously neglected

²⁰⁴ “*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*,” in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 813-4.

²⁰⁵ In Mo Youzhi 莫友芝, “Lüting zhijian chuanben shumu” 邵亭知見傳本書目 quoted by Zhou Xunchu, in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 818.

and provides multiple kinds of indexes at the end. This dissertation works with the Zhou Xunchu edition.

To start a detailed discussion, let's move chronologically through the historical records about the collection. Zhou Xunchu offered a list of bibliographic records on the *Tang yulin* from the Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties which is translated below:²⁰⁶

B#1) *Zhaode Xiansheng Junzhai dushu zhi* 昭德先生郡齋讀書志 (Master Zhaode's [i.e., Chao Gongwu 晁公武, 1105–1180] Record of Reading Books at the Commandery Study), under the category of “Xiaoshuo” 小說 in the third *juan*:

“The *Tang yulin* in ten *juan*.

The Compiler of the above title is unknown. It emulates the format of the *Shishuo [xinyu]*, divides [its content] into categories and records the affairs of the Tang dynasty. It newly added seventeen categories from the “Shihao” (Hobbies and Indulgences) on, the rest [of the categories] are still the old [ones from the *Shishuo xinyu*].”

唐語林十卷。

右未詳撰人。效世說體，分門記唐世事，新增嗜好等十七門，餘仍舊云。

B#2) In the *Suichutang shumu* 遂初堂書目 (Book Catalogue of Suichu Hall) by You

Mao 尤袤 (1127-1202), under the category of “Xiaoshuo”:

“The *Tang yulin*.”

唐語林。

²⁰⁶ The list is found in the *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 810-2.

B#3) In the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Critical Remarks on the Book Catalogue of Straightforward Study) by Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (1183-ca. 1262), under the category of the “Xiaoshuo jia” 小說家 (School of Minor Discourses) in the eleventh *juan*:

“The *Tang yulin* in eight *juan*, compiled by Wang Dang of Chang’an, style name Zhengfu. [Wang Dang] took fifty schools of minor discourses on the Tang, grouped [their content] into thirty-five categories according to the *Shishuo [xinyu]*. In addition he added seventeen categories, and made [all together] fifty-two categories. The *Zhongxing shumu* notes ‘eleven *juan*’ but with the fifteen categories after the ‘Jishi’ missing. It also says, ‘one edition has eight *juan*.’ The current edition also has only eight *juan*, but none of the categories and entries is missing.”

唐語林八卷，長安王讜正甫撰。以唐小說五十家，倣世說分門三十五，又益十七，爲五十二門。中興書目「十一卷」，而闕記事以下十五門；又云「一本八卷」。今本亦止八卷，而門目皆不闕。

B#4) In the *Tong zhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Records, 1161) by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162), under the category of “Xiaoshuo” in the sixth section of the “Yiwen lue” 藝文略 (Outline on Arts and Belles Letters) in the sixty-eighth *juan*:

“The *Tang yulin* in eight *juan*.”

唐語林八卷。

B#5) In the fifty-fifth *juan* of the *Yu hai* 玉海 (The Sea of Jade) by Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296), in the “Yiwen zhushu” 藝文著書 (Books on Arts and Belles Letters) section (note: i.e., Zazhu 雜著, Miscellaneous Works):

“The *Tang yulin*. Wang Dang of the Song dynasty took fifty schools of minor discourses of the Tang, selected the essential of their [content], emulated the [format of the] *Shishuo* [*xinyu*], divided it into fifty-two categories, and compiled the *Tang yulin* in eleven *juan*. The current edition starts with the ‘Dexing’ category and ends with the ‘Lisu’ category, and is missing five categories from the ‘Gushi’ category down.” [Note:] “Another edition has eight *juan*.”

唐語林。宋朝王讜以唐小說五十家，取其要者，倣世說，分五十二門，為唐語林十一卷。今本起德行，訖俚俗，自故事以下五門闕。一本八卷。

B#6) In the 260th *juan* of the *Song shi* 宋史 (History of Song), in the 5th section of the “Yiwen zhi” 藝文志 (Treatise on Arts and Belles Letters), under the Category of “Zi” (Philosophers) and “Xiaoshuo” 子小說類:

“The *Tang yulin* in 11 *juan*, compiled by Wang Dang.”

王讜唐語林十一卷。

B#7) In the 3rd *juan* of the *Yongle dadian mulu* 永樂大典目錄 (Table of Content of the *Yongle dadian*), in the 2nd Branch 二支, under [the content list of] the 814th *juan* entitled “Shi” 詩 (Poetry).

[Note:] “In the 56th section of the ‘Remarks on Poetry’ [there are] books such as the *Tang yulin*” 詩話五十六唐語林等書。²⁰⁷

B#8) In the second *juan* of the *Luzhutang shumu* 菴竹堂書目 (Book Catalogue of the Hall of Green Bamboo) by Ye Sheng 葉盛 (1420-1474), under “Leishu” 類書 (Encyclopedias):

“The *Tang yulin* in three volumes.”

唐語林三冊。

B#9) In the *Puyang Puting Li xiansheng jiachang mulu* 濮陽蒲汀李先生家藏目錄 (Catalogue of the Family Collection of Master Li, Puting, of Puyang) by Li Tingxiang 李廷相 (1485-1544), “on the first shelf of the bookcase facing west in the west chamber” 西間朝西頭櫃一層:

“The *Tang yulin* (four books).”

唐語林 (四本)。

B#10) In the “Houbian” 後編 (Later Compilation) of the “Baitong” 稗統 (Consolidation of Trivialities)²⁰⁸ section in the *Zhao Dingyu shumu* 趙定宇書目 (Book Catalogue of Zhao Dingyu) by Zhao Yongxian 趙用賢 (1535-1596):

²⁰⁷ Note by Zhou Xunchu: This volume is no longer extant. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 811.

²⁰⁸ Note by Zhou Xunchu: “Baitong” is a collection of excerpts from a series of books that are miscellaneous jottings and minor discourses. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 811.

“The *Tang yulin*.”

唐語林。

In the “Xubian” 續編 (Continued Compilation) of the “Baitong:”

“The *Tang yulin* (one book).”

唐語林（一本）。

B#11) In the second half of the fourth *juan* in the *Guoshi Jingji zhi* 國史經籍志

(Bibliographic Treatise of the State History) by Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1540-1620), under

the “Xiaoshuo jia” section in the Category of the “Zi” (Philosophers) 子類:

“The *Tang yulin* in eight *juan*.”

唐語林八卷。

B#12) In the middle *juan* of the *Chao shi Baowentang shumu* 晁氏寶文堂書目 (Book

Catalogue of the Literature-Treasuring Hall of the Chao Family) by Chao Li 晁瑛 (d.

1560), under the category of “Zi” 子 (Philosophers) and “Za” 雜 (Miscellanies):

“The *Tang yulin*.”

唐語林。

B#13) In the upper *juan* of the *Shishantang cangshu mulu* 世善堂藏書目錄 (Catalogue

of the Book Collection at Shishan Hall) by Chen Di 陳第 (1541-1617), in the section

of “Zaji” 雜記 (Miscellaneous Records) of the “Shilei” 史類 (Category of Histories):

“The *Tang yulin* in eight *juan*, compiled by Wang Dang.”

唐語林八卷王讜。

B#14) In the eighth *juan* of the *Baichuan shuzhi* 百川書志 (The Hundred Rivers Book Record, The Hundred Rivers Bibliography) by Gao Ru 高儒, under the “Zi” 子 (Philosophers) and “Xiaoshuo jia” section:

“The *Tang yulin* in ten *juan*. Compiler unknown.”

唐語林十卷。未詳撰人。

B#15) In the *Danshengtang canshu mu* 澹生堂藏書目 (Catalogue of the Book Collection at the Dansheng Hall) by Qi Cheng 祁承火業 (?), under the “Xiaoshuo jia jiahua” 小說家佳話 (Fine Remarks of the School of Minor Discourses) :

“The *Tang yulin* in two *juan* (Included in the *Lidai xiaoshi*).”

唐語林二卷(載歷代小史)。

B#16) In the *Maiwangguan shumu* 脈望館書目 (Book Catalogue of Bookworm Studio) by Zhao Qimei 趙琦美 (1563-1624), under the title by the character “Shu” 暑字號, in the eighth section of the “Category of Philosophers” 子類, under “Xiaoshuo.”

“The *Tang yulin* in 3 books.”

唐語林三本。

B#17) In the *Jingutang shumu* 近古堂書目 (Book Catalogue of the Jingu Hall, Hall of Approaching Antiquity), author's name lost, in the upper *juan*, under the category of "Xiaoshuo:"
 "The *Tang yulin*."
 唐語林。

B#18) In the *Xi Wu Hanshi shumu* 西吳韓氏書目 (Book Catalogue by Mr. Han of the Western Wu), author's name lost, under the category of "Xiaoshuo:"
 "The *Tang yulin*."
 唐語林。

B#19) In the second *juan* of the *Jiangyunlou shumu* 絳雲樓書目 (Book Catalogue of the Tower of Crimson Clouds) by Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664), under the category of "Xiaoshuo:"
 "The *Tang yulin* (in ten *juan*. The first and last names of the compiler are unknown. The Song shi notes Wang Dang [as the compiler]. This book emulates the format of the *Shishuo xinyu*)."²⁰⁹
 唐語林 (十卷。亡名氏，宋史作王讜，其書效世說體)。²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ Note by Zhou Xunchu: The note to the title of the book was added by Chen Jingyun 陳景雲 (1670-1747). See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 812.

²¹⁰ The list of bibliographical records of the *Tang yulin* is found in the *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 810-2.

Zhou Xunchu's list is roughly in chronological order, except Zheng Qiao's 郑樵 (1104-1162) *Tong zhi* (1161, B#4) should have come second on the list. Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (1105–1180), the author of the *Zhaode Xiansheng Junzhai dushu zhi*, and Zheng Qiao 郑樵 (1104-1162), were born around the estimated time of Wang Dang's death during the Chongning and Dagan reigns of the Northern Song. Their records of the *Tang yulin*, in ten *juan* and eight *juan* respectively, reflected the state of the collection at the beginning of the Southern Song which is the closest we can get to the original state of the book through bibliographic records. Later bibliographies from Southern Song recorded editions in eleven *juan*: the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* by Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (1183-ca. 1262) offers that the *Zhongxing shumu*²¹¹ recorded an edition in eleven *juan* and the *Yu hai* by Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296) also recorded an eleven *juan* edition. However, the information seems slightly suspicious to me because the editions in these two records, though with a higher number of *juan*, were both incomplete. The edition mentioned in the *Zhongxing shumu* was missing fifteen out of the fifty-two original categories and the *Yu hai* edition was missing five categories while they still claimed a total of eleven *juan*. But the *Zhizhai shulu jieti*, the *Zhongxing shumu*, and the *Yu hai* all acknowledge the existence of an edition in eight *juan* at their time, which the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* notes was a complete edition without missing categories. Thus, during the Southern Song, the *Tang yulin* first circulated in editions of ten *juan* and eight *juan*. Later, for reasons unknown, some editions of the *Tang yulin* were probably partially lost, but the *juan* divisions in the damaged editions were possibly rearranged in an effort to match the original number of chapters. By the end of the

²¹¹ See the entry on the eleven-*juan* *Tang yulin* in the *Zhongxing guange shumu* 中興館閣書目 in *Song shi Yiwenzhi guangbian* 宋史藝文志廣編 (2 vols. Taipei: Shijie, 1963, pp. 489-536), p. 525.

Southern Song and early Yuan dynasty, it is possible that complete editions and incomplete editions were circulating at the same time. If so, could the brief mention in the *Song shi* (1345, printed 1346) bibliography of the *Tang yulin* in eleven *juan* be a record without careful investigation, possibly taking the edition in eleven *juan* as complete and editions in eight or ten *juan* as incomplete? Anyways, none of the bibliographic records after the Yuan dynasty mentioned any editions in eleven *juan*.

The Ming dynasty was a crucial period to the transmission of the *Tang yulin* text. At the beginning of the Ming, the *Yongle dadian* (1408) incorporated into its various sections a large amount of the *Tang yulin*'s content, which subsequently survived and was transmitted through the editions of the *Yongle dadian*. In the second year (1523) of the Jiajing reign, Qi Zhiluan of Tongcheng printed an edition of the *Tang yulin*, which later became the earliest extant edition, though again partially lost, of the text. The edition Qi Zhiluan had was not an ideal one to start with, as Qi wrote in his “*Tang yulin xu*” 唐語林序 (Preface to the *Tang yulin*):

Pitying that the edition I obtained has many errors, I tried to roughly correct it. But my position as a county official deals with the extremely vulgar and I was unable to [carry out the scholarly work] in detail. I again commanded students at the county school named Gu Yingshi and Shen Weibi to collate and revise it for me. There are again those [places in the text] where the meaning cannot be discerned, together I ordered them to leave the questions open and preserve the mistaken text in hope of waiting for [the discovery of] a fine edition. The two students unexpectedly requested for it to be published, therefore I agreed and overstepped my authority to write at the beginning of it.

Narrated by Qi Zhiluan of Tongcheng, after the full moon of the third month of the second year (1523), the *guiwei* year according to the order of years, of the Jiajing (1522-1566) reign of the Imperial Ming dynasty.

惜予所得本多謬，稍嘗正之，而縣吏劇俗，莫能詳也。復命庠生顧應時、沈維俾加校勘焉。又有不能意曉者，並令闕疑承誤，以俟善本。二生遽請梓行，因諾而僭書其端。

皇明嘉靖二年歲次癸未三月既望桐城齊之鸞敘。²¹²

The full translation of Qi Zhiluan's "Preface to the *Tang yulin*" can be found in the appendix of this chapter, and his comment on the content of the collection will be quoted and discussed in a later chapter of the dissertation. The quote here from Qi's preface offers a rough picture of how the edition was produced. Judging from this case, it seems that by the Ming dynasty the editions in circulation were likely to be ridden with errors and the owners, and possibly students at local schools, would take on the task of collators and editors. In this case, though the collated version still had mistakes and unclear places, it was printed nonetheless due to the requests of enthusiastic students. The edition seemed to be in even worse condition when it was transmitted down to the Qing dynasty. The "*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*" 四庫全書唐語林提要 comments on the incomplete Qi Zhiluan edition housed at the Wuying (Martial Valor) Hall 武英殿書庫 that "Its characters' strokes jumbled and sections' order erroneous, almost unreadable" 其字畫漫漶，篇次錯亂，幾不可讀。²¹³

²¹² Huang Qingquan 黃清泉, et. al. Eds., *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu* 中國歷代小說序跋輯錄 (A Collection of the Prefaces and Postscripts of the Minor Discourse Titles from All Dynasties of China, Wuhan: Huazhong Normal University Press, 1989), p.188. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 813.

²¹³ "*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*," in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 813-4.

From the list of bibliographic records, we can see that the *Tang yulin* appeared in the bibliographies and catalogues by many historians and scholars.²¹⁴ Over one third of these records describe the editions in their collections to be in ten or eight *juan* and there are no particular notes on these editions being incomplete. It seems that the complete editions did survive till the late Ming. However, the “*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*” notes that from the Ming “its prints and editions were long lost, therefore the late Ming (1368-1644) dynasty [scholar] Xie Zhaozhe’s (1567-1624) *Wu za zu* (Five miscellaneous groups) quotes Yang Shen’s (1488-1559) words, saying ‘the [*Tang*] *yulin* was rarely transmitted, people also hardly know [about it]’” 刊本久佚，故明謝肇淛五雜俎引楊慎語，謂語林罕傳，人亦鮮知，²¹⁵ and that “it is possible that the whole book was still extant in the beginning years of the Ming” 蓋明初全書猶存也。²¹⁶ Maybe the *Siku quanshu* collators had their reason to say so, but their estimation, though widely accepted among Qing dynasty scholars, seems to be slightly conservative. As mentioned above, judging from list of Ming dynasty bibliographic records provided by Zhou Xunchu, it is possible that transmitted whole editions of the *Tang yulin* survived till late Ming. Qian Qianyi’s (1582-1664) record of the *Tang yulin* in his *Jiangyunlou shumu* is the latest one from Ming. It seems that no more bibliographic records of the collection were found from the period of roughly one hundred years of the early Qing dynasty, until the introduction of the restored *Tang yulin* by the

²¹⁴ They are, in rough chronological order and with authors’ dates reintroduced to roughly mark the date of the catalogue, Ye Sheng’s 葉盛 (1420-1474) *Luzhutang shumu*, Li Tingxiang’s 李廷相 (1485-1544) *Puyang Puting Li xiansheng jiachang mulu*, Chao Li’s 晁瑛 (d. 1560) *Chao shi Baowentang shumu*, Zhao Yongxian’s 趙用賢 (1535-1596) *Zhao Dingyu shumu*, Jiao Hong’s 焦竑 (1540-1620) *Guoshi Jingji zhi*, Chen Di’s 陳第 (1541-1617) *Shishantang cangshu mulu*, Gao Ru’s 高儒 *Baichuan shuzhi*, the *Danshengtang canshu mu*, Zhao Qimei’s 趙琦美 (1563-1624) *Maiwangguan shumu*, the *Jingutang shumu*, the *Xi Wu Hanshi shumu*, and Qian Qianyi’s 錢謙益 (1582-1664) *Jiangyunlou shumu*.

²¹⁵ “*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*” in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 813-4.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*.

collators of the *Siku quanshu*. Thus it is possible that the ultimate loss of the transmitted whole editions of the *Tang yulin* happened during the dynastic transition from Ming to Qing and the social and military turmoil during the early Qing.

The Qing dynasty, though possibly responsible for the loss of the complete editions, was a period of restoration in the textual history of the *Tang yulin*. The effort started with the *Siku quanshu* project. The “*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*” 四庫全書唐語林提要 (Introduction to the *Tang yulin* in the *Siku quanshu*) reads:

The *Tang yulin* in eight *juan*, compiled by Wang Dang of the Song. Chen Zhensun’s (ca. 1183-1262) [*Zhizhai*] *shulu jieti* (Critical remarks on the Catalogue of Straightforward Study) reads, “Wang Dang of Chang’an, [style name] Zhengfu, took fifty schools of minor discourses of the Tang, and imitating the *Shishuo [xinyu]*, divided [their content] into thirty-five categories. In addition he added seventeen categories, making [all together] fifty-two categories.” Chao Gongwu’s (ca. 1105-1180) *Junzhai dushu zhi* (Record of Reading Books at the Commandery Study) reads, “Compiler unknown. It emulates the style of the *Shishuo [xinyu]*, and records distinguished talks of the Tang reign, dividing them into categories. It newly added seventeen categories such as the ‘Hobbies and Indulgences,’ the rest are all as before.” Ma Duanlin’s (1254-1323) “*Jingji kao*” (Studies on Dynastic Bibliographies) [in the *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (Comprehensive Studies in Literary and Documentary Sources)] quotes Chen’s words and includes [the *Tang yulin*] in the “schools of minor discourses,” then again quotes Chao’s words and includes it in the “miscellaneous schools.” [Bring the entries in] the two categories to mutually reflect each other, [one finds that] they are in fact one same book, only that Chen takes it as eight *juan* while Chao takes it as ten *juan*, the numbers don’t

match. However, Chen also says that the *Guange shumu* (Guange Book Catalogue, i.e., *Zhongxing shumu*) [takes it as] eleven *juan* with fifteen categories after the “Jishi” (Records and Happenings) missing, while the other book also only has eight *juan* but with no categories missing. It is possible that during transmitting, copying, separating and combining [the volumes of the book], the two editions therefore simply [ended up] not the same.

唐語林八卷，宋王讜撰。陳振孫書錄解題云，長安王讜正甫以唐小說五十家，倣世說分門三十五，又益十七門，為五十二門。晁公武郡齋讀書志云，未詳撰人，效世說體，分門記唐世名言，新增嗜好等十七門，餘皆仍舊。馬端臨經籍考引陳氏之言，入小說家，又引晁氏之言，入雜家。兩門互見，實一書也。惟陳氏作八卷，晁氏作十卷，其數不合。然陳氏又云館閣書目十一卷，闕記事以下十五門，另一本亦止八卷，而門目皆不闕，蓋傳寫分併，故兩本不同耳。

[Wang] Dang’s name is not seen among the biographies of [official] histories. When examining the entry on Pei Ji in the book, [one finds] the character “Ji” is [replaced with] a blank space with a note saying “name of the emperor.” During the Song, only Huizong[’s reign] avoided Ji as taboo, therefore [Wang] Dang was someone lived during the Chongning (1102-1106) and Dagan (1107-1110) [reigns]. Although this book emulates the *Shishuo [xinyu]*, the decrees and regulations, notable stories and old facts, *bon mots* and exemplary deeds recorded therein and [those recorded in] the official histories often elaborate and illuminate one another. If one examines what Liu Yiqing (403-444) [compiled] to solely esteem the Pure Conversation, it is different. Moreover, among the various books it has taken from, those extant are already few. [Therefore] its merit of gathering and assembling cannot be allowed to perish.

讜之名不見史傳，考書中裴佶一條，佶字空格，注云御名。宋惟徽宗諱佶，則讜為崇寧大觀間人矣。是書雖倣世說，而所紀典章故實，嘉言懿行，多與正史相發明，視劉義慶之專尚清談者不同。且所采諸書，存者已少，其裒集之功，尤不可沒。

Pitying its prints and editions long lost, therefore the Ming (1368-1644) dynasty [scholar] Xie Zhaozhe's (1567-1624) *Wu za zu* (Five miscellaneous groups) quotes Yang Shen's (1488-1559) words, saying "the [*Tang*] *yulin* was rarely transmitted, people also hardly know [about it]." Only what the library at the Wuying (Martial Valor) Hall houses has an incomplete edition carved [and printed] during the beginning years of the Ming Jiajing (1522-1566) reign by Qi Zhiluan of Tongcheng. It is divided into two *juan*, the upper and the lower, and only contains the eighteen categories from "Dexing" (Virtuous Conduct) to "Xianyuan" (Worthy Beauties). At the beginning there is [Qi] Zhiluan's own preface, saying what he obtained was not a fine edition. Its characters' strokes jumbled and sections' order erroneous, almost unreadable. Now we compared and collated [the book] against what was recorded in the *Yongle dadian* (The Yongle encyclopedia), deleted the duplicated, and added more than four hundred entries. In addition, we obtained a copy of the "Original Preface and Index" recording titles of the books adopted as source and the overall index of categories. A rough idea of the style and layout [of the book] in its time can still be examined and discerned. It is possible that the whole book was still extant in the beginning years of the Ming.

惜其刊本久佚，故明謝肇淛五雜俎引楊慎語，謂語林罕傳，人亦鮮知。惟武英殿書庫所藏，有明嘉靖初桐城齊之鸞所刻殘本，分為上下二卷，自德行至賢媛，止十八門。前有之鸞自序，稱所得非善本。其字畫漫漶，篇次錯亂，幾不可讀。今以永樂大典所載參互校訂，刪其重複，增多四百餘條，又得原序目一篇，載所采書名及門類總目，當日體例尚可考見其梗概。蓋明初全書猶存也。

It is only that these entries in the *Yongle dadian* are all scattered under their respective rhyme [sections]. Their original category and order are hard to seek through imagination. Cautiously taking a roughly chronological order, they were amended to the end of the woodcut edition, with those that without a date following. It made altogether four *juan*. Moreover, the two *juan*, the upper and the lower, of the woodcut edition [each] had pages overly numerous, and now each *juan* is respectively split into two, still making [the book into] eight *juan* to restore its old [fashion]. This book has been lacking a collated edition for a long time, errors and omissions are exceedingly abundant, and the meaning of the text is often hard to comprehend. Cautiously we took corresponding sections from the *Xin [Tang shu]* (New History of the Tang), the *Jiu Tang shu* (Old History of the Tang), and the [works of] various schools to proofread and correct carefully for each [entry of the book]. Those that absolutely could not be known were then included still according to the original for now, so as not to lose the principle in [handling] missing and doubtful [text].

惟是永樂大典各條散於逐韻之下，其本來門目，難以臆求，謹略以時代為次，補於刻本之後，無時代者又後之，共為四卷。又刻本上下二卷，篇頁過繁，今每卷各析為二，仍為八卷，以還其舊。此書久無校本，訛脫甚衆。文義往往難通，謹取新舊唐書及諸家說部一一詳為勘正。其必不可知者，則姑仍原本，庶不失闕疑之義焉。²¹⁷

While Zhou Xunchu confirms the significant contribution of the *Siku quanshu* collators to the restoration of the collection, he still criticizes the work of the collators to be far from ideal when discussing the textual issues within the *Tang yulin*. Zhou Xunchu maintains that first, the collators did not place the Qi Zhiluan edition, though partially lost, at the most important position when it indeed was the earliest extant text available to the *Siku quanshu* collators and to

²¹⁷ “*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao*” in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 813-4.

some extent reflected the original state of Wang Dang's compilation; second, the collators did not completely follow the entries quoted in the *Yongle dadian* either and freely modified their texts; third, the collators were not familiar with the fifty or so source titles of the *Tang yulin* and offered careless comments; fourth and fifth, the collators carelessly combined and separated entries.²¹⁸ These problems did exist and most were pointed out and some corrected in Zhou Xunchu's fully collated and annotated edition of the *Tang yulin*. Still, it seems to me that the first two points of criticism are somehow contradicting to each other. Zhou Xunchu himself comments that the work of the *Yongle dadian* editors sometimes seems careless, with missing sentences and phrases as well as textual errors, when their entries are compared to the texts in the original source books of the *Tang yulin*, and sometimes the *Siku quanshu* collators had to rely on other sources.²¹⁹

Still, the *Siku quanshu* edition of the *Tang yulin*, roughly around 1784 at the time of the completion of the *Siku quanshu*, became the base text for most of the Qing dynasty editions produced afterwards. From the prefaces and postscripts written by later scholars and book collectors, we can identify several printed editions and manuscript copies existed during the late Qing. Zhou Xunchu offers a collection of twelve prefaces and postscripts to different editions of the *Tang yulin* from nine scholars of late Qing. For complete translations of these texts, as well as the introductions to the Qi Zhiluan edition of the *Tang yulin* in the “*Siku quanshu zongmu*” 四庫全書總目 (the Complete Table of Content of the *Siku quanshu*), the “*Siku quanshu jianming mulu Tang yulin tiyao*” 四庫全書簡明目錄唐語林提要 (Introduction to the *Tang yulin* in the

²¹⁸ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 28-33.

²¹⁹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 26-7.

Concise Table of Content of the *Siku quanshu*), and Yu Jiayi's 余嘉錫 (1884-1955) "*Siku quanshu Tang yulin tiyao bianzheng*" 四庫全書唐語林提要辯證 (Dispute and Proof of the Introduction to the *Tang yulin* in the *Siku quanshu*), see the appendix to this chapter.

Lu Xinyuan's 陸心源 (1838-1894) "*Tang yulin ba*" 唐語林跋 (Postscript to the *Tang yulin*)²²⁰ was for the *Siku quanshu* edition in eight *juan* printed with the *Juzhen* 聚珍 woodblocks. Zhou Zhongfu's 周中孚 (1768-1831) "*Tang yulin tiji*" 唐語林題記 (Introduction to the *Tang yulin*)²²¹ notes the *Mohai jinhu* 墨海金壺 edition in eight *juan* which was collated and printed by Zhang Ruoyun 張若雲. Li Ciming's 李慈銘 (1829-1894) "*Tang yulin tiji*" 唐語林題記 (Introduction to the *Tang yulin*, 1873)²²² and Qian Xizuo's 錢熙祚 (d. 1844) "*Shoushange congshu ben Tang yulin jiaokan ji*" 守山閣叢書本唐語林校勘記 (Collator's Note on the *Shoushange congshu* edition of the *Tang yulin*, 1839)²²³ both describe the *Shoushange congshu* 守山閣叢書 edition in eight *juan*. Geng Wenguang's 耿文光 (1830-ca. 1908) "*Tang yulin tiji*" 唐語林題記 (Introduction to the *Tang yulin*)²²⁴ notes the *Xiyinxuan congshu* 惜陰軒叢書 edition in eight *juan* printed by Li Xiling 李錫齡 (1794–1844). All the above mentioned printed editions were based on the *Siku quanshu* edition printed off the *Juzhen* 聚珍 woodblocks. Sun Xinghua's 孫星華 "*Tang yulin jiaokanji ba*" 唐語林校勘記跋 (Postscript to the Collator's Note

²²⁰ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.189. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 816.

²²¹ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.192-3. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 819-20.

²²² Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.193. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 820.

²²³ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.194-5. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 821.

²²⁴ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.194. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 820-1.

on the *Tang yulin*, 1894)²²⁵ notes an edition printed in Min 閩 that was also based on the *Siku quanshu* edition but still had many discrepancies when compared with Qian Xizuo's *Shoushange congshu* edition of the *Tang yulin*.

In addition to the printed editions based on the *Siku quanshu* edition of the restored collection of the *Tang yulin*, the incomplete Qi Zhiluan edition originally housed at the Wuying Hall was printed and circulated in two *juan* during the Qing and there also existed a manuscript copy of the Qi Zhiluan text in three *juan*, possibly from the time of the Song. Zhou Xizan's 周錫瓚 (1742-1819) "Jiao Qi Zhiluan ben *Tang yulin* tiji" 校齊之鸞本唐語林題記 (Introduction to the Collating of Qi Zhiluan's Edition of the *Tang yulin*)²²⁶ written in 1804 describes an old manuscript copy of the Qi Zhiluan text in three *juan*. He compared the manuscript copy with the printed Qi Zhiluan edition in two *juan* available during his time and found that "the wood-cut edition was originated from this manuscript. The style of the columns and the shape of the characters are the same and matching each other, only that [the printed edition] changed the three *juan* divisions to two *juan*, and as a result, there are a few pages that are not right where the two *juan* were separated. Occasionally there are corrections to mistaken characters" 刻本即發源於鈔本，行款字形一一相同，惟改三卷為二卷，以致分卷處有幾頁不對，間有改正誤字。²²⁷ He also comments on the careless way of book printing during the Ming dynasty, that "the Ming

²²⁵ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.195. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 821-2.

²²⁶ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.189-90. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 816-7.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*.

people's baseless revisions when printing books are often like this" 明人刻書妄改，往往如此。²²⁸

Also in 1804, Huang Pilie 黃丕烈 (1763-1825) described another old manuscript copy of the *Tang yulin*²²⁹ in three *juan* containing fifteen of the original fifty-two categories. His preface compares this manuscript copy with the printed Qi Zhiluan edition in two *juan* from the Wuying Hall and concludes "these three *juan*, though not complete, are still based on a Song dynasty manuscript edition, the Song dynasty taboos characters in these volumes are all missing which can serve as strong evidence" 此三卷雖不全，尚是照宋鈔本，卷中宋諱皆缺其文，可為確證。²³⁰ He comments that the Ming dynasty Qi Zhiluan edition and his Song manuscript copy "not only the meaning of the text is all the same but also the columns and entries [on the pages] are matching. They only differ slightly on the several pages, some crowded and some scanty, at the dividing point of each *juan*. This trace is evident and cannot be covered up." 不特文義皆同，即行款亦合，惟于分卷處有幾葉或擠或排之稍異爾。此迹顯然，莫可掩飾。²³¹ Huang Pilie again criticizes the book printing of the Ming was careless, in that "the people of Ming were fond of displaying their cleverness, and they were often unwilling to be the followers of old conventions. Therefore the divisions and combinations [of the different *juan*] were all out of

²²⁸ Ibid..

²²⁹ See Huang Pilie's "Tang yulin chaoben tiji" 唐語林鈔本題記 (Introduction to the Manuscript Edition of the *Tang yulin*). Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.190. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 817-8.

²³⁰ Ibid..

²³¹ See Huang Pilie's "Qi Zhiluan ben Tang yulin juanshou tiji" 齊之鸞本唐語林卷首題記 (Introduction at the Beginning of Qi Zhiluan's Edition of the *Tang yulin*). Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.191. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 818.

their own invention” 明人好作聰明，往往不肯爲舊貫之仍，故分併皆由自造。²³² He laments “it is too much that the book printing by the Ming people is unreliable like this!” 甚矣，明人刻書之不可信如此。²³³

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Fu Zengxiang’s 傅增湘 (1872-1950) “*Tang yulin chaoben tiji*” 唐語林鈔本題記 (Introduction to the Manuscript Edition of the *Tang yulin*)²³⁴ also described an old manuscript copy of the *Tang yulin* in three *juan*. This copy has both Huang Pilie’s postscripts and Zhou Xizan’s postscript. Judging from Fu’s record, it seems the old manuscript copies described by Zhou Xizan and Huang Pilie in 1804 could be the same edition after all which was the base of the Ming dynasty printed edition by Qi Zhiluan. However, Huang Pilie noted the old manuscript copy he saw had fifteen categories, but the Qi Zhiluan edition from the Wuying Hall had eighteen categories.²³⁵ This discrepancy calls for further investigation in the textual situation of the *Tang yulin* in the future, and will possibly lead to interesting discoveries on the textual history of the book. In his “Qi Zhiluan ben *Tang yulin tiji*” 齊之鸞本唐語林題記 (Introduction to the Qi Zhiluan Edition of the *Tang yulin*),²³⁶ Fu Zengxiang offers a detailed description of the printed edition in the early twentieth century, which is worth quoting for the interest of print culture studies:

²³² Ibid..

²³³ Ibid..

²³⁴ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.191. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 818-9.

²³⁵ Compared to the printed Qi Zhiluan edition, the three categories missing in the old manuscript copy Huang Pilie described are “Haoshuang,” “Zixin,” and “Shangshi.”

²³⁶ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.192. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 819.

The edition printed by Qi Zhiluan of Tongcheng in the second year, i.e., the *guiwei* year (1523) of the Jiajing reign of the Ming. Ten columns with twenty-two characters per column [per each page]; the space at each end of the center strip of a folio page [used to mark the center for folding] left blank; and a pair of parallel lines surrounding the text on each page. There are one passage of preface by [Qi Zhiluan] himself, two entries of postscripts by Huang Pilie the latter of which is dated the sixth day of the sixth month in the *jiazi* year (1804) and should be written down by his grandson [Huang] Meiliu (Both postscripts can be found in the wood-cut edition). There is also the postscript by Zhou Xizan, included as follows: (the postscript by Zhou [Xizan] is already included, see above, and will not be reproduced again [here]. Noted by [Zhou] Xunchu). The impressions of collectors' seals include: impressions each by “‘Jianqing’ Zhu,” “‘Mingzhu yide (It is easy to obtain the luminous pearl),” “‘Zhang shi yinzhang (Impression Seal of the Zhang Family),” “‘Wenxu siyin (Private Seal of Wenxu),” “‘Zichenghua,” “‘Wang Mingqiong yin (Wang Mingqiong’s Seal),” “‘Lingjiange shu (Book of the Lingjiange).” There are also the impressions from the Shiliju’s seal, and the various seals of Jiang Biao’s (1860-1899) collections. (This book and the *Lin yuan ji* 麟原集 were both in Deng Qiumei’s collection and were taken by Jiang Mengping. Noted in Shanghai on the eleventh day of the tenth month of the *guihai* year, 1923) (in the third section of the Branch of the Philosophers, in *juan* nine of the *Cangyuan qunshu jingyan lu*, Records of Passing through My Eyes the Books at the Garden of Collections)

明嘉靖二年癸未桐城齊之鸞刊本，十行二十二字，白口，四周雙欄，有自序一篇，有黃丕烈跋二則，後跋為甲子六月六日，當是其孫美鏐所書。（兩跋皆見刻本。）又有周錫瓚跋，錄後：（周跋已錄，見前，不復出。勛初識。）鈐有：「建慶」朱、「明珠易得」、「張氏印章」、「文緒私印」、「字成化」、「汪鳴瓊印」、「靈鷲閣書」各

印，又士禮居印、江標各藏印。(此書與麟原集均鄧秋枚所藏，蔣孟蘋持去。癸亥十月十一日記于上海。)(藏園群書經眼錄卷九子部三)²³⁷

The textual history of the *Tang yulin*, though complicated, is now relatively clear thanks to the research done by scholars from Qing dynasty to the present day. Various modern editions of the text have been produced according to the editions based on the *Siku quanshu*. Zhou Xunchu's *Tang yulin jiaozheng* (1987) is based on the *Siku quanshu* edition and collated against the existing Qi Zhiluan edition and the quoted texts in the existing *Yongle Dadian*. Its entries are also compared with the texts in the source books of the *Tang yulin* and corresponding passages in related historical records. Zhou Xunchu's edition is by far the most thorough text and it is used as the base text for the research of this dissertation.

²³⁷ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.192. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 819.

Chapter Four

“Conversations” (*Yu* 語) as Bridge: Memory, Oral Culture, and Literary Tradition

“Conversations” (*yu* 語) is an important notion to the discussion of the *Tang yulin* for several reasons. First, the content of the *Tang yulin* is full of “conversational” (*yu*) elements such as the numerous dialogues, quotes, and popular sayings embedded in the anecdotes, as well as the conversational contexts in which most of the anecdotes are set. Moving away from the text itself, conversation-related elements of the collection also include the probable oral origins of its stories, and the oral circulation and transmission of the anecdotes both before they were recorded in writing and after as they continued to circulate orally in parallel with their written forms. Moreover, these anecdotes were, as one can imagine and as often declared in the prefaces of similar collections, material to facilitate casual discussions and laughter. This particular function of anecdotal literature, often explicitly pointed out by the compilers of anecdotal collections, claims a natural conversational setting. In the case of the *Tang yulin* (Forest of Conversations on the Tang), all these aspects converge in the word *yu* 語, “conversations,” in the very title of the collection.

With these considerations in mind, this chapter makes the connection between “conversations” and the Chinese concept of memory in general, and between the “conversations” as a literary tradition and Chinese cultural memory in particular, by discussing the “conversations” on three levels. First, on the textual level, section 4.1 reviews examples of anecdotes from the *Tang yulin* with dialogues, quotes, and popular sayings, as well as those with conversational settings. Second, on the conceptual level, section 4.2 studies “conversations” as a communicative and mnemonic activity in relation to the Chinese concept of memory, also

discussing how this activity both reveals the oral origins and facilitates the oral transmission of anecdotal memory. Third, on the level of textual traditions, section 4.3 treats “conversations” as a particular literary tradition that connected the oral and written cultures of early China and a tradition that had intricate relationships with *xiaoshuo* 小說, “minor discourses,” and *zashi* 雜史, “miscellaneous histories,” and played an important role in the production of Chinese cultural memory.

4.1 “Conversations” (*Yu*) in the *Tang yulin*

Following the categorizations of the *Shishuo xinyu*, the *Tang yulin* features such sections on oral interactions as “Yanyu” 言語 (Speech and Conversation, Quips and Repartee), “Paitiao” 排調 (Taunting and Testing), “Qingdi” 輕詆 (Contempt and Insult), “Jiajue” 假譎 (Guile and Chicanery), and “Biantan” 砭談 (Counsel and Discussion). In fact, not only in these categories listed here, but also in the whole collection, most of the *Tang yulin*’s eleven hundred anecdotes are set in a conversational context and contain conversational elements. This section will examine the “conversations” (*yu*) in the representative category “Yanyu” and in the whole collection.

The “Yanyu” category comes second in the *Tang yulin*, following only the “Dexing” (Virtuous Conduct) category. The most dramatic parts of the narratives in the “Yanyu” chapter are the dialogues and quotes in the anecdotes. The “Yanyu” category starts with anecdote #44 and ends with #84 in Zhou Xunchu’s edition, containing all together forty-one anecdotes. Among these forty-one anecdotes, nineteen anecdotes contain dialogues;²³⁸ twenty-one contain quotations; and one, though not containing any quoted lines, is a summary of someone’s

²³⁸ #46, #48, #51, #52, #54, #55, #56, #57, #58, #61, #62, #64, #68, #69, #72, #74, #76, #79, #80.

words.²³⁹ Among the twenty-one anecdotes that contain quotations, three anecdotes contain stand-alone quotations,²⁴⁰ fifteen contain quotations within conversational contexts,²⁴¹ for example, the represented words from one side of a conversation only; and three anecdotes contain quotations from communications in writing.²⁴² The following are some examples to illustrate the different ways “conversations” (*yu*) appear in the anecdotes.

Anecdote #48 in the “Yanyu” category serves as a good example of a narrative containing dialogue. The definition of a “dialogue” requires both or all sides of the conversation to be represented in the narrative. The anecdote reads:

Emperor Taizong 太宗 (Emperor Great Ancestor, i.e., Li Shimin 李世民, 599-649, r. 626-649)²⁴³ stopped under a tree and was rather admiring it. Yuwen Shiji 宇文士及 (d. 642)²⁴⁴ was in the company [of the Emperor] and praised it, compliments overflowing

²³⁹ #78.

²⁴⁰ #44, #45, #47

²⁴¹ #49, #50, #53, #59, #60, #65, #67, #70, #71, #73, #77, #81, #82, #83, #84.

²⁴² #63, #66, #75.

²⁴³ Li Shimin 李世民, temple title Taizong 太宗 (the Great Ancestor), and posthumous name Wen Huangdi 文皇帝 (the Cultured Emperor), was the second emperor of the Tang dynasty. He and his father Li Yuan 李淵 (Emperor Gaozu 高祖, or Emperor High Forefather, the first emperor of Tang, 566-635, r. 618-626) together founded the Tang Dynasty. He was considered one of the greatest emperors in Chinese history. Throughout later dynasties, his “Reign of Zhenguan” 貞觀之治 was regarded as the golden age of economic and military power, and the exemplary model against which all later emperors were evaluated. See Zhang Huizhi 張藹之 et al., eds., *Zhongguo lidai renming da cidian* 中國歷代人名大辭典, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), p. 2035.

²⁴⁴ Yuwen Shiji 宇文士及 (d. 642), style name Renren 仁人, used to be the son-in-law of Emperor Yang 楊 of the Sui 隋 (581-618) Dynasty. When Tang dynasty took over, he surrendered and became a court official of the Tang, his sister was a favorite consort of Li Yuan, Emperor Gaozu of the Tang. In the court of Emperor Taizong, he started out as *Zhongshuling* 中書令 (Secretariat Director; Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. [Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985], 193) and died on the post of *Dianzhong jian* 殿中監 (Director of the Palace Administration, Hucker, p. 502; Zhang Huizhi, 728).

from his lips. With a severe countenance, the emperor said, “Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643)²⁴⁵ often advised me to keep my distance from the sycophant and I couldn’t figure out who the sycophant would be. In my thoughts, I suspected you but was not clear, only now do I see it is indeed so.” Kowtowing, [Yuwen] Shiji explained, “The officials of the Southern Offices²⁴⁶ object [to you] face-to-face and argue [with you] in court, Your Highness is often unable to raise your head. Today your servant is fortunate to be among your attendants, and if I don’t yield and agree the least bit, then even though Your Highness is revered as the Son of Heaven, what is the fun of it?” [The emperor’s] thought was again dispelled.

太宗止一樹下，頗嘉之，宇文士及從而頌美之，不容於口。帝正色曰：“魏徵常勸我遠佞人，我不悟佞人為誰，意疑汝而未明也，今乃果然。”士及叩頭謝曰：“南衙群官面折廷爭，陛下常不能舉首。今臣幸在左右，若不少順從，陛下雖貴為天子，亦何聊乎？”意復解。²⁴⁷

In this example, both Emperor Taizong’s words and Yuwen Shiji’s response are represented, presenting a discussion of whether Yuwen Shiji was a sycophant. From a communicative perspective, the dialogue is complete, with both an address and a response. From a logical perspective, it is complete, with both a point raised and the same point countered. From a social-

²⁴⁵Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643), style name Xuancheng 玄成 and a native of Julu 巨鹿 (in modern Hebei 河北 province), was a famous court official of the Tang. He was *Jianyi dafu* 諫議大夫 (Grand Master of Remonstrance) and *Zuo guanglu dafu* 左光祿大夫 (the Left Grand Master for Splendid Happiness) during Emperor Taizong’s reign and was most famous in Chinese history for his stern and bold remonstrations (Hucker, p. 148; Zhang Huizhi, p. 2570).

²⁴⁶*Nanya* 南衙 was an unofficial reference to the main agencies of the central government, which were headquartered in the southern sector of the imperial palace grounds, as opposed to the *Beisi* 北司 (the Northern Offices) which was an unofficial reference to the Palace Domestic Service located in the northern section of the palace grounds (Hucker, p. 342, 373).

²⁴⁷ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.27.

political perspective, it is complete, with both a charge and a defense set within the context of court affairs. Moreover, on a rhetorical level, this anecdote, as well as the others in the “Yanyu” category, embodies the lively spirit of the “conversations” (*yu*) – the *bon mots*, one-upmanship, and clever repartee – that shows off rhetorical skills and gives the story its life.

Sometimes, though both sides of the conversation are represented, they do not carry the same weight in the narrative, thus the presentation of the dialogue is not balanced. Anecdote #80 in the “Yanyu” category serves as an example of this case. It reads:

Li Zhifang (*jinshi*, 785)²⁴⁸ used to rank fruit as if they were successful national examinees. He took the green plum as the top, the ridged pear as second place, the cherry as third, the tangerine as fourth and the Surinam cherry as fifth. Someone recommended the litchi and he said, “[It should be] the first of the ranked candidates.” [Someone] again asked, “What do you do with the chestnut?” He said, “It is most certainly of solid material, should not be ranked beyond/lower than the eighth or ninth.” Previously, Fan Ye (398-445)²⁴⁹ appraised his contemporaries according to various kinds of incense and Hou Weixu (d. 696)²⁵⁰ wrote *Baiguan bencao* (The Materia Medica of the Hundred Officials) – both were this kind of thing.

李直方嘗第果實，若貢士者。以綠李為首，楞梨為二，櫻桃為三，柑為四。蒲桃為五。或薦荔枝，曰：“寄舉之首。”又問：“栗如之何？”曰：“最有實事，不出八九。”始范曄以諸香品時輩，侯味虛撰百官本草，皆此類也。²⁵¹

²⁴⁸Li Zhifang 李直方 (*jinshi*, 785) was a descendant of the Tang ruling house and an official at Emperor Dezong’s court (Zhang Huizhi, p. 985).

²⁴⁹Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445), style name Weizong 蔚宗, was a court official of the Song 宋 court during the Southern Dynasties 南朝 (420-589) (Zhang Huizhi, p. 1425).

²⁵⁰Hou Weixu 侯味虛 (d. 696) was a court official of the Tang during the reign of the Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705, r. 683-705) (Zhang Huizhi, p. 1742).

²⁵¹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.48.

In this example, Li Zhifang's side of the conversation is dutifully represented in the narrative but the other side of the conversation, by a certain someone, is only partially recorded. First, it is only implied in the action "someone recommended the litchi" 或薦荔枝, then it is briefly represented with the line "What do you do with the chestnut?" 栗如之何. Not identified, this someone remains a vague presence that does not lend much significance or verisimilitude to his or her side of the conversation. This side of the conversation could very well be from two different persons prompting Li Zhifang to comment on the fruits on two different occasions. In fact, the prompts are likely set-ups inserted by the person who told or wrote down this story to lead to Li's comments on fruits. Since the focus of the anecdote is Li's rankings of fruits, the other side of the conversation is less important, and the original version of it could very well be lost and replaced by set-up lines inserted later as long as they bring up the topics, litchi and chestnut, for Li to comment on. This anecdote thus clearly emphasizes one side of the conversation over the other, showing a narrative indifference to unimportant details. Such a narrative indifference could be caused by the physical detachment of the storyteller from the actual happening and by the temporal distance between the recorded story and the original happening. Of course, such a narrative indifference could very well be a result of the imaginative process of creating a fictional account on the author's side rather than a result of the real indifference of those who recounted and recorded the episode from their physical and temporal remoteness. If so, it still conveys a sense of distance to its readers as if they are reading from a point removed from a real time conversation.

Sometimes, the focus on one side of the conversation is intensified to an extent that the words from other side are completely left out. There are fifteen anecdotes in the "Yanyu"

category where only one side of the conversation is represented. For example, anecdote

#49²⁵² reads,

Qin Shubao, General of the Militant Guard,²⁵³ generally had many illnesses in his late years. He often told people, “When young, I was good at military affairs and had gone through more than one hundred²⁵⁴ battles. I reckon that from the first [battle] to the last I bled no less than several *hu*.²⁵⁵ How can I not have any illness?”

武衛將軍秦叔寶，晚年常多疾病。每謂人曰：「吾少長戎馬，經百餘戰，計前後出血不啻數斛，何能無疾乎？」²⁵⁶

In this short narrative, the “people” Qin Shubao talked to is an unidentified group and their responses, if any, are utterly unimportant to the point of the story. Another example can be found in anecdote #50,²⁵⁷ which reads:

²⁵² This entry was originally from the upper chapter of the *Sui Tang jiahua* 隋唐嘉話, it was included in the *Lei shuo* edition of the *Sui Tang jiahua* with the title “Bleeding for Several *Hu*” 出血數斛. This entry can also be found in the *Sui Tang jiahua* included in Tao Ting’s edition of the *Shuo fu* and in the *Zhuan zai* 傳載 included in the manuscript edition of the *Shuo fu* by Zhang Zongxiang. The *Taiping guangji* quoted an entry from the *Tan bin lu* 譚賓錄 with the title “Qin Shubao” 秦叔寶 which is roughly the same with the entry here. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.27.

²⁵³ Hucker, p. 574, #7835.

²⁵⁴ The text in the *Sui Tang jiahua* reads “three hundred” 三百, while the text quoted in the *Lei shuo*, the *Zhuan Zai* (in the manuscript edition of the *Shuo fu* by Zhang Zongxiang) and the *Tan bin lu* all read “two hundred” 二百. The “Biography of Qin Shubao” 秦叔寶傳 in the *Jiu Tang shu* reads “more than two hundred rounds [of battle]” 二百餘陣 and the “Biography of Qin Qiong [i.e., Qin Shubao]” 秦瓊傳 in the *Xin Tang shu* reads “more than two hundred battles” 二百餘戰. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.27.

²⁵⁵ 1 *hu* = 10 *dou* 斗 = 19,968 cc. “Weights and Measures” in *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, 2:liv.

²⁵⁶ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.27.

²⁵⁷ This entry was originally from the middle *juan* of the *Sui Tang jiahua*. The *Lei shuo* quotes the [*Tang*] *yulin* text with the title “[Emperor Taizong] Treating Duke Xi with Cherries” 餉鄴公櫻桃. The *Taiping guangji* edition Zhou Xunchu used quoted this entry from the *Guoshi* 國史 and entitled it “Yu Shinan” 虞世南 with the note “the Ming dynasty manuscript edition (i.e., the *Taiping guangji* edition from the Wild Bamboo Study 野竹齋 collated by Shen Yuwen 沈與文 of the Wu 吳 Commandary) and the edition collated by Chen [Zhan] 陳鱣 (1753-1817) noted this entry was from the *Guoshi zuanyi*” 明鈔本、陳校本作出國史纂異. This entry can be found in the *Sui Tang jiahua*

[Emperor] Taizong was about to send some cherries to Duke Xi (Original note: He was entitled Duke Xi after the Sui dynasty).²⁵⁸ If he used [the word] “to present,” then it would sound²⁵⁹ [too] respectful; if he were to say “to grant,” it would again sound [too] dismissive. Thus he questioned Yu [Shinan] 虞世南 (558-638), the Director [of the Palace Library],²⁶⁰ about it. The Director²⁶¹ said, “In times past the Emperor of Liang²⁶² when giving [things] to the Prince of Baling of Qi (i.e., Xiao Zilun 蕭子倫, 479-494) used [the word] ‘to treat’.” In the end [the Emperor] followed his [recommendation].

太宗將致櫻桃於鄴公，〔原註〕隋後封爲鄴公。稱「奉」則似尊，言「賜」又似卑。乃問之虞監。監曰：「昔梁帝遺齊巴陵王稱『餉』。」遂從之。²⁶³

The words from Emperor Taizong were certainly important in the social reality of this small episode. But since they were enveloped in four simple words, “he questioned Yu [Shinan], the

included in Tao Ting’s edition of *Shuo fu*. It also appears in the *Zhuan zai* and the *Guoshi yizhuan* 國史異纂 included in the Ming manuscript edition of the *Shuo fu* by Zhang Zongxiang. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.28.

²⁵⁸ According to Zhou Xunchu (*Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.28), this was the note by Liu Su 劉錫 the author of the *Sui Tang jiahua*, and the *Sui Tang jiahua* edition used by Zhou Xunchu should add this note according to the *Tang yulin* text here. The note appears in the text quoted in the Ming manuscript edition of the *Shuo fu* by Zhang Zongxiang, while the entry quoted in the *Lei shuo* included the note in the main text.

²⁵⁹ The original text in the *Sui Tang jiahua* reads *yi* 以 rather than *si* 似 here. The same case in the next sentence. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.28.

²⁶⁰ *Jian* 監 refers to *Bishu jian* 秘書監 (Director of the Palace Library), the highest official title held by Yu shinan 虞世南. See Hucker, p. 376-7, #4588.

²⁶¹ According to Zhou Xunchu (*Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.28), the original text in the *Sui Tang jiahua* does not have the character *Jian* 監, and it should be left out.

²⁶² The *Guoshi* text quoted in the *Taiping guangji* reads “Emperor Wu of Liang” 梁武帝. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.28.

²⁶³ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.28.

Director [of the Palace Library], about it” 問之虞監, in this particular narrative, they are apparently not important enough to the point of this anecdote.

There are also cases when the focus on one side of the conversation is intensified to an extreme extent that even the context of the oral utterance is left out. There are three such cases²⁶⁴ in the “Yanyu” category, and the following anecdote (#44)²⁶⁵ is an example of stand-alone quotations:

Du, the Minister of Education,²⁶⁶ often said, “When conducting oneself in society, one does not make enemies.” Fan, the Vice Director,²⁶⁷ often said, “As to the men who can cut off greed and desire in their middle age, there is none that is not esteemed or successful.”

杜司徒常言：「處世無立敵。」范僕射常言：「丈夫中年能損嗜欲，未有不貴達者。」²⁶⁸

In this case, these utterances became meaningful in such a general sense that even the descriptions of the conversational context can be left out. When re-presenting these utterances, either orally or in writing, as stand-alone quotations, the storyteller or the recorder again appears to be completely detached from their original context. As a result, the readers of this anecdote of stand-alone quotations may develop a sense of being far removed from the real-time happening

²⁶⁴ #44, #45, #47

²⁶⁵ The origin of this entry has not been identified. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.25.

²⁶⁶ Hucker, p. 458, #5801. Zhou Xunchu (*Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.26) identified this as Du You 杜佑 (735-812).

²⁶⁷ Hucker, p. 394, #4826. Zhou Xunchu (*Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.26) suspects this was Fan Xichao 范希朝 (d. 814).

²⁶⁸ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.25-6.

itself.

Three anecdotes in the “Yanyu” category expand the “conversations” and their conversational context to include communications in writing. Anecdotes #63 and #66 quote memorials and note the responses from the throne. Anecdote #75 quotes from a memorial to the throne and from written correspondences between court officials. As an example, anecdote #66²⁶⁹ is translated here:

[Emperor] Taizong was about to visit the Palace of Nine Accomplishments. Ma Zhou (601-648) presented a memorial and remonstrated,²⁷⁰ “Prostrating, [your minister] saw the illuminated edict [announcing that Your Majesty] would visit the Palace of Nine Accomplishments on the second day of the second month. Your minister personally thinks that since the Retired Emperor is advanced in years, Your Majesty should attend to his meals in the morning and evening and greet his rising and resting at dawn and dusk. Now the palace [Your Majesty is about to] visit is more than three hundred²⁷¹ *li* away from the capital. [From the time] your chariots and carriages start till they come to a stop it easily takes ten days. It is not possible to set out in the morning and arrive at twilight. In the case that if the Retired Emperor happens to be moved by the thought of longing and desires to see Your Majesty immediately, what would [Your Majesty] do to reach

²⁶⁹ This entry was originally from the “Jijian” 極諫 category of the *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語. It was also included in the “Xingxing” 行幸 section in the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.40.

²⁷⁰ The *Tang huiyao* reads “On the fifteenth day of the third month in the sixth year (632) [of the Zhenguan (627-649) reign], [Emperor Taizong] visited the Palace of Nine Accomplishments, Ma Zhou, the Investigating Censor, presented a memorial saying....” (貞觀)六年三月十五日，幸九成宮，監察御史馬周上疏曰. This episode was recorded under the sixth year of the Zhenguan reign in the “Tang ji” 唐紀十 in the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, and put Ma Zhou’s memorial in the first month of the sixth year (632). See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.40; Hucker, p. 145-6, #795.

²⁷¹ According to Zhou Xunchu (*Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.40), the original text in the *Da Tang xinyu* reads “two hundred” 二百 while all other sources of this anecdote have “three hundred.”

him? Moreover, [Your Majesty's] carts and company now travel for the purpose of avoiding the heat, but the Retired Emperor is still left behind at the hot place while Your Majesty seeks²⁷² the cool place yourself. [Thinking of] the Way [of serving one's parents by] warming up [their quilts in the winter] and cooling down [their sleeping mats in the summer], your minister feels sincerely uneasy."²⁷³ [Emperor] Taizong regarded [his remonstrations] as good.

太宗將幸九成宮，馬周上疏諫曰：「伏見明敕，以二月二日幸九成宮。臣竊惟太上皇春秋已高，陛下宜朝夕侍膳，晨昏起居。今所幸宮，去京三百餘里，鑾輿動輒，俄經旬日，非可朝發暮至；脫上皇或思感，欲即見陛下者，將何逮之？且車駕今行，本意避暑，則上皇尚留熱處，而陛下自逐涼處，溫清之道，臣切不安。」太宗稱善。²⁷⁴

Anecdote #78²⁷⁵ is the only entry in the “Yanyu” category that does not have any direct quotations from either oral or written communications. However, it is still a summary of Wang Ya's words, and thus implying a communicative context. Anecdote #78 is translated here to represent its own type:

²⁷² The Qi Zhiluan edition of the *Tang yulin* and the anecdote in the *Tang huiyao* both read *sui* 遂 instead of *zhu* 逐. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.40.

²⁷³ The original text from the *Da Tang xinyu* has the sentence “[The memorial contains] much text which is not included here” 文多不載 after the quoted memorial. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.40.

²⁷⁴ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.40.

²⁷⁵ This anecdote was originally an entry entitled “[Grand] Councilor Wang Annotating *The [Classic] of the Supreme Mystery*” 王相注太玄 in the *Guoshi bu*. It was quoted from the *Tang guoshi bu* in Tao Ting's edition of the *Shuo fu* under the title “*The Classic of the Supreme Mystery*” 太玄經. The text in the *Tang yulin* was quoted in the *Yongle dadian* under the section “Mystery: Supreme Mystery” 玄.太玄 and was combined into one entry with the anecdote (#79) following it in Zhou Xunchu's edition of the *Tang yulin*. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.46-7.

When Wang Ya,²⁷⁶ the [Grand] Councilor, annotated *The [Classic] of the Supreme Mystery*, he often made choices through divination [by tortoise shells]. He himself said the chances of making the correct choice were more than that through divination by *The Book of Changes* and by yarrow stalks.

王相涯注太玄，常取以卜，自言所中多於易筮。²⁷⁷

While all anecdotes in the “Yanyu” category contain “conversations” either explicitly or implicitly, this is not exactly the case for the *Tang yulin* collection as a whole. Some anecdotes are simply summaries of events, for example, anecdote #26²⁷⁸ in the category “Dexing” reads,

The natural endowment of Emperor Xuanzong was friendly and affectionate, [he was] amiable and harmonious with brothers young and old. In the first year (847) of the Dazhong reign (847-860), he had the Yonghe Palace constructed within the Sixteen Residences,²⁷⁹ and several times favored [the palace] with visits.²⁸⁰ [No matter] the various princes were [his] younger or older [brothers], he granted all to be seated [with

²⁷⁶ The original text in the *Guoshi bu* does not have Ya 涯, the first name of the Grand Councilor. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.47.

²⁷⁷ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.46-7.

²⁷⁸ The origin of this entry is not identified, but it is also included in the *Dongguan zouji* 東觀奏記. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.18.

²⁷⁹ The Sixteen Residences were built during the latter half of the Tang dynasty as the residence compound where all imperial brothers and princes lived together. Emperor Wuzong 武宗 and Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 both lived there before they were enthroned. During the times of Emperor Zhaozong 昭宗 (867-904), as a result of power struggles with the imperial brothers and princes, Han Jian 韓建 (855-912) surrounded the Sixteen Residences and wiped out all the imperial brothers and princes, the residence compound was then left in dilapidation.

²⁸⁰ The sentences “[he was] amiable and harmonious with brothers young and old. In the first year (847) of the Dazhong reign (847-860), he had the Yonghe Palace constructed within the Sixteen Residences, and several times favored [the palace] with visits” 敦睦兄弟大中元年作雍和殿於十六宅數臨幸 does not appear in the Qi Zhiluan edition and the *Lidai xiaoshi* edition, which in stead read “every time he favored the Sixteen Residences with a visit” 每幸十六宅. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.18.

him]. He would put on music and one hundred kinds of entertainment [all day long, and only] until dusk did he stop them. If someone among the various princes had an illness,²⁸¹ he would dismiss the entertainment and music, go to his bedchamber, lean over [the bed] and nurture him in person with worry showing on his face.²⁸²

宣宗天資友愛，敦睦兄弟。大中元年，作雍和殿於十六宅，數臨幸，諸王無少長，悉預坐。樂陳百戲，抵暮而罷。諸王或有疾，斥去戲樂，即其臥內，躬自撫之，憂形於色。²⁸³

Still, some summaries suggest a conversational context and even briefly mention the content of the conversation, still all could be something that was said. As an example, anecdote #325 in the category “Fangzheng” 方正 (The Square and the Proper) reads:

Emperor Taizong got a handsome, extraordinary sparrow hawk and secretly lent his own arm to be its perch. As he caught sight of the revered Mr. Wei [Zheng], he hid it in his bosom. The revered gentleman understood it, and went forward to mention a few things. Accordingly he talked about the diversions and amusements of emperors and kings from antiquity on, and subtly used them as indirect admonitions. The sovereign pitied the sparrow hawk, afraid that it would die. Moreover he had always sorely feared [Wei] Zheng, [so] he tried to bring an end to his lecture. [Despite his effort, Wei] Zheng spoke even longer, and the sparrow hawk eventually died in his bosom.

²⁸¹ The Qi Zhiluan edition and the *Lidai xiaoshi* edition reads “he would favor [him] with a visit right away” 以時臨幸 after this. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.18.

²⁸² The Qi Zhiluan edition and the *Lidai xiaoshi* edition do not have the sentence “with worry showing on his face” 憂形於色. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.18.

²⁸³ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.17-8.

太宗得鶴子俊異，私自臂之，望見魏公，乃藏於懷。公知之，遂前白事，因話自古帝王逸豫，微以為諷。上惜鶴子恐死，而又素嚴憚微，欲盡其言。徵語愈久，鶴竟死懷中。²⁸⁴

The various ways in which the “conversations” are presented in the narratives of the “Yanyu” category can be found through out the whole collection as well. For example, the following anecdotes from the restored sections of the book clearly represent the case where the context of the conversation is preserved but only one side of the conversation is represented. Anecdote #854²⁸⁵ offers a case where the side of the conversation by an old villager is represented, while the other side of the conversation by Linghu Tao 令狐綯, the official, is left out. It reads:

When Linghu Chu (ca. 766-837) garrisoned at Dongping, [Linghu] Tao went with him as an attendant. [Linghu Tao] once saw a relative off at a lodging place in the suburb.²⁸⁶ At that time there was a long drought. [Linghu] Tao then asked about the afflictions and sufferings among the people, and there was an elderly man who said, “Heaven sent a drought,²⁸⁷ and moreover, bandits and thieves arose.” He again said, “Now the wind does not make the branches whistle, and the rain does not break the clods.” [Linghu] Tao

²⁸⁴ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 3.217.

²⁸⁵ This entry was originally taken from the *Yuquan biduan* 玉泉筆端. The *Bai hai* 稗海 edition of the *Yuquan zi* 玉泉子 is no longer extant, but this entry was recorded in both Tao Ting’s 陶珽 edition of the *Shuo fu* 說郛 (46th juan) and in the *Yuquan zi zhenlu* 玉泉子真錄 in the eleventh juan of the Ming dynasty manuscript edition of the *Shuo fu* edited by Zhang Zongxiang 張宗祥 (1882-1965). See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.591.

²⁸⁶ The text quoted in the *Shuo fu* reads “[Linghu Tao] once saw relatives and friends off at a lodging place in the suburb. There was an elderly man at the place who seemed not to know he was the revered gentleman Linghu” 嘗送親友郊外逆旅中。有父老焉，似不知其令狐公也。 See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.591.

²⁸⁷ The text quoted in the *Shuo fu* reads “the fathers and elders then presented him with the situation of the drought and poor harvests” 父老即陳以旱歉. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.591.

questioned him on the basis of him being self-contradictory²⁸⁸ and he relied, “It has not rained since such and such a day²⁸⁹ up to this month. Isn’t this ‘not breaking the clods?’ Forced by the levies and taxes collected, we sold our wives and traded our sons [but still] could not feed ourselves, thus we survive on mulberry branches.²⁹⁰ Isn’t this ‘not making the branches whistle?’”²⁹¹

令狐楚鎮東平，綯侍行。嘗送親郊外逆旅中。時久旱，綯因問民間疾苦，有老父曰：「天旱，盜賊且起。」復曰：「今風不鳴條，雨不破塊。」綯以相反詰之，答曰：「自某日不雨，至於是月，豈非不破塊乎？賦稅徵迫，販妻鬻子，不給；繼以桑枝，豈非不鳴條乎？」²⁹²

Similarly, anecdote #855²⁹³ offers a case where the represented side of the conversation is from a fortune-teller and the omitted other side is again from a government official. The anecdote is translated as follows:

²⁸⁸ The text quoted in the *Shuo fu* reads “[Linghu] Tao questioned him on the basis that his earlier and later words were contradictory” 綯以其言前後相反詰之. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.591.

²⁸⁹ The text quoted in the *Shuo fu* reads “such and such a month” 某月. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.591.

²⁹⁰ The text quoted in the *Shuo fu* reads “[the branches of] mulberry and silkworm thorn” 桑柘 instead of “mulberry branches” 桑枝. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.591.

²⁹¹ The text quoted in the *Shuo fu* reads “don’t you [now] have ‘not making the branches whistle?’” 得非不鳴條乎？ After this there is still the line “[Linghu] Tao immediately ordered for his carriage and went away covering his ears” 綯即命駕，掩耳而去。 *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.591.

²⁹² *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.591.

²⁹³ The *Tang yulin* entry is collected in the *Bai Kong liutie* 白孔六帖 under the category “Turtledoves” 鳩, recording the section about the turtledoves gathering under the eaves of the house. This entry was originally taken from the *Bei Meng suoyan* 北夢瑣言 under the title “Luo the Mountain man Informed Wang Tingcou” 駱山人告王庭湊. Quoting the *Bei Meng suoyan*, the *Taiping guangji* entitles this entry “Luo the Mountain man” 駱山人, same as the title of a similar passage quoted from the *Tang nian bulu* 唐年補錄. The *Lei shuo* quotes the *Bei Meng suoyan* entry as well, with the title “Intertwined Are the Breaths of Dragon and Tiger from Nose” 鼻中龍虎氣交. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.592.

When Wang Tingcou of Zhenzhou was first born,²⁹⁴ there used to be several dozens of turtledoves that at dawn would gather in the courtyard trees and at dusk would gather under the eaves [of his family's houses]. Luo Debo, one of the townsmen, took it as strange. When [Wang Tingcou] grew up, he²⁹⁵ and was well versed in the [*Yellow Emperor's*] *Classic of Esoteric Talismans* and the *Master of Guigu*. When he first served in the army, he once went to Heyang as a messenger.²⁹⁶ On his way he was overcome by wine and slept by the road. Suddenly there was a man passing by carrying a staff. [The man] looked at him carefully and said, “This person ought to be esteemed among the ranks of the officials, this is not an ordinary man.” Those who accompanied [Wang Tingcou] told him this. [Wang] Tingcou sped for several *li*, caught up [with the man], paid respect and asked [about it]. The man himself said, “I am Luo the Mountain man from Jiyuan. Just now I saw the breaths [coming out of] the nose of you, sir: that from the left [nostril] was like a dragon and that from the right [nostril] was like a tiger. When the [breaths of] dragon and tiger intertwine you will [rule like] a king, which will be

²⁹⁴ The original entry in the *Bei Meng suoyan* reads “[Wang] Tingcou was born at the family compound” 庭湊生於別墅 and has three more sentences before this line recounting the matter of Wang Tingcou replacing Tian Hongzheng 田弘正. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.592.

²⁹⁵ *Pianxie* 駢脅, also written as *pianxie* 駢脇, denotes the kind of deformity when the ribs of a person are joint together. The “Guan Cai shijia” 管蔡世家 (Hereditary Houses of Guan and Cai) reads “Earlier, when Ch’ung-erh, the Noble Scion of Chin, stopped by Ts’ao during his flight [from Chin], the Lord of Ts’ao did not treat him with propriety, wanting to look at his joint ribs” 初，晉公子重耳其亡過曹，曹君無禮，欲觀其駢脅 (*Shiji*, 35.1572, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, 5.1:209, n. 139). It is one of the physical marks of an unusual, powerful man. *Pianxie* 駢脅 can also be used to denote a strongly-built body with tough muscles so that the ribs are not showing. The “Shang jun liezhuan” 商君列傳 (Biography of the Lord of Shang) reads “when you go out, My Lord, . . . those who are strongest and toughest are your outriders, those bearing spears and wielding pole-hammers flank your chariot and sally forth” 君之出也， . . . 多力而駢脅者為驂乘，持矛而操闔戟者旁車而趨 (*Shiji*, 68.2235, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, 7:94, n. #52).

²⁹⁶ The original entry in the *Bei Meng suoyan* reads “he once went to Heyang as a messenger and returned” 曾使河陽回. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.592.

manifested in the autumn of this year.²⁹⁷ (Original note: One variation reads “There was never anyone like this among the people I appraised [through reading their faces].”) ²⁹⁸ Your sons and grandsons will inherit [your honor] one after another, all the way up to one hundred years.” He again said, “The courtyard of your family should have a big tree. The [branches of the] tree reaching the hall is the omen of this.” That year, [Wang] Tingcou was installed by the Three Armies.²⁹⁹ He returned to pay respect to his parents at the family compound, and there the courtyard tree swayed [in the wind], its shadow had already encompassed [the hall].³⁰⁰

鎮州王庭湊始生，嘗有鳩數十隻，朝集庭樹，暮集簷下，里人駱德播異之。及長，駢脅，善陰符經、鬼谷子。初仕軍中，曾使河陽，道中被酒，寢於路傍。忽有一人，荷策而過，熟視之，曰：「貴當列土，非常人也。」從者告之。庭湊馳數里追及，致敬而問。自云：「濟源駱山人也。向見君鼻中之氣，左如龍，右如虎；龍虎交王，應在今秋。〔原註〕一云：「吾相人未有如此者。」子孫相繼，滿一百年。」又云：「家之庭合有大樹，樹及于堂，是其兆也。」是年，庭湊為三軍所立。歸省別墅，而庭樹婆娑，陰已合矣。³⁰¹

The words of an old villager and those of a fortune-teller both bring something new, striking, unusual, and thus memorable, to the horizon of things seen and heard by the literati. One the

²⁹⁷ The quoted text in the *Taiping guangji* reads “the two breaths” 二氣 instead of “dragon and tiger” 龍虎. The original entry in the *Bei Meng suoyan* reads “the breaths of dragon and tiger intertwine, you will rule like a king in the autumn of this year” 龍虎氣交，王在今秋. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.592.

²⁹⁸ This “original note” 原註 is missing in the original entry in the *Bei Meng suoyan* and the quoted texts in the *Taiping guangji* and the *Lei shuo*. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.592.

²⁹⁹ The original entry in the *Bei Meng suoyan* reads “supported and installed him as the Deputy Commander” 扶立為留後. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.592.

³⁰⁰ The “Wang Tingcou zhuan” 王庭湊傳 in the *Xin Tang shu* reads, “by the time he caused [Tian] Hongzheng’s ruin, the tree [in his courtyard] happened to have just reached to shelter his bed chamber” 及害弘正，而樹適庇寢. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.592.

³⁰¹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.592.

other hand, in both cases, the official's responses are left not represented, possibly because they can easily be filled in from a commonly shared and anticipated perspective. If it were a different official, there would, however, not be that much difference in their responses. Thus, the storyteller of these anecdotes seemed not to care much about the officials' responses, but rather focused the narrative on the representation of the words of the normally insignificant members of the society. This particular nature of the "conversations" can be found in quite a few of the anecdotes in the *Tang yulin* outside of the "Yanyu" category, especially toward the latter sections of the collection.

Another new nature of the "conversations" found outside of the "Yanyu" section is the focus on popular sayings, nicknames, and idioms of the time shared by an anonymous group – the so called "people of the time" 時人. Though the anecdotes in the latter sections were once lost and now restored in chronological order instead of in their original categories, some can still be easily grouped into the category "Lisu" 俚俗 where the "conversations" focus on the utterances of the anonymous group. For example, anecdote #442³⁰² reads,

The four brothers of the Mu Clan are [Mu] Zan, [Mu] Shang, [Mu] Zhi and [Mu]

Yuan.³⁰³ People of the time said that [Mu] Zan, worldly but with style, was "cheese;"

³⁰² This entry is originally found in the middle juan of the *Guoshi bu* 國史補 with the title "Four Brothers of the Mu Clan" 穆氏四子. This entry is also quoted in the *Taiping guangji* with the title "Brothers of Yang and Mu" 楊穆弟兄, in the *Ganzhu ji* with the title "Brothers of the Mu Clan" 穆氏弟兄, in Tao Ting's edition of the *Shuo fu* with the title "[Distinguishing the] Qualities of Brothers" 兄弟優劣. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 3.300.

³⁰³ The original text in the *Guoshi bu* puts the four brothers in the order of Zan 贊, Zhi 質, Yuan 員 and Shang 賞, which is agreed in the text quoted in the *Taiping guangji* and Tao Ting's edition of the *Shuo fu*, as well as in the "Mu Ning zhuan" 穆寧傳 (Biography of Mu Ning) in the *Jiu Tang shu* and the *Xin Tang shu*. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 3.300-1.

[Mu] Zhi, beautiful and much polished,³⁰⁴ was “butter;” [Mu] Yuan was “the finest cream,” which was refined and [only] used sparingly; and [Mu] Shang was the “fermented bean curd”, which was most common and rustic.

穆氏兄弟四人：贊、賞、質、員。時人謂：贊俗而有格，為「酪」；質美而多文〔二〕，為「酥」；員為「醍醐」，言粹而少用；賞為「乳腐」，言最為凡固也。
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In order to gain a rough idea of the quantitative presence of the “conversations” in the anecdotes of the whole collection, tags are designed to identify, describe and distinguish the different kinds of “conversations” in the narrative structures of all eleven hundred anecdotes. Each anecdote is then labeled with one tag that is a combination of a series of applicable sub-tags. The following is a list of the main sub-tags used and the characteristics they denote:

Yu_ This is the universal prefix for every tag that indicates various types of narrative characteristics concerning the “conversations” element. Each anecdote has one, and only one, tag with the Yu_ prefix, so the total number of anecdotes with the Yu_ tags adds up to the total number of anecdotes in the *Tang yulin* (1099 in the edition I am using).

_S The anecdote is a summary or description of a story or event. It does not contain any

³⁰⁴ *Wen* 文 is interpreted as “polished” here. The text in the source title, the *Guoshi bu*, reads *ru* 入 instead, which is agreed in the quoted text in the *Shuo fu*, and in the “Mu Ning zhuan” in the *Jiu Tang shu* and the *Xin Tang shu*. The text quoted in the *Taiping guangji* reads *ren* 仁. The character in the Qi Zhiluan edition of the *Tang yulin* is missing and is written as *wei* 味 in the *Lidai xiaoshi* edition of the *Tang yulin*. However, the parallel passage in the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 also has *wen* 文. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 3.300-1

³⁰⁵ See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 3.300-1.

dialogue or utterance.

_D The anecdote contains dialogue. A dialogue is defined as 1) a set of utterances within a conversational context; AND 2) they are from more than one side of the conversation; AND 3) later utterances interact and respond to previous ones.

_DW The anecdote quotes both sides of a dialogue in writing, such as memorial and emperor's response in writing, text and commentary in marginalia, etc.

_Q The anecdote contains represented utterances in a conversational context but the utterances are not in dialogue with one another. Quotes may include representations of multiple utterances from one single person while words from other sides of the conversation are left out or summarized. Quotes may also be utterances from more than one person as long as they are not in response or dialogue with one another. Quotes can also be comments, popular sayings, songs and predictions.

_SQ The anecdote contains summaries of utterances rather than word for word representations. This characteristic is indicated by the use of “:” without quotation marks in Zhou Xunchu's edition of the *Tang yulin*.

_OQ The anecdote is simply just a representation of someone's words.

_QW The anecdote contains quotes of writing as personal responses in one side of

communication. Examples are letters, diary, personal commentary, written lines/responses, etc.

_QT The anecdote quotes texts such as the *Shanhai jing*, the *Lun yu*, etc. Not in conversational context.

_QP The anecdote contains quotes from poetry, song lyrics and/or rhapsody that are used in a conversational context. This tag includes poetry quoted in conversations with only the utterances of one side represented, as well as conversations with both sides' utterances represented, because even in dialogues sometimes only one side quotes poetry.

_P The anecdote contains poetry, song lyrics, songs, and/or rhapsody in the summary of events. They are not used in conversational context. For example, they can be records of poems composed at a gathering, or examples of someone's literary talent.

_I The anecdote is a piece of information as opposed to a narrative of events with a temporal sequence of happenings. For example, it might be the explanation of a term, a summary of scholarly research, a random piece of textual evidence, or remarks on poetry or literary work, etc.

_I/N The anecdote is a piece of information (similar to that indicated with **_I**) with more of a note-like nature. For example, it can be a list of things or information worth memorizing.

_I/C The anecdote is a piece of information (similar to that indicated with **_I**) but with more of a commentary nature. It more explicitly offers an opinion. For example, it could be comments on people, events, literary work and talent, etc.

_Ph The anecdote contains a quoted phrase not in a conversational context.

_N The anecdote contains names, nicknames, titles or terms that are used to refer to things and/or occasions.

_故事： The anecdote contains the marker “故事：” either at the beginning of the account or embedded in the narration of the story. With this marker, the temporal distance of what follows is made explicit.

_XX云： The anecdote starts with the marker “XX云：” and may be a summary of what XX said or a combination of a summary and represented utterances.

_XX云：？ The anecdote itself does not contain the marker “XX云：，” but it probably should start with the marker “XX云：” because it is originally attached to another (often the previous) anecdote with such marker. The Zhou Xunchu edition counted them as separate entries due to no apparent relations between their contents.

又說： The anecdote starts with the marker “又說：.” The anecdote is likely to follow another that starts with the marker “XX云：.” They used to be one entry but was separated by compilers at the “又說：.”

Similar tags of narrative markers also include “XX說：,” “XX曰：,” “_又曰：,” “_舊例：,” “_舊制：,” “_長安風俗：,” “_郎中故事：,” and “_時人謂：” etc.

For the examples discussed earlier in this section, the anecdote on the conversation between Emperor Taizong and Yuwen Shiji (#48) and the anecdote on Li Zhifang’s evaluations of various kinds of fruits (#80) are both tagged “Yu_D” because they both contain dialogue; the anecdote about Emperor Xuanzong’s fraternal love (#26) where the narrative is a summary of his behavior is tagged “Yu_S;” the anecdote about Wei Zheng and Emperor Taizong’s sparrow hawk (#325), though describing a conversation, is still tagged “Yu_S” because it is mainly a summary of the event without any represented utterance from anyone; the tag “Yu_Q” is applied to the anecdote #854 and #855 because only one side of the conversation, that is what the complaining old man and the mysterious physiognomist said respectively, is represented in the narrative. An example of an anecdote with a tag consisting of a combination of the sub-tags can be found in the anecdote likening the four brothers of the Mu Clan to milk products and fermented bean curd (#442). It is tagged “Yu_N_Q_時人謂：” where the sub-tag “_N” represents the presence of names, or rather nicknames here, such as “cheese” and “butter” in the anecdote; the sub-tag “_Q” indicates the presence of quoted sayings; and the sub-tag “_時人謂：” identifies the anonymous group whose utterances are recorded here. Here each sub-tag denotes a particular *yu*-related

element in the narrative of the anecdote.

It is important to understand the inevitable subjective aspect of the tagging process. For example, the boundary between *_I* and *_S* is often blurred, and these two often overlap and cannot be clearly distinguished. There are a few anecdotes summarizing a whole dynasty's events, and they sound impersonal and matter-of-fact enough for them to constitute pieces of information or noted facts. These are described with the *_I/N* tag. Still there are a few summarizing big events as well but they sound didactic and subjective enough to be comments and they are described with the *_I/C* tag. The line between these two groups is not clear-cut either. Fortunately, the focus of the discussion in this study, for now, is the “conversations” that involve dialogue and quotations. More in-depth analysis of the content of the *Tang yulin* involving all the rest of the tags will become a future extension of the discussion here.

For the purpose of the discussion here, all 1099 anecdotes are tagged, resulting in a pool of 1099 tags each starting with the “Yu_...” prefix, which is then followed by a combinations of sub-tags from the list above. Based on the count of the sub-tag “*_D*” (roughly 280), close to one third of the anecdotes in the *Tang yulin* contain dialogues, that is, both or all sides of the conversation appear as represented utterances in the anecdotes. Based on the count of the sub-tag “*_Q*,” roughly 480 anecdotes in the *Tang yulin* contain representations of either one-side of a conversation, or popular sayings, popular terms, widely accepted nicknames for persons or things, predictions, poetry, etc. Around 40 anecdotes contain representations of both dialogues and stand-alone utterances in the form of quotes, these are the ones tagged with both the “*_D*” and the “*_Q*” sub-tags. Therefore, out of a total of 1099, the number of anecdotes that contain dialogues and/or quotes is around 720, these are the ones tagged with the “*_D*” and/or the “*_Q*” sub-tags. The number of anecdotes that do not contain any dialogues or quotes is roughly 380,

these are the ones tagged with neither the “_D” nor the “_Q” sub tags, but rather with sub tags such as “_S,” “_I,” “_I/C,” and “_I/N” etc.

Unlike the case of the “Yanyu” category where all anecdotes, explicitly or implicitly, convey the sense of a conversational context, anecdotes with quotes in the rest of the collection are not always set in a conversational context. Most of these cases involve the sub tags “_QP” and “_QT.” For example, sometimes lines of poetry (_QP) or texts (_QT) are quoted in conversations, but sometimes they are just quoted for their own sake, for the purpose of appreciation, or as a piece of information. A rough statistics show that among the 480 anecdotes with the “_Q” sub-tag, more than 400 still feature a conversational context, while roughly 40 anecdotes have quotes not in a conversational context. If we subtract the 40 out of the total number of 720 of anecdotes with dialogues and quotations, the number of anecdotes within conversational contexts and with dialogues and quotations are all together around 680. This is more than three fifths of the total number of anecdotes in the collection. Moreover, as shown by the anecdote of Wei Zheng and Emperor Xuanzong’s sparrow hawk, there are a good number of anecdotes out side of these 680 that, though without represented utterances and tagged with “_S,” still denote events taken place within a conversational context.

In conclusion, this section demonstrates that most of the *Tang yulin*’s eleven hundred anecdotes are set in a conversational context and contain “conversations” such as dialogues, quotes, and popular sayings. The “conversations” in the anecdotes are not by any means recorded with the same level of details. While in some anecdotes utterances from all sides of the conversation are fully represented, in others one side of the conversation is often very briefly represented, summarized, or completely left out. This suggests a sense of distance in time or remoteness in the experience and physical presence of the individuals who recounted the

anecdotes from the happenings described in the anecdote. Such remoteness is an important factor in the discussion later on the concept of memory and the transmission of memory through communicative, mnemonic activities such as *yu*, “conversations.”

4.2 “Conversations” and Anecdotal Memory

This section studies “conversations” (*yu*) on a conceptual level as a communicative and mnemonic activity in relation to the Chinese concept of memory and discusses how it represents the oral origins and the oral transmission of anecdotal memory. The investigation here first (4.2.1) reviews the general understandings of the Chinese concept of memory³⁰⁶ in a conceptual and philosophical context and discusses how anecdotal memory differs from common ideas of memory. In order to locate anecdotal memory in the vast universe of the Chinese memory, the second section (4.2.2) proposes to understand the Chinese concept of memory as four processes: memory production or formation, memory storage, memory retrieval, and memory transmission. The four processes are discussed more on a conceptual level, rather than on a philosophical level, with usage examples of mnemonic terms and communicative terms. The third section (4.2.3) explores the oral origins and oral transmission of anecdotal accounts, identifies them as the anecdotal memories from the oral culture, and connects the special nature of anecdotal accounts to the oral transmission of anecdotal memories of the past.

³⁰⁶ The Chinese concept of memory and the notions of recollection and forgetfulness are very important issues in the Buddhist teachings and thought. The study here will not be able to review the concept of memory within the context of Chinese Buddhism. I will focus on the general understandings of memory related processes through an overview of general and literary usages of common mnemonic terms. For a study on the issue of memory in relation to the development of Chinese Buddhism, see A. W. Barber’s conference paper “Memory and Chinese Buddhist History,” at the Eighth Conference on Cultural Philosophy and the Convergence of Confucianism and Buddhism 第八屆儒佛會通暨文化哲學.

4.2.1 The Chinese Concept of Memory and the Issue of Anecdotal Memory

It seems that a precise equivalent in Chinese for the English term “memory” is simply not available and, in fact, should be avoided, as pointed out by Gad C. Isay.³⁰⁷ In his study, Isay reviews the usages of “the mnemonic terms such as *ji* 記, *zhuan* 傳, *nian* 念, *cheng* 稱, *shi* 識, *zang* 藏, *zhi* 志 and *wang* 忘,” each of which “covers one or more aspects of memory.”³⁰⁸ He explores how these terms were used “in ancient Chinese scholarly texts with particular emphasis on sources distinguished for their philosophical contents.”³⁰⁹ The texts consulted in his study originated, as Isay identified, “between the late fifth to the third centuries B.C.,”³¹⁰ including the *Lun yu* 論語, the *Mozi* 墨子, the *Mengzi* 孟子, the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the *Xici zhuan* 繫辭傳, and the *Xunzi* 荀子. Isay proceeds through the mnemonic terms in a chronological order to uncover developments and meanings in the understanding of the concept “memory” among ancient thinkers.

Isay first investigates the usages of the terms *nian* 念 and *wang* 忘 in the oracle bones and bronze inscriptions, as well as the *Shangshu* and the *Shijing*.³¹¹ He then argues for an

³⁰⁷ Gad C. Isay, “Mnemonic Immortality: The Concept of Memory in Ancient Chinese Philosophical Texts,” unpublished manuscript based on the presentation (of the same title) at the conference *The Concept of Memory in Asian Cultures and in Judaism*, in the Department of Asian Studies, at the University of Haifa, December, 2007.

My many thanks to Professor Isay for sharing his manuscript with me. Professor Isay’s research is very important to my study, but I am not sure how an unpublished manuscript should be quoted, so I did my best in summarizing his procedures and goals, and in quoting his views and providing the page number in the PDF manuscript.

³⁰⁸ Isay, p. 2.

³⁰⁹ Isay, p. 2.

³¹⁰ Isay, p. 3.

³¹¹ Isay, pp. 4-10.

“immortal attribute of memory”³¹² in the early understanding of these concepts, especially as shown in the many instances where phrases such as *buwang* 不忘 (not to forget) and *buke miwang* 不可弭忘 (cannot be forgotten) are used.³¹³ Isay also identifies two major characteristics of early Chinese mnemonic terms: the tendency “to express remembrance by reference to negated forgetfulness (*buwang*)”³¹⁴ and the “integrative quality of memory” that connects the particular agent to the larger whole in a way “transcending both time and space” and similar to the nature of collective memory.³¹⁵

Isay then turns to the philosophical texts from the sixth to third centuries B.C. and identifies a “significant terminological difference” in that the usage of the term *nian* 念 drastically drops in these texts.³¹⁶ He proceeds to examine the representative usages of the terms *ji* 記, *zhuan* 傳, *shi* 識, *cheng* 稱, *zang* 藏, and *wang* 忘, in that particular order, in the texts from sixth to third centuries B.C. The focus of his discussion here is still *wang* 忘, the term frequently used in the mode of “negated forgetfulness” as in the phrase *buwang* 不忘.³¹⁷ While the term

³¹² Isay, p. 12.

³¹³ Isay, pp. 10-14.

³¹⁴ Isay, p. 13.

³¹⁵ Isay, p. 14.

³¹⁶ Isay, p. 15.

³¹⁷ The term *wang* is identified as the most frequently used mnemonic term in early Chinese philosophical texts, and the most relevant to Isay’s study. Isay discusses the term *wang* with extensive examples of usages from the *Lun yu*, the *Xici zhuan*, the *Mengzi*, the *Shijing*, the *Zhuangzi*, and the *Xunzi*. One major usage, identified by Isay as the “memory-balance association,” is the negated form of *wang* as an advice for someone to “not-forget” the opposite situation when the person tends to go far in one direction to avoid narrow-minded extremes, be it in political views or self-cultivation, which is a consistent avocation in the *Mengzi*. Isay observes that the writers of texts such as the *Lun yu*, the *Xici zhuan*, the *Mengzi* and the *Shijing* “assumed an imaginary mental axis within each person’s mind, and memory was associated with a capacity to maintain one’s composure in relation to this axis” and “memory offers the quality that allows one to autonomously seek self-realization.” The *Zhuangzi*, just opposite to the Confucian emphasis on remembrance, “seems to assign a priority to total forgetfulness” but in fact “the

wang 忘 is discussed with usages from all the above-listed texts he investigates, others are discussed only with examples from one or two selected texts. For example, the term *shi* 識 is discussed exclusively within the context of the *Lun yu*, and the term *cheng* 稱 of the *Lun yu* and the *Mengzi*. The term *zang* 藏 is discussed with representative examples from the *Shijing*, and the *Xici zhuan* and the *Zhuangzi*.

It seems that Isay is not concerned with the issue of thorough explications on the meanings of the mnemonic terms, but rather with the issue of the nature of memory as reflected in the representative usages of the mnemonic terms he selected from these particular philosophical texts. He argues, as mentioned earlier, for the “integrative quality of memory” that forms linkages between the one and the many and “transcending both time and space” in a sense similar to the nature of collective memory.³¹⁸ Thus memory was “equally conceived as both a personal quality and a linkage across broader spheres.”³¹⁹ Other aspects of the nature of the Chinese memory are: a “causal association between a person’s mnemonic accumulation and that person’s future accomplishment”³²⁰ as shown in the usages of the terms *shi* 識 and *zang* 藏 and a “copy-like quality of memory” associated with the idea of “an imprint that will last”³²¹ as shown in the usage examples of the term *cheng* 稱. Isay also notes “early Chinese thinkers’ references

forgetfulness has to involve purpose and be selective” in order to remember one’s “beginning” and stay with the Way. See Isay, pp. 23-8.

³¹⁸ Isay, p. 14.

³¹⁹ Isay, p. 33.

³²⁰ Isay, p. 33.

³²¹ Isay, p. 33.

to memory were often associated with the quest for immortality,”³²² a kind of “mnemonic immortality”³²³ either through the family line stressed in ancestor worship or through personal accomplishments to be remembered in the future. With examples of the usages of *wang* 忘 and its mode of “negated forgetfulness,” the paired nature of remembrance-forgetfulness is discussed, as well as a “memory-balance association,” especially in the case of the *Mengzi*,³²⁴ that served the purpose of avoiding extremes. Isay also discusses the “selective forgetfulness”³²⁵ in the *Zhuangzi* and the differentiation between “memory as content and memory as function” in the *Xunzi*.³²⁶

While these insights are crucial to the understanding of early Chinese concept of memory, it seems that they in fact still describe the kind of memory that is rooted in the individual experience. The “mnemonic immortality” is essentially the immortality of the individual through either the family lineage declared in the commemoration in ancestor worship or the personal accomplishments that will perpetuate the individual’s name into the future. The “linkage between the one and the many” that “crosses time and space” is essentially a linkage meaningful and necessary for “the one,” that is the individual whose memory seeks and serves to establish such linkage. Such memory and linkage may endure across time and space, but they still exist, or are caused to exist, for the sake of the individual in the true sense of a “linkage” that will cease to be when either of the two ends it links is removed. The “remembrance-forgetfulness” pair and

³²² Isay, p. 33.

³²³ Isay, p. 34.

³²⁴ Isay, p. 34.

³²⁵ Isay, pp. 22-3, p. 34.

³²⁶ Isay, pp. 29-32, p. 34.

the “selective forgetfulness” are apparently from the perspective of the individual as well.

When it comes to the discussion of miscellaneous, anecdotal memories of the past, such as the accounts in the *Tang yulin*, the above-identified aspects of the nature of memory seem to lose their grip. But these philosophical understandings of the Chinese concept of memory serve as important benchmarks against which the vast body of anecdotal accounts of the past as a whole appears ever so saliently different as the type of memory that belongs to the whole society, rather than any particular individuals. The vast body of anecdotal accounts of the past is of a nature so scattered and trivial that no individual is likely to build any particularly meaningful linkage to a “broader sphere,” or to hope for “mnemonic immortality” through such memory. But if these accounts are purposefully selected, shaped and arranged according to personal principles, then of course a linkage to the individual who manipulates these accounts would be forced upon the selected miscellaneous memories of the past. As a whole, these scattered memories of the past do not belong to any individual to begin with. And over the time, they seem to have been freed from the dependence that memory in its normal sense has on any particular individual experience, and have become at some point far removed from the experience of the anecdote storyteller and the anecdote reader too. They became “cultural,” in the sense of “cultural memory” defined by Jan Assmann. Assmann’s definition of “cultural memory” and its main characteristics relevant to my investigation here are presented in the introductory chapter of the dissertation. Here, before putting the anecdotal memories of the past directly under the modern category of “cultural memory”, I will first try to locate this particular kind of memory in the language and knowledge system of ancient China in order to build a connection between their ancient Chinese categorization and the modern category.

To do this, rather than focusing on the internal process of memory, I will discuss the Chinese concept of memory from the perspective of its production, circulation, transmission and consumption – a series of processes that causes the anecdotal memories to be truly removed or freed from the individual experience. The discussion will include communicative activities crucial in the transmission of memory such as *yu*, “conversations,” for the purpose of oral transmission and the *ji* and *zhuan* for the purpose of transmission in writing. “Conversations” as a tradition of texts that connects the oral transmission of memory with that in writing will be discussed in section 4.3. The processes of the production, circulation, transmission and consumption of anecdotal accounts will also be related to the categorization of such miscellaneous memories in ancient China in section 4.3.

4.2.2 The Chinese Concept of Memory Understood as “Processes”

The Chinese mnemonic terms discussed above were mostly used as verbs in early Chinese texts, which to some extent could explain the lack of a matching term for the English concept “memory” in early China. It seems that rather than the body of stored information that is called “memory” *per se*, the available Chinese terms emphasized more on the processes that deal with such information, and thus revealed a ritual dimension of the Chinese concept of memory. These mnemonic terms represented function rather than content, and action rather than the object of the action. Therefore, rather than focusing on the “natures” or “characteristics” of memory, I would like to discuss and try to understand the Chinese concept of memory as “processes.” I will review the Chinese mnemonic terms on a more conceptual level from this perspective. First, memorization, the process of how memory is formed, is discussed with the terms *zhi* 識, *ji* 記, *zhi* 志/誌 as examples; second, the terms *cang/zang* 藏, *shi* 識 (noun), and *jiyi* 記憶 are reviewed

for the process of memory storage; third, remembrance and forgetfulness, the processes of retrieving and failing to retrieve memory, are discussed with the terms *yi* 憶, *nian* 念, *shi* 識 (verb), and *wang* 忘; fourth, the process of memory transmission and circulation is discussed with the terms *ji* 記 and *zhi* 志/誌 for transmission in writing, and *yu* 語 as a representative example of the communicative terms closely related to the oral transmission of memory.

The chronological development of the mnemonic terms is certainly important, but I do not think it can be represented in a small number of usage examples from a limited, and selected, set of early texts. Examining usage examples this way is rather a qualitative methodology more effective in illustrating aspects of the nature of memory, as shown successfully in Isay's study, than a quantitative methodology needed for the discussion on trends and developments in a generally meaningful sense. The goal of my discussion here is thus not to focus on chronological developments, but to use the meanings and usages of the Chinese mnemonic terms to illustrate the processes of the production and circulation, transmission and perpetuation of memory. The discussion here on the meanings of these terms is not based on usage examples in a set of texts of my choice, but rather relies on the explanations and examples in widely acknowledged dictionaries of times old and new, such as the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 and the *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典. The meanings of these mnemonic terms I focus on are not necessarily meanings fused with philosophical connotations, as is the concern of Isay's study, inherited from the philosophical texts in which the terms appear. The meanings I will examine are more in a general sense and are illustrated with representative usage examples drawn, by the compilers of the dictionaries, from a wide range of classical texts including histories, philosophical writings, poetry and miscellanies. My focus is the meanings of these mnemonic terms that can illustrate

the processes of the production, transmission, and perpetuation of memory. Together, these more or less external processes, as compared to the mostly internal processes in the workings of the mind, will hopefully reveal an overarching process of the migration of memory, especially anecdotal memory. This overarching process allows memory to migrate across time and space, and become truly independent of the experience and physical presence of the individual. This migration process is also the foundation of the discussion later on how anecdotal memory, originally rooted in the first-hand experience of the individual with whom it came into being, gradually moves to the realm of collective memory, and then to the realm of cultural memory. Within this process, I am interested in how oral culture and orally communicative activities such as “conversations” played into the process of transmitting, perpetuating and producing memories of the past, especially the anecdotal and cultural memory of the past.

It should be pointed out, however, that no discussion of memory could truly ignore its bodily and social basis and go directly to the more abstract cultural level. Therefore, the following analysis of Chinese mnemonic terms will be built on the foundation of early Chinese understandings of the bodily and social aspects of memory processes. The cultural aspect of the memory processes will be brought out later in this chapter. It is also interesting to point out at the beginning that many of the Chinese mnemonic terms involve the radical *yan* 言, “words,” or the radical *xin* 心, “the heart” or “the mind.” Terms on memory-related processes that are dependent on the internal mind process tend to have the radical *xin* 心. On the other hand, terms on external memory processes involving interactions and information exchanges with the outside world, which put emphasis on the social aspects of the memory processes, tend to have the

radical *yan* 言. This interesting characteristic of the mnemonic terms will be discussed in more depth after all four memory processes identified earlier are reviewed.

4.2.2.1 Memory Production: *zhi* 識, *ji* 記, and *zhi* 誌/志

The production of memory starts with information and experience being acknowledged and registered in the mind. Three terms, *zhi* 識, *ji* 記, and *zhi* 誌/志, represent this process in the Chinese concept of memory. Quoting from various records, Huang Jingui 黃金貴, in his *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao* 古代文化詞義集類辨考, shows that the word *zhi* 識 was the earliest term to express the idea of “to remember, and to memorize.” On the other hand, this meaning of “to remember, to memorize” was a later development for the words *zhi* 誌(志) and *ji* 記. In particular, this meaning of *ji* 記 was often used colloquially after the Wei and Jin times.³²⁷

The term 識 has two pronunciations, *zhi* and *shi*. The *Shuowen jiezi* identifies it to be “in the ‘*yan*’ category and following the pronunciation of *zhi*” 从言戠聲.³²⁸ The pronunciation *shi*, noted by Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735-1815) in his comment as “a combination of the *shang* and *zhi*” 賞職切, should reflect a later development. This understanding is supported by Yang Shuda’s 楊樹達 (1885-1956) “Shi shi” 釋識 (Explaining the Meaning of the Word *Shi*) in the *Jiwei ju xiaoxue shulin* 積微居小學述林 (Forrest of Essays on the Minor Learning at the Residence of Accumulating the Minute).³²⁹ Quoting Yang, Huang Jingui also notes the original

³²⁷ Huang Jingui 黃金貴, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao* 古代文化詞義集類辨考 (Shanghai: Shanghai Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1995), pp. 504.

³²⁸ *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu*, 3a.12b, p. 92b.

³²⁹ Yang Shuda 楊樹達, “Shi shi” 釋識 (Explaining the Meaning of the word *shi*), in *Jiwei ju xiaoxue shulin* 積微居小學述林 (Forrest of Essays on the Minor Learning at the Residence of Accumulating the Minute), Quoted in Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, pp. 504.

pronunciation of 識 should be the *zhi* and the original meaning of the word should be “to remember,” while the usage with the pronunciation *shi* is an extended usage, with the extended meaning of “to recognize.”³³⁰

According to the *Shuowen jiezi*, *zhi* 識 is defined as “to be constant, another meaning is ‘to know’” 常也，一曰知也。³³¹ It is a notion opposite to *wang* 忘 which is defined as “not to remember, or not to know” 不識也。³³² Later the term acquired many extended meanings. Yang Shuda identifies three layers of meanings of the word, the original being “to remember,” the second layer of meaning being “to recognize,” and the third layer of meaning as the noun, “knowledge.”³³³ The *Hanyu da cidian* notes that when used as a noun, *zhi* 識 had the meaning of “a flag, or a mark” and later was written as *zhi* 幟; and when used as a verb, it had the meaning of “to remember, to mark, to record” from the times of the *Zhouli* 周禮 and the *Yijing* 易經。³³⁴

It seems that the term *zhi* emphasizes more on a mental level the process of retaining information and experience, as well as on a personal level the significance of what is retained to the person that remembers. For example, Confucius remarks in the “Tan gong xia” 檀弓下 passage in the *Liji* 禮記 that “young lad [you] should remember, a tyrannical administration is

³³⁰ Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, pp. 504.

³³¹ Duan Yucai notes that *chang* 常, “constant,” should be a textual error for the word *yi* 意. He also comments, the three terms *yi* 意, *zhi* 志 and *zhi* 識 were used in place of one another in old times and are of the same meaning. *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu*, 3a.12b, p. 92b.

³³² *Ibid.*, 10b.40b, p. 514b.

³³³ Yang Shuda, “Shi shi” in *Jiwei ju xiaoxue shulin*, Quoted in Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, pp. 505.

³³⁴ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6684.

more ferocious than tigers” 小子識之，苛政猛於虎也。³³⁵ Also the “Dachu” 大畜 passage in the *Yijing* 易經 notes that “the gentleman takes to frequently memorizes [plausible] former words and past deeds in order to cultivate his virtue” 君子以多識前言往行，以畜其德。³³⁶ In both cases, the things mentioned are crucial and should be memorized and related to the individuals on a personal level.

In the “Zi zhang” 子張 chapter of the *Lun yu* (19.22), Gongsun Chao 公孫朝 of Wei 衛 asked Zi Gong 子貢 from whom Confucius got his learning and Zi Gong answered:

The doctrine of Wen and Wu has not yet fallen to the ground. They are to be found among men. Men of talents and virtue remember the greater principles of them, and others, not possessing such talents and virtue, remember the smaller. Thus, all possess the doctrine of Wen and Wu. Where could our Master go that he should not have an opportunity of learning them? And yet what necessity was there for his having a regular master?”

文武之道，未墜於地，在人。賢者識其大者，不賢者識其小者，莫不有文武之道焉。夫子焉不學？而亦何常師之有？³³⁷

Here, even “when all possess the doctrine of Wen and Wu,” the *zhi* 識 is presented as a memory-related process that distinguishes those with talents and virtue from those without. Thus the process of the acquisition of memory is important to an individual on a very personal level.

³³⁵ *Liji Zheng zhu* 禮記鄭注, 3.16a, in *Sibu beiyao*.

³³⁶ *Zhou Yi Wang Han zhu* 周易王韓注, 3.7a, in *Sibu beiyao*.

³³⁷ See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: Vol. III The Confucius Analects*, 1:346.

Isay discusses the term³³⁸ exclusively within the context of the *Lun yu* and notes that it conveys “an aspect of intellectual and mental activity”³³⁹ related to silent comprehension in its usage in the phrase “silently remembering [knowledge]” 默而識之。³⁴⁰ Though not sure whether it refers to a “meditational practice” or to “the knowledge that is silently stored,” Isay understands it as “consciousness” that involves stored knowledge, “suggesting a causal process of memory that supports the individual’s capacity to learn and to teach.”³⁴¹ This process of the production of memory can be associated with the sensory functions of hearing and seeing, as shown in the “Shu er” 述爾 chapter of the *Lun yu* (7.27):

The Master said, there may be those who act without knowing why. I do not do so.

Hearing much and selecting what is good and following it; seeing much and keeping it in memory: - this is the second style of knowledge.

子曰：蓋有不知而作之者，我無是也。多聞，擇其善者而從之；多見而識之，知之次也。³⁴²

In later texts, compound words are developed based on the meaning of the term *zhi* 識 to denote the process of memorization on a personal, mental and intellectual level. Such

³³⁸ The pronunciation Isay uses for the term is *shi* 識。 Isay, p. 19. Isay also discusses the term *cheng* 稱 with selected examples from the *Lun yu* and the *Mengzi*. He states that the usages of *cheng* reveal another quality of memory “in the meanings of accordance and sameness” and in the sense of “having one’s name established (imprinted) in the memory of future generations.” The terms *cheng*, based on Isay’s discussion, seems to be filled with moral and social value standards. See Isay, pp. 19-20.

³³⁹ Isay, p. 18.

³⁴⁰ See the “Shu er” chapter of the *Lun yu*, 7.2. Legge’s translation reads “The Master said, the silent treasuring up of knowledge; learning without satiety; and instructing others without being wearied: - which one of these things belongs to me?”子曰：默而識之，學而不厭，誨人不倦，何有於我哉。 See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: Vol. III The Confucius Analects*, 1:195.

³⁴¹ Isay, p. 18-9.

³⁴² *Lun yu* 7.27. See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: Vol. III The Confucius Analects*, 1:203-4.

compounds are too many to be all listed here, one particular example, though, is the compound word *zhinian* 識念 used as “to memorize.” For example, the “Biography of Zhuge Zhan” 諸葛瞻傳 in the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 notes that “[Zhuge] Zhan was good at calligraphy and painting, strong in memorization” 瞻工書畫，彊識念。³⁴³ Here *zhi* 識 is used together with *nian* 念, a term which, as will be discussed later, is more often used for the process of retrieving memory rather than the initial formation of memory.

The *Shuowen jiezi* defines the *ji* 記 as “the foot. It is in the ‘yan’ category and follows the pronunciation of *ji*” 疋也，从言己聲。³⁴⁴ Duan Yucai comments that other editions of the *Shuowen jiezi* read *shu* 疏 instead of *shu* 疋, while in the section on *shu* 疋, one meaning of it is indeed *ji* 記 which means these two words were used to define each other. He also notes *shu* 疏 is a later variation of *shu* 疋, which is to say “to distinguish in order to remember things” 分疏而識之。³⁴⁵ If the term *zhi* 識 seemed to emphasize more on remembering by heart and by making marks, the term *ji* 記, “to record,” was used especially for the kind of remembering by making tied knots and by writing. The “Yiwenzhi” (Treatise on Arts and Belles Letters) of the *Han shu* reads “those who ruled in the times of antiquity had official scribes in each generation. . . . the Scribe on the Left recorded [the rulers] words and the Scribe on the Right recorded affairs [of the court]” 古之王者世有史官，。 。 。 左史記言，右史記事。³⁴⁶

³⁴³ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6685.

³⁴⁴ *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu* 3a.18a, p. 95b.

³⁴⁵ *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu* 3a.18a, p. 95b.

³⁴⁶ *Han shu*, 10.1715.

Huang Jingui notes early usages of *ji* were often about recording state affairs and historical events³⁴⁷ and the meaning of *ji* as “to remember, to memorize,” did not exist in the time from antiquity to the Qin and Han dynasties, unless it was used interchangeably in the place of *shi/zhi* 識 or *zhi* 志/誌.³⁴⁸ For example, in the “Yi Ji” 益稷 (Yi and Ji) passage of the *Book of History*, *ji* was used together and interchangeably with *zhi*:

As to all the obstinately stupid and calumniating talkers, who are not to be found doing what is right, there is the target to exhibit their true character; the scourge to make them remember; and the book of remembrance! Do we not wish them to live along with us?”
庶頑讒說，若不在時，侯以明之，撻以記之，書用識哉，欲竝生哉。³⁴⁹

Kong Yingda comments that this means “to scourge those who did wrong to make them remember their errors” 撻不是者使記識其過。³⁵⁰ Here *ji* and *zhi* were used side by side and interchangeably.

According to Huang, the meanings of *ji* as “to remember, to memorize” were colloquial usages developed around Wei and Jin dynasties.³⁵¹ An example can be found in an anecdote about Luo You in the “Rendan” 任誕 (The Free and Unrestrained, #41) category of the *Shishuo xinyu* notes that Luo had extraordinary memory:

As a person he possessed an excellent memory. When he accompanied Huan Wen on the pacification of Shu (Ch’eng-tu, in 347), he made a tour of inspection of Shu’s walls and

³⁴⁷ Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, pp. 240-1, 506.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 506-7.

³⁴⁹ James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: Vol. III The Book of Historical Documents*, 3:82.

³⁵⁰ Kong Yingda, *Shangshu Kong zhuan* 尚書孔傳, 2.9b, in *Sibu beiyao*.

³⁵¹ Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, pp. 506-7.

pylons, observation towers and edifices; the width or narrowness of its streets and crossroads, the abundance or paucity of the fruit trees and bamboos planted along them, were all silently recorded in his memory. later, when Huan Wen met the (future) Emperor Chien-wen (Ssu-ma Yü) at Li-chou (near Chien-k'ang, in 365), Yu was also present. While they talked together about the events that had taken place in Shu, there were also some things left out or forgotten, all of which Yu named in order, without a single mistake or lapse of memory. Huan Wen checked his account against the records of the walls and pylons of Shu, and everything was exactly as he had said. Everyone present acknowledged his prowess with sighs of admiration.

為人有記功，從桓宣武平蜀，按行蜀城闕觀宇，內外道陌廣狹，植種果竹多少，皆默記之。後宣武漂洲與簡文集，友亦預焉。共道蜀中事，亦有遺忘，友皆名列，曾無錯漏。宣武驗以蜀城闕簿，皆如其言。坐者嘆服。³⁵²

Many compound words later developed out of this colloquial usage of *ji*. Some examples from the texts of later times include *anji* 暗記 “to secretly remember or memorize,” *jizhi* 記識 “to remember, memorize,” *moji* 默記 “to silently memorize,” *jixing* 記性 “the ability of memorization,” and *jiyi* 記憶 “to remember and recall,” *jiqū* 記取 “to remember and retrieve.”³⁵³

The *Shuowen jiezi* defines *zhi* 志 as *yi* 意, “intention.” Duan Yucai notes, with quoted examples from early texts and their commentaries, that it was often regarded as interchangeable with both *zhi* 識 and *ji* 記.³⁵⁴ For example, the “Xiaoyao you” 逍遙遊 passage in the *Zhuangzi*

³⁵² Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 23.678. Mather, p. 385-6.

³⁵³ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6530-3.

³⁵⁴ *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu*, 10b.24b, p. 506b.

莊子 reads “Qixie is the one who records the marvelous” 齊諧者，志怪者也，³⁵⁵ where the *zhi* 志 is used interchangeably with *ji* 記. The “Qu Yuan liezhuan” 屈原列傳 in the *Shiji* 史記 (The Grand Scribe’s Records) notes that “his knowledge was broad, his memory strong, he clearly understood how to bring order to chaos, and he was practiced in rhetorical arts” 博聞彊志，明於治亂，嫻於辭令，³⁵⁶ and in this case it is used interchangeably with *zhi* 識. The form with the *yan* 言 radical, *zhi* 誌, was a later form of *zhi* 志. Huang Jingui notes that *zhi* 誌/志, as compared to *zhi* 識, had originally the emphasis more on recording things in categories and collections, and marking the characteristics of the records, especially in writing.³⁵⁷ An overview of the examples from the *Hanyu da cidian* reveals a general emphasis of *zhi* 誌/志 on the factual aspects of its content. Such a focus is represented by Li Daoyuan’s 酈道元 (ca. 470-527) comment in the *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 on Zhou Chu’s 周處 (236-297) work being “not close to the situation” 不近情. Li Daoyuan regards it as “permissible [for the purpose of] passing down [information that is] doubtful, but not [for the purpose of] of verifying facts” 傳疑則可，證實非矣, and it “loses the essential style of documents and records, and misses the constant norms of veritable registers” 失誌記之本體，差實錄之常經.³⁵⁸ In particular, the term *zhi* 誌/志 refers to the veritable textual recording of things for the purpose of transmission. For example, Xie Huilian 謝惠連 (ca. 397-433) of the Southern Dynasties 南朝 (420-589) lamented in the preface

³⁵⁵ Qixie is understood as either the title of a book or the name of a person. *Zhuangzi*, 1.1b, in *Sibu beiyao*.

³⁵⁶ *Shiji*, 84.2481. Translation based on *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, 7:295.

³⁵⁷ Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, pp. 243, 505.

³⁵⁸ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6597.

to the “Sacrificial Text to An Ancient Tomb” 祭古冢文 that “its inscriptions and records no longer extant, the [later] generations and dynasties will never be able to obtain them and learn [about it]” 銘誌不存，世代不可得而知也。³⁵⁹ Many of the compound words developed from the term *zhi* 誌/志 are especially used for the purpose of recording memory for later generations, such as the various terms for mourning texts in writing or in inscriptions: *zhiwen* 誌文, “epitaph,” *muzhi* 墓誌, “grave memoir,” *muzhiming* 墓誌銘, “inscriptions of grave memoir” and *zhishi* 誌石, “memoir [tomb] stone.”³⁶⁰ As a verb *zhi* 誌/志 represents the process of producing memory, especially fact-oriented memory in writing, but as a noun, and especially as a textual genre, the term *zhi* 誌/志 becomes a media for the transmission of memory to later generations.

As Huang Jingui argues, the meaning of “to remember, to memorize” was a later colloquial development for the words *ji* 記.³⁶¹ In this case, I would say the term *zhi* 誌(志) is also seen used in more colloquial contexts later on. In the first anecdote in the “Suhui” 夙慧 (Precocious Intelligence) category of the *Shishuo xinyu*, Taiqiu’s 太丘 two boys, Yuanfang 元方 and Jifang 季方, neglected their cooking task because they listened to Taiqiu’s conversation with his guest. Taiqiu then asked them “did you remember anything we said or not?” 尔頗有所識不, and they answered, “we noted it after a fashion” 髣髴志之。³⁶²

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*.

³⁶¹ Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, pp. 504.

³⁶² Translation based on Mather’s, which read “did you understand anything we said?” and “we noted it after a fashion” (p. 297). It should be “memorize” rather than “understand” since later in the anecdote, the two boys reported what they heard of the conversation “whereupon the two boys both talked, each taking up the argument where the other left off, and in their telling nothing was omitted or wrong” 二子長跪俱說，更相易奪，言無遺失 (*Ibid.*). Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 12.533.

In conclusion, three mnemonic terms, *zhi* 識, *ji* 記, and *zhi* 志/誌 are discussed here for the process of memory production, and in many cases they were used interchangeably in early Chinese texts. The meaning “to remember, to memorize” on a personal, mental and intellectual level was first expressed in *zhi* 識, while *ji* 記 and *zhi* 志/誌 later also developed such a meaning in their more colloquial usages. In addition to this shared meaning of “to remember, to memorize” on a personal level, the three terms each have their own emphasis on some unique aspects of the process of memory production. The term *zhi* 識 seemed to emphasize more on remembering by heart the things significant on a personal level, and such memory can often be associated with sensory functions of hearing and seeing. The term *ji* 記, “to record,” adds to the process of memory production the aspect of remembering through writing, as in the case of historical records. Thus the memory produced by the mnemonic action *ji* 記 can exist independently from the mind of the individual and is likely to last through time and get transmitted across space in its written form. The term *zhi* 誌/志, as compared to *zhi* 識, had originally the emphasis more on recording things in categories and collections, and marking the characteristics of the records, especially in writing, with a general expectation of factualness and a more explicit purpose of memory transmission. The terms *ji* 記 and *zhi* 誌/志 will be revisited when the process of memory transmission and perpetuation is discussed.

4.2.2.2 Memory Storage: *cang/zang* 藏, *shi* 識 (noun), and *jiyi* 記憶

The process of memory storage is discussed in this section with the term *cang/zang* 藏, and the Chinese notion that is very close to the English term “memory” is also explored with all three terms, *cang/zang* 藏, *shi* 識, and *jiyi* 記憶, in the title of this section.

The *Shuowen jiezi* defines 藏 as *ni* 匿, “to hide,” and notes that it follows the pronunciation that is a “combination of the pronunciations of *zuo* and *lang*” 昨郎切.³⁶³ The *Hanyu da cidian* notes two pronunciations *cang* and *zang*: *cang* as a verb has the basic meaning of “to hide,” and *zang* as a noun has the basic meaning of “a treasure house or a storage place.”³⁶⁴ The term itself is not a mnemonic term, but some of the compound words it forms were used in the context of mnemonic actions and learning processes. For example, the compound term *cangwang* 藏往, “to store up the past,” denotes a mnemonic action in the *Xici* 繫辭 (I.XI.3). The discussion here is on the value of divination to the sages:

The virtue of the yarrow stalks is round and divine [through the intervention of gods]; the virtue of the trigrams is square/structured due to the learnedness [of man].
Being divine and therefore able to learn what is coming, being learned and therefore able to store up what has passed, who can be considered equal to this? Those from the times of antiquity who were sensitive in hearing and seeing, were wise and learned, divine and martial, would not kill.

著之德，圓而神；卦之德，方以知。 神以知來，知以藏往，其孰能與此哉。古之聰明叡知神武而不殺者夫。³⁶⁵

Stored memory is regarded highly as the text here juxtaposes human learnedness with divine intervention, and put on the same level the ability to “store up what has passed” 藏往 with the divine nature of knowing the future.

³⁶³ *Shuowen jiezi gulin* 說文解字詁林, 1932a.

³⁶⁴ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:5552.

³⁶⁵ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:5553.

Thus *cang* 藏 is a term often used in the context of learning as well, denoting the accumulation of knowledge. For example, the compound word *cangxiu* 藏脩 or written as *cangxiu* 藏修, “to internalize and to practice,” is developed from and used in the context of learning. The term developed from the “Xueji” 學記 passage in the *Liji* 禮記 which reads “the gentleman’s way of learning is to internalize and to practice [during the process, as well as] to rest and to play [during the process]” 君子之於學也，藏焉，脩焉，息焉，遊焉。³⁶⁶ Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) comments that “*cang* means taking [the knowledge] into one’s bosom; *xiu* is to practice” 藏謂懷抱之；脩，習也。³⁶⁷ Thus *cangxiu* later became the term especially used for concentrated learning, for example, Mou Rong 牟融, a Tang dynasty poet, wrote in his “Ti Sun jun shanting” 題孫君山亭 (Inscription for Mr. Sun on a Mountain Pavilion), “Over the long years, delighted in the Dao, I kept away from the dusty airs; In my quiet building, internalizing and practicing, I emulated the recluse and the transcended” 長年樂道遠塵氛，靜築藏修學隱淪。³⁶⁸ As the usages of these compound words became well established allusions to mnemonic and learning processes, the term *cang/zang* 藏 when used in such contexts also developed a mnemonic aspect to its original meaning.

According to Isay, the term *zang* 藏 (following his Romanization here) reveals the characteristic of memory as an “invisible storage” and conveys the meanings of “preservation,

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 3:5553.

³⁶⁷ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:5553.

³⁶⁸ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:5553.

accumulation” that are closely related to the concepts of the mind, *xin* 心.³⁶⁹ Isay discusses the term *zang* with representative examples from the *Shijing*, and the *Xici zhuan* to link the accumulation or storage of knowledge with goodness, human nature, personal qualities and wisdom.³⁷⁰ Representative examples of the term *zang* used in the *Zhuangzi* illustrate the idea of “hiding a thing within itself”³⁷¹ and the notion of *zang* as “a purposive act implying resistibility to data it perceives”³⁷² which agrees with *Zhuangzi*’s notion of *wang* 忘, a kind of “selective forgetfulness” in Isay’s view.³⁷³ More on a philosophical and conceptual level, Isay discusses the term *zang* 藏 with its usages in the *Xunzi* which he regards as a text that contains the most elaborate discussion of the concept of memory with “a pioneering foray into questions of the operation of memory.”³⁷⁴ Isay notes that *Xunzi*’s view on the operation of the mind is presented in terms of two interdependent aspects – the content and function, *ti* 體 and *yong* 用, of the mind. In the passage above, *Xunzi* “proposes a link between knowledge (*zhi* 知) and memory (*zhi* 志), and respectively the ti-yong formula should apply to the operation of memory.”³⁷⁵ Isay identifies from the *Xunzi* 21.8 passage that “accumulation, diversity and dynamism characterize the content of memory, whereas emptiness, unity, and stillness characterize the function of memory.”³⁷⁶

³⁶⁹ Isay, p. 21-2.

³⁷⁰ Isay, p. 21-2.

³⁷¹ Isay, p. 22.

³⁷² Isay, p. 23.

³⁷³ Isay, p. 23.

³⁷⁴ Isay, p. 29. According to Isay, *Xunzi* also discusses the process of forming memory and knowledge, the process depends on sensory capacities, and information enters the mind, becomes part of the mind and the body. P. 30.

³⁷⁵ Isay, p. 32.

³⁷⁶ Isay, p. 32.

On the other hand, the mnemonic terms 識 discussed above, when pronounced as *shi* and used as a noun, offers a notion that is quite close to the concept “memory.” Yang Shuda’s 楊樹達 (1885-1956) “Shi shi” 釋識 (Explaining the Meaning of the Word *Shi*) in the *Jiwei ju xiaoxue shulin* 積微居小學述林 (Forrest of Essays on the Minor Learning at the Residence of Accumulating the Minute)³⁷⁷ treats the word *shi* 識 in its now widely used meaning and pronunciation. Analyzing the meaning of the word from an etymological perspective, Yang Shuda notes that its original pronunciation should follow *zhi* 戩. He also observes that many words with *zhi* 戩 as part of its construction tend to have the meaning of *nianzhao* 粘著, “to stick to.” *Zhi* 戩 originally means “clay” or “sticky earth” 粘土. Therefore Yang comments that “those things that stick to the mind are called *shi*” 事之粘著於心者謂之識.³⁷⁸ The notion of things retained in the mind is very close to the concept of memory in a modern sense. But such an interpretation is still by Yang Shuda, the modern scholar. Purely from the structure of the word – the radical yan 言, “words,” and the part *zhi* 戩 meaning “clay, or to stick to” – the term possibly conveyed an original notion of words that stick to the mind. This interpretation will be revisited later in the following section.

The closest example in classical texts of *shi* 識 used in the sense of memory is probably found in the Song dynasty *Wenshi zhenjing yanwai jingzhi* 文始真經言外經旨 by a Daoist named Chen Xianwei 陳顯微. The example reads “now memory originally has no structure,

³⁷⁷ Yang Shuda, “Shi shi” in *Jiwei ju xiaoxue shulin* quoted in Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, pp. 505.

³⁷⁸ Yang Shuda, “Shi shi” in *Jiwei ju xiaoxue shulin*, quoted in Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, pp. 505.

though one may memorize and identify [things] for one thousand years, it can be gone within a moment” 夫識本無方，雖記認千年，而俄頃可去。³⁷⁹ The *shi* 識 here can be identified as a noun and interpreted as memory, but it does not only denote the concept of memory, it can also be knowledge and learning, and everything that is stored up in the mind. In the text it is offered as an analogy to the fact that it is hard to achieve the Dao but very easy to lose it.

The compound word *jiyi* 記憶 with the meaning of “memory” came into the picture rather late. Such a usage can be found in the “Wu jian” 五鑿 passage of the *Guan Yin zi* 關尹子 (Master Yin the [Prefect of the Hangu] Pass) in the line “it is as if arriving at [the place] visited yesterday, the memories are clear and fresh” 譬猶昔游再到，記憶宛然。³⁸⁰ However, though the title *Guan Yin zi* first appeared in the “Yiwen zhi” of the *Han shu*, the text only became available during the Song. It has been generally believed to be a forgery. Another usage of the term *jiyi* 記憶 is found in the poem “You Ke” 有客 (There Is A Visitor) by the Yuan 元 poet Liu Yin 劉因 (1249-1293) which reads “There is a visitor in front of the door, and he mentions his name and surname; Ten years had passed since we once parted, and I have no memory [of him]” 門前有客通名姓，一別十年記憶無。³⁸¹ Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1907) of the Qing dynasty also wrote in the “Yin guijiang” 飲鬼漿 (Drinking the Ghost Soup) “When I was just about to drink I was passed by a dog. I fell and lost the soup, because of this my memory is scanty” 我方飲時，為一

³⁷⁹ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6684.

³⁸⁰ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6533.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*.

犬過，踣而失湯，是以記憶了了。³⁸² The term in these later examples is used as a noun and it denotes the meaning of an impression of the happenings and things in the past, which is very close to the concept of “memory.”

Earlier usages of the compound word *jiyi* 記憶, as shown with examples in the *Hanyu da cidian*, indicate that it was mostly used as a verb meaning “to memorize, to remember.” The *Renxian jing* 人仙經 (Classic of Mortals and Immortals), which was translated into Chinese during the Song, reads “my father...proclaimed and explained it to me, and I completely memorized it without anything forgotten or lost” 我父。 。 。 為我宣說，我悉記憶，無所忘失。³⁸³ In the passage on He Tuo 何妥 in the “Rulin zhuan” 儒林傳 (Biographies of the Forest of Confucian Scholars) of the *Sui shu* 隋書 (History of the Sui), He Tuo wrote in his memorial to the throne and stated that “when young, your minister was fond of tones and temperament, and paid attention to the pipes and strings. [Now] though my years are old, I [still] pretty much remember [them] all” 臣少好音律，留意管弦，年雖耆老，頗皆記憶。³⁸⁴ In this example, the term *jiyi* 記憶 means especially “to remember” in the sense of retrieving the memory, rather than to memorize things and form the memory of them for the first time. Such a meaning came from the mnemonic term *yi* 憶 which denotes the process of memory retrieval.

4.2.2.3 Memory Retrieval: *yi* 憶, *nian* 念, *shi* 識 (verb), and *wang* 忘

Once information and experience enter the mind and become memorized, memories of them are formed and stored in the mind. Memory then functions through the processes of

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

retrieval, for example, recollection and recognition. Or it fails to function in the case of forgetfulness, which is being unable to recall or recognize. Memory contributes to many activities of the mind, and these functions have been recognized in cultures East and West and times old and new.³⁸⁵ However, before memory can actually facilitate these mental activities, it needs to be retrieved or accessed, either consciously or subconsciously, and become available to the mental processes it functions to aid. Therefore, memory retrieval is the basis of all functions of memory, and the study here will solely focus on the Chinese mnemonic terms that denote the processes of recollection and recognition.

As mentioned at the end of the previous section, the mnemonic term *yi* 憶, with the meaning of “to remember, to recall,” denotes the process of memory retrieval. The “Yinma changcheng ku xing” 飲馬長城窟行 (Ballad on Watering My Horse at a Cave by the Great Wall) in the *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (Poetry Anthology of the Music Bureau) describes a letter with the line “above it speaks of taking more meals and eating [more], below it speaks of always remembering each other” 上言加餐食，下言長相憶。³⁸⁶ This example shows that the *yi* 憶 has an emotional, personal aspect to the mnemonic action of remembering someone or something. In some usages, the meaning of *yi* 憶 borders on the meaning of *zhi* 識 in the sense of “to memorize.” As an example given in the *Hanyu da cidian*, the “Zhaoming Taizi zhuan” 昭明太子傳 (Biography of the Prince of Splendent Brilliance) in the *Liang Shu* 梁書 (History of Liang)

³⁸⁵ For example, Vera Schwarcz notes “the ancient Greeks envisaged remembrance as the wellspring of all creative life. Mnemosyne, goddess of memory, is considered the mother of the nine muses, inspiring everything from mathematics to dance, poetry and drama. The Muses, according to Homer, are nourished by and also provoke remembrance.” Vera Schwarcz, *Bridge across Broken Time: Chinese and Jewish Cultural Memory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 24.

³⁸⁶ *Hanyu da cidian*, 2:4391.

notes that the Prince “when reading books [read] several lines at a time, and was able to remember all that passed in front of his eyes” 讀書數行並下，過目皆憶。³⁸⁷ It does seem that in this case the *yi* 憶 has the meaning of “to memorize” in the sense of forming the memory of something for the first time rather than “to recall” in the sense of retrieving memory of the thing already stored in one’s mind. But in fact, the line can be interpreted as that the prince’s ability to memorize is indirectly expressed through his ability to recall. Being able to recall, as expressed with the *yi* 憶, is itself proof of successful memorization. Still, this example is important because it reminds us how flexible these mnemonic terms could be in the actual usages of the language. Though the Chinese concept of memory is understood and approached here from the perspective of several processes denoted by different Chinese mnemonic terms, it is important not to draw rigid lines between the usages of these terms or to force exclusive associations between mnemonic terms and memory-related processes.

This natural flexibility of language is also shown in the compound verbs developed out of the combinations of the basic mnemonic terms. The compound terms often borrow meanings from the terms they consist of, and their usages sometimes lean toward the usages of one or the other of the consisting terms. In the case of *yi* 憶, its original meaning is “to recall, to remember.” According to Huang Jingui, the meaning of *yi* 憶 as “to remember, to memorize” appeared around the time of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, in phrases such as *yizhi* 憶識 and *songyi* 誦憶.³⁸⁸ It seems these compound words, though meaning “to memorize,” still had an emphasis on the expected ability to retrieve the memorized as a result of the action. But in

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁸ Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, p. 507.

general, the usages of the compound words with *yi* 憶 focus on the meaning of “to remember, to recall.” For example, the “Dong Si qi” 董祀妻 (The Wife of Dong Si) passage from the “Lienü zhuan” 列女傳 (Biographies of Exemplary Women) of the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han) records Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220)’s question to Cai Wenji 蔡文姬 (ca. 177- ca. 239) “I heard Madam’s house originally had many books of antiquity, can you still recall them?” 聞夫人家先多墳籍，猶能憶識之不？³⁸⁹ In this case, the term *yizhi* 憶識 means “to recall, to remember.” The term *jiyi* 記憶 was discussed in the last section as a noun developed in later time periods with the meaning of “memory or impression.” It also can be used as a verb with the meaning of “to remember, to recall.”

The *Shuowen jiezi* defines *nian* 念 as “to frequently think of” 常思。³⁹⁰ With the character *jin* 今, “now, at present,” on top of the character *xin* 心, “the heart, the mind,” the structure of *nian* 念 can be understood as an indication of keeping something present in the mind, or retrieving a piece of memory to have it in the mind at the present moment. In the “Da Yu mo” 大禹謨 (Counsels of the Great Yu) chapter of the *Shujing* 書經 (Book of History), Yu 禹 recommends Gao Yao 皋陶 to the emperor as the successor of the throne, saying:

O emperor, think of him! When I think of him, my mind rests on him, as the man for this office; when I would put him out of my thoughts, they still rest on him; when I name and

³⁸⁹ *Hanyu da cidian*, 2:4391. “Lienü zhuan” 列女傳 (Biographies of Exemplary Women) of the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han), 114.14a, in *Sibu beiyao*.

³⁹⁰ *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu*, 10b.25b-26a. p. 507a.

speak of him, my mind rests on him for this; the sincere out going of my thoughts about him is that he is the man. O emperor, think of his merits!”³⁹¹

帝念哉。念茲在茲。釋茲在茲。名言茲在茲。允出茲在茲。惟帝念功。

Similarly in the “Qin feng” 秦風 (The Odes of Qin) chapter of the *Shijing*, one line of the poem “Xiao rong” 小戎 (Short War-Carriage; Mao # 128) reads “I think of my husband [thus], looking so mild in the cities there. What time can be fixed for his return? Oh! How I think of him!” 言念君子，溫其在邑。方何為期，胡然我念之。³⁹² The term *nian* 念 denotes a rather intense and emotional process of recollection and recall. In terms of compound verbs, *nian* 念 and *yi* 憶 are often combined together to express the meaning of “to recall, to think of” in the term *yinian* 憶念. For example, Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) wrote in his “Bie Cai shisi zhuzuo” 別蔡十四著作 ([Poem] Composed to Say Farewell to Mr. Cai, the Fourteenth in Seniority in His Family), “Thinking back of the Fengxiang Capital, we met and we parted, ten springs had soon passed” 憶念鳳翔都，聚散俄十春。³⁹³

The term *shi* 識 when used as a verb has a basic meaning of “to recognize,” and denotes the process of memory retrieval that produces a match with a present situation, so that the present situation is recognized or identified. Such a process is slightly different from the process of “recollection” denoted by the terms *yi* 憶 and *nian* 念, which only re-produces the memory of past stored in the mind and does not need to match it with a present situation. This slight

³⁹¹ see Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Historical Documents*, 3:58.

³⁹² see Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Poetry*, 4:194.

³⁹³ *Hanyu da cidian*, 2:4391.

difference will also be revisited when all mnemonic terms are considered in the following section on the process of memory transmission.

The *Shuowen jiezi* defines *wang* 忘 as “not to remember, or not to recognize”不識.³⁹⁴ The structure of the word consists of the character *wang* 亡, “to flee from, to escape,” or “destroyed, to destroy,” on top of the character *xin* 心, “the heart, the mind,” which then conveys the meaning of “to flee from the mind, to be absent from the mind,” thus “to forget.” The term *wang* 忘 is often used together a term denoting the opposite meaning of “to remember.” For example, in the “Xiao ya” 小雅 (Minor Odes of the Kingdom) chapter of the *Shijing*, one line of the poem “Xi sang” 隰桑 (The Mulberry Trees in the Low, Wet Grounds; Mao # 228) reads “in the core of my heart I keep them, and never will forget them” 心中藏之，何日忘之。³⁹⁵ In this case the term *wang* 忘 is used in contrasting parallel with the term *cang* 藏, and together they form a pair reflecting off the usage of each other the idea of a lasting memory. As Isay points out, the terms *nian* 念 and *wang* 忘 also are often used together as a pair. He also identifies the tendency to express remembrance by reference to the “negated forgetfulness” in the phrase *buwang* 不忘 as a major characteristic of early Chinese mnemonic terms.³⁹⁶ It seems the term *wang* 忘 exists in representation of a mental process opposite to the memory retrieval process. Rather than making one’s memory available, it threatens to lose it. Such is a threat clearly felt, and people of old times often expressed their anxieties over it through imaginations of magical

³⁹⁴ *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu* 10b.40b, p. 514b.

³⁹⁵ see Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Poetry*, 4:415.

³⁹⁶ Isay, p. 13. The focus of Isay’s philosophical study of the Chinese mnemonic terms is the term *wang* 忘. Please refer to my summaries at the beginning of section 4.2 of this chapter for Isay’s points on the usages of this term in the context of early Chinese philosophical terms. Or refer to Isay’s manuscript page 5-14, 23-32.

aids to the process of recollection. For example, the *Kaiyuan Tianbao yishi* 開元天寶遺事 by Wang Renyu 王仁裕 (880-956) of the Five Dynasties 五代 (907-960) records an interesting little story entitled “Jishi zhu” 記事珠 (Pearl of Remembering Things). The story reads:

During the years of the Kaiyuan reign (713-741), Zhang Yue (667-730) was made the Grand Councilor. There was someone who offered [Zhang] Yue two pearls. [The Pearls] were of a dark blue color with a reddish overtone and had a glimmer to it, their name was “Pearl of Remembering Things.” When [Zhang Yue] sometimes had things forgotten, he would then use his hands to hold and fiddle with the pearls and would instantly feel his mind and heart opened up and enlightened. All things, no matter big or small, would be brightly illuminated and made known to him, without a single one [left] forgotten.

[Zhang] Yue kept them as a secret and regarded them as the utmost treasure.

開元中，張說為宰相。有人惠說二珠，紺色有光，名曰記事珠。或有闕忘之事，則以手持弄此珠，便覺心神開悟，事無鉅細，煥然明曉，一無所忘。說祕而至寶也。
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This story betrays the universal anxiety over memory loss and the inability to retrieve memory. Just as an earlier example quoted from the Song dynasty *Wenshi zhenjing yanwai jingzhi* points out, “now memory originally has no structure, though one may memorize and identify [things] for one thousand years, it can be gone within a moment” 夫識本無方，雖記認千年，而俄頃可去。³⁹⁸

³⁹⁷ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6531. *Kaiyuan Tianbao yishi* 開元天寶遺事, 1.4a, in *Jingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, v. 1035:846a. The *Hanyu da cidian* version reads “one pearls” 一珠 rather than “two pearls” 二珠. Though “one pearl” makes more sense, I am following the *Siku quanshu* text here.

³⁹⁸ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6684.

Naturally, such anxiety over the loss of memory leads to the development, or imagination in the case above, of all kinds of mnemonic aids that would ideally perpetuate memory for an individual. However, the very existence of the individual is limited to a finite space and to a rather short span of time. Therefore, memory perpetuation in a true sense requires transmission across time and space beyond the existence of the individual. The process of memory transmission, in both oral and written forms, will be discussed on a conceptual level in the following section, and the oral transmission of anecdotal memory in particular will be the focus of section 4.2.3.

4.2.2.4 Memory Transmission: *ji* 記, *zhi* 志/誌, and *yu* 語

The process of memory transmission is to some extent also a process of memory production, or to be more precisely, a process of memory re-production. It re-produces the memory for those who do not have first hand experience (episodic memory) of it but rather receive such memory as a recounting (semantic memory),³⁹⁹ similar to how one receives knowledge and teachings from external sources. Therefore, the process of memory transmission cannot remain an internal mental process of the individual. It must involve external processes such as communicative activities in either oral or written form, or through other media. This section examines two of the above-mentioned mnemonic terms, *ji* 記 and *zhi* 志/誌, from the aspect of their communicative functions, as well as the term *yu* 語 from the perspective of memory transmission through oral communicative actions.

³⁹⁹ See the introduction to the dissertation for definitions of different kinds of memories, I try to avoid using the modern terms as much as I can in the discussion here, but rather try to relate these ideas to similar notions from traditional Chinese understandings of memory related processes.

But first, I would like to return to an earlier observation and make a distinction, though not to be taken as absolute, between “internal” memory processes and “external” memory processes. Here I use the notion “internal processes” in the sense that they mostly involve internal mental activities, and the notion “external processes” in the sense that they involve mental activities that require interactions and exchanges with the outside world. The observation was pointed out at the beginning of the discussion on mnemonic terms and processes: many of the Chinese mnemonic terms feature the radical *yan* 言, “words,” or the radical *xin* 心, “the heart, or the mind.” For example, among the mnemonic terms discussed so far, *yi* 憶 *nian* 念 and *wang* 忘 all have the radical *xin* 心 and *ji* 記, *zhi* 志/誌, *zhi/shi* 識 all have the radical *yan* 言. It seems that that these terms with the radical *xin* 心 are used to denote the memory processes that are mostly “internal” and dependent more on the bodily aspects of the mind process. On the other hand, terms with the radical *yan* 言 are used to denote “external” memory processes involving interactions and exchanges of information with the outside world. These “external processes” put more emphasis on the social aspects of memory, and radical *yan* 言 signifies the importance of language in facilitating such social aspects of the memory process. It is these “external processes” that contribute most to the transmission of memory, and *yan* 言, language in either oral or written form is crucial to the process.

The terms *yi* 憶 and *nian* 念, as discussed earlier, denote the process of memory retrieval, that is, the process of bringing the memory of things and past experience to the mind at the present moment, while the term *wang* 忘 represents the failure of the retrieving process. When examining the usages of *nian* 念 and *wang* 忘 in the oracle bones and bronze inscriptions, Isay relates this pair of mnemonic terms to ancestor worship and a kind of personal connection to the

past.⁴⁰⁰ Then he discusses the usages of *nian* 念 and *wang* 忘 in the *Shangshu* and the *Shijing*, relating them to the sphere of official matters where past experience is considered to be relevant to present and future situations in the *Shangshu*, and to the sphere of the personal, social and collective in the *Shijing*.⁴⁰¹ The usages of these terms of memory retrieval of course have their social context and sometimes have shared expectations of collective significance. For example, in the case of ancestor worship, the individual's mental activities of the memory retrieval processes, *yi* 憶 *nian* 念, and *buwang* 不忘, are set in the social context of the family structure and are expected to be part of the commemoration of the family. However, the individual's mental activities themselves of thinking and remembering as denoted by the terms *yi* 憶 *nian* 念, and *buwang* 不忘 are mostly "internal processes" and do not signify communicative or collective actions. The commemoration of ancestors requires more than a simple sum of each individual's memory retrieval processes. It also depends on the rituals and ceremonies where every detail, such as each person's place to kneel in the ancestral hall, is agreed upon by all members of the family. It depends on the verbal declarations of lineage and prayers made audible to all during the rituals and sacrifices. It depends on the shared space of the ancestral hall, the shared texts such as the family genealogy records, the shared symbols and writings on the soul tablets and images. Mental processes of *yi* 憶 *nian* 念, and *buwang* 不忘 are only part of such commemoration, they may express the expectations of perpetuating the memory of one's ancestors through future generations, but the realization of such expectations cannot be brought by through these internal processes themselves. The transmission of memory needs to take an

⁴⁰⁰ Isay, pp. 4-6.

⁴⁰¹ Isay, pp. 7-10.

articulated, communicative form in order for the memory to get across time and space and go beyond the individual's limited existence. In a sense, the performance of rituals and sacrifices, the construction of ancestral halls, the compilation of family genealogies, the display of soul tablets with names are all ways to articulate the memory of ancestors. The repeated oral declarations in rituals, marks established in landscape and records made in written texts will be able to transmit the memory beyond the existence of the individual and perpetuate it to future generations. Thus, from the perspective of understanding the Chinese concept of memory as processes, Isay's "immortal attribute"⁴⁰² and "integrative quality"⁴⁰³ of memory are in fact the expectations of the Chinese memory that can only be fulfilled through the many communicative actions devoted to memory transmission. The nature of the Chinese memory is also to a large extent defined by the nature of the memory transmission process and the effort and dedication ancient Chinese put into it.

On the other hand, the mnemonic terms discussed earlier, *ji* 記, *zhi* 志/誌, and *zhi* 識, denote "external" processes with communicative aspects. As shown with examples above, they were often used interchangeably to convey the meaning of "to remember, to memorize." During this process of memory formation, the mind receives information and knowledge from the outside world or takes in personal experiences through the individual's interactions with the outside world. It then stores the information and experience as memory. The term *shi* 識 when used as a noun denotes the meaning of "knowledge, memory," and as quoted earlier, Yang Shuda explains its meaning as "those things that stick to the mind are called *shi*" 事之粘著於心者謂之

⁴⁰² Isay, p. 12.

⁴⁰³ Isay, p. 14.

識.⁴⁰⁴ Such understanding also implies a communicative process of “things” entering the mind and taking root in the mind. Thus, the formation of memory denoted by the terms *ji* 記, *zhi* 志/誌, and *zhi* 識 can be understood as a communicative process that involves interactions with the external world. When used as a verb, the term *shi* 識 has a basic meaning of “to recognize,” which is a process of memory retrieval. But as discussed earlier, the process of recognition differs slightly from the process of “recollection” denoted by the terms *yi* 憶 and *nian* 念. “Recognition” denoted by *shi* 識 is the process of memory retrieval that involves matching the retrieved memory with a current situation in the outside world. Therefore, it is a process involving interactions with the outside world. While “recollection” denoted by *yi* 憶 and *nian* 念 only keeps the memory of past current in the mind and does not need to match it with an external situation.

All three terms of “external” memory processes have the radical *yan* 言 which signifies the importance of language to them. When denoting the process of memory formation, the radical *yan* 言, “words,” is a likely indicator that the “things” that enter the mind and take root there are often conveyed through language. Again, as discussed earlier, in order to be transmitted across time and space, memory needs to be articulated, or re-presented in such media as language, and passed on to people of different places and time. Thus the memory transmission process is also an “external,” communicative process that involve information exchange with the outside world.

⁴⁰⁴ Yang Shuda, “Shi shi” in *Jiwei ju xiaoxue shulin*, quoted in Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, pp. 505.

Language can take both oral and written forms when serving as the media for the memory transmission process. Beside the basic meaning of “to remember, to memorize,” the terms *zhi* 志/誌 and *ji* 記⁴⁰⁵ both have the meaning of “to record in writing,” which is a process of memory formation in an external media, but more importantly it is the beginning of memory transmission through written texts. Moreover, they denote the idea that the memory recorded in writing is especially meant to be shared and transmitted, and thus will be remembered. For example, the “Qin shui” 沁水 chapter in Li Daoyuan’s *Shuijing zhu* records that the Northern Wei 北魏 (386-534) ministers proposed to the throne “because [Duke] Xuanni, i.e., Confucius, was a great sage, [his status] would not be matched by [merely] a stele of praise. It is appropriate to establish a [stele] of records there” 以宣尼大聖，非碑頌所稱，宜立記焉。⁴⁰⁶ Here the records of Confucius’ life is recommended to be inscribed onto a stele and made into a spatial mark so that the memory of him will endure the passing of time and be available to future generations.⁴⁰⁷ And the term *ji* 記 is used for a special memorial text that suits the status of the sage more than a common eulogy. As mentioned earlier, the term *zhi* 誌/志 emphasizes on recording things in categories and collections, and marking the characteristics of the records, especially in writing.⁴⁰⁸ And in particular, it refers to the veritable textual recording of things for

⁴⁰⁵ Isay identifies a “significant terminological difference” in that the usage of the term *nian* 念 drastically drops in these texts. Isay states that “while *nian* lost its major role for mnemonic purposes during the classical period of Chinese philosophy, *ji* 記 that was later to assume that role was yet to establish itself,” with a note that *ji* was “scarcely used for mnemonic purposes during the classical period.” P. 15.

⁴⁰⁶ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6531.

⁴⁰⁷ In Isay’s discussion on *ji*, he notes that it is for the meaning of “a record” that *ji* is “generally best known during the period of the third to the second centuries BCE in titles such as the *Records of Rites* and *Records of the Historian*. However, his examples show that in the texts he examines, *ji* was used for both the meaning of “memory,” “a record” and the meaning of “to remember, to record.” P. 16.

⁴⁰⁸ Huang Jingui, *Gudai wenhua ciyi jilei biankao*, pp. 243, 505.

the purpose of transmission, in the sense conveyed in the example “[the ancient tomb’s] inscriptions and records no longer extant, the [later] generations and dynasties will never be able to obtain them and learn [about it]” 銘誌不存，世代不可得而知也。⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, *zhi* 誌/志 as a term for literary genres is also often used for writings with the purpose of recording the memory of the deceased for later generations, such as *zhiwen* 誌文, “epitaph,” and *muzhi* 墓誌, “grave memoir.”⁴¹⁰ Both terms *zhi* 志/誌 and *ji* 記 denote at the same time, the mental activity of memorization and the external, communicative activity of recording memory in writing. In the latter case, they represent the process of producing and preserving memories of the past in external media, and the process of memory transmission across time and space. It is in this sense that they are both used as terms for textual genres as well, signifying the kind of writing with the specific purpose of passing on accounts on the past.

In a similar style, another important term for the process of memory transmission is *zhuan/chuan* 傳. However, it should be pointed out at the beginning that the term *zhuan* 傳 was not originally a mnemonic term. The *Shuowen jiezi* defines *zhuan* 傳 as *ju* 遽, “postal horses and carriages,” and “it belongs to the *ren* category and follows the pronunciation of *zhuan*” 从人專聲。⁴¹¹ Duan Yucai comments that *zhuan* 傳 and *ju* 遽 can be used to define and illuminate the original meanings of each other. The terms *zhuan* 傳 and *zhuanju* 傳遽 were used in early texts such as the *Zhouli* 周禮, the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, and the *Guo yu* 國語 to denote postal transportation, including horses, chariots, sometimes with the extended meaning of messengers and the

⁴⁰⁹ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6597.

⁴¹⁰ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6597.

⁴¹¹ *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu*, 8a.25a, p. 381a.

documents they carry.⁴¹² Therefore, the original meaning of the term focused more on the transmission, or rather the transportation, of a physical form of information rather than the content, and emphasized on *ren* 人, the people who carry out the physical transmission, rather than *yan* 言, the language that is the media of the transmission of the content. The meanings of *zhuan* 傳 as “a record, a biography,” and as a verb “to record, to write biography for, or to write commentary for” as well as the term pronounced as *chuan* with the meaning of “to pass on, to transmit,” are all extended meanings and usages. Isay’s discussion of the term focuses on the idea of transmission, especially “the transmission of cultural tradition.”⁴¹³ He notes the meanings of the term “include written sources that are records, their transmission, and the memory shared by those belonging to a specific cultural sphere.”⁴¹⁴ From the perspective of understanding the Chinese concept of memory as processes, these extended meanings and usages of the term denote several important aspects of the process of memory transmission. First, similar to *zhi* 志/誌 and *ji* 記, the term *zhuan* 傳 also became a term of textual genre. It signifies the kind of memory writing devoted to the life accounts of historical figures which became an important constituting part of composite histories after the *Shiji* set the example of including a series of *liezhuan* 列傳, “exemplary biographies, or ordered biographies.” Second, the original meaning of “postal horses and chariots” facilitates the idea of transporting messages and information across regions and lends the notion of spatial circulation to its extended meanings. With the meaning of “to pass on, to transmit,” *chuan* 傳 not only emphasizes on the transmission of

⁴¹² *ibid.*.

⁴¹³ Isay, p. 17.

⁴¹⁴ Isay, p. 18.

knowledge and memory across time, but also across space to reach a wider audience. Third, the wide range of things that *chuan* 傳 deals with makes it a term that encompasses various kinds of transmissions in political, ritual, intellectual, oral, and written forms all at once. For example, in the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 line “[Duke Xiao 孝 of Qin] contracted an illness and almost reached [the stage of] not being able to get up, he wanted to pass on [the throne] to Lord Shang” 疾且不起，欲傳商君，⁴¹⁵ *chuan* 傳 indicates the succession of the throne. In the *Lun yu* line (19.12), “of the gentleman’s Way, which part is to be transmitted first, which part is to be ignored in the end” 君子之道，孰先傳焉，孰後倦焉，⁴¹⁶ the term expresses the transmission of teachings of ritual and music. This example reveals a purposeful, intentional, or selective aspect of the transmission of knowledge. The term can denote the transmission and perpetuation of fame and reputation, for example, in the “Suo ran” 所染 chapter of the *Mozi* 墨子, the comment on five lords who associated with the right councilors⁴¹⁷ reads “therefore they established hegemony over the various feudal lords, and their merits and names were transmitted through later generations” 故霸諸侯，功名傳於後世。⁴¹⁸ It can also denote the transmission of gossip and baseless talks, as in the example in the *Xunzi* “what is seen [right in front of them] can still deceive them [i.e., the

⁴¹⁵ *Zhanguo ce*, 3.1a, in *Sibu beiyao*.

⁴¹⁶ Chichung Huang, trans., *The Analects of Confucius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 180.

⁴¹⁷ See *Mozi* 墨子, 1.5a-b, in *Sibu beiyao*. These five lords were Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊 who associated with Guan Zhong 管仲 and Bao Shu[ya] 鮑叔, Duke Wen 文 of Jin 晉 who associated with Jiu Fan 舅犯 and Gao Yan 高偃, Duke Zhuang 莊 of Chu 楚 who associated with Sun Shu[ao] 孫叔 and Shen Yin 沈尹, King Hel ü 闔閭 of Wu 吳 who associated with Wuyuan 伍員 (i.e., Wu Zixu 伍子胥) and Wenyi 文義 (i.e., Wen Zhiyi 文之儀), King Goujian 句踐 of Yue 越 who associated with Fan Li 范蠡 (536-488 B.C.) and Grand Master [Wen] Zhong 大夫種.

⁴¹⁸ *Mozi* 墨子, 1.5a-b, in *Sibu beiyao*.

multitude], how much more can the passed down [gossip] from one thousand generations away” 其所見焉，猶可欺也，而況於千世之傳也。⁴¹⁹

The term *yu* 語, “conversations,” is examined here as a representative example of the communicative terms closely related to the oral transmission of memory. From the perspective of word structure, *yu* 語 is similar to the mnemonic term *ji* 記 in that they both consist of the radical *yan* 言 and a part that denotes the idea of the “self” – *ji* 己 in the case of *ji* 記 and *wu* 吾 in the case of *yu* 語. In terms of memory transmission, they both seem to convey the notion of relating the experience of the self to others through language. The *Shuowen jiezi* gives the definition of *yu* as “to discuss, to expound” 論.⁴²⁰ The three terms *yu* 語, *lun* 論, and *yi* 議 take turns to be used to define one another in the *Shuowen jiezi* and Duan Yucai comments “the three words *lun*, *yi*, and *yu* are terms of speaking with people” 論議語三字為與人言之稱.⁴²¹ In contrast to the term *yan* 言, the *Shuowen jiezi* notes “to speak directly is called [*yan*] ‘to speak;’ to respond and debate is called [*yu*] ‘to deliberate’” 直言曰言，論難曰語。⁴²² In the “Da ya” 大雅 (Greater Odes of the Kingdom) chapter of the *Shijing*, one line of the poem “Gong Liu” 公劉 (Duke Liu; Mao # 250) depicts the political actions of Duke Liu as such: “Here he spoke his mind, here he entered on deliberations” 于時言言，于時語語。⁴²³ Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648) comments

⁴¹⁹ See the “Fei xiang” 非相 passage in the *Xunzi*, 3.4b, in *Sibu beiyao*.

⁴²⁰ *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu*, 3a.7a-b, p.89b.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 3a.12b, p. 92b.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 3a.7a-b, p.89b.

⁴²³ Legge’s translation reads “Here he told out his mind, here he entered on deliberations,” see Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Poetry*, 4:486.

on this line that “to speak directly is called [*yan*] ‘to speak,’ this is to say that one person is speaking by himself; ‘to respond and debate is called [*yu*] ‘to deliberate,’ this is to say that two persons are opposing each other” 直言曰言，謂一人自言；答難曰語，謂二人相對。⁴²⁴ Thus, the term *yu* 語 puts an explicit emphasis on the interactive nature of the communication. It is also to be noticed in this case that *yan* and *yu* were used in times of antiquity to denote oral utterances of rather serious content and function, here the political speeches and deliberations of Duke Liu.

In times of antiquity, the dominant mode of communication was oral. All social activities, ranging from most serious political affairs to most trivial small talks in the streets, are based on a primarily oral culture similar to the “primary orality” defined by Walter Ong.⁴²⁵ At this time, the technology of writing had not been widely employed, if employed at all, even for the most important messages from dukes and sovereigns. Therefore, in the culture of primary orality, oral communications, denoted by terms such as *yan* and *yu*, indeed carried more weight in terms of significance and solemnness in both content and purpose. It is also reasonable to infer that as the culture of primary orality of antiquity gradually transformed into an oral culture coexisting with

⁴²⁴ Kong Yingda, *Mao Shi zhengyi zhushu*, 17.619a.

⁴²⁵ Orality is understood as thought and its verbal expressions in oral cultures. To distinguish different kinds of orality, Walter Ong defines “primary orality” as “the orality of a culture totally untouched by any knowledge of writing or print,” and “secondary orality” as that of “a culture in which a new orality is sustained by telephone, radio, television, and other electronic devices that depend for their existence and functioning on writing and print.” See Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, p. 11. Though not part of his formal definition system, Ong also mentions the kind of “residual orality” in cultures that are exposed to writing and print, but writing and print are not fully used in daily lives (Ibid., pp. 92-3). Still, Ong seems to overlook the cultures where literacy is not a homogeneous phenomenon: writing and print can be fully used in daily lives of a small group of highly literate members of the society, but not the daily lives of the illiterate masses. The culture of ancient China was not a culture of “primary orality” or “secondary orality,” and not exactly of “residual orality.” It was rather a culture in an equilibrium state, where writing and mass illiteracy co-existed for hundreds or even thousands of years. This is a culture where the interactions of orality, manuscript culture and print culture are most interesting, and we may try to understand the dynamics of such interactions through searching for and analyzing the possible characteristics and marks left by orality in transmitted texts such as the *Tang yulin*.

the manuscript culture by the time of medieval China, oral communications, denoted with such words as *yan* and *yu*, would have also shifted some of the weight and loftiness, in both content and function, to the written text. It seems that the term *yu* in the *Tang yulin* are more of the lighter mode of oral communication in the sense of “conversations” rather than “deliberations.” The following section will use examples to relate the oral culture to anecdotal memory and discuss the oral origins and oral transmissions of anecdotal accounts in detail.

4.2.3 Oral Origins and Oral Transmission of Anecdotal Memory

In chapter four, section 4.1 discusses the “conversations” within the textual content of the *Tang yulin* based on the dialogues, quotes, and the conversational contexts of the anecdotes. Section 4.2.1 brings in the topic of the Chinese concept of memory and points out the particular nature of anecdotal memory. These scattered memories of the past seem to have been freed from the dependence that memory in its normal sense has on the original experience of the individuals involved, and have also become at some point far removed from the personal experience of the storytellers and readers of the anecdotes as well. In order to locate this particular kind of memory in ancient Chinese understandings of the past, section 4.2.2 proceeds to offer a review of the Chinese concept of memory understood as processes. It discusses a series of Chinese mnemonic terms on a conceptual level to identify four processes: memory production or formation, memory storage, memory retrieval and memory transmission. The analysis of the terms denoting these processes reveals the importance of language and communicative actions in the processes of memory formation and transmission. Perpetuating memory has long been the central concern of the Chinese culture, and the process of transmission is one particularly important aspect of the Chinese concept of memory. Memories of individuals are perpetuated through family

genealogies, biographies, texts of mourning and remembrance, and rituals of ancestor worship, while memories of collectives, such as states and dynasties, are passed down through various kinds of historical writings. The production and transmission of the scattered anecdotal memories, however, seem to have a particular association with the oral culture. Though anecdotal accounts were often recorded, compiled into collections, such as the *Tang yulin*, and passed down in written form, the oral nature of their existence never departed. This section (4.2.3) will discuss the probable oral origins and oral transmission of anecdotal memories of the past, as well as their very function of “facilitating discussions and laughter” in the oral culture.

4.2.3.1 Explicit Examples from the *Tang yulin*

The oral culture of ancient China, once available to the ears of antiquity, is unfortunately no longer directly accessible now. But many texts strived to preserve the oral culture, or at least preserve to some extent what was talked about in the past. These texts are often entitled with communicative terms denoting the oral transmission of memory, such as the word *yu* 語 in the title of the *Tang yulin*. To use the *Tang yulin* as an example, many anecdotes in the collection conclude their story with phrases such as “[people of the] time came up with an idiom saying....” 時為語曰,⁴²⁶ and “[people of the] time called it ‘XX’” 時稱“XX”云。⁴²⁷ This shows the anecdotal memories of the past were closely related to the oral culture of the time and were transmitted through oral channels in such a way that popular idioms and verbal labels for things and events were created and shared by people of the time. It also shows anecdotal memory belonged to the sphere of commemoration and such memory was frequently revisited every time

⁴²⁶ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 4.382.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.308.

the popular sayings and idioms were mentioned. The oral origins of the anecdotes can also be discerned when the *Tang yulin* entries start with markers such as *jiushuo* 舊說, “old account,”⁴²⁸ or *gushi* 故事, “past event,”⁴²⁹ or *huo yue* 或曰, “someone said,”⁴³⁰ or *XX yun* 云, “[such and such] said.”⁴³¹

The *Tang yulin* also contains many stories that explicitly identify the oral origins and oral transmission of the anecdotes. For example, anecdote #784, “The Story of Cui Zhao Bribing” 崔昭行賄事,⁴³² reads,

Pei Ji often told [the following story]: When [Pei Ji] was young, his aunt’s husband was a court official and had a clean reputation. Once [Pei] Ji went to his residence and he happened to be back from court. Sighing heavily, he said, “What kind of person is Cui Zhao that every mouth praises his virtue! He must be one who commits bribery. [If it’s] like this, how can the state not be in disorder?” Before his words were finished, his gatekeeper announced, “The Lord Prefect⁴³³ Cui of Shouzhou is waiting [for you].” [Pei Ji’s] aunt’s husband got angry, scolded his gatekeeper and was about to whip him. After a long time, he tightened his sash and reluctantly went out [to see Cui Zhao]. In a short while, he hastily ordered tea [to be brought to them], then again ordered delicacies, then

⁴²⁸ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.554.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.555.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.471; 5.465.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 8.745; 5.447.

⁴³² The anecdote was originally found the *Guoshi bu* entry under the title “The Story of Cui Zhao Bribing” 崔昭行賄事. It is also quoted in the *Taiping guangji* and the *Lei shuo*. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.544.

⁴³³ *Shijun* 使君 was a respectful term for the officials from commanderies and prefectures. Cui Zhao was the Prefect of Shouzhou at that time.

again requested [Cui Zhao's] horse to be provided with fodder and his servants with food. [Pei] Ji said, "Why was he arrogant earlier and respectful later?"⁴³⁴ When his aunt's husband came in, with a delighted expression on his face, he bowed to [Pei] Ji and said, "Please [go and] repose in the chambers of the outer court [for now]." Before [Pei Ji] got down the steps, [his aunt's husband] took out a piece of paper from his bosom, it is the draft of one thousand bolts of coarse silk of official use presented to him [by Cui Zhao].

裴佶常話：少時姑夫為朝官，有清望。佶至其居，會退朝，浩嘆曰：「崔昭何人，眾口稱美！此必行貨賂者也。如此，安得不亂？」言未訖，門者報曰：「壽州崔使君候。」姑夫怒，呵門者，將鞭之。良久，束帶強出。須臾，命茶甚急，又命饌，又令秣馬，飯仆。佶曰：「前何倨，後何恭？」及入門，有喜色，揖佶而曰：「憇外舍。」未下階，出懷中一紙，乃贈官絁千匹。⁴³⁵

This anecdote starts with "Pei Ji often told [the following story]...." 裴佶常話, which signifies the oral origin of this account and also indicates repeated telling of the anecdote from Pei's personal memory. Another example, anecdote #71⁴³⁶ in the category of "Yanyu" explicitly notes not only the oral origin but also the oral transmission of the anecdote. It reads,

⁴³⁴ Pei's question alludes to the story in the "Su Qin liezhuan" 蘇秦列傳 (Biography of Su Qin) on the *Shiji*, 69.2262. When Su Qin was in dire straits, his brothers and sister-in-laws all laughed at him. Later when he served as Prime Minister to all Six States that made alliance, his brothers and sister-in-laws treated him with utmost respect. At this Su Ch'in asked his older brother's wife, "why were you so arrogant before and so respectful now?" 何前倨而後恭也. His sister-in-law crawled over and apologized, "we see that your position is high and your gold abundant, Chi Tzu" 見季子位高金多也. See *The Grand Scribe's Records*, 7:108. In the anecdote here, money is also the crucial factor that caused the change of attitude of Pei Ji's aunt's husband.

⁴³⁵ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.544-5.

⁴³⁶ This entry can also be found in the "Yanyu" category of the *Tang yulin* included in *juan* 48 of the Tao Ting's edition of the *Shuo fu*. It was originally an entry in the *Guoshi bu* entitled "Han [Yu] and Lu [Changyuan] Went to Serve Office Together" 韓陸同史幕. Here the *shi* 史 is a textual error for *shi* 使. This *Guoshi bu* entry when quoted in the *Taiping guangji* was entitled "Zhou Yuan" 周恩; when quoted in the *Ganzhu ji* 紺珠集 and in the *Bai Kong liu tie* 白孔六帖, was entitled "The Rat and the Tiger Are Both Among the Zodiac Signs" 鼠虎俱為相屬; when quoted in the *Lei shuo* 類說, was entitled "The Tiger and the Rat" 大虫老鼠. It can also be found in the *Guoshi bu* included in the Ming dynasty manuscript edition of the *Shuo fu* edited by Zhang Zongxiang 張宗祥 (1882-1965). See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.43-4.

Lu Changyuan (d. 799) was made an Adjutant⁴³⁷ in the Proclaimed-Martial Army⁴³⁸ for his old merits, and Han Yu (768-824) was made an Inspector.⁴³⁹ Someone mocked the difference in their ages and seniority, and Zhou Yuan said, “The tiger and the rat are both among the twelve zodiac signs, is there anything strange about it?” Within ten days, [these words] were spread across Chang’an.⁴⁴⁰

陸長源以舊德爲宣武行軍司馬，韓愈爲巡官。或譏年輩相懸，周愿曰：「大蟲老鼠，俱爲十二相屬，何怪之有？」旬日傳於長安中。⁴⁴¹

In this case, an interesting comment originated in an oral context and circulated orally at an incredible speed across the capital city of the Tang. What is more interesting is that instead of the *Tang yulin*'s reading “Zhou Yuan said” 周愿曰, the original text in the *Guoshi bu* reads “[Han] Yu heard it and replied” 愈聞而答曰, but the edition of the *Guoshi bu* in the *Xuejin taoyuan* 學津討原 has a note saying “Another edition reads ‘Zhou Yuan said’ ” 一本作周愿曰. The text quoted in the *Taiping guangji* reads “Yuan said” 愿曰, but that quoted in the *Ganzhu ji* 紺珠集,

⁴³⁷ Hucker, p. 244, #2567.

⁴³⁸ The original text in the *Guoshi bu* reads *Xuanwu jun Xingjun Sima* 宣武軍行軍司馬 rather than *Xuanwu Xingjun Sima* 宣武行軍司馬 here in the *Tang yulin* version. The Qi Zhiluan edition of the *Tang yulin* and the text quoted in Tao Ting's edition of the *Shuo fu* both made a mistake with *Xuanwu jun xing Sima* 宣武軍行司馬. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.43.

⁴³⁹ Hucker, p. 255, #2746.

⁴⁴⁰ The *Siku quanshu* Juzhen edition does not have the character *zhong* 中 which is now added by Zhou Xunchu according to the texts in the Qi Zhiluan edition and the *Lidai xiaoshi* edition of the *Tang yulin*. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.44.

⁴⁴¹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.43-4.

the *Lei shuo* and the *Bai Kong liu tie* all read “Yu said” 愈曰.⁴⁴² It is certainly an interesting comment, but who was it originally from? A typical explanation would be that the confusion was caused by errors of textual transmission caused by careless scribes because the characters “Yuan” 愿 and “Yu” 愈 truly looked similar to each other, and it was hard to distinguish whether the text read “Yuan said” 愿曰 or “Yu said” 愈曰. However, this explanation somehow weakens with the *Xuejin taoyuan* noting another edition of the *Guoshi bu* which explicitly reads “Zhou Yuan said” 周愿曰. Who was Zhou Yuan anyways? The connection between Lu and Han is explained in the anecdote, but Zhou Yuan is brought into the picture all of a sudden. Why was he all of a sudden commenting on an issue concerning Lu Changyuan and Han Yu? From the perspective of the oral transmission of anecdotes, it is not likely for the storytellers of anecdotes to add loose ends or details that seem not particularly coherent with the main point of the story. On the contrary, these loose ends and incoherent details tend to be left out so that the “point” or the punch line of the story would not be obscured and the audience would not be confused and ask unnecessary questions. Perhaps Zhou Yuan was indeed the one making such an interesting comment, and rightfully someone recorded it as such in writing. But because “within ten days, [these words] were spread across Chang’an” 旬日傳於長安中, there must have been questions such as how come Zhou Yuan learned about someone mocking Lu and Han and offered his comment. If the storyteller knew the situation, he would explain the connections and the story thus went into its long version. But since it was spreading so fast across the whole city, there must have been those who told the story for amusement but were not certain how Zhou Yuan came into the picture. For these people, it would be more natural if the comment came from one

⁴⁴² See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.43.

of the persons being mocked who naturally held the right to respond. Whether it was Zhou Yuan or Han Yu who made the comment was not important for these anecdote tellers and listeners who were far removed from the persons concerned. They enjoyed telling and listening to the anecdote mainly for the entertaining value in the analogy of tigers and rats. Perhaps this was how Han Yu became the one who made the comment. This way the story became more coherent, the anecdote teller faced less follow-up questions from the listeners, and he was able to bring more zest to the story as now the response was directly from one of the persons being mocked. When this version of the anecdote got recorded in writing as well, there would be two textual versions of the little story: one explicitly noted Zhou Yuan as the commentator and the other Han Yu.

4.2.3.2 Oral Culture through Textual Studies

Through textual studies, scholars can also discover traces of the oral origins and oral transmission of memory, including anecdotal memory, in all kinds of writings passed down from ancient times. Such studies start with texts as early as the *Zuozhuan*. In his study on the authenticity of the *Zuozhuan*, Bernhard Karlgren states that in many cases historical records are part of a long oral tradition, which explains the many variants existing in these records.⁴⁴³ Nienhauser gives an example of the oral origin of a historical account in the *Zuozhuan*: Duke Zhuang 莊 of Zheng's 鄭 (r. 743-701 B.C.) mother Madame Jiang 姜 supported the Duke's younger brother Duan's 段 revolt, and Duke Zhuang made an oath to never see her again until they die and meet at the Yellow Spring. Later, he regretted, followed Ying Kaoshu's 穎考叔

⁴⁴³ Karlgren, "On the Nature and Authenticity of the *Tso Chuan*," p. 8.

suggestion to dig a tunnel in the ground, and was able to meet Madame Jiang there without breaking his oath. Nienhauser points out the rhymed speeches recorded in the text and the almost proverbial ring to the depiction of Duan's battle preparations suggest the possibility of an oral source. He comments that "the Duke's oath ...in conjunction with the clever solution suggested by Ying K'ao-shu to circumvent it may also be seen as 'rhetorical,'" and "the combination of these features, moreover, suggests the possibility that this passage owes its provenance to an oral source – witness the mnemonic suitability of the central part of this episode, the speeches of persuasion – possibly on the order of the 'K'ung-tzu shuo-ching' 孔子說經 (Confucius Expounding the Classic [Ch'un-ch'iu]) theory."⁴⁴⁴ Studying the composition of the *Zuozhuan*, Kai Vogelsang identifies a set of anecdotal passages of stories of love, intrigue and succession struggles that are undated analepses, with a minimum of rhetorical flourish and apparently no ritual, moral or didactic considerations. Vogelsang concludes these independent literary units possibly derived from oral sources, they perhaps originated among court ladies and were transmitted among the populace in connection with songs.⁴⁴⁵ He specifically points out that the connection with songs made these anecdotes "part of popular lore, told as background stories accompanying communal songs."⁴⁴⁶ Though likely never written down before the *Zuozhuan*, the anecdotes were "transmitted over centuries, much longer than living memory can reach back" along with the songs and became part of popular heritage, until "some impious hand inserted

⁴⁴⁴ Nienhauser, "The Origins of Chinese Fiction," p. 206.

⁴⁴⁵ Kai Vogelsang, "From Anecdote to History: Observations on the Composition of the *Zuozhuan*," in *Oriens Extremus* 50 (2011): 99-124.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

these anecdotes between annalistic entries in the annals of Lu, thus turning them into history.”⁴⁴⁷ Source material in official biographies and official histories of later dynasties may also be of oral provenance, as is shown in Nienhauser’s study on the official biography of Ouyang Zhan⁴⁴⁸ in the *Xin Tang shu* and his study on Liu Zongyuan’s 柳宗元 (773-819) “Tong Ou Ji zhuan” 童區寄傳 (Biography of the Lad, Ou Ji) in the *Wenyuan yinghua*.⁴⁴⁹ These accounts were passed down orally as part of the family memory in the case of Ouyang Zhan or as stories recounted from anecdotal memories of the past in the case of Ou Ji’s biography.

Oral testimonies from the lower social groups played an important role in the *Guangyi ji* 廣異記 (The Great Book of Marvels), a text of medieval accounts of the strange by Dai Fu 戴孚 (fl. 760-780), a Tang scholar official who held minor posts after the An Lushan 安祿山 (703-757) rebellion. Many of the accounts in the *Guangyi ji* claim an oral source, and present themselves as anecdotal memories passed down through oral transmission. Glen Dudbridge argues, “we receive something that seems, sometimes demonstrably, to come from a truly oral original, even when its communication to us is mediated through writing. What we receive this way is access to

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 121.

⁴⁴⁸ Nienhauser examines four accounts of the life of Ouyang Zhan 歐陽詹 (c. 758-c. 801) – the definitive biography in the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang) compiled in the Song 宋 (960-1279) dynasty, and three Tang texts, including Han Yu’s “Ouyang Sheng aici” 歐陽生哀辭 (Lamentation for Mr. Ouyang) – against Michael Riffaterre’s three networks of biography: the hero-making system, the humanization system, and the moral system. He notes that Han Yu’s account was the main source to the official biography of Ouyang Zhan in the *Xin Tang shu*. When it comes to the political accomplishments of Ouyang Zhan’s ancestors, the official biography went with Han Yu’s imprecise phrasing that seems to be of a family oral tradition that Han might have heard from Ouyang Zhan himself. See Nienhauser, “Literature as a Source for Traditional History,” p. 4.

⁴⁴⁹ See Nienhauser, “A Structural Reading of the *Chuan* in the *Wen-yüan ying-hua*,” pp. 446-8. In this study of the structure of the thirty-three *zhuan* 傳, “biography,” in the *Wenyuan yinghua*, Nienhauser identifies three types of narrators: first, the “normative narrator,” or “researcher,” who “relates a narrative as he has determined it through the examination of written records;” second, the narrator who is a “witness” of the account he records; and third, the “reporter,” whose “authority is not based upon written resources or proximity to his subject, but upon some oral account,” who is “recounting, rather than telling.”

experience and to people beyond the scope of formal writing culture.”⁴⁵⁰ Dudbridge claims “the *Kuang-I chi* [*Guangyi ji*] and its like preserve, at many points, the oral history of a remote age.”⁴⁵¹ Commenting on the anecdotal, personal testimonies of victims of the Yuan Chao 袁晁 (d. 764) rebellion (762-764), Dudbridge notes that “the chain of hearsay reporting is exposed at every point to distortion, and the move from oral to written testimony adds its own level of cultural processing....but so do they also with any other kind of historical record” and therefore “subject to essential critical disciplines, oral testimony should stand beside the many other kinds of flawed and vulnerable evidence from the past from which our history is constructed.”⁴⁵²

Accounts with oral origins that were circulated and transmitted through the oral culture of ancient China often made their way into writings that are now largely regarded as fictional. Tracing the origins of Chinese fiction, William H. Nienhauser, Jr. identifies three major narrative traditions in pre-modern China, the first being fiction written in the classical language; the second, vernacular fiction which was “influenced by oral storytelling and which began at least as early as the Tang era;” and third is the “oral fiction” of the storytelling tradition.⁴⁵³ Orally transmitted stories started from ancient times, for example, in the *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Account of the Travels of Mu, Son of Heaven), the songs King Mu 穆 (r. 1001-947 B.C.) and the Queen Mother of West sang to each other, several of the verses and simple dialogues in the text “may all be considered to have been created or at least ‘shaped’ from oral materials.”⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁰ Dudbridge, *Religious Experience and Lay Society*, pp. 152-3.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁴⁵³ Nienhauser, “The Origins of Chinese Fiction,” p. 191.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

Many recent studies focus on the oral origins of Tang tales through textual analysis of the narratives themselves and through comparison with anecdotal accounts of similar plots. For example, Nienhauser discusses in detail the issues of creativity and storytelling in the *Chuanqi* 傳奇 (transmissions of the strange), as well as the definition and scope of the narrative genre, through his analysis on six tales by Shen Yazhi 沈亞之 (781-832).⁴⁵⁵ He observes a two-layered structure of Shen's stories with an outer layer attributes the creativity and storytelling to a possible patron and an "inner story" based on a stock tale of oral origin. In addition to the structure of the stories, Nienhauser also comments that Shen's narrative style was probably influenced by oral storytelling techniques.⁴⁵⁶ Carrie Reed re-examines "Du Zichun" 杜子春, a Tang tale whose direct source was generally believed to be a seventh-century Indian legend found in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (The Great Tang Record of the Western Regions) by

⁴⁵⁵ Nienhauser, "Creativity and Storytelling in the *Ch'uan-ch'i*." Nienhauser starts from a few questions raised about Lu Xun's 魯迅 (1881-1936) argument that Tang tales were the first consciously created fiction in China. He analyzes six tales by the Tang author Shen Yazhi 沈亞之 (781-832) in the order of their composition: "Yi Fo ji" 移佛記 (Record of Moving the Buddha; 809), "Yimeng lu" 異夢錄 (Registering a Strange Dream; 815), "Gezhe Ye ji" 歌者葉記 (A Record of the Singer, Ye; 815), "'Xiangzhong yuan' jie" 湘中怨解 (An Explication of "The Plaint from the Xiang"; 818), "Feng Yan zhuan" 馮燕傳 (An Account of Feng Yan; 819), and "Qin meng ji" 秦夢記 (Record of a Dream of Qin; 827). He observes in Shen's tales "the tendency to write with a patron or possible patron in mind" (p. 40). Such a tendency often resulted in an "outer story" where Shen, in order to broaden his socio-political contacts, would claim that he "heard" the story from a possible patron, and recorded it. This outer story provides details of historical time, location, and participants at the storytelling for the purpose of verisimilitude, and at the same time, attributes the creativity and storytelling to the possible patron. The "inner story" is often based on a stock tale of possible oral origin (p. 41, n. 27), which Shen would attribute to a fictional protagonist and add a romantic level to the plot.

⁴⁵⁶ For example, the opening of "Gezhe Ye ji" is similar to the *ju-hua* 入話 (entering or introductory tales) which began the *hua-pen* 話本 stories of subsequent dynasties, and "telling of a familiar story as an introduction to an unfamiliar tale on a similar theme may have been a technique of oral storytellers" (p. 49). Nienhauser also notes that Shen's envoi to the story "'Xiangzhong yuan' jie" claims the title was merely 'Xiangzhong yuan' 湘中怨 (A Plaint from Xiang), and comments that "this may mean later editors considered Shen's contribution to have been merely the preface and envoi, the text itself coming (as Shen claimed in the envoi) from an oral version" (p. 53). However, in Shen's later tales, the narrative style became more literary and plots were filled with action, suspense, and intertextual details borrowed from earlier texts, as in the case of "Feng Yan zhuan" and "Qin meng ji." It then suggests major revisions to the oral versions Shen heard from his informants.

Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 600-664). With new evidence from other Indian texts, Reed argues that “the inspiration for ‘Du Zichun’ was not the written legend *Xiyu ji* but a story that circulated for centuries both orally and textually in India and may have entered China as an oral tale.”⁴⁵⁷ Reed compares “Du Zichun” with three similar Tang stories among which the anecdotal account “Gu Xuanji” 顧玄績 in Duan Chengshi’s 段成式 (ca. 800-863) *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 appears to be most relevant. In “Gu Xuanji,” Duan Chengshi makes “the only extant statement that the story circulated orally in China in the mid-800s,” and “makes it clear that he wants to show that the folktale related by people was actually not recently fashioned but was a mistakenly altered version of the story in *Xiyu ji*.”⁴⁵⁸ Reed’s study concludes that “despite what Duan claimed, the oral story he recorded as ‘Gu Xuanji’ had actually developed from a story that differed slightly from the *Xiyu ji* version: a foreign story that had come into China as oral folklore.”⁴⁵⁹ Sarah Allen examines a short anecdote entitled “Qie bao fu yuan shi” 妾報父冤事 (A Concubine Avenges Her Father’s Wrong) in the *Guoshi bu* by Li Zhao 李肇 (ca. 813), and three other more elaborate narratives from the early ninth century based on the same story: “Guren qi” 賈人妻 (The Merchant’s Wife) and “Cui Shensi” 崔慎思 in the *Taiping guangji*, and “Yiji” 義激 (Spurred by Righteousness) in the *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (Finest Flowers of the Preserve

⁴⁵⁷ Reed, “Parallel Worlds, Stretched Time, and Illusory Reality: The Tang Tale ‘Du Zichun’,” p. 310.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 318-9.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 320. Reed compares the shared basic elements and the narrative structure in both “Du Zichun” and the orally circulated “Gu Xuanji” to those in the story in *Xiyu ji*, and two other Indian tales. The new understanding of the oral origin of “Du Zichun” calls “to rethink the common assumption that stories came from India to China primarily through written translations of Buddhist texts” (p. 310).

of Letters).⁴⁶⁰ Allen believes “oral circulation ... can explain how a story could evolve in a number of different directions while preserving the same basic sequence of events,” “behind the stories that survive in written form was a rich tradition of informal storytelling about unusual or strange events,” and “storytelling was a frequent pastime among Tang literati.”⁴⁶¹ She also comments “the state in which Tang stories are read by us today is reminiscent of the results of the transcription of South Slavic oral formulaic poetry described by Alfred [Albert] B. Lord. Lord sees the written texts so produced as distortions bearing scant resemblance to the original art form... more importantly because the fixed text fundamentally differed from the ever-changing oral texts produced in performance. The Tang stories differ from Lord’s material in that the storytellers themselves were highly literate and those who recorded the stories came from the same group as those who told them orally. The barrier between the oral and written forms was thus much more permeable than in the South Slavic case... stories easily moved back and forth between the two media.”⁴⁶²

From the perspective of folklore and discourse analysis, Leo Chan re-examines the tradition of classical literary tales, treating them not as “literature” but as products of amateur oral storytelling in elite circles. Chan quotes Jaroslav Prusek’s two kinds of oral storytelling in China: “the professional tales gave rise to an ‘epic folk literature,’ while the casual tales

⁴⁶⁰ Allen, “Tales Retold: Narrative Variation in a Tang Story.” Allen observes that though the similarities in plot are so strong as to suggest a common source, “the four versions differ significantly in detail, wording, and the interpretation given to (or withheld from) the incident” (p. 106). Therefore, She concludes, first, “these written accounts appear to have grown out of a fashion for informal oral storytelling, whose participants assumed that a story would be changed in the retelling” (p. 108). Secondly, the repetition among the four narratives suggests the statement that accounts such as “The Merchant’s Wife” and “Cui Shensi” are fictional needs to be reevaluated; finally, two of the accounts are classified as *xiaoshuo* and the other two (“A Concubine Avenges Her Father’s Wrong” and “Spurred by Righteousness”) are not, thus the Tang *xiaoshuo* is better treated as a type of narrative, rather than a label of certain type of content (pp. 108-9).

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., p. 126.

⁴⁶² Ibid., p. 138.

contributed to an ‘upper class folklore’ recorded in miscellaneous writings and anecdotal literature.”⁴⁶³ Chan recognizes that casual tales undergo great changes when written down, it is very difficult to detect their original style and form, and the oral elements were superseded by literary elements in the process.⁴⁶⁴ However, he also affirms there is an undeniable link between text and talk, and argues that “focusing on the oral elements... forces critics to pay attention to extraliterary references, rendering the need to contextualize as important as the need to textualize.”⁴⁶⁵ Contextualization includes discussions on the “actual experience” of the telling of casual tales, such as the conversational environment, and the degree of audience participation. It also involves the oral transmission of such tales and evidence of oral origins. When discussing the oral origins of Tang *chuanqi* stories, Chan quotes Sarah Yim that “it is the ‘expressive’ quality of the *chuanqi* that differentiates it from the *zhiguai*,”⁴⁶⁶ and argues for the need to view Tang *chuanqi* as conversational discourse that incorporates elements from a vast cultural system including social conversation, literature and politics.⁴⁶⁷

4.2.3.3 Oral Culture as Various Modes of Communicative Actions

⁴⁶³ Chan, “Text and Talk,” p. 34.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 35.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 36.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 38.

⁴⁶⁷ For example, Chan argues to counterbalance the intertextuality [of Dudbridge’s study] with that of social and historical context in the interpretation of the “Li Wa zhuan,” to focus on the “tellability” of the story, on why it was relevant to the speaker, the audience and the world of these people (p. 41). When discussing the orality of *zhiguai* anecdotes, Chan notes that their links to oral discourse are often more clearly documented than in the case of the *chuanqi*, and the forms of the oral *zhiguai* have been duplicated more strikingly in their written counterpart (p. 44). With a folkloristic approach that focuses on identifying functions and relations, Chan discusses the social functions of Qing dynasty *zhiguai* storytelling as a response to the repressive political measures of the government. Chan reveals two characteristics of these conversational narratives: the deliberate fabrication and the strong proclivity to allegorize, which could be used to distinguish elite oral storytelling and that of the lower social groups.

Oral culture consists of various modes of oral communication. In section 4.2.2.4, the term *yu* 語 (conversations) is briefly reviewed as a representative communicative mode for the process of memory transmission due to its emphasis on interpersonal interactions. Within an oral culture, it represents the communicative actions particularly associated with the oral transmission of memory in general and anecdotal memory in particular. As a term used in the titles of anecdotal collections such as the *Tang yulin*, the word *yu* represents one special kind of texts that strive to at least partially preserve the content of such an oral culture in writing. Similarly, the oral culture also involves various other modes of oral communication, such as *yan* 言 (speeches, or to speak), *tan* 談 (discussions, or to discuss), *shuo* 說 (talks, or to talk, to tell), and *hua* 話 (remarks, storytelling, or to tell stories), which are often found in the titles of anecdotal collections as well.

Among the few discussed here, *yan* 言 seems to be a more general term with flexible meanings and usages within various contexts. As discussed earlier, in contrast to the term *yu* 語, the *Shuowen jiezi* notes “to speak directly is called [*yan*] ‘to speak;’ to respond and debate is called [*yu*] ‘to deliberate’” 直言曰言，論難曰語。⁴⁶⁸ Kong Yingda also notes that “‘to speak directly is called [*yan*] ‘to speak,’ this is to say that one person is speaking by himself; ‘to respond and debate is called [*yu*] ‘to deliberate,’ this is to say that two persons are opposing each other’ 直言曰言，謂一人自言；答難曰語，謂二人相對。⁴⁶⁹ The term is often used for verbal expressions that require a certain degree of embellishment and often are expected to

⁴⁶⁸ *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu*, 3a.7a-b, p.89b.

⁴⁶⁹ Kong Yingda, *Mao Shi zhengyi zhushu*, 17.619a. See also Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Poetry*, 4:486.

convey more serious intention and meaning. For example, the “Shun dian” 舜典 (The Canon of Shun) in *The Book of History* reads “Poetry expresses intention and singing perpetuates that expression” 詩言志, 歌永言.⁴⁷⁰ Confucius also comments that “an ancient book says, ‘words are to give adequate expression to one’s ideas; and composition, to give adequate power to the words.’ Without words, who would know one’s thoughts; without elegant composition of the words, they will not go far” 志有之, “言以足志, 文以足言, ” 不言, 誰知其志? 言之無文, 行而不遠.⁴⁷¹ The term *yan* 言 is also often used as opposed to *xing* 行 as shown in the example in the *Mengzi*, “their words have not respect to their actions and their actions have not respect to their words” 言不顧行, 行不顧言.⁴⁷²

The term *tan* 談 seems to be closest to *yu* in the sense that it emphasizes the exchanges and interactions between two or more sides of the oral communication. The *Shuowen jiezi* explicitly defines *tan* as *yu*,⁴⁷³ while Duan Yucan explains that *tan* is more of “plain and common conversations” 平淡之語.⁴⁷⁴ *Tan* and *yu* are also similar in the degree of casualness in the oral

⁴⁷⁰ Legge’s translation reads “Poetry is the expression of earnest thought; singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression.” James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: Vol. III The Book of Historical Documents* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960, rpt. 1970), 3:48.

⁴⁷¹ See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: Vol. V The Ch’un Ts’ew, with the Tso Chuen*, 5: 512, 517.

⁴⁷² *Mengzi*, 7.2.37.9. In answering the question “what sort of people were they who could be styled ‘Your good careful people of the villages?’” 何如斯可謂之鄉原矣, Mencius said, “they are those who say, ‘why are they so magniloquent? Their words have not respect to their actions and their actions have not respect to their words, but they say, -- The ancients! The ancients! -- Why do they act so peculiarly, and are so cold and distant? Born in this age, we should be of this age, to be good is all that is needed.’ Eunuch-like, flattering their generation; -- such are your good careful men of the villages” 何以是嚶嚶也, 言不顧行, 行不顧言, 則曰, 古之人, 古之人。行何為踴躍涼涼? 生斯世也, 為斯世也, 善斯可矣。闒然媚於世也者, 是鄉原也。 See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: Vol. II The Works of Mencius*, 2:499-500.

⁴⁷³ *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu*, 3a.7b, p.90a.

⁴⁷⁴ *ibid.*.

communication they denote, in which case they can be translated into more casual words such as “to chat” or “to talk.” For example, this usage is found in early texts such as the “Qingzhong ding” 輕重丁 chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子 where it reads “those people who went back and forth to the markets came back from the markets, saw one another under the trees, [then] they would chat and talk [there] till the day ended and would not return” 往來之市者罷市，相睹樹下，談語終日不歸。⁴⁷⁵ The term, however, also had a didactic and rhetorical dimension to it, especially when used to denote the profession of political strategists. For example, the “Rizhe liezhuan” 日者列傳 in the *Shiji* reads, “Have the revered sir seen those knight-gentlemen who deliberate and debate? It is surely these people that contemplate on affairs and devise plans. However, they [still] cannot persuade the mind of the lord of men with one single word. Therefore, when they speak they will surely praise the late kings, when they converse they will surely commend [the way of] antiquity” 公見夫談士辯人乎？慮事定計，必是人也，然不能以一言說人主意，故言必稱先王，語必道上古。⁴⁷⁶ This example contains at least five different modes of communicative actions, *tan* 談 (to deliberate), *bian* 辯 (to debate), *shui* 說 (to persuade), *yan* 言 (to speak), *yu* 語 (to converse), and seven if *cheng* 稱 (to praise) and *dao* 道 (to commend) are counted. It fully demonstrates the importance of oral communicative actions in the profession of political strategists around and before the time of Western Han. Though writing was available, the main culture still remained largely an oral culture where even serious issues such as political strategies depended on oral communicative actions. The range of things discussed was broad as shown by the example from the “Mengzi Xunqing liezhuan” 孟子荀卿列

⁴⁷⁵ *Guanzi*, 24.13b, in *Sibu beiyao*.

⁴⁷⁶ *Shiji*, 127.3219.

傳 of the *Shiji* which reads “The doctrines of Tsou Yen were circumlocutory and grandiose...

Thus the men of Ch’i depicted them[him] as ‘[Tsou] Yen the Empyrean Talker,’” 騶衍之術迂大而閎辯；。。。故齊人頌曰，談天衍，⁴⁷⁷ with Liu Xiang’s 劉向 (77-6 B.C.) comment that “what Zou Yan spoke of [covered] the beginning and the end of the five virtues, as well as the vastness and broadness of Heaven and Earth. He spoke of the affairs [under] Heaven thoroughly, therefore he was called ‘the Empyrean Talker’” 鄒衍之所言，五德終始，天地廣大，盡言天事，故曰談天。⁴⁷⁸

Qingtan 清談, “Pure Conversation,” or “Pure Discussion” if a distinction has to be made in the translations of *tan* 談 as “discussions” and *yu* 語 as “conversations,” dominated the elite oral culture during the Wei and Jin times and claimed a specific association with *xuanxue* 玄學, “the Learning of the Mysterious.” The communicative action *tan* 談 thus became charged with cultural and philosophical significance and often stood as a major criterion in evaluating the rhetorical skills and characters of historical figures of the time. Anecdote #8 in the “Rongzhi” 容止 (Appearance and Manner) category of the *Shishuo xinyu* notes that “Wang Yifu’s face and appearance were symmetrical and beautiful, and he was subtle in conversing on the Mysterious”

⁴⁷⁷ The complete comment is made on three famous ministers, which reads, “The doctrines of Tsou Yen were circumlocutory and grandiose. As for [Tsou] Shih, his writings were comprehensive, but difficult to implement. After associating with Ch’un-yü K’un for a long time, one could often obtain good advice. Thus the men of Ch’i depicted them as ‘[Tsou] Yen the Empyrean Talker,’ ‘[Tsou] Shih the Dragon Carver,’ and ‘[Ch’un-yü] K’un the Oil Can.’” 騶衍之術迂大而閎辯；爽也文具難施；淳于髡久與處，時有得善言。故齊人頌曰，談天衍，雕龍爽，炙轂過髡。 See *Shiji*, 74.2348; Translation is from *The Grand Scribe’s Records* (7:184) which comments that the Empyrean Talker “may suggest the lack of practicality in Yen’s discourse as much as its grand scope” (Ibid., n. 57).

⁴⁷⁸ See the “Jijie” note on *Shiji*, 74.2348, n.3;

王夷甫容貌整麗，妙於談玄，⁴⁷⁹ which was quite a favorable comment. Later the practice was criticized as shown in the “Wei Yuanzhong zhuan” 魏元忠傳 in the *Jiu Tang shu* where Wei states “Your minister used to read the histories of Wei and Jin, and often despised He Yan (d. 249) and Wang Yan (256-311) discussing the empty all day long” 臣嘗讀魏晉史，每鄙何晏王衍終日談空。⁴⁸⁰ This criticism is a reflection of the changes in the oral culture after the Wei and Jin times. Still, it is interesting to note that though the *qingtan* 清談, “pure conversation or discussion,” was the dominating oral culture of the time and the *Shishuo xinyu* contains many stories of *qingtan*, *tanshang* 談賞, “converse appreciatively,”⁴⁸¹ *tanchao* 談嘲, “discussions and mockery”,⁴⁸² etc., the title *Shishuo xinyu* still does not include the term *tan* 談 but rather the terms *shuo* 說 and *yu* 語. The next section (4.3) will offer more discussion on the *Shishuo xinyu*.

Based on usage examples from the Tang and Song times, the term *tan* 談 was used widely in depictions of casual and leisurely social occasions. Liu Zongyuan’s 柳宗元 (773-819) “Tang gu Wannian Ling Pei Fujun mujie” 唐故萬年令裴府君墓碣 (Tombstone [Inscriptions] for Mr. Pei, Lord of the Superior Prefecture, the Late Prefect of Wannian of the Tang) describes the life of Mr. Pei on the post of the Prefect of Wannian that “he chatted at banquets all day long, people regarded him as if taking a redundant position” 談宴終日，人視之若居冗官然。⁴⁸³

⁴⁷⁹ Mather, p. 310. Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 14.554.

⁴⁸⁰ *Jiu Tang shu*, 92.2945.

⁴⁸¹ Mather, p. 194-5. See also Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 6.344.

⁴⁸² The term is used as a evaluation criterion on the young men of gentry families in a *Jinji* 晉紀 comment quoted in Liu Xiaobiao’s note. Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 8.400, n. 2.

⁴⁸³ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6642.

Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) remembers the days of their social life in a poem to Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002-1060) that reads “the clear wind overflows our mats of discussions, the bright moon overlooks our boat of songs” 清風滿談席，明月臨歌舫。⁴⁸⁴ The range of topics *tan* 談 had an all-encompassing sense to it, as Fang Yue’s 方岳 (1199-1262) poem “Rishi shouju” 日食守局 (Chess Game during Sun Eclipse) reads “the various scholars at the academy sat there reading books, talking about the antiquity, talking about the present, they alarmed and surprised themselves” 辟雍諸儒坐讀書，談古談今自驚愕。⁴⁸⁵ It seems the term *tan* 談 has the connotation of bringing all sorts of information, ranging from anecdotes from past to affairs of present, into the conversation. Compared to the rhetorical persuasions of the political strategists of pre-Han times and the philosophical discussions during the Wei and Jin, *tan* 談 during Tang and Song times reveals a more relaxed oral culture of casual social occasions.

The *Shuowen jiezi* explains the term *shuo* 說 as *yueshi* 說[悅]釋, “to pleasantly explain,” as in the *shuowen* 說文 part of the book title itself, or *tanshuo* 談說, “to talk to, to speak to, to tell.”⁴⁸⁶ The “Ba yi” 八佾 (Eight Rows [of Dancers]) chapter of the *Lun yu* reads “things that are done, it is needless to speak about” 成事不說,⁴⁸⁷ here the meaning of *shuo* 說 is “to explain.” In more colloquial usages, “to tell” and “to recount” are common meanings and, similar to the term *tan* 談, *shuo* 說 suggests casual discussions during social occasions. Usages of *shuo* 說 found

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 3:6642.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 3:6641.

⁴⁸⁶ *Shuowen jiezi Duan zhu*, 3a.15b, p.94a.

⁴⁸⁷ *Lun yu*, 3.21.2. Legge’s translation reads “[The Master said,] Things that are done, it is needless to speak about; things that have had their course, it is needless to remonstrate about; things that are past, it is needless to blame” 成事不說，遂事不諫，既往不咎。See Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Confucius Analects*, 1:162.

during the Wei and Jin times also suggest the meaning of character appraisal which was one major aspect of the oral culture of the time. For example anecdote #25 in the “Pinzao” 品藻 (Grading Excellence) chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu* reads, “in the contemporary evaluations Wen Ch’iao was rated the highest of all the second-class persons who had crossed the Yangtze River. When famous gentlemen of the time got together to discuss personalities, as the list of first-class persons drew to a close, Wen would always turn pale” 世論溫太真是過江第二流之高者。時明輩共說人物，第一將盡之間，溫常失色。⁴⁸⁸ The meaning here is “to criticize, to appraise.” Perhaps the reason the *Shishuo xinyu* was entitled with *shuo* 說 rather than *tan* 談 is because character appraisal was its original intention while *qingtan* 清談, pure conversation or discussion, was only one way, though important, to evaluate the characters of historical figures. With the pronunciation *shui*, 說 takes on the more serious meaning of “to persuade.” For example, the second part of the chapter “Jin xin” 盡心 in the *Mengzi* 孟子 reads “those who [try to] persuade the great should despise them, and not look at their pomp and display” 說大人，則藐之，勿視其巍巍然。⁴⁸⁹ As a noun, *shuo* 說 can mean “opinion,” “teaching,” “commentary,” or “discourse,” while as a literary genre, it is used to express or advocate principles and opinions. Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559) comments in his *Danqian zalu* 丹鉛雜錄 that “[the action of] composing it to prove⁴⁹⁰ right and wrong is ‘to explain, to discourse’” 正是非而著之者，說也。⁴⁹¹ This meaning

⁴⁸⁸ Mather, p. 255. Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 9.460-1.

⁴⁸⁹ *Mengzi*, 7.2.34. Legge’s translation reads “those who give counsel to the great should despise them, and not look at their pomp and display.” these are Mencius’ words. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Works of Mencius*, 2:496.

⁴⁹⁰ Here the *zheng* 正 is interpreted as *zheng* 證.

⁴⁹¹ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6607.

of the *shuo* 說 goes beyond the oral culture and enters the sphere of written discourses.

However, with its roots in the oral communicative action “to explain,” the usage of the term *shuo* 說 as a literary genre seems to indicate a connection between the oral culture and the written text. This point will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3 with *yu* 語, from the title of the *Tang yulin*, as the representative example.

The term *hua* 話 can be understood as more casual oral communications and translated into “to say, to tell” when used as a verb and “talks” or “storytelling” when used as a noun. In the “Da ya” chapter of the *Shijing*, the poem “Yi” 抑 (Cautious and Grave; Mao # 256) reads “be cautious of what you say, be reverentially careful of your outward demeanor” 慎爾出話，敬爾威儀，⁴⁹² and “there is a wise man – I tell him [good] words, and he yields to them the practice of docile virtue” 其維哲人，告之話言，順德之行。⁴⁹³ The Mao commentary defines *hua* 話 as “good words” 善言 and *huayan* 話言 as “good words of antiquity” 古之善言。⁴⁹⁴ The meaning “to tell, to speak to” can be found in the “Pan Geng zhong” 盤庚中 (The Second Book of Pan Geng) chapter in *the Book of History*. It reads “Pwan-käng arose, and crossed the river with the people, moving them to [the new capital]. By and by he addressed himself to those of them who were still dissatisfied” 盤庚作，惟涉河，以民遷，乃話民之弗率。⁴⁹⁵ In this example, it seems that in early times when the oral culture dominated practically all aspects of social life, the

⁴⁹² See Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Poetry*, 4:513.

⁴⁹³ See Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Poetry*, 4:516.

⁴⁹⁴ See Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Poetry*, 4:516, notes.

⁴⁹⁵ Legge’s translation reads “Pwan-käng arose, and crossed the river with the people, moving them to [the new capital]. By and by he addressed himself to those of them who were still dissatisfied.” James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: Vol. III The Book of Historical Documents*, 3:233.

communicative term *hua* 話 had a slightly more serious connotation similar to the early usages of the terms *tan* 談 and *shui* 說 in their political contexts. Still, the more casual aspect of its meaning was widely used through the times as shown by examples from Wei and Jin times to the Tang and Song. Anecdote #53 in “Wenxue” 文學 (Letters and Scholarship) chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu* uses the term *huayan* 話言 in its casual conversational sense in the line “after Chang had come forward, Ssu-ma Yü conversed with him.” 既前，撫軍與之話言。⁴⁹⁶ Similarly, Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (ca. 689-740) wrote in the poem “Guo guren zhuang” 過故人莊 (Passing by the Homestead of an Old Friend), “the banquet is spread in front of the threshing floor and the garden, wind cups in hand, we talked about the [harvest of] mulberry and hemp” 開筵面場圃，把酒話桑麻。⁴⁹⁷

The oral culture of Tang and Song is of particular interest to the study on the *Tang yulin*. Kominami Ichiro depicts the Tang as a society where literati officials would “tell each other stories when they had plenty of time on their hands,” and on such occasions “it was not just one particular person who told the stories; rather, they were all obliged to tell in turn some story with which they were familiar.”⁴⁹⁸ One can find examples from texts where all kinds of communicative modes were used together to depict the rich oral culture of the time. In a poem sent to Bo Juyi, Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831) wrote “brush and ink were exhausted when we inscribed names [on the walls]; light and darkness shifted while we listened to storytelling” 翰墨題名盡，光陰聽話移. Accompanying the poem, there is also a note by Yuan Zhen stating “once

⁴⁹⁶ Mather, p. 119. Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 4.217.

⁴⁹⁷ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6580.

⁴⁹⁸ Kominami, “T’ang-Dynasty *Ch’uan-ch’i* Stories,” p. 7.

in the Xinchang residence, we told the story of ‘A Sprig of Flowers.’ We talked from the time of *yin* until the time of *si* and still had not finished” 嘗於新昌宅說一枝花話，自寅至巳，尤未畢詞也。⁴⁹⁹ The ties between the oral presentation of “Yi zhi hua” 一枝花 (A Sprig of Flowers) and the composition of Bai Xingjian’s 白行簡 (ca. 776-826) “Li Wa zhuan” 李娃傳 (The Tale of Li Wa) have been generally accepted as evidence of the oral provenance of “Li Wa zhuan.”⁵⁰⁰ Guo Shi 郭湜 (700-788) also notes in “Gao Lishi zhuan” 高力士傳 that “everyday the Exalted Emperor and the Revered Sir Gao watched, in person, [the servants] sweeping and cleaning the court yard, mowing the grass and trimming the trees. Sometimes they explicated the sutras, discussed and deliberated [their meanings], transforming [the texts] into storytelling” 每日上皇與高公親看掃除庭院，芟薙草木，或講經論議，轉變說話。⁵⁰¹

Oral culture flourished in Song dynasty urban life with various forms of storytelling such as *shuohua* 說話, “storytelling,” *shuochang* 說唱, “ballad-telling,” *shuo gongan* 說公案, “court-case-telling,” *shuojing* 說經, “sutra-telling,” and *shuo tiejier* 說鐵騎兒, “telling of men on armored horses,” etc. The Southern Song dynasty Guanpu naide weng 灌圃耐得翁 described the various forms of “telling” in his *Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝 (Records of Spectacles of the Capital City). The chapter “Washe zhongji” 瓦舍眾妓 (All the Talents of the Pleasure

⁴⁹⁹ *Yuan Zhen ji*, 1:116-7.

⁵⁰⁰ Dudbridge, *The Tale of Li Wa*, pp. 20-26. Also, Nienhauser points out that the first meeting of the lovers in “Li Wa zhuan” resembles a parallel in a later tale in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 where a similar episode of the first meeting also happens at a gate in Mingke qu 鳴珂曲 (Jingling Harness Lane) in Changan 長安. He notes that the resemblance either demonstrates the late-ninth-century influence of the “Li Wa zhuan,” or it may indicate an oral, formulaic scene active in the Tang storytelling tradition. Nienhauser, “A Third Look at ‘Li Wa zhuan,’” p. 101.

⁵⁰¹ *Hanyu da cidian*, 3:6611.

Precincts)⁵⁰² explains that “court-case-telling is all about those affairs of sword-fighting and rod-combating, as well as those of rising to power and transforming into prosperity” 說公案，皆是搏刀趕棒，及發跡變泰之事; and “the genre ‘All Keys and Modes’ came up with Kong Sanchuan of the [former] capital. [This genre] comprised the telling of stories of strange occurrence and ghost stories, as well as the Eight Suites and ballad-telling” 諸宮調本京師孔三傳編撰，傳奇，靈怪，八曲，說唱;⁵⁰³ while “sutra-telling is to perform and tell [stories in] the Buddhist sutras” 說經，謂演說佛經; and “telling of men on armored horses is about the affairs concerning warriors and horses, gongs and drums” 說鐵騎兒，謂士馬金鼓之事。⁵⁰⁴ Meng Yuanlao’s 孟元老 (ca. 1090-1150) *Dongjing meng hua lu* 東京夢華錄 (A Record of Dreaming of Hua [Xu] in the Eastern Capital)⁵⁰⁵ also records one type of comedy performance called “Mountain-man Zhang’s joke-telling” 張山人說諢話 in the “Jingwa jiyi” 京瓦技藝 (Talents and Arts at the Pleasure Precincts of the Capital) chapter.⁵⁰⁶ Even the vendors hawking their goods at the Song dynasty capitals developed their own genre of oral culture called *jiaosheng* 叫聲, “Vendor’s Song.” The *Ducheng jisheng* notes that “the vendor’s songs arose in the [former] capital; they are inspired by the songs of all kinds of market vendors who used them for selling

⁵⁰² Translation of the title of this section of the *Ducheng jisheng* is by Dorothee Schaab-Hanke. See “The Capital Behind the Capital: Life in Kaifeng as Reflected in the *Ducheng jisheng*,” *Oriens Extremus* 50 (2011), 206.

⁵⁰³ Translation of this sentence based on Dorothee Schaab-Hanke’s translation, in “The Capital Behind the Capital,” p. 197.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ducheng jisheng*, 13b-14a, in *Jing yin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, v.590.9a-b.

⁵⁰⁵ The translation of the title follows the rendition by Stephen West and Dorothee Schaab-Hanke in reading Hua as the paradise Huaxu 華胥 ruled by the Yellow Emperor. See Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, “The Capital Behind the Capital,” p. 193.

⁵⁰⁶ *Dongjing meng hua lu*, 5.3a, in *Jing yin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, v.589.146b.

their goods, and some of them were selected and set to music” 叫聲，自京師起撰，因市井諸色歌吟賣物之聲，采合宮調而成也。⁵⁰⁷ Dorothee Schaab-Hanke points out that these “originated in simple songs of the merchants advertizing their goods and then developed into a musical genre during the Northern Song period,” and became pieces of entertainment that arose in the capital Kaifeng.⁵⁰⁸

Such a rich oral culture certainly included all sorts of stories and anecdotes of the past told either by professional entertainers or simply by the enthusiastic populace fond of a good tale. Even the little kids could be lured out of making troubles with good storytelling. Su Shi’s *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林 contains an entry called “The Conversation on ‘Little Boys in the Walkways and Alleys Listening to the Telling of the Three Kingdoms’” 途巷小兒聽說三國語.

It reads:

Wang Peng used to say, “the little boys in the walkways and alleys are mean and troublemaking. Their families detest and suffer from them, often give them some money and make them gather and sit together to listen to the telling of ancient tales. When it comes to the telling of the affairs from the Three Kingdoms, if they hear Liu Xuande is defeated, there would be some frowning and bursting into tears; if they hear Cao Cao is defeated, they would immediately be happy and sing with delight. From this we know the influences from the gentlemen (or the sovereign sage) and the petty men (or the mere

⁵⁰⁷ Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, “The Capital Behind the Capital,” p. 197. *Ducheng jisheng*, 11b-12a, in *Jing yin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, v.590.8a-b.

⁵⁰⁸ Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, “The Capital Behind the Capital,” p. 199.

sage) would not be cut off [even after] a hundred generations.”⁵⁰⁹ [Wang] Peng was the son of [Wang] Kai. He served as a military officer and knew literature and writings quite well. I once composed a lamentation for him. His style name was Danian.

王彭嘗云：途巷中小兒薄劣，其家所厭苦，輒與錢，令聚坐聽說古話。至說三國事，聞劉玄德敗，顰蹙有出涕者；聞曹操敗，即喜唱快。以是知君子小人之澤，百世不斬。彭，愷之子，為武吏，頗知文章，余嘗為作哀辭，字大年。⁵¹⁰

This short account is interesting not only because the comment is from Wang Dang’s father Wang Peng, but also for how the terms of different modes of communicative actions are used here. The terms *shuo* 說 and *hua* 話 describe the oral culture of storytelling with *shuo* 說 depicting the action of “telling” and *hua* 話 denoting the content of the telling in the phrase *guhua* 古話, “ancient tales.” On the other hand, Wang Peng’s description of such oral culture and his comment is signified with the term *yu* 語 in the title “The Conversation on ‘Little Boys in the Walkways and Alleys Listening to the Telling of the Three Kingdoms’.” It must have been originally during a conversation between Su Shi and Wang Peng that Wang happened to offer this piece of comment, but it also shows a kind of remoteness of the action *yu* 語 from the entertaining nature of the storytelling denoted by *shuo* 說 and *hua* 話. Here *yu* 語 is similar to the *yu* 語 in the title *Tang yulin* in the sense that first it refers to the actual conversation on the oral culture, second, it offers a kind of commentary on the oral aspect of culture of the time, and third,

⁵⁰⁹ Wang Peng’s comment alludes to a sentence in the “Li lou” 離婁 passage of the *Mengzi* (22.1) which reads, “Mencius said, ‘the influence of a sovereign sage terminates in the fifth generation. The influence of a mere sage does the same’” 孟子曰，君子之澤，五世而斬。小人之澤，五世而斬。 See Legge, *The Chinese Classics: Vol. II The Works of Mencius*, 2:327.

⁵¹⁰ Su Shi 蘇軾， *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林 (Forest of Records at the East Slope, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1981, rpt. 1997), p. 7. Another title for this entry “A Record on Wang Peng Commenting on the Influences from Cao [Cao] and Liu [Xuande]” 記王彭論曹劉之澤。 See Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 8:66.121.

as the title of a piece of textual account that describes the oral culture, it serves as a unique tradition that focuses on the connection between the oral culture and the written text that strove to preserve this oral culture in the form of anecdotal accounts of the past.

4.2.3.4 Textual Records of Anecdotal Memories of Oral Culture

Of the fifty titles Wang Dang used as his source material for the *Tang yulin*, seventeen titles feature terms denoting various modes of communicative actions such as *shuo* 說, *hua* 話, *yu* 語, *tan* 談, and *yan* 言.⁵¹¹ Some titles explicitly state that the anecdotes in the collections are

⁵¹¹ S#3) *Yin hua lu* 因話錄 (Notes Based on Remarks)

S#4) *Tan bin lu* 譚[談]賓錄 (Notes from Discussions with Guests)

S#11) *Gui yuan tan cong* 桂苑談叢 (Series of Discussions at the Osmanthus Garden)

S#12) *Ji wen tan* 紀聞談 (Records of Discussions on Things Heard)

S#16) *Changshi yan zhi* 常侍言旨 (Essence of Words from the Attendant-in-Ordinary)

S#18) *Yunxi you yi* 雲溪友議 (Colloquy with Friends at the [Wu]yun xi, Creek of [Five] Clouds)

S#20) *Rongmu xiantan* 戎幕閒談 (Leisurely Discussions in the Military Office)

S#23) *Da Tang shuo zuan* 大唐說纂 (Collection of Talks from the Great Tang)

S#25) *Lu shi za shuo* 盧氏雜說 (Miscellaneous Talks [Recorded by] Mr. Lu)

S#26) *Ju tan lu* 劇談錄 (Notes from Jestng Discussions)

S#30) *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語 (New Conversations from the Great Tang)

S#31) *Liu Gong jiahua* 劉公嘉話 (Fine Remarks from the Revered Gentleman Liu [Yuxi])

S#37) *Yutang xianhua* 玉堂閒話 (Leisurely Remarks at the Jade Hall)

S#39) *Bei meng suo yan* 北夢瑣言 (Trivial Words from Northern [Yun]meng, i.e., Lake of the Dream of Clouds)

S#41) *Liu shi xuxun* 柳氏敍訓 (Instructions Narrated by Mr. Liu)

notes on communicative activities such as discussions and remarks, and therefore are records of the oral culture of the time. For example, the *Yin hua lu* 因話錄, literally, “Notes Based on Remarks,” the *Tan bin lu* 譚[談]賓錄, “Notes from Discussions with Guests,” the *Ji wen tan* 紀聞談, “Records of Discussions on Things Heard,” the *Ju tan lu* 劇談錄, “Notes from Jesting Discussions” and the *Jia shi tanlu* 賈氏談錄, “Notes on Discussions with Mr. Jia.” Others feature phrases indicating records of oral communications such as *jiahua* 嘉話, “fine remarks,” *xiantan* 閒談, “leisurely discussions,” *xianhua* 閒話, “leisurely remarks,” *shuozuan* 說纂, “collection of talks,” *tancong* 談叢, “series of discussions,” *yanzhi* 言旨, “essence of words,” *you yi* 友議, “colloquy with friends,” *zashuo* 雜說, “miscellaneous talks,” *xinyu* 新語, “new conversations,” *suoyan* 瑣言, “trivial words,” and *xuxun* 敍訓, “instructions narrated.” Of the titles that do not explicitly feature the terms of communicative activities from the oral culture, five titles⁵¹² still contain the term *wen* 聞, “to hear,” which is an implicit action in all the communicative activities of the oral culture. These titles feature phrases such as *jiuwen* 舊聞, “old things heard,” *yiwen* 異聞, “strange things heard,” *jianwen* 見聞 or *wenjian* 聞見, “things

S#43) *Guochao zhuanji* 國朝傳記 (Biographies and Records of the State Court): Also called *Sui Tang jiahua* 隋唐嘉話 (Fine Remarks on the Sui and Tang).

S#48) *Jia shi tanlu* 賈氏談錄 (Notes on Discussions with Mr. Jia)

⁵¹² S#10) *Ci Liu shi jiuwen* 次柳氏舊聞 (Old Things Heard by Mr. Liu, Second Volume)

S#22) *Yiwen ji* 異聞集 (Collection of Strange Things Heard)

S#29) *Pi shi jianwen* 皮氏見聞 (Things Heard and Seen by Mr. Pi)

S#47) *Wen qi lu* 聞奇錄 (Notes on Hearing the Marvelous [Things])

S#50) *Feng shi jianwen ji* 封氏見聞記 (Records of Things Heard and Seen by Mr. Feng)

heard and seen,” and *wenqi* 聞奇, “hearing the marvelous [things].” If there are things to be heard there must be things said, spoken of, discussed, and talked about. These titles of “things heard” indicate the effort made in these collections to preserve the content of the oral culture in anecdotal forms. As a perfect representation of the connection between the oral culture and the written record, the title *Ji wen tan* 紀聞談, “Records of Discussions on Things Heard,” shows at once the dynamics between hearing and talking in the oral culture and the function of the text that preserves the content of such discussions in anecdotal accounts.

While the oral culture itself disappears together with its specific time period, the textual records devoted to it will be transmitted as anecdotal memories of the past. Among the sources of Wang Dang’s *Tang yulin*, there are also titles⁵¹³ that explicitly claim to be memories of the past with phrases such as *gushi* 故實, “past facts,” *gushi* 故事, “old affairs,” and *yishi* 遺事, “affairs left behind.” A couple of the source titles highlight the memory transmission process with the term *zhuan/chuan* 傳 such as the *Zhuan zai* 傳載 (Accounts Recorded) and the *Kaitian chuanxin ji* 開天傳信記 (Records of Circulated Trustworthy [Accounts] during the Kaiyuan and Tianbao Reign). Still some titles employ general mnemonic terms commonly used for recording past events and lives of historical figures, such as *ji* 記, “records,” *zhuan* 傳, “biography,” and *lu*

⁵¹³ S#7) *Shangshu gushi* 尚書故實 (Past Facts from the Minister)

S#14) *Zhenling yishi* 貞陵遺事 (Affairs Left Behind from the Zhen Mausoleum)

S#15) *Xu Zhenling yishi* 續貞陵遺事 (Sequel to Affairs Left Behind from the Zhen Mausoleum)

S#38) *Zhongchao gushi* 中朝故事 (Old Affairs from the “Middle” Reign, i.e., the Reigns of Emperors Yizong 懿宗, Zhaozong 昭宗, and Aihuangdi 哀皇帝)

S#42) *Wei Zhenggong gushi* 魏鄭公故事 (Old Affairs of the Wei [Zheng], the Duke of Zheng)

錄, “notes,” etc.⁵¹⁴ Two titles, however, explicitly claim to be anecdotal supplements to official history: the *Guoshi bu* 國史補 (Supplement to State History) and the *Bu guoshi* 補國史 (To Supplement State History).⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁴ S#49) *Qiuran ke zhuan* 虬髯客傳 (Biography of the Guest with the Curly Beard)

S#8) *Song chuang lu* 松窗錄 (Notes [Taken] under the Pine Window)

S#9) *Luling guanxia ji* 廬陵官下記 (Records during the Official Post at Luling)

S#13) *Dongguan zou ji* 東觀奏記 (Records of Memorials at the Eastern Palace)

S#21) *Minghuang zalu* 明皇雜錄 (Miscellaneous Notes of the Luminous Emperor)

S#32) *Jiegu lu* 羯鼓錄 (Notes on the Drum of the Jie Tribe)

S#33) *Zhitian lu* 芝田錄 (Notes from the Field of Ganoderma, i.e., the Plant of Immortality)

S#45) *Luo zhong ji yi* 洛中記異 (Strange Things Recorded in Luoyang)

⁵¹⁵ The rest of the titles from Wang Dang’s list are:

S#5) *Qi ji* 齊集 (i.e., *Lanzhai ji* [嵐]齋集, Collection from the Lan Study⁵¹⁵)

S#6) *Youxian guchui* 幽閒鼓吹 (Drums and Trumpets of the Secluded Leisure Time)

S#24) *Kan wu* 刊誤 (Correcting Errors)

S#27) *Yuquan biduan* 玉泉筆端 ([Things at the] Tip of the Writing Brush by [Master] Yuquan, i.e., Master Jade-Spring)

S#28) *Jinhua zi zabian* 金華子雜編 (Miscellaneous Collection by Master Jinhua)

S#34) *Zixia ji* 資暇集 (A Collection to Aid Leisurely [Times])

S#35) *Duyang zabian* 杜陽雜編 (Miscellaneous Collection at Duyang)

S#36) *Benshi shi* 本事詩 (Poetry on events)

S#40) *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Collected Essential of the Tang)

S#44) *Huichang jieyi* 會昌解頤 (Jokes in the Huichang Reign, 841-846)

S#46) *Gan zhuan zi* 乾月巽子 (Dried Fruits)

Quite a few of these collections explicitly state in their prefaces the hope to preserve the oral culture and anecdotal memories of its time. One such example is the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* 劉公嘉話錄 (A Record of Fine Remarks from the Revered Gentleman Liu [Yuxi]) compiled by Wei Xuan 韋絢 (801- ca. 866).⁵¹⁶ Wei Xuan also particularly notes in his preface the role of memory and memorization in the process of preservation and transmission.⁵¹⁷ The anecdotes in

⁵¹⁶Also called *Jiahua* 嘉話 (Fine Remarks), *Jiahua lu* 嘉話錄 (A Record of Fine Remarks), *Liu Gong jiahua* 劉公嘉〔佳〕話 (Fine Remarks from the Revered Gentleman Liu [Yuxi]), *Liu Binke jiahua lu* 劉賓客嘉話錄 (A Record of the Fine Remarks from Liu [Yuxi], the Advisor to the Heir Apparent), *Liu Yuxi jiahua* 劉禹錫嘉〔佳〕話 (Fine Remarks from Liu Yuxi), and *Binke jiahua* 賓客嘉〔佳〕話 (Fine Remarks from the Advisor to the Heir Apparent). For an overall introduction of the collection, see Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 788-9. For a translation and detailed study of the *Liu Binke jiahua lu*, see Tori Richardson, *Liu Pin-k'o chia-hua lu [a record of adviser to the heir apparent Liu (Yü Hsi's) fine discourses]: a Study and Translation* (Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison. 1994). Richardson provides an annotated translation of the whole collection based on the *Gushi wenfang xiaoshuo* 顧氏文房小說 edition first published during the Jiajing 嘉靖 (1522-1566) reign by Gu Yuanqing 顧元慶 (1487-1566), with the original text edition in the appendix and editions by Tang Lan 唐蘭 (1901-1979) and Luo Liantian 羅聯添 as his references. He also offers a detailed account of the complicated textual history of the collection and the complete biographical information of Liu Yuxi based on his biographies in the *Jiu Tang shu* and the *Xin Tang shu*, as well as his autobiography, the *Zi Liuzi zizhuan* 子劉子自傳. He provides as much biographical information as possible on Wei Xuan. Treating the text mainly as a source of biographical information on the historical figures it portrays, Richardson discusses the historical value of the collection.

⁵¹⁷Many scholars have studied the role of memory and memorization in Tang social life and literary production. In order to show that Tang writers and readers would naturally use, recognize, and value resonances from earlier texts, William H. Nienhauser, Jr. discusses the subject of memory, and demonstrates with examples, such as Wang Qi 王起 (760-847), Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846), Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), and Li Ping 李邕 (749-821), that “many who aspired for success in the Tang examinations memorized a huge amount of material.” See Nienhauser, “A Third Look at ‘Li Wa zhuan,’” p. 97. Christopher Nugent discusses the role of memory in Tang dynasty poetic culture. He focuses on the material, rather than literary, aspects of Tang poetic culture. With evidence from titles and prefaces of poems, as well as from historical anecdotes, he argues that orality played an important role in the production and dissemination of Tang dynasty poetry, and Tang poetic culture depended on orality more than that of later periods. He explicitly defines his use of the term “orality” to be in a broad sense to include any oral elements in the composition and transmission of poetic works, therefore in a difference sense from that of the primary or secondary orality defined by Ong. He argues that the manuscript-based poetic culture of Tang was never fully distinct from the co-existing oral aspects of poetry. Nugent offers three types of evidence of a co-existent orality in Tang poetry: the first is the “descriptions of oral practice found in variety of sources ranging from anecdotal accounts in the official histories to contemporaneous *biji* [筆記 miscellaneous records or jottings];” the second type is the descriptions of the oral circumstances of composition in titles and prefaces of poems, and poems themselves; the third type of evidence is derived from the wordings of the poems, the “changes, errors or anomalies in poems that are best explained by a process of repeated oral transmission or transcription from an oral source.” With these three types of evidence, Nugent summarizes three ways orality worked in Tang poetic culture: through oral composition, oral transmission, and through memory. Nugent also notes that “memorization was a key method of continued access to texts that were often hard to come by and preserve in material form” (p. 61) due to reasons of illiteracy, poverty, or limited textual resources. In addition, memory was not only a way of preserving texts, but also an “important part of the lives of all educated people in the Tang from singing girls to monks and officials” (p. 66). On the other hand,

this collection were recorded from Wei Xuan's memory around 821 after he studies with Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842) in the Baidi cheng 白帝城 (City of the White Emperor) in the Sichuan region. Only after thirty-five years, in the tenth year (856) of the Dazhong 大中 (847-860) reign, did Wei Xuan edit and finalize the anecdotes in to the one *juan* collection. In the preface, dated 856, Wei Xuan notes the oral origins the anecdotal accounts in his collection and the long process these anecdotal memories of the past went through to be recorded in writing. The preface is translated as follows:

When I, [Wei] Xuan, was three years younger than Lu Ji at the time of entering Luoyang,⁵¹⁸ and at an age of two years longer than the time Chong'er spent out of the territory of Jin,⁵¹⁹ [i.e., when he was twenty-one], I started out from Xiangyang, carrying my book case [through out the way], and reached Jiangling. Rowing a leaf of a boat, ascending the Gorge of Wu, I arrived at the City of the White Emperor. I called upon the Revered Gentleman⁵²⁰ Liu [Yuxi] from Zhongshan, the twenty-eighth elder of the family in his generation, who was formerly conferred the title of President of the Ministry of War, and sought to attend upon and study with him. This was in the spring of the first year (821) of the Changqing reign, and I was permitted by the elder to set my foot [in his chamber], to stand by and wait on him, to

professional singers in the palace and entertainment quarters also memorized a large amount of poetry in order to give oral performances, thus revealing the nature of poetry as part of the commercial culture of the Tang (pp. 53-4).

⁵¹⁸ The tenth year (289) of the Taikang 太康 (280-289) reign of Emperor Wu 武 of the Western Jin 西晉, i.e., Sima Yan 司馬炎 (236-290, r. 266-290), Lu Ji was 24.

⁵¹⁹ Chong'er 重耳 i.e. Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公 (671 B.C. – 628 B.C.) fled Jin in 656 B.C. and returned in 636 B.C., altogether taking refuge out side of Jin for 19 years. Wei Xuan was 21.

⁵²⁰ Richardson uses “His Honor” for the term *gong* 公 which is consistent with the tradition of translating *Taishigong* 太史公 into “His Honor the Grand Scribe.” But in the case of a general respectful term for more than one person, such as *ergong* 二公 (the two Revered Gentlemen), the translation “Revered Gentleman,” or “Revered Sir” when used to address someone directly, might be slightly more convenient. See Richardson, *Liu Pin-k'o chia-hua lu [a record of adviser to the heir apparent Liu (Yü Hsi's) fine discourses]: a Study and Translation*, p. 13.

untie his clothes and to serve his meals, and to rise and rest together with the various masters at dawn and dusk. Sometimes I was ordered to take seat at banquets, to converse and discourse with him, and most [of his conversations] were rooted in teaching and inducing [the students to learn].

絢少陸機入洛之三歲，多重耳在外之二年，自襄陽負笈至江陵，挈葉舟，升巫峽，抵白帝城，投謁故贈兵部尚書賓客中山劉公二十八丈，求在左右學問。是歲長慶元年春，蒙丈人許措足侍立，解衣推食，晨昏與諸子起居，或因宴命坐，與語論，大抵根于教誘。

While in his leisure time out side of analyzing and explaining the Classics and Official Histories, he would occasionally mention the jovial discussions among the literary figures at the court of the state, recent conversations among the ministers and councilors, extraordinary tales of dreams, and such topics as jesting and teasing, divinations and incantations, children's ballads and fine lines [of poetry]. As soon as I heard them while sitting at my mat, I would record them from memory after I withdrew. Some of them I wrote down and some of them I memorized right at the moment.⁵²¹ Those that I did not get the time to remember [or record] and are therefore now forgotten are countless. What I have in my hand and in the strapped notebook is the one hundredth of [all I heard] that survived. Now completely based on what was said day and night during that time I record it without having its order rearranged, entitle it *Liu Gong jiahua lu* (A Record of Fine Remarks from the Revered Gentleman Liu [Yuxi]) and pass it down to those who are curious about things to be used as subjects of their discussions. I, Wei Xuan, a native of the Capital who served as Grand

⁵²¹*Ranhan zhujian* 染翰竹簡, literally “staining the bamboo slips with a writing brush,” refers to the action of writing, and *zanbi shushen* 簪筆書紳, literally “sticking the writing brush in one’s hair, ready to write on one’s belt,” is often used figuratively to indicate the action of firmly memorizing what one hears *in-situ*.

Master for Closing Court, the Metropolitan Vice-Prefect of Jiangling, and Supreme Pillar of State, prefaced this in the second month of the tenth year (856) of the Dazhong reign.⁵²²

而解釋經史之暇，偶及國朝文人劇談，卿相新語，異常夢話，若諧謔卜祝，童謠佳句。即席聽之，退而默記，或染翰竹簡，或簪筆書紳，其不暇記，因而遺忘者，不知其數，在掌中焚夾者，百存一焉。今悉依當時日夕所話而錄之，不復編次，號曰劉公嘉話錄，傳之好事，以為談柄也。時大中十年二月，朝散大夫江陵少尹上柱國京兆韋絢序。⁵²³

Three things are significant in the latter half of Wei Xuan's preface. First, the focus of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* is not the scholarly discussions on the classics and histories, but rather the “joyful discussions” 劇談, the “recent conversations” 新語, the “tales of dreams” 夢話, the “jesting and teasing, divinations and incantations, children's ballads and fine lines [of poetry]” 諧謔卜祝, 童謠佳句. They came from the oral culture of Wei Xuan's time, and were circulated orally and reached Wei through Liu Yuxi's casual conversations, and were eventually recorded by Wei in writing “completely based on what was said day and night during that” 悉依當時日夕所話而錄之. Thus the preface not only shows the oral origins of the anecdotes in the collection, but also the oral transmission of them through casual conversations among literati scholars. Moreover, it reveals the nature of this anecdotal collection entitled *jiahua lu* 嘉話錄, “A Record of Fine Remarks,” as a textual re-production of the oral culture, or at least a re-production of the content of the oral culture. Such a collection – in the form of anecdotal accounts – strives to serve as a bridge between the oral culture of the time and the tradition of written texts as memories of the past. Second, personal memory played an important role in the process of forming such a bridge of anecdotal memories of the past. The quick snippets of the oral culture were first preserved in

⁵²² Translation of Wei Xuan's preface here takes as a reference Richardson's partial translation of the preface. See Richardson, p. 13.

⁵²³ *Liu Binke jiahua lu* 劉賓客嘉話錄, 1a-b, in *Jingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, v.1035:456a.

Wei Xuan's memory before being re-produced in writing. Wei wrote, "as soon as I heard them while sitting at my mat, I would record them from memory after I withdrew. Some of them I wrote down and some of them I memorized right at the moment" 即席聽之，退而默記，或染翰竹簡，或簪筆書紳. It shows how important personal memory and the process of memory formation, *ji* 記, "to memorize," on the level of the individual are in the process of preserving the oral culture and the anecdotal memories of the past. It also reveals the cruel reality that these anecdotal records preserved in writing are only a small fraction of the oral culture he encountered and remembered. Wei Xuan wrote, "those that I did not get the time to remember [or record] and are therefore now forgotten are countless. What I have in my hand and in the strapped notebook is the one hundredth of [all I heard] that survived" 其不暇記，因而遺忘者，不知其數，在掌中焚夾者，百存一焉. As forgetfulness is the natural companion to memory and remembrance, by the time Wei Xuan finally got to the work of compiling the whole collection in 856, some thirty-five years away from the time he first heard the stories, much more was forgotten or lost. Third, this preface also offers insight into the function of such anecdotal collections from the perspective of the very literati scholars who produced them. Wei Xuan wrote, for example, he intended to "pass it down to those who are curious about things to be used as subjects of their discussions" 傳之好事，以為談柄也. This is also the case for Wei Xuan's another collection of anecdotal memories of the oral culture of his time, the *Rongmu xiantan* 戎幕閒談 (Leisurely Discussions in the Military Office), which is also one of the source titles for Wang Dang's *Tang yulin*.

Wei Xuan recorded the stories and conversations among Li Deyu's circle and compiled the *Rongmu xiantan* 戎幕閒談 (Leisurely Discussions in the Military Office)⁵²⁴ in the fifth year (831) of the Dahe 大和 (827-835) reign, even before he compiled the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. The original preface reads:

The revered gentleman Zanhuang [i.e., Li Deyu] has extensive knowledge of things and takes a liking to the marvelous. He is especially good at telling strange affairs of past and present. When he garrisoned in the Shu, he facilitated and assisted his effusive public narration of [stories with them], without knowing tiredness. [The revered gentleman] then spoke to me, [Wei] Xuan, “if you can follow [the conversations] and record them, they’d also be sufficient to enrich what is seen and heard.” I, [Wei] Xuan, therefore took up the wooden strips⁵²⁵ recorded them and entitled [the collection] *Rongmu xiantan* (Leisurely Discussions in the Military Office). Introduction by Wei Xuan, the Inspector, on the twenty-third day of the eleventh month in the fifth year of the Dahe reign.

贊皇公博物好奇，尤善話古今異事。當鎮蜀時，資佐宣吐麀麀，不知倦焉。乃語絢曰，能隨而紀之，亦足以資于聞見。絢遂操觚錄之，號為戎幕閒談。大(太)和五年十一月二十三日巡官韋絢引。⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ The “Yiwen zhi” of the *Xin Tang shu* recorded one *juan* of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*, with a note reading “[Wei] Xuan’s style name was Wenming. He was the son of [Wei] Zhiyi, the Military Commissioner of the Righteous-Martial Army during the Xiantong (860-874) reign” 絢字文明，執誼子也，咸通義武軍節度使 (*Xin Tang shu*, 59.1542). Cheng Yizhong 程毅中 believes this was the official title Wei Xuan occupied in his later years 晚年 (Cheng Yizhong, *Tang dai xiaoshuo shi*, [History of Tang dynasty minor discourses] Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 2003, pp. 201-3).

⁵²⁵ *Gu* 觚 means the wooden strips made for writing in ancient times. *Caogu* 操觚 is generalized to mean taking up writing tools such as paper and a writing brush, emphasizing the physical action of writing.

⁵²⁶ Lu Xinyuan 陸心源, *Tang wen shiyi* 唐文拾遺, 28.14b, in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, v.1651:409a.

Though the *Rongmu xiantan* is no longer extant, some of its entries are quoted in the *Shuo fu* (5 entries), the *Lei shuo* 類說 (9 entries) and the *Taiping guangji*. From these quoted entries, one can see that some start with the phrase “the revered gentleman Zanhuang says...” 贊皇公曰, and the book seems to be a collection of mainly the “strange affairs of past and present” 古今異事 that Li Deyu talked about. Wei Xuan again noted that he compiled the *Rongmu xiantan* “hoping to explain the things he heard and to use it to facilitate discussions and conversations” 冀釋其所聞，用資談話. In this case, it is made explicit that the project of recording such anecdotal memories from the oral culture is a conscious act of preservation, as Li Deyu spoke to Wei Xuan that “if you can entitle [the stories] and record them, they’d also be sufficient to enrich what is seen and heard” 能題而紀之，亦足以資于聞見. This is not the only case for the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* and the *Rongmu xiantan*, many of the collections of anecdotal memories of the past claim such a purpose of compilation and function of the text, revealing an explicit and conscious act of preservation. For example, in the short preface of the two *juan* collection entitled the *Dengxia xiantan* 燈下閒談, the unknown author⁵²⁷ states:

During the days Li [Deyu] the Defender-in-chief⁵²⁸ garrisoned in [the region of] Shu, Wei Xuan the Bandit-surveillance Officer compiled the *Rongmu xiantan* hoping to explain the things he heard and to use it to facilitate discussions and conversations. Under the [light of the] lamp, in addition to our conversations and discussions, two or three intimate friends and I told [one another] strange things of recent generations. Together with the scholar named Zuo Zihua, they [all] told me, “You can record these to show the various

⁵²⁷ Cheng Yizhong, *Tang dai xiaoshuo shi*, 341-5.

⁵²⁸ Hucker, p. 485, #6260.

friends [of ours].” Only those [stories] I obtained from the trustworthy gentlemen did I record with my writing brush, divide into two *juan*, and entitle them *Dengxia xiantan* (Leisurely Discussions under the [Light of the] Lamp), which is roughly similar to the *Rongmu xiantan*.

李太尉鎮蜀日，巡盜官韋絢編戎幕閒談，冀釋其所聞，用資談話。余燈下與二三知己談對外，話近代異事，與生左子華謂余曰，可錄之以示諸友。得之於信厚之士者方筆錄之，離成二卷，目為燈下閒談，亦類乎戎幕閒談云耳。⁵²⁹

Although the preface claims that “only those [stories] I obtained from the trustworthy gentlemen did I record with my writing brush” 得之於信厚之士者方筆錄之, the twenty-four entries in this small collection feature sacred events and stories with titles such as “Efficacy of the Spirit of the Banyan Tree” 榕樹精靈, “The Carp Turns into a Woman” 鯉魚變女, and “The Pine Tree Talks” 松作人語. In addition to the claim of heritage to the tradition set by the *Rongmu xiantan*, this preface also notes that the project was encouraged by the friends of the compiler.

It then seems that the compilation of anecdotal memories of the past into collections is a shared effort to preserve and pass down selected stories from the oral culture of the time. This conscious act of preservation seemed to gain momentum during the Song dynasty, and we can find similar titles before and around Wang Dang’s time⁵³⁰ such as the *Yang Wengong tanyuan* 楊文公談苑 (The Garden of Discussions by Yang Wengong, i.e., Yang Yi 楊億, 974-1020) and the *Ding Jingong tanlu* 丁晉公談錄 (Records of Discussions of Ding, Duke of Jin, i.e., Ding Wei 丁謂, 966-1037). They also cover a wide range of topics from casual conversations, for example,

⁵²⁹ *Dengxia xiantan* 燈下閒談, 2 vols. in *Shiyuan congshu* 適園叢書, ed. Zhang Junheng 張鈞衡 (1872-1927), Nanlin Zhang shi 南林張氏, 1916. 12 *ji* 集, no. 185. V. 24, part 1.

⁵³⁰ For more examples see Liu Yeqiu 劉葉秋, *Lidai biji gaishu* 歷代筆記概述 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1980).

Shen Kuo's 沈括 (1031-1095) preface for the *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 reads “recorded [in this collection] are only those carefree discussions and jokes in the mountains and under the shades of trees that do not touch upon the gains and losses of others. [Ranging] down to the words from the alleys of villages, there is nothing not included” 所錄唯山間木蔭，率意談噓，不擊人之利害者，下至閭巷之言，靡所不有。⁵³¹ In addition to these titles claiming to be records of casual conversations, the Song dynasty also saw a surge in miscellaneous writings such as the genres of *shihua* 詩話, “remarks on poetry,”⁵³² and *yulu* 語錄, “recorded comments,”⁵³³ especially the *yulu* of the Chan masters.⁵³⁴ Jan Yun-hua comments on *Chan yulu* 禪語錄 that “unlike early Confucian dialogues which underwent revision by literary transmitters, the *Ch'an yü-lu* faithfully record the living conversation of the masters. These vernaculars, forerunners of the vernacular literature of the Sung and Ming periods, are a treasure for linguistic researchers.”⁵³⁵ These genres had their origins in the oral culture of more literary or philosophical discussions and the collections in such genres often claimed the function to contribute material to further discussions on the topics of poetry or Chan Buddhism.

The *Tang yulin* 唐語林 was compiled around the time of Northern Song when anecdotal collections and miscellaneous records flourished. As discussed earlier, many of its source books

⁵³¹ Hu Daojing 胡道靜 (1913-2003), *Xin jiaozheng Mengxi bitan* 新校正夢溪筆談 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975), p. 19.

⁵³² See Ronald Egan, *Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, Part 1, p. 381, 453.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

⁵³⁴ See the entry on the *Chan yulu* 禪語錄 in Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion* v. 1, pp. 201-3.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

claim to be records of oral culture activities in their titles such as the *Jutan lu* 劇談錄, the *Yin hua lu* 因話錄, the *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語. And as shown with the example of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* 劉公嘉話錄 and the *Rongmu xiantan* 戎幕閒談, these collections are expected to “be used to facilitate discussions and conversations” 用資談話, to be “pass[ed] down to those who are curious about things to be used as subjects of their discussions” 傳之好事，以為談柄也, and “to enrich what is seen and heard” 以資于聞見. Thus, these anecdotal memories once came from the oral culture of the past would again return to the oral culture of later times. The anecdotal collections entitled with various modes of communicative actions such as *yan* 言, *tan* 談, *shuo* 說, *hua* 話 and *yu* 語 served to preserve and transmit the oral culture of the past in anecdotal memories. These preserved memories in textual forms would again be read, memorized and used as material for conversation and storytelling, and therefore be consumed in the oral culture of later times. Therefore, these anecdotal collections are bridges in the sense that first they connect the oral culture with the tradition of recording memories of the past in written forms, and second they connect, and to some extent perpetuate, the oral culture of the past into that of the later times. The involvement of textual records of these anecdotal memories allow them, and the content of the oral culture of the past, to be transmitted across time and space and become cultural memories in the sense that is truly beyond and thus independent of the existence and experience of the individual and any collective groups. The next section (4.3) will take the titles with the term *yu* 語 as an example to treat such collections as a literary tradition, to discuss the classification of such collections in the Chinese knowledge system, and to relate the “conversations” (*yu*) tradition to *xiaoshuo* and *zashi*, and the production of cultural memory.

4.3 The “Conversations” (*Yu*) Tradition, *Xiaoshuo*, *Zashi* and the Production of Cultural Memory

Based on the discussions in the previous (4.2) section, this section (4.3) explores the development of “conversations” (*yu*) as a special textual tradition with its emphasis on recorded conversations. The reason for treating the texts entitled with the word *yu* as a “tradition” rather than a formal literary “genre” is that, though these texts share a relatively consistent focus on and awareness of a shared form, here “conversations,” their contents are more of an eclectic and fluid nature and their categorizations in the ancient Chinese bibliographical system vary. The tentative conclusion here is that such a peculiar nature is caused by, and in turn reflects, the changing dynamics between the oral culture and the written culture of ancient China. With its intricate connections to the oral culture, the textual “conversations” (*yu*), as a representative example of the anecdotal collections featuring various modes of communicative actions such as *shuo* 說, *hua* 話, *yu* 語, *tan* 談, and *yan* 言 in their titles, seems to be more of a fluid “tradition” rather than a literary “genre” that is often mainly defined by and intended for the action of writing. In her study of the *lun* 論, “discourses,” as a literary genre, Anne Kinney notes that the formation of a literary genre seems to depend on at least three conditions, “first, the existence of enough written material in total to warrant subdivision based on distinctive characteristics; second, the accumulation of many examples of one kind of writing that stands out in distinction to other forms; and third, the need to distinguish that particular form from others, for such purposes as bibliographical classification, anthology compilation, or literary criticism.”⁵³⁶ Unlike the *lun*,

⁵³⁶ Anne B. Kinney, *The Art of the Han Essay: Wang Fu's Ch'ien-Fu Lun* (Tempe, AZ: Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1990), p. 21.

Kinney summarizes the descriptions of *lun* in general based on the statements of Wang Chong, Cao Pi and Liu Xie: “It should be logical in thought and organization; it distinguishes truth from falsehood and right from wrong; it comments on contemporary events and ideas, rather than leaning towards classical exegesis; it is cast in the form of

though there were enough written material from early time on that carried the title “*yu*,” such as the *Lun yu* 論語 (The Analects) and the *Guo yu* 國語 (Discourses of the States), all the way to the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (New Conversations of Tales of the World), the *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語 (New Conversations from the Great Tang) and the *Tang yulin*, the “conversations” (*yu*) titles was not distinguished as a literary genre in either bibliographical classification or literary criticism. It was not identified as a category of writing in the early Chinese works on genre theories such as Cao Pi’s 曹丕 (187-226) “Dian lun” 典論 or Liu Xie’s 劉勰 (465-522) *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍. While as a comparison, the *lun* was clearly identified and discussed as a distinctive genre in the early works of literary theory and criticism even though at least half of the eighteen book-length *lun* titles around Han times identified by Kinney were in the form of collections of dialogues.⁵³⁷ Such a distinction clearly demonstrates the focus on writing and on the written discourse in Chinese genre studies and literary criticism as they were deeply rooted in the written culture of ancient China. While on the other hand, the textual traditions associated with the oral culture, such as the “conversations” (*yu*) titles, tended to fall out of the attention of traditional literary criticism. Specific types of “conversations” (*yu*) titles and titles featuring communicative modes, such as the *shihua* 詩話, “remarks on poetry,” and *yulu* 語錄, “recorded comments,” later became recognized genres during the Song dynasty due to their specific literary

a long sustained argument; it eschews ornate literary style; it must propound original ideas, not merely borrow wholesale from other sources; it embraces several forms, including the dialogue, the essay, and the historical comment; it avoids sophistry; it examines a specific idea in great detail; and in its attempt to present facts, it considers all tangible evidence.” Kinney adds to these descriptions her own conclusion that *lun* “may also designate a collection of discourses in book form; it is often written for the perusal of one’s peers; it utilizes a mannered literary style, employing parallelism and rhyme; in book form, it can suggest a prioritizing of ideas through the arrangement of essays within the book; and its tone often resonates with a strong subjectivity achieved by the essayist’s inclination to self-reference and the general spirit of outspokenness in the expression of opinion.” Kinney, *The Art of the Han Essay*, p. 49.

⁵³⁷ Kinney, *The Art of the Han Essay*, pp. 33-7.

or philosophical focus such as poetry, Chan Buddhism, and Neo-Confucian teachings.

However, the “conversations” (*yu*) titles of collections of diverse anecdotal accounts, those that carried the miscellaneous anecdotal memories of the past from the oral culture to the written culture, remained outside of formal discussions of literary genre. In the discussion in this section, my questions are: Was there a deeper significance in naming a collection “conversations” with the communicative term “conversations” (*yu*)? What was it? Where was such a textual tradition located in the bigger picture of the Chinese bibliographical system? And what significance was there in the position of the “conversations” (*yu*) tradition in such system?

Tracing back to the earliest works entitled with “conversations” (*yu*), this section shows how the “conversations” (*yu*) tradition might have changed within the context of the changing dynamics between the oral and written cultures of ancient China. Section 4.3.1 discusses the “conversations” (*yu*) titles in the Confucian tradition: the *Lun yu* 論語 (The Analects), the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 (Conversations from the School of Master Kong), and the *Xinyu* 新語 (New Conversations). Section 4.3.2 takes the *Guo yu* 國語 (Discourses of the States) as an example of “conversations” (*yu*) as the *waizhuan* 外傳, “outer commentary,” and *zashi* 雜史, “miscellaneous histories.” Section 4.3.3 explores the “conversations” (*yu*) titles in the *xiaoshuo* category with the earliest titles, the *Yulin* 語林 (Forest of Conversations) and the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (New Conversations of Tales of the World), as examples. Section 4.3.4 tries to relate *zashi* and *xiaoshuo* to the production of cultural memory and discusses how the concept of cultural memory can be used as a theoretical frame to the study of anecdotal accounts.

Before proceeding to the discussion on individual titles, I should note that the notion of the book title in early China differed much from that of the medieval times. As Tian Xiaofei

points out in her study on the *zishu* 子書, “Masters Literature,” of early China, “in early medieval China a piece of writing – be it prose or poetry – was quite commonly referred to by different titles, and a title was also frequently assigned by a later editor or even a copyist rather than by the author himself or herself.”⁵³⁸ The titles we now use to refer to early texts could also be changed or assigned by the editors and compilers of dynastic bibliographies who recorded them. There is also the risk in choosing texts based on the use of the term “conversations” (*yu*) in their titles that these examples may not fully represent the textual tradition centered around recorded conversations that carried the anecdotal memory of the past from the oral culture to the written. The reasons are first, there are books not entitled with “conversations” (*yu*) that are also collections with a focus on recorded conversations,⁵³⁹ and second, not all the *yu* titles studied here have the same level of focus on the “conversations.” However, analyzing the content and categorization of the “conversations” (*yu*) titles may still help in understanding meaning and significance in naming an anecdotal collection, here the *Tang yulin*, with the term “conversations” (*yu*). It may also offer a special perspective in understanding the textual tradition that carried the anecdotal memory of the past from the oral culture to the written. The discussion on individual titles starts with the *Lun yu*.

⁵³⁸ Tian, Xiaofei. “The Twilight of the Masters: Masters Literature (*zishu*) in Early Medieval China.” *Journal of American Oriental Society* 126 (2006): 466. For more discussions on textual fluidity in the manuscript culture, see Tian Xiaofei, *Tao Yuanming and Manuscript Culture: The Records of A Dusty Table* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2005).

⁵³⁹ For example, Kinney notes that one type of the book-length *lun* titles during the Han and pre-Han times “consists of debates, colloquia, and catechisms that are supposed to reflect the actual conversations or judgments about some historical event,” such as the *Yantie lun* 鹽鐵論 (Discourses on Salt and Iron) by Huan Kuan 桓寬 (fl. Ca. 81 B.C.), the *Shiqu lilun* 石渠禮論 (Shiqu Discourses on the Rites) edited by Dai Sheng 戴勝 (fl. C. 70-50 B.C.), and the *Baihu tongde lun* 白虎通德論 (Discourses Illuminating Virtue from the White Tiger Pavilion) edited by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92). See Kinney, *The Art of the Han Essay*, pp. 33-7.

4.3.1 “Conversations” (*yu*) and the Confucian Tradition

4.3.1.1 The *Lun yu* 論語: Oral Culture and Commemoration

Most of the *Lun yu* passages are in the form of dialogues between Confucius (551-479 B.C.) and his disciples and are set in an assumed conversational context in the daily life. Ban Gu 班固 (32-92) commented in the *Han shu* 漢書 (History of the Han) bibliography that

The *Lun yu* are the conversations of Master Kong responding to [the questions of] his disciples and to men of his times, as well as that of his disciples speaking among themselves and indirectly hearing the Master’s sayings. At that time, each disciple had that which he had remembered (or recorded). After the Master passed away, those of his followers put together what they had gathered and compiled them in an order. For this reason it is called the “Ordered Sayings.”

論語者，孔子應答弟子時人及弟子相與言而接聞與夫子之語也。當時弟子各有所記。夫子既卒，門人相與輯而論纂，故謂之論語。⁵⁴⁰

The sayings of Confucius are mainly presented in the form of dialogues, For example, passage 2.23 reads:

Zi-zhang asked, “Ten dynasties hence, are things predictable?” The Master said, “The Yin followed the rituals of the Xia; what has been reduced and augmented is known to us. The Zhou followed the rituals of Yin; what has been reduced and augmented is known to us. Whoever may succeed the Zhou, were it a hundred dynasties hence, this can be known.”

子張問：「十世可知也？」子曰：「殷因於夏禮，所損益，可知也；周因於殷禮，所損益，可知也；其或繼周者，雖百世可知也。」⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴⁰ *Han Shu*, 30.1717. Based on Professor Nienhauser’s translation.

⁵⁴¹ Translation modified from Huang, *The Analects of Confucius*, p. 57.

“The Master said” is the standard phrase, and symbol of canonicity and authority, in the *Lun yu* to present Confucius’ responses and comments. The example above shows a complete dialogue with question and answer both represented, but in many cases, the questions from the disciples are simply summarized, passage 2.13 can be an example of this case:

When Zi-gong asked about the gentleman, the Master said, “First he puts his words into action, thereafter he follows them.”

子貢問君子。子曰：「先行其言，而後從之。」⁵⁴²

Here only the topic of Zi-gong’s question is noted, and the passage clearly focuses on the comment from Confucius. Similar examples are Fan Chi’s questions in passage 6.22 which are presented in the short sentences “when Fan Chi asked about wisdom” 樊遲問知 and “when he asked about humanity” 問仁.⁵⁴³ These questions were probably just prompts from the disciples for the Master to comment on certain topics, or perhaps the disciples only recorded the Master’s comments and the topic he commented on without noting the details of the questions.⁵⁴⁴

Sometimes the question is from an unidentified person, as is the case in passage 2.21:

Someone said to Master Kong, “Sir, why do you not participate in government?” The Master said, “The Documents says, ‘Be filial, only filial. And kind to your older and

⁵⁴² Translation modified from Ibid., p. 55.

⁵⁴³ Huang, *The Analects of Confucius*, p. 84. The passage reads:

When Fan Chi asked about wisdom, the Master said, “To apply oneself to the duties of man and, while revering the spirits and gods, to keep away from them – this may be called wisdom.” When he asked about humanity, the Master said, “A man of humanity places hard work before reward. This may be called humanity.” 樊遲問知。子曰：「務民之義，敬鬼神而遠之，可謂知矣。」問仁。曰：「仁者先難而後獲，可謂仁矣。」

⁵⁴⁴ The discussion on the nature of the conversational format in the *Lun yu* is based on Professor Nienhauser’s comments on the topic in the graduate seminar on Confucius’s life and work.

younger brothers! This will extend to having [good] government.’ – This is also participating in government. Why must I be ‘participating in government?’”

或謂孔子曰：「子奚不為政？」子曰：「書云：『孝乎惟孝、友于兄弟，施於有政。』是亦為政，奚其為為政？」⁵⁴⁵

It is possible that the “someone” here is employed as a convenient representation of the popular opinion on Confucius, and the question is simply put in the mouth of the “someone” so that the Master’s explanation can be presented as a response to it. Again, some passages are not set in the format of the dialogue, and only briefly offer the context of Confucius’ comments, for example, passage 11.9 reads:

When Yan Yuan died, the Master said, “Alas! Heaven is destroying me! Heaven is destroying me!”⁵⁴⁶

顏淵死。子曰：噫！天喪予！天喪予！

In some cases the context of the Master’s comment also serves as a topic for organizational purposes so that comments on the same topic or person from different occasions can be grouped together. For example, in passage 5.10, the context, or topic, “Zai Yu slept during the day” 宰予晝寢 is followed by two comments from the Master both starting with “The Master said.” The first is the comment within the context and directly addressing the fact of Zai Yu sleeping during the day;⁵⁴⁷ the second, as noted by Huang, might have been made on another occasion but is still

⁵⁴⁵ Translation modified from Huang, *The Analects of Confucius*, p. 56.

⁵⁴⁶ Translation modified from Huang, *The Analects of Confucius*, p. 118.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 74. The first comment reads:

Zai Yu slept during the day. The Master said, “Rotten wood is beyond carving; a dung-and-mud wall is beyond plastering. As for Yu, what is the use of reprimanding him?” 宰予晝寢。子曰：「朽木不可雕也，糞土之牆不可朽也，於予與何誅。」

related to the topic of Zai Yu sleeping during the day.⁵⁴⁸ Still, a large number of passages simply present the Master's words directly without setting them in a dialogue or offering any context of under what circumstances did the Master make such a comment. For example, the famous passage 7.21 simply reads:

The Master said, "When three men walk together, I can surely find my teachers. I choose their good points and follow them and their bad points and correct them [in my own behavior]." ⁵⁴⁹

子曰：三人行，必有我師焉。擇其善者而從之，其不善者而改之。

These simple quotations starting abruptly with the phrase "The Master said" 子曰 and the many one sided, unbalanced dialogues starting with a question or a prompt of a certain topic betray the true focus of the collection to be the recorded opinions and comments by Confucius. Though entitled with the term *yu*, "conversations," and often presented in the form of dialogue, the content of the *Lun yu* is more of a didactic nature and *yu* should be understood as perhaps "sayings" or "speeches," or even "discourses." Still naming the collection *yu*, "conversations," lends a sense of immediacy and an interactive nature to its content, suggesting a conversational context to the sayings and speeches of the Master and perhaps also suggesting a preferred way to read the Master's words as if in dialogue with the sage himself, as if the words were spoken by the Master to the reader personally.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 74. The second comment reads:

The Master said, "At first, my attitude toward men was to hear their words and believe in their deeds. Now my attitude toward men is to hear their words and observe their deeds. It was due to Yu than I have changed this." 子曰：「始吾於人也，聽其言而信其行；今吾於人也，聽其言而觀其行。於予與改是。」

⁵⁴⁹ Translation modified from Huang, *The Analects of Confucius*, p. 91. Huang has a note to this entry that "Master Kong was one of them."

As to the *lun* in the title *Lun yu*, Huang comments that it “means ‘to discuss’ when pronounced in the fourth tone but when pronounced in the second tone, as it has been through the centuries, it is borrowed to function as *lun* 倫 (with the standing man radical) in the sense of *lunli*, meaning ‘ethical principles governing human relations’ or, to be brief, ‘ethics, or ethical.’ Hence, *Lun yu* is supposed to mean ‘Ethical Dialogues.’”⁵⁵⁰ Huang also notes that the meaning of the character has been the subject of controversy since the end of the Han Dynasty. The word “analects,” originally meaning “literary gleanings,” was first used by the British translator James Legge (1815-1897) for an English title more descriptive of the nature of the collection, and later became a tradition and “a term specifically reserved for the rendition of *Lun yu*.”⁵⁵¹ In fact, the word *lun* 倫 also has the meaning of “order” and is often used together with *li* 理, “principles.” Liu Xie comments in the eighteenth chapter, “Lunshuo” 論說, of his *Wenxin diaolong* that

The norms and instructions [set] by the sages and philosophers are called “classics.” To narrate the classics and explicate the principles is called “to discourse.” “To discourse” is “to establish order.” If order and principle are not lost, then the intentions of the sages are not forsaken. In times past, Zhongni spoke subtly, his followers traced and recorded [his words], and therefore/intentionally caused it to be listed among the classics and called it “Ordered Conversations.”

聖哲彝訓曰經，述經敘理曰論。論者，倫也；倫理無爽，則聖意不墜。昔仲尼微言，門人追記，故抑其經目，稱為論語。⁵⁵²

⁵⁵⁰ Huang, *The Analects of Confucius*, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid..

⁵⁵² For an alternative translation and the Chinese text, see Vincent Yu-chung Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, Bilingual Edition (Taipei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1970), p. 140.

Liu Xie's comment here not only explicates the meaning of the term *lun* in the title *Lun yu*, but also reveals the process of the composition, or rather compilation, of the collection. His view agrees with Ban Gu's statement "at that time, each disciple had that which he had remembered (or recorded). After the Master passed away, those of his followers put together what they had gathered and compiled them in an order. For this reason it is called the 'Ordered Conversations/Utterances'" 當時弟子各有所記。夫子既卒，門人相與輯而論纂，故謂之論語。⁵⁵³ The compilation of the *Lun yu* was a collective effort by Confucius' disciples based on perhaps both their memory and written notes, as indicated by the ambiguous phrase *suoji* 所記, "that which [they] remembered (or recorded)," on the Master's teachings. This view on the formation of the *Lun yu* text became generally acknowledged and in the Tang dynasty it was further elaborated in the "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 (Bibliographic Treatise) of the *Sui shu* 隋書 (History of the Sui) which comments:

The *Lun yu* was recorded by the disciples of Master Kong. Master Kong, having already narrated the Six Classics, taught them [in the regions] along the rivers of Zhu and Si. Among his three thousand followers and students, those became distinguished were [around] seventy. As to their responses and interactions with the Master and private discussions among themselves, if the words conformed to the Way, they either wrote them down on their sashes, or practiced/spoke of them tirelessly. After Zhongni passed away, they eventually gathered them and put them in order, and called the collection *Lun yu*.

⁵⁵³ *Han Shu*, 30.1717. Based on Professor Nienhauser's translation.

論語者，孔子弟子所錄。孔子既敘六經，講於洙、泗之上，門徒三千，達者七十。其與夫子應答，及私相講肄，言合於道，或書之於紳，或事之無厭。仲尼既沒，遂緝而論之，謂之論語。⁵⁵⁴

The text of the *Lun yu* as a collection came into being only after its content, which was not a clearly defined set of content to begin with, had been circulated and transmitted both orally and in fragmented writing for a long time. Makeham argues that the *Lun yu* became a book around 150-140 B.C. and that, according to Wang Chong's 王充 (27-ca.97) *Lun heng* 論衡, the title *Lun yu* was first used around that time by Fuqing of Lu 魯扶卿.⁵⁵⁵ Makeham also points out that “we do not know how long Confucius’ teachings were passed on orally after his death, the extent to which his disciples made notes of his teachings, not how many different sets of students’ notes were compiled and transmitted.”⁵⁵⁶ It was clearly still an oral culture at the time of Confucius around 500 B.C. with oral transmission dominating the activities of teaching and learning. Most of the words of Confucius were probably mainly memorized by disciples who “practiced/spoke of them tirelessly” 事之無厭 – not only for the purpose of transmitting the Master’s teachings as generally understood from the perspective of later generations, but also perhaps for the practical purpose of trying to retain them in their memory and not to forget.

Brooks argues that the *Lun yu* was a composite text put together by different people at different times.⁵⁵⁷ As Nienhauser points out, when the disciples put together the collection, they possibly had to produce most of the passages from their memory, which could be the reason that

⁵⁵⁴ *Sui Shu*, 32.939.

⁵⁵⁵ John Makeham, “The Formation of *Lunyu* as a Book,” in *Monumenta Serica* 44 (1996), p. 11. *Han shu*, 30.1717.

⁵⁵⁶ Makeham, “The Formation of *Lunyu* as a Book,” p. 5.

⁵⁵⁷ Brooks, E. Bruce and A. Taeko Brooks. “Word Philology and Text Philology in Analects 9:1.” in *Confucius and the Analects, New Essays*. Bryan W. Van Norden, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 163-215.

many passages only consist of a line of the Master himself, and most passages lack details of the conversational context or are provided with a topical prompt in place of a real life conversational context. Thus the *Lun yu* became the earliest example of a text typical for the purpose of my discussion here – a text that served as a bridge between the oral culture and the written culture, that functioned to transfer the fragmented memories, here of Confucius’ teachings, from the oral culture to the written tradition of ancient China. Memory plays an important role in the compilation of the *Lun yu* and the transition of Confucian teachings from the oral to the written tradition. Casey comments in his study on commemoration and perdurance in the first two books of the *Lun yu* that “the composers of the text were acting at once collectively and commemoratively: the wisdom of Confucius is to be remembered through, and celebrated through, this work of diverse hands,” and “its textual surface is saturated by expressly collective and commemorative features.”⁵⁵⁸

The very actions of compiling the collection, recording the oral teachings of the Master in written form, and giving the book a title all contributed to the status of Confucius’ words. As Makeham notes, the collection was put together and entitled *Lun yu* around 150-140 B.C. This was the time when Emperor Wu of the Han started to elevate Confucianism as a state ideology. Liu Xie’s comment on the *Lun yu* notes that the disciples “therefore/intentionally caused it to be listed among the classics and called it ‘Ordered Conversations’” 故抑其經目，稱為論語。⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁸ Edward S. Casey, “Commemoration and Perdurance in the Analects, Books I and II,” *Philosophy East and West* 34, no. 4 (1984): 389. The collective composition of the *Lun yu* is only mentioned briefly in Casey’s article. His discussion on commemoration and perdurance is mainly focused on the topic of filial piety and ancestor worship in the first two books of the *Lun yu*, as well as commemoration “carried out collectively in the reading of texts and in the enacting of the rites set forth in these same texts” (p. 399).

⁵⁵⁹ For an alternative translation and the Chinese text, see Vincent Yu-chung Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, Bilingual Edition, p. 140.

And in turn the status of the *Lun yu* possibly also contributed to the establishment of written genres as Liu Xie also speculates that:

It is probably from this that the myriad of “discourses” established their title. Before the *Lun yu*, the classics were never [entitled] with *lun*, “discourse.” Could it be that the two “discourses” in the *Liu tao* must have been entitled retrospectively by people of later generations?

蓋群論立名，始于茲矣。自論語以前，經無論字。六韜二論，后人追題乎！⁵⁶⁰

Thus, the formation and entitlement of the *Lun yu* text contributed to elevate the status of Confucian teachings that were originally transmitted orally and in fragmented writings and possibly influenced the written genres of later times.

However, the relationship between the title and the text was a complicated issue in early China. As Liu Xie noted the *lun* titles of the *Liu tao* passages could have been assigned retrospectively, similarly the title *Lun yu* could have very well been a retrospective designation. Even after the collection was entitled *Lun yu*, it could still be referred to by various titles. Both the *Han shu* and the *Sui shu* bibliographies note the various teachers or schools that taught the *Lun yu* during the Han time. The *Han shu* uses the titles of *Qi Lun* 齊論 and *Lu Lun yu* 魯論語 for the teachings in the Qi and Lu regions respectively.⁵⁶¹ The *Sui shu* mentions various titles such as *Qi Lun* 齊論, *Lu Lun* 魯論, *Zhang Hou Lun* 張侯論, and an ancient *Lun yu* 論語 also called *Lun* 論.⁵⁶² It seems that during the Han times, the term *yu* 語 was not given much attention

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid..

⁵⁶¹ *Han shu*, 30.1717.

⁵⁶² *Sui shu*, 32.939.

especially when the text was taught orally. It seems that only when formally recorded in the Han shu bibliography was it referred to as the *Lun* “*yu*.” This interesting little detail possibly indicates different levels of awareness of the oral culture over the time. When it came to later times when writing became more widespread and available in the transmission of history and knowledge, the “*yu*” in the title was added retrospectively, or was not likely to be dropped, because it now carried more significance as a marker of the oral culture within which the recorded teachings of Confucius functioned. As generations moved further away from the oral culture of Confucius’ time, they became more conscious of the difference between the oral and the written culture, and thus recognized more significance in the “*yu*” of the title *Lun yu*. Modern scholars agree that the disciples of Confucius possibly simply put together a book called *Kongzi* in the general naming fashion of the masters’ literature of the Warring States time.⁵⁶³ This makes sense because the title *Lun yu* itself suggests a sense of awareness of the “*yu*” as a specific characteristic of the oral culture that could probably only be gained from a relatively distant position from such oral culture. It is possible to argue that the term “*yu*” in the title suggests retrospective recognition of the oral culture recorded in the book, and functions to lend a sense of the immediacy of the oral interaction to its content.

4.3.1.2 The *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 and the *Xinyu* 新語

In the Confucian tradition, the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 (Conversations from the School of Master Kong)⁵⁶⁴ also presents a collection of Confucian lore on the life events and teachings of

⁵⁶³ Michael Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 315.

⁵⁶⁴ Zhang Tao 張濤, *Kongzi jiayu zhuyi* 孔子家語注譯 (Xi’an: San Qin Chubanshe, 1998).

Confucius as well as his disciples. Claiming to be a complement to the *Lun yu*, the *Kongzi jiyu* seems to cover all of the Confucian lore from pre-Han and early Han traditions except that found in the *Lun yu*, the *Zengzi wen* 曾子問 and the *Kongzi sanchao ji* 孔子三朝記.⁵⁶⁵ The passages in the *Kongzi jiyu* also mostly consist of quotations starting with “the Master said” and dialogues between Confucius and his disciples, in the same fashion of the passages presented in the *Lun yu*. The *Sui shu*’s introduction to the *Lun yu* ends with the statement that “the *Kong cong* and the *Jiyu* are both the essential [teachings] of Zhongni transmitted by the Kong Clan” 其孔叢，家語，並孔氏所傳仲尼之旨。⁵⁶⁶ Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721) also notes in his *Shitong* 史通 (Generalities on History, completed in 710) that “among the works and records of the school of [Master] Kong, the *Lun yu* especially narrates [the Master’s] speeches and comments, the *Jiyu* in addition presents his life events and pursuits” 孔門之著錄也，論語專述言辭，家語兼陳事業。⁵⁶⁷ Kramers notes that Chinese scholars, especially since Qing times, have agreed that the received text of the *Kongzi jiyu* was a forgery concocted by Wang Su 王肅 (195-256) in the third century A.D., while there had been an old collection of the same name, the received text had nothing to do with it.⁵⁶⁸ However, Kramers believes that only a small portion of Wang Su’s *Kongzi jiyu* was influenced by “a set of theories propagated by Wang Su against the theories held by the school of Zheng Xuan,” but the rest was indeed based on a collection already existing

⁵⁶⁵ See Michael Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 258. For a detailed discussion on the content, compilation and authenticity of the *Kongzi jiyu* see Robert Paul Kramers, *K’ung Tzu Chia Yu: The School Sayings of Confucius. Introduction, Translation of Sections 1-10*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1949.

⁵⁶⁶ *Sui shu*, 32.939.

⁵⁶⁷ *Shitong tongshi*, 13.181.

⁵⁶⁸ Kramers, *K’ung Tzu Chia Yu: The School Sayings of Confucius*, p. 2.

before Wang's time.⁵⁶⁹ Wang Su claimed in his preface to his edition of the *Kongzi jiayu* that one of his former pupils, a descendant of Confucius, brought him a copy of the *Kongzi jiayu* preserved in his family.⁵⁷⁰ As the only evidence, the *Han shu* bibliography does record an earlier existence of a collection in twenty-seven *juan* by the title *Kongzi jiayu* along the entry of the *Lun yu* in the bibliography.⁵⁷¹ Modern scholars deem it acceptable that the compilation of the *Kongzi jiayu* dates probably before the end of the Western Han, and that Wang Su may have obtained and heavily edited the collection to produce his edition of the *Kongzi jiayu*.⁵⁷²

For the purpose of my discussion here, it is safe to conclude that the old *Kongzi jiayu* collection existed before the end of the Western Han was a text intended to be of a similar nature to the *Lun yu*. It was indeed listed in the dynastic bibliographies among the texts associated with the in the category of the *jing* 經, "The Classics."⁵⁷³ However, the compilation of the old *Kongzi jiayu* was probably a process largely based on the textual tradition, instead of a commemorative process based on collective memory and fragmented notes as in the case of the compilation of the *Lun yu*. This speculation is based on the fact that the content of the old *Kongzi jiayu* complements that of the *Lun yu*, in the sense that it leaves out the Confucian lore recorded in the in the *Lun yu*, the *Zengzi wen* and the *Kongzi sanchao ji*, and the fact that it contains many parallels with Confucian lore found in other Han and pre-Han texts. Thus, the "yu" in the title

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 193.

⁵⁷⁰ For translations and discussions of Wang Su's preface and postscript to his own edition of the *Kongzi jiayu*, see Kramers, *K'ung Tzu Chia Yu: The School Sayings of Confucius*, pp. 91-137.

⁵⁷¹ *Han shu*, 30.1717.

⁵⁷² Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 260. Kramers, *K'ung Tzu Chia Yu: The School Sayings of Confucius*, p. 197.

⁵⁷³ For the lists of texts associated with the *Lun yu* in the dynastic bibliographies, see *Han shu*, 30.1716-7; *Sui shu*, 32.937; *Jiu Tang shu*, 46. 1981-2; and *Xin Tang shu*, 57.1443-4.

Kongzi jiayu has a slightly different connotation from the “*yu*” in the title *Lun yu* when viewed from the perspective of reproducing the oral culture within which Confucius originally taught. To some extent, the old *Kongzi jiayu* is similar to the *Tang yulin* in that they were both compiled based on existing texts that contained records/anecdotes from the oral culture. The *Kongzi jiayu* edited by Wang Su, on the other hand, represents the phenomenon that memories and teachings passed down would often go through a certain degree of manipulation in the hands of later editors due to their needs to use the heritage from the past to address the issues of their own time.

Also in the Confucian tradition, Lu Jia’s 陸賈 (ca. 240- ca. 170 B.C.) *Xinyu* 新語 (New Conversations) is a two-*juan* collection of twelve passages of logically presented discourses, rather than fragmented records of conversations in the *Lun yu* and the *Kongzi jiayu*, on various aspects of government and responsibilities of the ruler. Its passages, also unlike those in the *Lun yu* and the *Kongzi jiayu*, are entitled with descriptive two-character phrases that are “not catch-phrases taken from the opening words of the text.”⁵⁷⁴ The *Siku quanshu* editors described the book as the “most mature expression of Confucian opinion for the Han period, apart from the writings of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (c. 179-c. 104 B.C.).”⁵⁷⁵ Though the authenticity of the received text of the *Xinyu* has long been contested,⁵⁷⁶ the title itself and its composition can be found in the *Shiji*. It is explicitly stated that the twelve passages Lu Jia wrote upon the request of Emperor Gaodi 高帝 (r. 202-195 B.C.) of Han was entitled *Xinyu* 新語.⁵⁷⁷ However, such a title

⁵⁷⁴ Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 171.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid..

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 172-3.

⁵⁷⁷ *Shiji*, 97.2699; 97.2705.

is not found in the *Han shu* bibliography which only shows an untitled entry of twenty-three passages by Lu Jia in the sub-category of *Rujia* 儒家, “The Confucian School,” under the category of *Zi* 子, “The Masters.”⁵⁷⁸ The title did come up in later bibliographies though. The two *juan* of the *Xinyu* is recorded in the *Qi lu* 七錄 by Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479-536) and in the *Yi lin* 意林 by Ma Zong 馬總.⁵⁷⁹ It can also be found in the sub-category of *Rujia* under the category of *Zi* in the subsequent dynastic bibliographies in the *Sui shu*, the *Jiu Tang shu*, and the *Xin Tang shu*.⁵⁸⁰ It is likely that the title *Xinyu* was given to Lu Jia’s work retrospectively in order to draw upon the prestigious status of the *Lun yu*, possibly for the purpose of trying to place Lu’s work in the tradition of the *Lun yu*. Possibly, the retrospectively assigned title was acknowledged by the *Shiji* but not the compilers of the *Han shu* bibliography. But when it came to later generations, the *Shiji*’s endorsement for the title had stronger influence on the later bibliographies and the *Xinyu* became the accepted title for Lu Jia’s work.

It seems that with the *Xinyu*, *yu* had been turned into a written “genre” of discourse similar to the *lun*, rather than a term indicating the oral origins and oral transmission of the content of the book. The *Sui shu* bibliography also lists a book entitled *Guzi xinyu* 顧子新語 (New Conversations by Master Gu) in the sub-category of *Rujia*⁵⁸¹ which was possibly written after the compilation of the *Han shu* but were no longer extant by the time of the compilation of

⁵⁷⁸ *Han Shu*, 30.1726. In addition to the entry under the *Rujia* sub-category, there are one entry of three *fu* composed by him (*Han Shu*, 30.1748) and one entry of the *Chu Han chunqiu* 楚漢春秋 (Spring and Autumn of the Chu and Han) attributed to Lu Jia (*Han Shu*, 30.1714).

⁵⁷⁹ *Shiji*, 97.2699, n. 2. Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 172.

⁵⁸⁰ For the categorization of the *Xinyu* in the dynastic bibliographies, see *Sui shu*, 34.997; *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2024; *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1510.

⁵⁸¹ See *Sui shu*, 34.998; *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2024; The *Xin Tang shu* (59.1511) bibliography lists the title as *Guzi xinlun* 顧子新論 (New Discourses by Master Gu).

the *Sui shu*. Two more titles with the term “yu,” the *Tong yu* 通語 and the *Dian yu* 典語, are also listed in the *Sui shu* bibliography as titles associated with the *Guzi xinyu*.⁵⁸² Interestingly, the *Xin Tang shu* bibliography lists the title as *Guzi xinlun* 顧子新論 (New Discourses by Master Gu) rather than *Guzi xinyu*.⁵⁸³ Such a change possibly suggests that during the Northern Song, when the *Xin Tang shu* was compiled, people were indeed conscious of the distinction between the “conversations” (*yu*) titles and the *lun* titles and of the proper nature a book entitled “yu” should have, while the title of the *Xinyu* was perhaps too famous to change.

4.3.2 “Conversations” (*yu*) as the “Outer Commentary” and “Miscellaneous Histories”

4.3.2.1 The *Guo yu* 國語: the Outer Commentary of History

The *Guo yu* (Discourses of the States) is a collection of 21 *juan* of short accounts from the Spring and Autumn period. It was originally attributed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (556-451 B.C.)⁵⁸⁴ but “this attribution was questioned as early as the third century A.D. and denied in the eighth century.”⁵⁸⁵ Scholars have reached the general consensus that it was “written by several persons in the Warring States period, compiled in the early Western Han and passed down essentially unchanged since then.”⁵⁸⁶ Thus Zuo Qiuming should be considered as the editor who put together the work rather than the author. The *Early Chinese Texts* speculates that the work

⁵⁸² See *Sui shu*, 34.998. See also *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2024-5; *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1511.

⁵⁸³ *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1511.

⁵⁸⁴ *Shiji*, 130.3300.

⁵⁸⁵ Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, 1:524.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*.

could be composed from memory and could not have come into being before c. 425 B.C.⁵⁸⁷

Each of the accounts in the *Guo yu* is a complete narrative in itself and is independent from another accounts in the collection, thus they can be regarded as anecdotes and the *Guo yu* as an anecdotal collection without any over-arching narrative frame. Based on where the stories took place, the accounts are categorized under the names of eight territories including, “Zhou yu” 周語 (Discourses of Zhou), “Lu yu” 魯語 (Discourses of Lu), “Qi yu” 齊語 (Discourses of Qi), “Jin yu” 晉語 (Discourses of Jin), “Zheng yu” 鄭語 (Discourses of Zheng), “Chu yu” 楚語 (Discourses of Chu), “Wu yu” 吳語 (Discourses of Wu), and “Yue yu” 越語 (Discourses of Yue). The content of the *Guo yu* covers the time period from the reign of King Mu 穆 of Zhou (956-918 B.C.) to the reign of Duke Dao 悼 of Lu (r. 466-429) with parallel passages with the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (The Zuo Commentary) that deals with the same time frame. Still many accounts in the *Guo yu* are not found in the *Zuozhuan* or are a lot more detailed than their parallels in the *Zuozhuan* and thus serve to complement the content of the *Zuozhuan*.

The *Shi ming* 釋名 (Explication of Names) notes that the *Guo yu* “records the gains and losses of the speeches and conversations, plots and proposals among the lords and ministers of the various states” 記諸國君臣相與言語謀議之得失也。⁵⁸⁸ Recording the speeches and conversations among rulers and ministers was a widespread practice during the Spring and Autumn period and the term *Guo yu* was in fact a general term for the texts resulted from such practice. The *Guo yu* entry in the *Early Chinese Texts* points out that “verbatim accounts of the

⁵⁸⁷ Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 263.

⁵⁸⁸ In the “Shi dianyi” 釋典藝 (Explication of Classics and Arts) passage of the *Shi ming* 釋名 quoted in Cheng Qianfan 程千帆 (1913-2000), *Shitong jianji* 史通箋記 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1980), p.15.

sayings of rulers and prominent persons, which were drawn up for the various states of the Spring and Autumn period and subsequently supplemented from other sources, were usually termed *Kuo yü*, i.e., dialogues or discourses of the state,” and the received *Guo yu* text is of such a nature and origin as well.⁵⁸⁹ Therefore, the *Guo yu* is indeed a text that records the oral events of the past and functions as a bridge of anecdotal memory that connects the oral culture with the written tradition.

Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1907) comments in his *Hulou bitan* 湖樓筆談 (Discussions in Writing at the Lake Tower) that since the “Yue ji” 樂記 passage in the *Li ji* 禮記 reads “did you alone not hear the conversations/accounts of Muye” 女獨未聞牧野之語乎？⁵⁹⁰ Yu Yue suspects that ancient histories originally had the term *yu*, “conversations,” as their titles and that *Muye zhiyu* 牧野之語 (Conversations of Muye) was the historical records by the scribes of early Zhou dynasty, thus both the *Lun yu* and the *Guo yu* followed the old title of the Zhou historical records.⁵⁹¹ However, it is the political and philosophical discourses, rather than historical events,

⁵⁸⁹ Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 263.

⁵⁹⁰ *Liji zhushu* 禮記注疏 (*Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義 on the cover), 39.6b, in *Sibu beiyao*. Translation “And have you alone not heard the accounts of Mu-yeh?” in “Record of Music” in James Legge, trans., *Li Chi, Book of Rites: An Encyclopedia of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds, and Social Institutions* (New York, NY: University Books, Inc., 1967), 2:123.

⁵⁹¹ Yu Yue comments that:

I suspect that the records of ancient histories originally had such titles as ‘conversations.’ The Conversations of Muye, [thus] was the book [of history] recorded by the scribes and ministers of the early Zhou. [Therefore,] Zuo Qiuming, when composing the *Guo yu*, also followed the old title of the history of the Zhou, and the various masters of the Confucian school, when compiling and putting in order the sayings and words of the Master and entitling it ‘conversations,’ indeed had that which they set out to emulate.

疑古史記載自有語名，牧野之語乃周初史臣記載之書也。左丘明著國語亦因周史之舊名，孔門諸子論撰夫子緒言而名之曰語，固有所仿矣。

See *Hulou bitan*, 2.14b-15a, in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, 1162:372-3. See also comments from Cheng Qianfan, *Shitong jianji*, p.15.

that is the main concern of the *Guo yu*. These discourses are set in the context of historical events, but the descriptions of the actual events are in the most succinct nature, offering just enough information to supplement and support the arguments in the discourses. Moreover, the stories in the *Guo yu* often have their explicitly stated didactic values and it is likely that they were case examples used by Warring States political advisors to persuade rulers and decision makers. Often historical events were selectively used and purposefully shaped to serve the didactic purposes in the stories. In the stories of the *Guo yu*, historical figures are often used as mouthpieces for the author to express didactic values. Their direct speeches and dialogues, now the essential elements of the narrative, also appear fictionalized and are likely to have been “attributed” to them as “case examples.”⁵⁹² On the other hand, “events are described only insofar as they help build the case for advisers.”⁵⁹³ As a whole, the *Guo yu* also seems to have an explicit goal, be it “an exposition of philosophical principles” or “a piece of political propaganda written to demonstrate the value of political advisers and to illuminate the dire consequences to rulers not following their advice.”⁵⁹⁴ Thus it is suitable to understand the word “*yu*” in the title *Guo yu* as “discourses” rather than the literal translation “conversations,” and the oral events represented in the *Guo yu* as a highly selective, intentionally edited version of the oral culture it claims to have recorded.

In the dynastic bibliographies, both the *Zuozhuan* and the *Guo yu* are listed in the sub-category of texts associated with the *Chunqiu* 春秋 under the category of *Jing* 經, “The Classics.” However, the *Zuozhuan* is generally regarded as an “inner,” or formal, commentary, and the *Guo*

⁵⁹² Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, 1:524.

⁵⁹³ Ibid..

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid..

yu as an “outer,” or informal, commentary to the *Chunqiu*. The term *waizhuan* 外傳, “outer commentary,” can be found in the earliest surviving record of the *Guo yu* by Wei Zhao 韋昭 (ca. 204-273).⁵⁹⁵ Cheng Qianfan notes the name *Chunqiu waizhuan* for the *Guo yu* first appears in the “Lüli zhi” 律曆志 of the *Han shu*, which Ban Gu explicitly identified Liu Xin 劉歆 (ca. 50 B.C. – ca. 23) as the source, thus it originated around the end of the Western Han when the ancient writings started to flourish.⁵⁹⁶ The “Yiwen zhi” 藝文志 of the *Han shu*⁵⁹⁷ lists the title *Guo yu* and the title *Xin guo yu* 新國語 (New Discourses of the States) with a note “Liu Xiang divided the *Guo yu*” 劉向分國語.⁵⁹⁸ The rest of the bibliographies in the dynastic histories, such as the *Sui shu*,⁵⁹⁹ the *Jiu Tang shu*,⁶⁰⁰ and the *Xin Tang shu*,⁶⁰¹ all list the title *Chunqiu waizhuan guo yu* 春秋外傳國語 (The Outer Commentaries on the Spring and Autumn, the Discourses of the States) instead of the title *Guo yu*. In addition, another *yu* title, the *Chunqiu jiayu* 春秋嘉語 (Fine Conversations of the Spring and Autumn) is also found in the sub-category of texts associated with the *Chunqiu* in the *Jing*, “The Classics,” category.⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁵ Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 265.

⁵⁹⁶ Cheng Qianfan, *Shi tong jianji*, p.16.

⁵⁹⁷ *Han shu*, 30.1714.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*.

⁵⁹⁹ *Sui shu*, 32.932.

⁶⁰⁰ *Jiu Tang shu*, 46.1979.

⁶⁰¹ *Xin Tang shu*, 57.1437.

⁶⁰² See *Sui shu*, 32.929; *Jiu Tang shu*, 46.1978; *Xin Tang shu*, 57.1439.

On the status of the *Guo yu* as an “outer commentary,” Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721)

comments in his *Shitong* 史通 (Generalities on History, completed in 710)⁶⁰³ that:

[As to] that is called the school of the *Guo yu* (Discourses of the States), its beginning also came from Zuo Qiuming. Already composed the *Chunqiu neizhuan* (The Inner Commentary on the Spring and Autumn), [Zuo Qiuming] again collected the scattered texts and compiled the alternative versions [of the events of the Spring and Autumn period], and divided them into the affairs of the eight states of Zhou, Lu, Qi, Jin, Zheng, Chu, Wu and Yue. Starting with [the reign of] King Mu of Zhou (ca. 1000-950 B.C.) and ending with [the reign of] Duke Dao of Lu (-453 B.C.), he in addition composed the *Chunqiu waizhuan guo yu* (The Outer Commentary on the Spring and Autumn, the Discourses of the States), altogether twenty-one passages °

國語家者，其先亦出於左丘明。既為春秋內傳，又稽其逸文，纂其別說，分周、魯、齊、晉、鄭、楚、吳、越八國事，起自周穆王，終於魯悼公，別為春秋外傳國語，合為二十一篇。⁶⁰⁴

Therefore, compared to the *Zuozhuan*, which was called the “Inner Commentary,” the *Guo yu* was called the “Outer Commentary” and was treated as the “alternative version” 別說. Liu Zhiji further ranks the *Guo yu* to be “in the stream of the *Six Classics* and inferior to the *Three Commentaries*” 六經之流，三傳之亞。⁶⁰⁵ Still because of its association with the *Chunqiu*, it was still categorized in the “*Jing*” sections of the bibliographies in the dynastic histories and was

⁶⁰³ For an introduction on Liu Zhiji and the *Shitong*, see Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, 1:576-8.

⁶⁰⁴ *Shitong tongshi*, 1.7.

⁶⁰⁵ *Shitong tongshi*, 1.7. The *Six Classics* are *The Book of Poetry*, *The Book of Change*, *the Book of Documents*, *the Spring and Autumn*, *The Book of Rites*, and *the Classic of Music*. The three canonical commentaries of the *Chunqiu* 春秋 are the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (The Zuo Commentary), the *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 (The Gongyang Commentary), the *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 (The Guliang Commentary).

annotated and commented by various Confucian scholars.

4.3.2.2 “Conversations” (*yu*) as “Miscellaneous Histories”

Starting with the *Sui shu*, books entitled with “conversations” (*yu*) can be found in the sub-category *Zashi* 雜史, “Miscellaneous Histories,” under the category of *Shi* 史, “Histories,” of the *Sui shu*, the *Jiu Tang shu*, and the *Xin Tang shu* bibliographies. The significance of this small discovery is that, interestingly, no “conversations” (*yu*) titles are found in any other sub-categories of the “Histories” section such as *Zazhuan* 雜傳 (Miscellaneous Biographies), *Jiushi* 舊事 (Old Affairs), *Qiji zhu* 起居注 (Notes on the Rising and Resting [of the Emperor]), *Gushi* 古史 (Ancient Histories), and *Zhengshi* 正史 (Authentic Histories). Moreover, the number of “conversations” (*yu*) titles increased from the *Sui shu* to the *Jiu Tang shu*, and to the *Xin Tang shu*. The sub-category of *Zashi* in the *Sui shu* bibliography includes two “conversations” (*yu*) titles: the *Guwen suoyu* 古文瑣語, and the *Wei Jin shi yu* 魏晉世語.⁶⁰⁶ The sub-category of *Zashi* in the *Jiu Tang shu* bibliography includes four “conversations” (*yu*) titles: the *Guwen suoyu* 古文鎖語,⁶⁰⁷ the *Chunqiu guo yu* 春秋國語,⁶⁰⁸ the *Wei Jin dai yu* 魏晉代語,⁶⁰⁹ and the *Song Qi yulu* 宋齊語錄.⁶¹⁰ The sub-category of *Zashi* in the *Xin Tang shu* bibliography includes

⁶⁰⁶ *Sui shu*, 33.959, 33.960.

⁶⁰⁷ *Jiu Tang shu*, 46.1993.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*.

⁶⁰⁹ *Jiu Tang shu*, 46.1995.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*.

six “conversations” (*yu*) titles: the *Gu suoyu* 故瑣語,⁶¹¹ the *Chunqiu qianzhuan zayu* 春秋前傳雜語, the *Chunqiu shi guo yu* 春秋時國語, the *Chunqiu hou guo yu* 春秋後國語,⁶¹² the *Song Qi yulu* 宋齊語錄,⁶¹³ the *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語.⁶¹⁴ Again, no “conversations” (*yu*) titles are found in all other sub-categories in the *Shi*, “Histories,” section of the bibliographies mentioned above.

The titles listed above show that these “conversations” (*yu*) titles are particularly associated with the sub-category of *Zashi* and that some of them are still within the *Guo yu* tradition. However, these titles do not enjoy the status of the “Classics” (*Jing* 經) texts, not even the status of “outer commentaries.” Liu Zhiji considers the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Stratagems of the Warring States), Kong Yan’s 孔衍 (258-320) *Chunqiu shi guo yu* 春秋時國語 (Discourses of the States from the Time of the Spring and Autumn Period) and the *Chunqiu hou yu* 春秋後語 (Conversations after the Spring and Autumn Period) to be all comparable to the *Guo yu*, but inferior to the *Zuozhuan*.⁶¹⁵ This view perhaps suggests a possible idea that even the *Guo yu* could be considered a “miscellaneous history” if not for its established status as an “outer commentary” in the “Classics” category of the dynastic histories’ bibliographies. Liu Zhiji does

⁶¹¹ This title could be a variant of the title *Guwen suoyu* 古文鎖語 in the *Jiu Tang shu* bibliography due to copyist errors.

⁶¹² All four titles, the *Gu suoyu*, the *Chunqiu qianzhuan zayu*, the *Chunqiu shi guo yu*, the *Chunqiu hou guo yu*, are listed on the *Xin Tang shu*, 58.1463.

⁶¹³ *Xin Tang shu*, 58.1465.

⁶¹⁴ *Xin Tang shu*, 58.1467.

⁶¹⁵ *Shitong tongshi*, 1.7-8. Liu Zhiji also identifies Sima Biao’s 司馬彪 (d. 306) *Jiuzhou Chunqiu* 九州春秋 (The Spring and Autumn of the Nine Prefectures) on the affairs at the end of Han dynasty to be in the tradition of the *Guo yu*. Perhaps this is because the content of the *Jiuzhou Chunqiu* is structured according to the geographical divisions of the nine prefectures, which is similar to that of the *Guo yu*, not because the text is in the form of *yu*, “conversations” or “discourses.”

not regard the *Kongzi jiayu* as highly as its position in the “Classics” category would have suggested either. When commenting on the *Sui shu*, he writes, “although it [the *Sui shu*] desires to narrate [the history] from the origins of Shang and Zhou and to exalt Yu and Xia [as examples for] emulation, when I review what it narrates, it appears to be similar to the *Kongzi jiayu* and the *Shishuo* by [the Prince of] Linchuan. This can be called painting a tiger without success and ending up with the likeness of a dog” 雖欲祖述商周，憲章虞夏，觀其所述，乃似孔子家語臨川世說，可謂畫虎不成反類犬也。⁶¹⁶ Cheng Qianfan comments in the *Shitong jianji* 史通箋記 that according to Liu Zhiji’s categorization, the *Kongzi jiayu* should have been regarded as *xiaolu* 小錄, “minor records,” or *yishi* 逸事, “scattered affairs.”⁶¹⁷ In the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, the *Kongzi jiayu* is indeed moved out of the “Classics” category, but is put in the “Masters” category under the “Rujia” sub-category.⁶¹⁸

4.3.3 “Conversations” (*yu*) as *Xiaoshuo*

The earliest “conversations” (*yu*) titles in the category of *xiaoshuo* 小說, “minor discourses,” are found in the *Sui shu* bibliography. Among the twenty-five titles in the *xiaoshuo* category, one finds such titles as the *Zayu* 雜語 (Miscellaneous Conversations), the *Za duiyu* 雜對語 (Miscellaneous Responses in Conversations), the *Yaoyong yudui* 要用語對 (Important Useful Conversational Responses), the *Suo yu* 瑣語 (Trivial Conversations), the no longer extant

⁶¹⁶ *Shitong tongshi*, 1.2.

⁶¹⁷ Cheng Qianfan, *Shi tong jianji*, p.10.

⁶¹⁸ *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1971) 91.1874-5.

Yulin 語林 (Forest of Conversations), and the *Shishuo* 世說 (Tales of the World) whose title was later changed into the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (New Conversations of Tales of the World).

4.3.3.1 The *Yulin* 語林

The *Yulin* 語林 (Forest of Conversations)⁶¹⁹ by Pei Qi 裴啟 (ca. fl. 326) of the Eastern Jin was a collection of ancient anecdotes. The work was already lost by the time the *Sui shu* bibliography was compiled and was only briefly mentioned in a note to the *Yandanzi* 燕丹子 that, “the *Forest of Conversations* in ten *juan*, composed an Eastern Jin scholar-gentleman without office named Pei Qi. No longer extant” 語林十卷，東晉處士裴啟撰，亡。⁶²⁰ Some content of the *Yulin* was included in the *Shishuo xinyu*,⁶²¹ a collection of anecdotes completed in 430 under the aegis of Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444),⁶²² the Prince of Linchuan 臨川 from the ruling house of the Liu Song 劉宋 dynasty (420-479). Several anecdotes in the *Shishuo xinyu* offer a glimpse on the circulation of the *Yulin* and serve to shed light on how it eventually became lost. Anecdote #90 in the “Wenxue” 文學 category of the *Shishuo xinyu* describes the popularity it enjoyed when first appeared:

⁶¹⁹ For a modern edition, see Zhou Lengqie 周楞伽 and Pei Qi 裴啟 (ca. fl. 326), *Yulin* 語林 (Forest of Conversations, Beijing: Wenhua Yushu Chubanshe), 1988.

⁶²⁰ *Sui shu*, 34.1011.

⁶²¹ Housed at the Kanazawa Library 金沢文庫 in Japan, the oldest extant print edition of the *Shishuo xinyu* dates from the Song 宋 (960-1279) dynasty. Japan also preserves fragments from a Tang dynasty manuscript. The *Shishuo xinyu* is included in the Siku quanshu and the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 reproduced from the Ming 明 (1368-1644) dynasty edition printed by the Jiaqu Hall 嘉趣堂. The *Shishuo xinyu* has been translated in many languages including Japanese, English and French. This study uses Yang Yong’s 楊勇 *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian* 世說新語校箋 and the English translation by Richard B. Mather, *Shih-shuo hsün-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976).

⁶²² Two other works associated with the Prince of Linchuan are the *Xuzhou xianxian zhuanzan* 徐州先賢傳贊 (Biographies and Praises to the Former Worthies of Xuzhou), the *Dianxu* 典叙, and a collection of zhiguai stories entitled *Youminglu* 幽明錄 (Records of Darkness and Light).

When P'ei Ch'i's "Forest of Conversations" first appeared (362), it was widely circulated by people far and near. All young people who were *au courant* passed it along and copied it, so that everyone owned a copy. It included Wang Hsün's "Poetic Essay on Passing Beneath Master Huang's Wine shop," which showed great ability and feeling.⁶²³

裴郎作語林，始出，大為遠近所傳。時流年少，無不傳寫，各有一通。載王東亭作經王公酒壚下賦，甚有才情。⁶²⁴

However, the *Yulin* was soon criticized for disregarding facts and fell out of the favor of the public, as is described in anecdote #24 of the "Qingdi" 輕詆 category in the *Shishuo xinyu*:

With a knowing air Yü Ho said to Hsieh An, "P'ei Ch'i relates in his 'Forest of Conversations' that Hsieh An said of P'ei Ch'i, 'P'ei's not a bad fellow; what need is there anymore to drink wine?' And in another passage P'ei says that Hsieh An characterized Chih Tun, saying 'He's like Chiu-fang Kao and his judging of horses. Chiu-fang paid no attention to whether the horses were black or brown, but picked them for their spirit and endurance.'"

Hsieh An replied, "I never made either one of those statements. P'ei himself just made them up out of whole cloth, that's all!"

Yü's mood was considerably dampened by this, and accordingly he recited for Hsieh Wang Hsün's "Poetic Essay on Passing Beneath Master Huang's Wine shop."

When he had finished reading it, Hsieh said absolutely nothing either in praise or criticism of the work, but merely remarked, "So you're now a scholar of Mr. P'ei, eh?"

⁶²³ Mather, p. 138.

⁶²⁴ Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 4.248.

From this time on the “Forest of Conversations” fell into disrepute. Any copies still in existence today were all made previous to this incident, and even these no longer include any conversations attributed to Hsieh An.⁶²⁵

庾道季詫謝公曰：「裴郎云：『謝安謂裴郎，乃可不惡，何得為復飲酒？』裴郎又云：『謝安目支道林；如九方臯之相馬，略其玄黃，取其雋逸。』」謝公云：「都無此二語，裴自為此辭耳！」庾意甚不以為好，因陳東亭經酒壚下賦；讀畢，都不下賞裁，直云：「君乃復作裴氏學！」於此語林遂廢。今時有者，皆是先寫，無復謝語。⁶²⁶

In fact, the *Yulin's* unfortunate end was caused more by Xie An's 謝安 (320-385) feud with Wang Xun 王珣 (349-400) who divorced Xie's niece,⁶²⁷ as is shown in the account in the fifth century *Xu Jinyang qiu* 續晉陽秋 by Tan Daoluan 檀道鸞. The account reads,

In the mid-Lung-ho era (362), P'ei Ch'i of Ho-tung (Shansi) gathered noteworthy conversations and repartee from the Han and Wei dynasties down to the present, and called them the “Forest of Conversations.” His contemporaries for the most part liked their contents, and the style was flowing and smooth. Later it was alleged that the incidents involving Hsieh An were untrue. And moreover someone at the gathering at Hsieh's place recited the “Poetic Essay on Master Huang's Wine shop,” composed by the Director of Instruction, Wang Hsün, which was included in it. In addition to harboring resentment against Wang, Hsieh An remarked to the reciter, “So now you are a scholar of Mr. P'ei, eh?” And from this point on everybody deprecated its contents.

⁶²⁵ Mather, p. 437-9.

⁶²⁶ Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 26.754-5.

⁶²⁷ Mather, p. 439.

晉隆和中，河東裴啟撰漢魏以來迄於今時言語應對之可稱者，謂之語林。時人多好其事，文遂流行。后說太傅事不實，而有人於謝坐敘其黃公酒壚，司徒王珣為之賦，謝公加以與王不平，乃云：“君遂復作裴郎學。”自是眾咸鄙其事矣。⁶²⁸

Tan Daoluan again quotes an anecdote of Xie An helping his fellow villager's business of palm-leaf fans by carrying one himself. The people of the capital tried to emulate him and the fans were soon sold out at a high price. Tan comments that,

Thus “whatever An liked grew feathers and fur,” and “whatever he hated became boils and bruises.” One word of criticism by Hsieh An would devalue perfect excellence for a thousand years. Whereas in the case of something he approved of, it would shoot up a nonexistent value to a hundred pieces of gold. Can those in high position afford to be careless about their likes and dislikes, or of their granting and taking away of approval?⁶²⁹

夫所好生羽毛，所惡成瘡痍。謝相一言，挫成美於千載，及其所與，崇虛價於百金。上之愛憎與奪，可不慎哉！⁶³⁰

However, as influential as Xie An's opinion was, the anecdote on him causing the unfortunate end of the *Yulin* seems rather exaggerated. In fact, Pei Qi's work was originally intended to be one *Zishu*, “Masters Literature,” entitled *Peizi* 裴子 (Master Pei). Liu Xiaobiao's 劉孝標 (462-521) note in the “Wenxue” chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu* reads:

The *Pei shi jiazhuan* (Family History of the Pei Clan) [records that] “Pei Qi, style name Rongqi, was a native of Hedong, ... When young, he had graceful manners and bearing,

⁶²⁸ Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 26.754-5, #24, n.3.

⁶²⁹ Mather, p. 438.

⁶³⁰ Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 26.754-5, #24, n.3.

as well as literary talent and abilities. He was fond of discussing persons and things from antiquity to present times, and compiled several *juan* of the “Forest of Conversations” and entitled them *Peizi* (Master Pei).”

裴氏家傳，裴啟字榮期，河東人，...少有風姿才氣，好論古今人物，撰語林數卷，號曰裴子。⁶³¹

In discussing the Masters Literature of early medieval China, Tian Xiaofei noticed an intriguing phenomenon that the production of Masters Literature suddenly underwent a decline in the fifth century.⁶³² The sixth century saw slightly more titles but they were all under the “Daoist” sub-category of the large rubric of Masters Literature.⁶³³ From the seventh century on, masters’ literature were never written in the same “concentrated manner that had characterized the third and fourth centuries,” or in the conventional format.⁶³⁴ Tian concludes, “the fifth century represents in many ways a turning point in the writing of *zishu*.”⁶³⁵ It seems much had happened from the middle of fourth century when Pei Qi’s *Peizi* first appeared (362) to the beginning of the fifth century when it became referred to as *Yulin* in the anecdotes of the *Shishuo* completed in 430. In the above anecdotes, Xie An, one of Pei Qi’s contemporaries, referred to Pei’s work as, literally translated here, “the scholarship of Mr. Pei” 裴郎學, or “the scholarship of the Pei Clan” 裴氏學. Thus, it seems that at Pei’s time, though despised by Xie An and fallen out of public favor, the *Peizi* was still considered as one school of scholarship as in the sense of Masters

⁶³¹ Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 4.248.

⁶³² Tian Xiaofei, “The Twilight of the Masters,” p. 473.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*.

Literature. However, perhaps partly due to Xie An's influential objection and partly due to the decline of Masters Literature around the beginning of the fifth century, the title *Peizi* was dropped and Pei's work became entitled *Yulin*. It seems that the term *yulin* was also Pei Qi's creation, as the anecdote above notes that he "gathered noteworthy conversations and repartee from the Han and Wei dynasties down to the present, and called them the 'Forest of Conversations'" 撰漢魏以來迄於今時言語應對之可稱者，謂之語林。⁶³⁶ But, the fact that Pei Qi "compiled several *juan* of the 'Forest of Conversations' and entitled them *Peizi* (Master Pei)" 撰語林數卷，號曰裴子 rather indicates that Pei intended *yulin* to be a general term for one particular type of writing in the style of collected conversations and anecdotes, rather than the title of his book. It is possible that the term was coined with the intention to relate to the *Lun yu* and draw on its authority and status. Thus, Pei Qi was probably the first to start the tradition of "Forest of Conversations" with the intention of making his own type of "Masters Literature" through gathering, selecting and assembling noteworthy conversations and anecdotes of earlier times.

Tian Xiaofei relates the decline of the Masters Literatures to the concurrent phenomenon of the outburst of activities of literary scholarship in the first half of the fifth century, and suggests the genre, rather than disappeared, had been replaced and transformed into a different form – the literary collections (*ji* 集).⁶³⁷ She notes that the fifth century saw "a growing sense of making one's literary collection a personal legacy to be passed on to posterity, and even more

⁶³⁶ Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 26.754-5, #24, n.3.

⁶³⁷ Tian Xiaofei, "The Twilight of the Masters," p. 474-5.

important, a growing sense of embodying one's personal voice in poetry."⁶³⁸ Probably under such circumstances, the *Peizi*, a collection of “gathered noteworthy conversations and repartee from the Han and Wei dynasties down” rather than a work of individual literary endeavor, fell through the cracks of public attention and appreciation. As a result, the title *Peizi* became obscure and the work was vaguely referred to by the general but more descriptive term *yulin*, which eventually replaced *Peizi* and became the title.

The term *yulin*, after which the *Tang yulin* is named, later came to be used generally for miscellaneous jottings and minor discourses. In his letter to Tan Youxia 譚友夏 (i.e., Tan Yuanchun 譚元春, 1586-1673), Zhong Xing 鍾惺 (1574-1624) of the Ming dynasty comments that:

[Styles that are] marvelous, fair, eloquent and erudite are naturally one type of the writings; applying them to the inscriptions and postscripts of books and documents, as well as the [works in the] ‘forest of conversations’ and the ‘[minor] discourses’ categories, should suit their original nature.

奇俊辨博，自是文之一種，以施之書牘題跋，語林說部，當是本色。⁶³⁹

Apparently, by Zhong's time at least, the term *yulin*, “forest of conversations,” had long become regarded as a general type of writings whose “original nature” is “marvelous, fair, eloquent and erudite” 奇俊辨博. And the *yulin* writings of rather sensational style and all-encompassing range had become associated with the *xiaoshuo* 小說, “minor discourses,” – the sub-category regarded as the least noteworthy under the “Masters” category, while Pei Qi probably intended the *Peizi*,

⁶³⁸ Ibid., p. 475.

⁶³⁹ Zhong Bojing 鐘伯敬 (i.e., Zhong Xing 鍾惺, 1574-1624), *Zhong Bojing heji* 鐘伯敬合集 (Beiye Shanfang 貝葉山房, 1936), p. 312.

his collection of noteworthy conversations and anecdotes, to be in the “Rujia” sub-category instead.

4.3.3.2 The *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語

As mentioned above, Liu Yiqing’s staff put together the anecdotal collection *Shishuo* 世說 (Tales of the World) around 430, which was renamed *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (New Conversations of Tales of the World) much later. The collection contains remarks and anecdotes of altogether 626 historical figures from the time period between the Latter Han 後漢 (25-220) to the beginning years of the Liu Song dynasty.⁶⁴⁰ Focusing on the characterization of these historical figures, the collection is traditionally considered a work of *zhiren* 志人 (characterizing personalities) in contrast to the anecdotes in the genre of *zhiguai* 志怪 (characterizing the strange). The one thousand or so anecdotes, most of which from the Eastern Jin 東晉 (317-420), were organized into 36 chapters divided into 8 *juan*. It became circulated in 10 *juan* after Liu Jun 劉峻 (i.e., Liu Xiaobiao 劉孝標, 462-521)⁶⁴¹ of the Liang 梁 (502-557) dynasty wrote an extensive commentary citing relevant passages from over 400 works of unofficial histories and biographies, family registers and local records dating as early as the Latter Han.⁶⁴² Most of these 400 works and the source works of the *Shishuo* are no longer extant, and only a fraction of their contents can be found in Liu Jun’s commentary and Pei Songzhi’s 裴松之 (372-451)

⁶⁴⁰ Mather, p. xxvii.

⁶⁴¹ Liu Xiaobiao was also a member of the ruling house of the Liu Song dynasty. He lived for in the northern regions under the rule of the Northern Wei 北魏 (386-534) before he returned to the Liu Song territory in the south. He also translated a considerable amount of Buddhist texts into Chinese.

⁶⁴² Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, 1:704. Important later commentaries are Yu Jiaxi’s 余嘉錫 *Shishuo xinyu jianshu* 世說新語箋疏, Xu Zhen’e’s 徐震譔 *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian* 世說新語校箋, and Yang Yong’s 楊勇 *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian* 世說新語校箋.

commentary to the official dynastic history *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (History of the Three Kingdoms). During the Tang dynasty, the *Shishuo* was revised and collated into 3 *juan* with 36 chapters. Since the oldest extant print edition of the *Shishuo xinyu* dates from the Song dynasty, the received edition we have today is no longer in its original form.

The issue of the collection's title is discussed in the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, which reads:

Huang Bosi's *Dongguan yulun* says that the title *Shishuo* originated from Liu Xiang whose book was already lost, and therefore what [Liu] Yiqing collected was entitled *Shishuo xinshu* (New Book of Tales of the World). This can be proved [by the fact that] when Duan Chengshi in his *Youyang zazu* quoted Wang Dun's incident with the bath beans,⁶⁴³ he still noted [the source as] the *Shishuo xinshu*. It is unknown who changed [the title] to the [*Shishuo*] *xinyu*. Possibly it is what the recent generations transmitted, but it has already been [a practice] followed for a long time and cannot be corrected again. What is recorded [in the collection] is divided into thirty-eight categories. From the time of the Later Han down to the time of the Eastern Jin, [its accounts] are all scattered affairs and trivial conversations, enough to be used as discussion aids.

黃伯思東觀餘論謂世說之名肇於劉向，其書已亡，故義慶所集名世說新書。段成式酉陽雜俎引王敦澡豆事，尚作世說新書可證，不知何人改為新語，蓋近世所傳。然相沿已久，不能復正矣。所記分三十八門，上起後漢，下迄東晉，皆軼事瑣語，足為談助。⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴³ Mather, p. 479. The anecdote is found in the “Pilou” 紕漏, chapter 34, of the *Shishuo xinyu*.

⁶⁴⁴ *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 140.2884.

It makes sense that since the Han scholar Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 B.C.) had previously composed a book entitled *Shishuo*,⁶⁴⁵ Liu Yiqing's collection was thus named *Shishuo xinshu* (New Book of Tales of the World). But other than the proof found in Duan Chengshi's 段成式 (803-863) *Youyang zazu*, Liu Yiqing's collection had been listed as *Shishuo* in the bibliographies of the *Sui shu*,⁶⁴⁶ the *Jiu Tang shu*,⁶⁴⁷ and the *Xin Tang shu*.⁶⁴⁸ It is possible that the words *xinyu* 新語, "new conversations," was added to the title after the compilation of the *Youyang zazu*, but it is equally possible that the collection had also been referred to by different titles, including the *Shishuo xinshu*, the *Shishuo xinyu*, and the *Shishuo*.

The collection includes a large amount of notable conversations, speeches and remarks, and the conversational part is sometimes written in vernacular language. The discussions mainly focus on historical figures and their characteristics, but also touch upon mystical matters of cosmology, revealing the influence of *xuanxue* 玄學, "the study of the mysterious," on the book in early fifth century. The discussions are often in the form of quick-witted conversations in the fashion of the so-called *qingtan* 清談, "pure conversations." It is generally believed that the character appreciation in the collection is achieved with a certain degree of fictionalization, and the conversations should be regarded as fictionalized, or intentionally shaped. Thus, the meaning of the *shuo* 說 in the title is "to criticize, to appraise," rather than to recount happenings and conversations that actually took place. Perhaps the reason the collection was entitled with *shuo*

⁶⁴⁵ *Han shu*, 30.1727.

⁶⁴⁶ *Sui shu*, 34.1011.

⁶⁴⁷ *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2036.

⁶⁴⁸ *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1539.

說 rather than *tan* 談 is because character appraisal is its original intention while *qingtan* 清談, “pure conversation,” is only the way to evaluate the characters of historical figures. The earlier *Shishuo* by Liu Xiang is listed in the note under the entry “[Books] for which Liu Xiang wrote prefaces. Sixty-seven passages [altogether]” 劉向所序六十七篇 in the “Rujia” 儒家, “the Confucian School,” sub-category of the *Han shu* bibliography.⁶⁴⁹ Liu Yiqing’s *Shishuo*, however, is put in the *xiaoshuo* sub-category in the “Masters” category in the later bibliographies of the *Sui shu*,⁶⁵⁰ the *Jiu Tang shu*,⁶⁵¹ and the *Xin Tang shu*.⁶⁵²

4.3.3.3 “Conversations” (*yu*) and *Xiaoshuo*

Xiaoshuo is closely related to the oral culture and the natural communicative action “conversations,” as well as to the textual “conversations” (*yu*) tradition in the written culture. The term can be translated as “petty talk” or “minor discourses,” and the approach here is to use “minor discourses” when the term is found in titles and as a textual category, but use “petty talks” when the term is depicting communicative actions. The oral culture and various communicative actions are discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter, still perhaps the short line from an account in the *Guanzi* 管子 would serve to bring one such scene from ancient times before our eyes. In order to lower the prices of silk and cotton, Master Guan advised Duke Huan to trim the trees by the roads. The reason was that “those people who went back and forth to the markets

⁶⁴⁹ *Han shu*, 30.1727. Three other titles are also in the note under this entry: the *Shuoyuan* 說苑, the *Xinxu* 新序, and the *Lienü zhuan songtu* 列女傳頌圖。

⁶⁵⁰ *Sui shu*, 34.1011.

⁶⁵¹ *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2036.

⁶⁵² *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1539.

came back from the markets, saw one another under the trees, [then] they would chat and talk [there] till the day ended and would not return” 往來之市者罷市，相睹樹下，談語終日不歸，⁶⁵³ which slowed the production and caused high prices. People talking and chatting by the roads did produce something else though – the *xiaoshuo*, “petty talks.”

The *xiaoshuo*, “minor discourses,” was first defined by Huan Tan 桓譚 (c. 43 B.C. – A.D. 28)⁶⁵⁴ who stated in his *Xinlun* 新論 (New Treatise, c. A.D. 2) that:

For example, the writers in the school of minor discourses gather together the disordered and fragmented minor conversations, take as metaphors and comments within their reach, and compile short books with them. [For the purpose of] regulating the self and managing the domestic [affairs], there are words worth examining.

若其小說家，合叢殘小語，近取譬論，以作短書，治身理家，有可觀之辭。⁶⁵⁵

The explicit point in Huan Tan’s definition is that the petty talks, through “disordered and fragmented” 叢殘, can be *keguan* 可觀, “worth examining” for the purpose of “regulating the self and managing the domestic [affairs]” 治身理家. The implicit point in this statement, however, is that the “words worth examining” 可觀之辭 come from the digestion of the “school of minor discourses” 小說家 who “take [these petty talks] as metaphors and comments within their reach” 近取譬論. One particularly important, but sometimes overlooked, issue in the study of *xiaoshuo* is that the *xiaoshuo*, “petty talks,” as communicative actions in the oral culture does

⁶⁵³ *Guanzi*, 24.13b, in *Sibu beiyao*.

⁶⁵⁴ Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, 1:423

⁶⁵⁵ The line from the *Huanzi xinlun* 桓子新論 is quoted in Li Shan’s 李善 (630-689) note in the *Wenxuan* 文選 (Taipei: Zhengzhong Shuju, 1971), 31.9a, p. 433a.

not equal the *xiaoshuo*, “minor discourses,” as textual records and collections in the written culture. The distance between “petty talks” and “minor discourses” is caused by the expectation for the material recorded to be “worth examining” and by the conscious or unconscious manipulation of the material being transferred from the oral culture to the written media. Such manipulation could be as simple as selecting what to record and what not to record, as innocent as putting the records in an inevitable order when compiling a collection. The awareness of such manipulation through selection and through order and structure is particularly important to the study of the *Tang yulin*.

Most of the traditional definitions and evaluations of *xiaoshuo* focus on the explicit aspect discussed above – its origin and whether it is “worth examining” or not. Ban Gu’s definition of *xiaoshuo* in the “Yiwen zhi” of the *Han shu* reads:

The stream [of philosophy] called the school of minor discourses generally came from the paltry officials.⁶⁵⁶ [These are] discussions in streets and conversations in alleys⁶⁵⁷ made up by those who hear along the roads and talk in the walkways. Master Kong said, “Though this is a minor path, there is surely something worth examining there. But if pursued too far, one could get bogged down; for this reason, the gentleman does not do so.”⁶⁵⁸

小說家者流，蓋出於稗官。街談巷語，道聽塗說者之所造也。孔子曰：「雖小道，必有可觀者焉，致遠恐泥，是以君子弗為也。」⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁶ *Han shu*, 30.1745.

⁶⁵⁷ trying to keep the terms *tan*, *yi*, etc. consistent here, or just street talk and alley gossip

⁶⁵⁸ Translation based on that in the “Hsiao-shuo” entry in the *Indiana Companion* (Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, 1:423).

⁶⁵⁹ *Han shu*, 30.1745.

It identifies the origin of the “petty talks” as “discussions in streets and conversations in alleys” 街談巷語 in the oral culture, and traces the origin of the school of “minor discourses” to the “paltry officials.” Ruchun’s 如淳 comment to the definition here offers the reason, at least the most note worthy reason, for the petty talks to become minor discourses. It reads:

Discussions in streets and talks in alleys are trivial and insignificant words. He who rules desires to know the airs and customs⁶⁶⁰ in the alleys of villages, and therefore establishes paltry officials and let them recount and talk about them [to him].

街談巷說，其細碎之言也。王者欲知閭巷風俗，故立稗官使稱說之。⁶⁶¹

Similar to Huan Tan’s criterion of *keguan* 可觀, “worth examining,” the *Han shu* definition continues to comment on the value of the *xiaoshuo* based on the criterion *kecai* 可采, “worth picking up:”

But [this stream] still has not dried up. What covered by those of minor knowledge within their locales is also made lasting and unforgotten. If there happens to be one word worth picking up, this then can also [be considered] the proposals/opinions of the grass and firewood-gatherers and the madman.

然亦弗滅也。閭裏小知者之所及，亦使綴而不忘。如或一言可采，此亦芻蕘狂夫之議也。⁶⁶²

The compilers of the *Han shu* bibliography recorded “fifteen schools/titles of minor discourses with [altogether] one thousand three hundred and eighty passages” 小說十五家，千三百八十篇，

⁶⁶⁰ These could include storytellings, ballads etc. usually about gods.

⁶⁶¹ *Han shu*, 30.1745.

⁶⁶² *Han shu*, 30.1745.

⁶⁶³ and for the first time acknowledged *xiaoshuo* as an independent school of writing and established it as the last of ten sub-categories in the *Zi* 子, “Masters” or “Philosophers,” category. When evaluated together with all ten sub-categories, the *xiaoshuo* still appears inferior, as the *Han shu* bibliography comments that “among the ten schools of the various masters/philosophers, there are but nine schools worth examining” 諸子十家，其可觀者九家而已。⁶⁶⁴ Therefore, it seems that the issue of *xiaoshuo* being “worth examining” or not is a persistent one throughout literary history.

At Ban Gu’s time, the titles in the *xiaoshuo* category were largely considered “spurious, of questionable origin or marginal utility, and they did not have any obvious affinity with the major classical traditions nor with any of the more estimable schools of philosophy, though in style they were primarily discursive and resembled the writings of the philosophers.”⁶⁶⁵ Among the fifteen titles listed in the *Han shu* bibliography, none are “conversations” (*yu*) titles, five contain the communicative term *shuo*: the *Yi Yin shuo* 伊尹說, the *Yuzi shuo* 鬻子說, the *Huangdi shuo* 黃帝說, the *Fengchan fang shuo* 封禪方說, the *Yu chu Zhou shuo* 虞初周說。⁶⁶⁶

During the Southern Dynasties 南朝 (420-589), Emperor Wu 武 (i.e., Xiao Yan 蕭衍, 464-549, r. 502-549) of Liang 梁 (502-557) ordered Yin Yun 殷芸 (471-529), his court librarian, to compile a collection entitled *Xiaoshuo* 小說 (Minor Discourses). The *Indiana Companion*

⁶⁶³ *Han shu*, 30.1745.

⁶⁶⁴ *Han shu*, 30.1746.

⁶⁶⁵ Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, 1:423.

⁶⁶⁶ *Han shu*, 30.1745-6. The rest of the titles in the *xiaoshuo* category are the *Zhou kao* 周考, the *Qingshizi* 青史子, the *Shi Kuang* 師曠, the *Wuchengzi* 務成子, the *Songzi* 宋子, the *Tian yi* 天乙, the *Daizhao chen raoxin shu* 待詔臣饒心術, the *Daizhao chen Ancheng weiyang shu* 待詔臣安成未央術, the *Chen Shou Zhou ji* 臣壽周紀, and the *Baijia* 百家.

identifies “a gradual ascendance of narrative over discursive materials”⁶⁶⁷ in the extant fragments of the *Xiaoshuo*. According to Liu Zhiji, the *Xiaoshuo* contained material from such books as Gan Bao’s 干寶 (fl. 320) *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (In Search of the Supernatural)⁶⁶⁸ and Liu Jingshu’s 劉敬叔 (fl. ca. 417-426) *Yiyuan* 異苑 (Garden of Marvels, 5th c.) which was “popular customs and strange discourses” 流俗怪說 and “unauthentic” 不經 and should be left outside of respectable historical writing.⁶⁶⁹

The “Jingji zhi” 經籍志 (Treatise on Classics and Books) of the *Sui shu* inherits the concept and definition of *xiaoshuo* in the “Yiwen zhi” of the *Han shu*. It also takes one step further to offer a systematic structure for the various kinds of literary works produced by people of different professions, each of which has its special function and place within a harmonious big picture where literary works contribute to facilitate the reign of the sage. The passage reads:

Those called “minor discourses” are “discourses” in the sense of talks in streets and conversations in alleys. The *Zuo Commentary* includes the hymns by the chariot drivers and the *Book of Poetry* esteems [the deed of] inquiring the grass and firewood-gatherers. In the times of antiquity, the sages were the sovereign [kings], the scribes composed the [historical] documents, the blind [music masters] composed poetry, the musicians sang hymns to remonstrate and memorialize, the grand masters persuaded and admonished, the gentry-scholars transmitted words while the commoners criticized. In the first month of spring, [officials] sounded the wooden-clappered bells in order to seek out songs and

⁶⁶⁷ Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, 1:424.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:716-8.

⁶⁶⁹ In the second passage of the “Zashuo” 雜說 in the “Outer Chapters” 外篇 of Liu Zhiji’s *Shitong*. See *Shitong tongshi*, 17.234.

ditties, toured around and inspected [local regions] to observe the poetry of the people in order to learn [local] airs and customs. If overbearing, [the ruler] then would correct [his behavior]; if he misstep, he would mend [his way]. What was heard along the roads and talked about in the alleys – none were not recorded in their completion.

小說者，街說巷語之說也。傳載輿人之誦，詩美詢於芻蕘。古者聖人在上，史為書，瞽為詩，工誦箴諫，大夫規誨，士傳言而庶人謗。孟春，徇木鐸以求歌謠，巡省觀人詩，以知風俗。過則正之，失則改之，道聽塗說，靡不畢紀。⁶⁷⁰

According to such a system, the *xiaoshuo* has its proper place and function in the systematic structure of literary works. The *Sui shu* also quotes Confucius that “Though this is a minor path, there is surely something worth examining there. But if pursued too far, one could get bogged down” 雖小道，必有可觀者焉，致遠恐泥。⁶⁷¹

The list of titles compiled by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643) under the *xiaoshuo* category in the bibliography of the *Sui shu*, according to the *Indiana Companion*, includes a “new group of Six Dynasties compilations that were, in comparison to other genres, more distinctly fictional than anything in Ban Gu’s list.”⁶⁷² From the perspective of the relationship between the communicative actions such as *yu*, *shuo*, *bian*, and *xiaoshuo*, and compared to the titles listed in the *Han shu* bibliography, there are also a few changes to be noticed. First, “conversations” (*yu*) titles appeared. Among the 25 titles, altogether 155 *juan* of writings, in the *xiaoshuo* category of the *Sui shu* bibliography, there are 5 “conversations” (*yu*) titles: the *Zayu* 雜語, the *Za duiyu* 雜對語, the *Yaoyong yudui* 要用語對, the *Suo yu* 瑣語, and Pei Qi’s *Yulin* that was already lost at

⁶⁷⁰ *Sui shu*, 34.1012.

⁶⁷¹ *Sui shu*, 34.1012.

⁶⁷² Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, 1:424.

that time.⁶⁷³ Second, the titles with the communicative action *shuo* seem to be much less didactic and discursive than those *shuo* titles of the *xiaoshuo* sub-category in the *Han shu*. The *Sui shu* titles are the *Shishuo* 世說 (Tales of the World), the no longer extant *Sushuo* 俗說 (Tales of Customs) that was associated with the *Shishuo* edition annotated by Liu Xiaobiao 劉孝標 (462-521), Yin Yun's 殷芸 (471-529) *Xiaoshuo* 小說 (Minor Talks/ Discourses), and the *Ershuo* 邇說 (Recent Talks/Discourses),⁶⁷⁴ which all suggest accounts of miscellaneous origins. Among the *Han shu* titles, the *Yi Yin shuo* 伊尹說, the *Yu zi shuo* 鬻子說, and the *Huangdi shuo* 黃帝說⁶⁷⁵ all seem to be discourses from particular persons. Third, the titles in the *xiaoshuo* sub-category of the *Sui shu* focus more on interactive actions of the oral culture as shown by titles particularly involving the terms *duiyu* 對語, "Responses in Conversations," and *yudui* 語對, "Conversational Responses," in addition to the term *yu*, "conversations." Even titles not directly involving communicative terms such as *yu* and *shuo* would suggest interactive actions, either in an oral or a written context, for example, the *Wendui* 文對 (Literary Responses) and the two works listed with the same title *Bianlin* 辯林 (Forest of Debates).⁶⁷⁶ Fourth, the titles in the *xiaoshuo* sub-category of the *Sui shu* suggest the entertaining nature of *xiaoshuo* as some of the titles, such as the *Xiaolin* 笑林 (Forest of Laughs), the *Xiaoyuan* 笑苑 (Garden of Laughs), and the *Jieyi* 解頤 (To Bring Up a Smile),⁶⁷⁷ seem to be apparently compiled for the enjoyment of its

⁶⁷³ *Sui shu*, 34.1011-2.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*.

⁶⁷⁵ *Han shu*, 30.1745-6.

⁶⁷⁶ *Sui shu*, 34.1011-2.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*.

audience.

Both the *Jiu Tang shu* bibliography and the *Xin Tang shu* bibliography offer no introduction to any of the sub-categories of the Zi category. The *Jiu Tang shu* bibliography's *xiaoshuo* section includes a curiously short list of thirteen titles⁶⁷⁸ of all together ninety *juan*, including: the *Yuzi* 鬻子, the *Yandanzi* 燕丹子, the *Xiaolin* 笑林, the *Bowu zhi* 博物志, the *Guozi* 郭子, the *Shishuo* 世說, the *Xu Shishuo* 續世說 by Liu Xiaobiao, the *Xiaoshuo* by Liu Yiqing, the *Xiaoshuo* by Yin Yun, the *Shi suyü* 釋俗語, the *Bianlin* 辨林, the *Jiu xiao jing* 酒孝經, the *Zuo you fang* 座右方, and the *Qiyán lu* 啟顏錄.⁶⁷⁹ The list seems to have dropped many of the no longer extant titles. However, the *Xin Tang shu* bibliography's *xiaoshuo* list is significantly longer with one hundred twenty-three titles listed.⁶⁸⁰ Some of the titles suggest such topics as predestined fate, retribution and efficacy, ghosts, gods and strange happenings, and not that many “conversations” (*yu*) titles can be found on the list. However, titles involving various other communicative terms flourish on the list and many of them are the source titles to Wang Dang's *Tang yulin*, for example, the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* 劉公嘉話錄, the *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議, the *Rongmu xiantan* 戎幕閒談, the *Yin hua lu* 因話錄, the *Yuquanzi jianwen zhenlu* 玉泉子見聞真錄, the *Lu shi zashuo* 盧氏雜說, the *Jutan lu* 劇談錄, the *Tan bin lu* 譚賓錄, the *Duyang zaban* 杜陽雜編, the *Changshi yanzhi* 常侍言旨, the *Youxian guchui* 幽閒鼓吹, and the

⁶⁷⁸ 14 as counted.

⁶⁷⁹ *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2036.

⁶⁸⁰ *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1539-43. Strangely, the bibliography itself summarizes the list as containing thirty-nine titles, forty-one sections, three hundred and eight *juan* in total, see *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1543.

Youyang zazu 酉陽雜俎.⁶⁸¹ As discussed above, these titles involving a variety of communicative terms reflect the rich oral culture of anecdotal storytelling during the Tang and Song dynasties, and these texts serve as a bridge between the oral culture and the written culture carrying the anecdotal memories of the past circulated and transmitted orally over to the written media of the text.

Xiaoshuo prospered from the Song dynasty on. Ji Yun's 紀昀 (1724-1805) bibliography in the *Siku quanshu* reinstated the definition of *xiaoshuo* given by Ban Gu in the "Jingji zhi" of the *Han shu*, while further divided the *xiaoshuo* into three branches:

Tracing the streams and variations [of the *xiaoshuo*], there are altogether three branches. One [branch] narrates the miscellaneous affairs; one [branch] records the marvelous things heard; one [branch] collects and compiles the trivial conversations. From the Tang and Song [dynasties] on, those who composed [works of *xiaoshuo*] became exceedingly flourished in number.

跡其流別，凡有三派，其一敘述雜事，其一記錄異聞，其一綴輯瑣語也。唐、宋而後，作者彌繁。⁶⁸²

Ji Yun's evaluation of *xiaoshuo* is mixed as he comments that:

Among [the category of *xiaoshuo*], those falsely accuse and slander causing the truth to be lost and those outlandish and absurd confusing the hearing [of its audience] are indeed not few. However, those that deliver persuasion and admonishments, expand [the scope

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*.

⁶⁸² *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 140.2882.

of things] seen and heard, and facilitate textual studies and research, also appear randomly among [its contents].

中間誣謾失真，妖妄熒聽者固為不少，然寓勸戒，廣見聞，資考證者亦錯出其中。⁶⁸³

His comment reveals the traditional distinction between the *xiaoshuo* that is *keguan* 可觀, “worth examining,” and that is not, as well as the expectation for it to “deliver persuasion and admonishments, expand [the scope of things] seen and heard, and facilitate textual studies and research” 寓勸戒，廣見聞，資考證. His approach to the *xiaoshuo* in compiling the list for the *Siku quanshu* is thus rather selective based on such a criterion:

Collecting extensively and seeking⁶⁸⁴ from side to side – this was also the convention from antiquity and indeed should not be abolished due to its scattered and miscellaneous nature. Now I selected and recorded those relatively elegant and refined among them in order to expand [the scope of things] seen and heard, and as to those obscene, despicable, wanton and absurd, I thereby discarded them and did not include them here.

博採旁蒐，是亦古製，固不必以冗雜廢矣。今甄錄其近雅馴者，以廣見聞，惟猥鄙荒誕，徒亂耳目者則黜不載焉。⁶⁸⁵

With Ji Yun’s evaluation of and approach to the *xiaoshuo*, we return to the hidden issue of the distance between the “petty talks” of the oral culture and “minor discourses” in the written form. The expectation for the records of the oral culture to be “worth examining” causes the conscious

⁶⁸³ *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 140.2882.

⁶⁸⁴ Sou 蒐， the same as sou 搜。

⁶⁸⁵ *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 140.2882.

or unconscious manipulation of the material when being transferred from the oral culture to the written media. Ji Yun's approach to the books of "minor discourses" when compiling the *Siku quanshu*'s *xiaoshuo* section reveals that such manipulation is often taken one step further by the selective preservation and transmission of the texts that record the already selectively gathered content from the oral culture. The manipulation of *xiaoshuo* material on the textual level will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter on how the *Tang yulin*, a collection compiled from the material in existing collections of minor discourses and miscellaneous histories, restructures the anecdotal cultural memory of the past through selectively using its source material and through providing order and structure to the selected content.

4.3.4 *Zashi*, *Xiaoshuo* and Cultural Memory

The previous sections of chapter 4 identifies the communicative actions that circulate and transmit the anecdotal memories from the oral culture and, using the "conversations" (*yu*) tradition as an example, relates the textual tradition that records such anecdotal memories of the past to *xiaoshuo* and *zashi*. This section proceeds to explore the relationship between the anecdotal memories of the past and historical writings – the most important type of writing in traditional China. First, the relative position of *xiaoshuo* and *zashi* is discussed through an analysis on Liu Zhiji's review of the miscellaneous writings with official historiography as a reference point. Second, the concept of culture memory is brought in to offer an analytical approach to such miscellaneous writings of anecdotal memory on a theoretical level.

From a perspective of proper historiography, Liu Zhiji, in his critical work *Shitong* 史通

(Generalities on History, completed in 710),⁶⁸⁶ criticizes the irresponsible attitude of the historians of earlier dynasties, who caused *xiaoshuo* material to be frequently blended into official history. He subsequently goes through a list of dynastic histories identifying the unworthy material and errors in each of them. Taking proper official history as a reference point, Liu Zhiji further identifies a series of writings that should be left out of official historiography in the “Zashu” 雜述 (Reviewing the Miscellaneous) chapter of the *Shitong*. For Liu, besides “the books by the kings and emperors from the generations of high [antiquity] and the records by the various lords from the middle antiquity” 上代帝王之書，中古諸侯之記，⁶⁸⁷ the rest of the writings were all *waizhuan* 外傳, “the outer commentaries.” As an example of the “outer commentaries” from times of antiquity, Liu Zhiji notes that “the [*Kongzi*] *jiayu* included speeches, and was transmitted from the Kong Clan” 家語載言，傳諸孔氏。⁶⁸⁸ On the nature of such “outer commentaries,”⁶⁸⁹ Liu writes, “from these [examples] we know that the partial records and minor discourses form their own school. [The reason] they can circulate side-by-side with official histories is that the tradition they came from has been time-honored” 是知偏記小說，自成一家。而能與正史參行，其所由來尚矣。⁶⁹⁰ Liu Distinguishes *zhengshi* 正史, “official

⁶⁸⁶ For an introduction on Liu Zhiji and his *Shitong*, see Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, 1:576-8. For partial translations and textual criticism of the work, see Stuart Sargent, “Understanding History: The Narration of Events” by Liu Chih-chi (661-721), in *The Translation of Things Past: Chinese History and Historiography*, edited by George Kao (Hong Kong, 1982), Cheng Qianfan 程千帆 (1913-2000), *Shi tong jianji* 史通箋記 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1980), and Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (1679-1762) and Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721), *Shitong tongshi* 史通通釋 (Taipei: Shijie Shuju, 1962).

⁶⁸⁷ *Shitong tongshi*, 10.131.

⁶⁸⁸ *ibid.*.

⁶⁸⁹ The four examples of “outer commentaries” given by Liu Zhiji are the *Bencao* 本草, the *Shanjing* 山經, the *Shiben* 世本 and the *Jiayu* 家語. See *Shitong tongshi*, 10.131.

⁶⁹⁰ *Shitong tongshi*, 10.131.

histories,” or more literally “authentic histories,” from *pianji xiaoshuo* 偏記小說, “partial records and minor discourses,” but acknowledges that these two can “circulate side-by-side” 參行. Though not official historiography, Liu considers the *pianji xiaoshuo* as “streams and variations of historiography” 史氏流別, recognizing its place in representing the memories of the past.

“When it came to the times of recent antiquity, the way [of partial records and minor discourses] gradually became complicated. These streams and variations of historiography took different paths and flew wing-to-wing [with one another]. If I deliberate and offer a discussion [over this topic], there are ten streams of [the partial records and minor discourses].”

爰及近古，斯道漸煩。史氏流別，殊途並鶩。權而為論，其流有十焉。⁶⁹¹

The ten streams of “partial records and minor discourses” identified by Liu Zhiji are the “partial annals” 偏紀, the “minor records” 小錄, the “scattered affairs” 逸事, the “trivial words” 瑣言, the “documents from commandaries” 郡書, the “family histories” 家史, the “alternative biographies” 別傳, the “miscellaneous records” 雜記, the “geography documents” 地理書, and the “registers from cities and towns” 都邑簿, in this order.⁶⁹² The *zashi* and *xiaoshuo* sub-categories in the bibliographies of the official histories roughly resembles the streams of “scattered affairs” 逸事 and “trivial words” 瑣言 of Liu’s *pianji xiaoshuo* 偏記小說. Liu’s definition and examples of the “scattered affairs” 逸事 are as follows:

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*.

The responsibilities of the national histories are to record affairs and speeches.

Because seeing and hearing cannot be all encompassing there must have been things left out and scattered. Therefore the scholar-gentlemen who were fond of the oddities supplemented what was missing [from the national histories], for example, He Qiao's *Ji zhong jinian* (Chronicles from the Tomb of the Ji [Commandary]),⁶⁹³ Ge Hong's *Xijing zaji* (Miscellaneous Records from the Western Capital), Gu Xie's *Suo yu* (Trivial Conversations), and Xie Chuo's *Shiyi* (Picking Up the Left Behind [Pieces]). This is what is called "scattered affairs."

國史之任，記事記言，視聽不該，必有遺逸。於是好奇之士，補其所亡，若和嶠汲冢紀年，葛洪西京雜紀，顧協瑣語，謝綽拾遺。此之謂逸事者也。⁶⁹⁴

And his definition and examples of the "trivial words" 瑣言 are as follows:

Those discussions in streets and proposals in alleys⁶⁹⁵ from time to time do have something worth examining. Minor discourses and random words are still better than nothing. Therefore for the gentlemen who are curious about things there is nothing discarded from these, such as Liu Yiqing's *Shishuo* (Tales of the World), Pei Rongqi's *Yulin* (Forest of Conversations),⁶⁹⁶ Kong Sishang's *Yulu* (Records of Conversations), and

⁶⁹³ I.e., *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年, transcribed by He Qiao of the Western Jin after it was excavated from an ancient tomb in the Ji Commandary.

⁶⁹⁴ *Shitong tongshi*, 10.131.

⁶⁹⁵ Trying to keep the terms *tan*, *yi*, etc. consistent here, or just street talk and alley gossip.

⁶⁹⁶ Pei Rongqi, i.e. Pei Qi. The original note in the "Wenxue" chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu* reads "the *Pei shi jiazhuo* (Family History of the Pei Clan) reads 'Pei Qi, style name Rongqi, was a native of Hedong. ... When young, he had graceful manners and bearing, as well as literary talent and abilities. He was fond of discussing persons and things from antiquity to present times, and compiled several *juan* of the *Yulin* (Forest of Conversations) entitled them *Peizi* (Master Pei)'. ... 裴氏家傳，裴啟字榮期，河東人，...少有風姿才氣，好論古今人物，撰語林數卷，號曰裴子。 See Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 4.248.

Yang Jiesong's *Tan sou* (Wilderness of Discussions). This is what is called “trivial words.”

街談巷議，時有可觀，小說卮言，猶賢於已。故好事君子，無所棄諸，若劉義慶世說，裴榮期語林，孔思尚語錄，陽玠松談藪。此之謂瑣言者也。⁶⁹⁷

In evaluating these different ways of recording and transmitting the memories of the past, Liu Zhiji affirms the positive contributions of these “streams and variations of historiography” 史氏流別 outside of the official, or authentic, history. But he is also rather critical to all ten “streams and variations of historiography” done by “the erroneous” 謬者, “the reckless” 妄者, “the foolish” 愚者, and “the despicable” 蔽者. He comments on the contributions and harm the alternative writings of past memories in the following passages:

The [stream] called “scattered affairs” is all that was left out of earlier histories and recorded by people of later times. It seeks after different versions [of accounts] and indeed offers much contribution. If it is done by the reckless, it then carelessly includes gossip and hearsay without discrimination or selection. Because of this, the true and the false are not distinguished, and the right and the wrong are mixed with each other.

[Books] like Guo Ziheng's *[Han Wu] dongming [ji]* ([Records of Emperor Wu of Han] Comprehending the Mysterious) and Wang Zinian's *Shiyi [ji]* ([Records of] Picking Up the Left Behind [Pieces]) all concocted empty words in order to alarm the foolish and the rustic. This is the extreme case of the harm it offers.

逸事者，皆前史所遺，後人所記，求諸異說，為益實多。及妄者為之，則苟載傳聞，而無銓擇。由是真偽不別，是非相亂。如郭子橫之洞冥，王子年之拾遺，全構虛辭，用驚愚俗。此其為弊之甚者也。⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁷ *Shitong tongshi*, 10.131.

⁶⁹⁸ *Shitong tongshi*, 10.132.

And for the “trivial words,” he comments:

The [stream] called “trivial words” mostly includes fashionable debates and responses, popular customs, ridicules and jokes for those who [engage in] speeches and conversations to employ as the [sharp] tip of the tongue and for those who [participate in] discussions and talks to borrow as fodder for gossip. When it is done by the despicable, then there are cases where slanders and insults playing off one another and being applied to ancestors and progenitors,⁶⁹⁹ [and cases where] vulgar words of profanity and intimacy coming from the bedchamber.⁷⁰⁰ None of these are not elevated to be records and accounts, and used for elegant speech. This is indeed that contributes nothing to customs and norms [but instead] brings harm to the teaching of ethics.

瑣言者，多載當時辨對，流俗嘲謔，俾夫樞機者藉為舌端，談話者將為口實。及蔽者為之，則有詆訐相戲，施諸祖宗，褻狎鄙言，出自床第，莫不升之紀錄，用為雅言，固以無益風規，有傷名教者矣。⁷⁰¹

Of all the streams of the miscellanies, Liu concludes that although “their words are all trivial and insignificant, and the affairs [recorded] surely disordered and fragmented” 言皆瑣碎，事必叢殘，⁷⁰² still “the words of grass and firewood-gatherers,⁷⁰³ a wise king will surely choose [to heed];

⁶⁹⁹ Cheng Qianfan (*Shitong jianji*, p. 176) quotes #28 in the “Yanyu” chapter and #18 in the “Fangzheng” chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu* (Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 2.78-9, 5.277-9; Mather, pp. 44, 158-61) as examples of this case.

⁷⁰⁰ Cheng Qianfan (*Shitong jianji*, p. 176) quotes #2 and #5 in the “Huoni” 惑溺 chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu* (Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 35.824-5, 35.827-8; Mather, pp. 485-6, 487-8) as examples of this case.

⁷⁰¹ *Shitong tongshi*, 10.132.

⁷⁰² *Shitong tongshi*, 10.133.

⁷⁰³ The poem “Pan” 板 (Reversed; Mao # 254) in the “Da ya” 大雅 (Greater Odes of the Kingdom) chapter of the *Shijing*, reads “the ancients had a saying – ‘consult the grass and firewood-gatherers’” 先民有言，詢於芻蕘. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Poetry*, 4:499.

the style of [gathering] mustard plant and earth melons,⁷⁰⁴ a poet will not discard.” 然則芻蕘之言，明王必擇；葑菲之體，詩人不棄。⁷⁰⁵ These miscellaneous anecdotal accounts of the past contribute to the knowledge of a scholar that is beyond what the classics and official histories can offer.

Therefore among the learned there are those who have heard extensively the old affairs and memorized abundantly the things [of the past]. If they did not peek at the alternative records or seek out different [versions of] books, but only studied the passages and sentences by [the Duke of] Zhou and Confucius and strictly focused on the annals and biographies by [Sima] Qian and [Ban] Gu, how could they achieve such [learnedness] on their own?

故學者有博聞舊事，多識其物，若不窺別錄，不討異書，專治周孔之章句，直守遷固之紀傳，亦何能自致於此乎？⁷⁰⁶

The ability of having “heard extensively” 博聞 and “memorized abundantly” 多識 comes from these anecdotal accounts that produce memories of the past that are not in the classics and official histories.

What is the nature of such anecdotal memories exactly? Harald Hendrix discusses the genre of “historiographical anecdotes” in biographies of leading intellectuals of the European Renaissance period. He notes that as a result of the “narrative structure at the basis of almost all

⁷⁰⁴ The poem “Gu feng” 谷風 (The East Wind; Mao # 35) in the “Bei feng” 邶風 (The Odes of Bei) chapter of the *Shijing* reads “when we gather the mustard plant and earth melons, we do not reject them because of their roots” 采葑采菲，無以下體. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Poetry*, 4:55.

⁷⁰⁵ *Shitong tongshi*, 10.133.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*.

anecdotes,” they have “a particularly strong mnemotechnic effect” and contribute to the creation of cultural memory.⁷⁰⁷ Hendrix points out that in addition to establishing the contextual rhetorical function of these “historiographical anecdotes,” one should investigate “their effectiveness in creating cultural memory.”⁷⁰⁸ As discussed in the introduction of the dissertation, the concept of “cultural memory,” as Jan Assmann defines it, differs from the concept of “communicative memory” of the individual and the concept of “collective memory” of the collective group, be it defined ethnically, socially or politically. The concept of cultural memory “takes a major step beyond the individual who alone possesses a memory in the true sense,” and sets up a needed “symbolic and cultural framework” for the operations of memory.⁷⁰⁹ It is “symbolically stored memory” to ensure the memory does not die with its particular temporal context; it is memory transmitted across time, when the “memory space of many thousands of years open up, and it is writing that plays the decisive role in this process;”⁷¹⁰ It is “archived” memory of the past in the sense that “in written cultures, handed-down meanings, translated into symbolic forms, swells into vast archives of which only more or less limited, albeit central parts are really needed, inhabited, and tended, while all around hoards of knowledge that are no longer needed languish in a state that at the margins comes close to disappearance and oblivion.”⁷¹¹ Assmann notes that “cultural memory, in contrast to communicative memory, encompasses the age-old, out-of-the-way, and discarded; and in contrast to collective, bonding memory, it includes the noninstrumentalizable, heretical,

⁷⁰⁷ Hendrix, “Historiographical Anecdotes,” p. 18.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 20.

⁷⁰⁹ Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, p. 8.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid., p. 28.

⁷¹¹ Ibid., p. 24-5.

subversive, and disowned,”⁷¹² and is “complex, pluralistic, and labyrinthine; it encompasses a quantity of bonding memories and group identities that differ in time and place and draws its dynamism from these tensions and contradictions.”⁷¹³

These characteristics of the cultural memory fit the nature of the anecdotal memories of the past examined in this study. First, the anecdotal accounts, as analyzed in earlier sections of this chapter, are memories of the past transmitted across time and space and thus become independent of the experience and existence of the individual who was the origin of the anecdote. Second, the anecdotal memories of the past, as identified by Liu Zhiji, existed as *pianji xiaoshuo* 偏記小說, “partial records and minor discourses,” outside of the *zhengshi* 正史, the official, or authentic, historiography, but still “circulated side-by-side” 參行 with the official histories. As Marita Sturkin states, cultural memory is memory of the past “shared outside the avenues of formal historical discourse, yet is entangled with cultural products and imbued with cultural meaning.”⁷¹⁴ Anecdotal accounts, as discussed in earlier sections, function as a bridge to transfer the memories of the past circulated and transmitted orally to the medium of the written text, and thus serve to convey the products of the oral culture to the written tradition and preserve them.

In his chapter on the Northern Song literature in the *Cambridge History of Chinese Literature* (2010), Ronald Egan comments on the nature of miscellanies or anecdotal collections, and the striking increase in the number of such collections during the Song. “The most weighty and instructive narratives” about the past were incorporated in official biographies and histories,

⁷¹² Ibid., p. 27.

⁷¹³ Ibid., p. 29.

⁷¹⁴ Sturkin, *Tangled Memories* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), p. 26.

the miscellany compilers collected marginal records that have “little didactic or historiographical value, or that may strain credulity or otherwise be of uncertain provenance and credibility,” for the purpose of supplementing the official historical record.⁷¹⁵ By the end of the eleventh century, the interest in miscellaneous records had grown to include the recent, the personal, the trivial and quotidian, the amoral and even the heterodox. Considering Assmann’s system, official histories can be viewed as the functional memory of the past, as the collective memory selectively constructed by the ruling group; while anecdotes are marginalized, noninstrumentalizable memories of the past stored away in cultural “archives,” without immediate use or function to the ruling collective. For the anecdotes in the *Tang yulin*, it is no longer possible to identify whose individual memory, or which group’s collective memory, an anecdote was. The passing of time has moved memories that were once individual, or once shared by a particular group, into the realm of cultural memory of a past dynasty.

Thus, this study chooses to approach the content and structure of the *Tang yulin* from the perspective of cultural memory. In the text chapter, three characteristics of the concept are stressed: first, the cultural memory discussed here is the memory of the past transmitted across time and space. Second, I refer to cultural memory as a type of symbolically stored memory of the past in the sense that the historical, factual details of the accounts lose their significance, while the cultural reality and cultural significance associated to these accounts become more important. Thus, the narrative forms themselves become abstract templates, symbols, or even linguistic handles that signify the cultural reality rather than the historical reality. Third, the cultural memory I discuss here existed in the vast cultural archives of the past, outside of the

⁷¹⁵ Ronald Egan, “The Northern Song (1020-1126),” 454-5.

official venues of historiography, such as the discontinuous narratives in anecdotal or miscellaneous collections.

Chapter Five: Restructuring Cultural Memory in the *Tang yulin*

The nature of anecdotal narratives, whether they are factual or fictional, is often debated. Traditionally the reliability of anecdotal material has been dismissed, but since the advent of New Historicism led by Stephen Greenblatt and others, the value of anecdotes has been elevated.⁷¹⁶ The New Historicists take the anecdotes as a kind of “counterhistory” that “opposes itself not only to dominant narratives, but also to prevailing modes of historical thought and methods of research,” and that, when successful, “ceases to be counter.”⁷¹⁷ The current study takes a similar stand that the anecdotal narratives examined here are neither factual nor fictional in the traditional sense of historical or literary writings. Or they can be viewed as both factual and fictional – in the sense of being indistinct and imprecise, they are, in fact, “fuzzy.”⁷¹⁸ They are organic integrations of factual basis and fictional exaggeration. They are as true, and at the same time as false, as personal memory. They are vehicles of memory, not only memories of individuals, but also as a whole the memory of the society and the culture. They are factual in the sense that they represent cultural reality and ideological truth rather than historical reality and empirical truth, just like the personal memory can be more true to one’s mentality than one’s factual experience. It is in this sense that they seem to “disrupt” the factually oriented historical narratives and “tantalize with flashes of an always inaccessible ‘real’”⁷¹⁹ the way the anecdotes used by the New Historicists do. This chapter, using the *Tang yulin* as a case study, treats

⁷¹⁶ Catherine Gallagher, “Counterhistory and the Anecdote” in Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, eds., *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 49-74.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁷¹⁸ The word “fuzzy” here is used in a more or less similar sense to the usages in “fuzzy mathematics” and “fuzzy logic.”

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

anecdotal narratives as vehicles of cultural memory and anecdotal collections compiled by different people at different times as restructured images of the cultural memory of the past. It presents the ideas that the passing of time gives these fragmented accounts a symbolic nature that is characteristic of cultural memory, and that the cultural memory of the past tends to be restructured when anecdotal narratives are selected, categorized and included in collections; the selective use of anecdotal cultural memory in a collection is in turn shaped by the particular social and intellectual context of the compiler's own time; and the image of the past reconstructed in an anecdotal collection reflects the social and intellectual concerns at the heart of the compiler's own culture.

Why cultural memory in particular? The previous chapter focuses on two aspects of the distinct nature of anecdotal accounts that are characteristic of cultural memory: First, they are accounts and memory transmitted across time and space, beyond the individual's life span or the existence of groups, societies and dynasties; and as a whole, they do not belong to any particular individual or group, nor do they address or represent any particular events or topics. Second, they are accounts and memories that tend to be left outside of the official venues of historical discourse and that exist in the vast cultural archives of the society – in miscellaneous collections and oral tradition. This chapter will focus on a third aspect of the nature of anecdotal accounts that is prominently characteristic of cultural memory: these fragmented memories of the past are often symbolically stored. This chapter will discuss the topic on different levels: the symbolic storage of cultural memory in linguistic “handles” such as idioms is examined on the level of individual anecdotes; storage in “memory templates” is examined on the level of groups of anecdotes, and storage in larger structural frameworks is examined on the level of categorization systems of anecdotal collections. During the process, the migration of memory from the personal

and individual to the cultural realm, and that from the marginalized social groups to the literati culture, will also be explored. These discussions reveal the abstract nature of anecdotal accounts as during their transmission across time and space they become more independent on empirical details and focus more on the cultural significance and cultural values embedded in their narrative and categorization. Also during this process, the discussions on particular examples of anecdotes, “memory templates,” and categories will show, on a case by case basis, that the formation of the above-mentioned structural units of cultural memory in an anecdotal collection is facilitated and shaped by the social, intellectual and cultural context and concerns of the compiler’s own time.

The second part of this chapter examines the *Tang yulin*’s selective use of its source material in restructuring the cultural memory and reconstructing its own image of the Tang. Using a simple statistical clustering method, the discussion here first divides the fifty or so source titles of the *Tang yulin* roughly into four groups. Then from each group, one title representative of the issue at hand is selected for close examination. Among the large source collections, the *Tang yulin*’s high coverage of the *Guoshi bu* demonstrates a shared principle of compilation – to offer supplements to the official historical discourse, while its low coverage of the *Da Tang xinyu* suggests the possibility that it was intended to be a response to the *Da Tang xinyu* in both content and structure, and to offer a different image of Tang cultural memory. The discussion here also touches upon how Wang Dang may have worked through his source books, and how his compilation was influenced by the intellectual orientation of his own time. Among the smaller source collections, the *Tang yulin*’s high coverage of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* is used as an example to discuss the phenomenon of the circular transmission of cultural memory from source title to a text and then from the text back to the source title, and its related issues; while

the *Tang yulin*'s low coverage of several source books brings the discussion back to the issue of Wang Dang's less preferred topics.

5.1 Anecdotal Literature as Vehicle and Repository of Cultural Memory

This section first uses an account on Lu Qi's wickedness as an example to discuss the "fuzzy" or "indistinct" nature of anecdotal memory and the ambiguous idea of historical truth. It then takes the anecdote about a woman's dream of a steelyard before giving birth as an example to illustrate the way individual memory migrates, or spreads, into the realms of collective and cultural memory over time, and to show the development of a symbolic nature of anecdotal accounts that is characteristic of cultural memory. The discussion here also uses the anecdote about a court musician's memory of old owls gathering on the roof of a palace as an example to offer the idea of the migration of memory from marginalized social groups to the literati culture.

5.1.1 Lu Qi's Wickedness: "Fuzzy" of "Indistinct" Memory and the Idea of *shi* 實 (Truth)

Lu Qi 盧杞 (d. ca. 785),⁷²⁰ the Grand Councilor of Dezong's court, came down in history as an evil and wicked minister. His biography in the *Jiu Tang shu* notes that "[Lu] Qi's appearance was ugly and his complexion bluish, people all looked upon him as [if he were] a ghost" 杞貌陋而色如藍，人皆鬼視之。⁷²¹ The compilers of the *Xin Tang shu* described him similarly,⁷²² but rather than following the *Jiu Tang shu*'s ordering the biographies

⁷²⁰ Lu Qi 盧杞, style name Ziliang 子良, was a court official during the reign of Emperor Dezong who rose to high positions due to his family background. Though regarded fairly high by the Emperor, he was by nature deceitful and jealous of those who were talented and able. He schemed against many court officials of his time, therefore was not well regarded among his peers. For biographies of Lu Qi, see *Jiu Tang shu*, 135.3713-8; *Xin Tang shu*, 223b.6351-4.

⁷²¹ *Jiu Tang shu*, 135.3713.

⁷²² *Xin Tang shu*, 223b.6351.

chronologically, they moved him to the end of the section of biographies and put him in the category labeled “Jianchen” 姦臣, “Evil Ministers.” Though Lu Qi certainly committed enough evil deeds to deserve such a name and unfavorable image, it still seems significant that, of all the evil ministers from the Tang, he stood out as a prominent symbol of *jianxie* 姦邪, “being evil and wicked,” in the political discourses and debates among court factions of the Song. In Su Xun’s 蘇洵 (1009-1066) “Bian jian lun” 辨奸論, Lu Qi and Wang Yan 王衍 (256-311) of the Western Jin are singled out as main examples of evil ministers that harmed the administration of the state. The authorship of the “Bian jian lun” has long been debated and recently it is argued to be a political forgery composed under the context of fierce factional struggles during the Southern Song. Its purpose was to attack the factions in favor of Wang Anshi’s New Policies by designing a direct attack on Wang Anshi from Su Xun.⁷²³ But nonetheless, Lu Qi remained the widely used and mutually understood analogy and symbol of evilness in political attacks between the old and new factions. What makes Lu Qi’s wickedness so memorable that he stood out, among the many Tang dynasty evil ministers, as a prominent example in Song political discourse? Anecdote #69 in the *Tang yulin* especially identifies the unusual nature of Lu Qi’s wickedness:

Emperor Dezong had already demoted Lu Qi, but still often missed him. When later [the emperor] intended to raise his rank somewhat, the court officials were frightened and all sent in remonstrations and memorials. The sovereign questioned Li [Mian], the Duke of

⁷²³ For the political function of the “Bian jian lun” and the debate on its authorship see Liu Naichang 劉乃昌, “Su Shi tong Wang Anshi de jiaowang” 蘇軾同王安石的交往 (On the Interactions between Su Shi and Wang Anshi), in *Dongbei Shida xuebao* 東北師大學報 (1981) no. 3, pp. 45-51.

Qian,⁷²⁴ “Where does the evil and wickedness of Lu Qi lie?” [Li Qiangong] replied,

“That Your Majesty does not know – this is exactly that by which he is evil and wicked.”

德宗既貶盧杞，然常思之。後欲稍遷，朝臣恐懼，皆有諫疏。上問李汧公曰：“盧杞何處姦邪？”對曰：“陛下不知，此所以為姦邪也。”⁷²⁵

Zhou Xunchu identifies an account entitled “Lu Qi Is Evil and Wicked” 盧杞為奸邪 from Li Zhao’s 李肇 (fl. 806-820) *Guoshi bu* 國史補 (Supplement to the State History) as the source of the entry in the *Tang yulin*. The two accounts are largely identical except for the last line where the *Guoshi bu* account reads “[Li] Mian said, ‘All under heaven regards him as evil and wicked while Your Majesty does not know, this is that by which he is evil and wicked’” 勉曰，天下以為奸邪，而陛下不知，所以為奸邪也。⁷²⁶ It seems that the *Tang yulin* account shortened Li Mian’s line in the *Guoshi bu* account in order to focus on the point “that Your Majesty does not know” 陛下不知 as the exact nature of Lu Qi’s wickedness. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Harald Hendrix identifies “a particularly strong mnemotechnic effect” that results from the “narrative structure at the basis of almost all anecdotes,” and notes “people remember them almost automatically and don’t find any difficulty in reproducing them when required.”⁷²⁷ In the case of the anecdotes on Lu Qi’s wickedness, the center of such a narrative structure is certainly the “punch line” at the end of the account – a line that conveys all the

⁷²⁴ Li Mian 李勉 (717-788), style name Xuanqing 玄卿, was a descendant of the Tang ruling house. He held various positions in Emperor Suzong’s court, also served as a Grand Councilor for Emperor Dezong. For biographies of Li Mian, see *Jiu Tang shu*, 131.3633-6; *Xin Tang shu*, 131.4506-9.

⁷²⁵ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.42.

⁷²⁶ *Tang Guoshi bu*, 1.16b, in *Siku quanshu*, 1035:425b.

⁷²⁷ Hendrix, “Historiographical Anecdotes,” p. 18.

smartness and sassiness of the story through its artful rhetoric of paradox. One can imagine the audience of this story raising their eyebrows as the storyteller stresses “that Your Majesty does not know” 陛下不知 and nodding with the satisfaction of gaining unusual insight at “this is exactly that by which he is evil and wicked” 此所以為姦邪也. The shorter the punch line, the stronger its dramatic and mnemotechnic effect. It can be argued that because of the dramatic effect of this line, the anecdote was put in the “Yanyu” category of the *Tang yulin*, perhaps to serve as an insightful awakening call.

Another early account of the same idea can be found in the *Da Tang zhuanzai* 大唐傳載 (Records of the Great Tang), which reads,

Emperor Dezong questioned Li Mian, the Duke of Qian, “People say that Lu Qi is evil and wicked, why?” [Li] Mian said, “Although people all know it, Your Majesty alone does not, this is exactly that by which he is evil and wicked.”

德宗問李汧公勉：人云盧杞是奸邪，何也？勉曰：人皆知之，陛下獨不知，此所以為奸邪也。⁷²⁸

In addition to the two similar early accounts in the *Da Tang zhuanzai* and the *Guoshi bu*, brief mentions of Lu Qi being evil and wicked can also be found in Yuchi Shu’s 尉遲樞 *Nan Chu xinwen* 南楚新聞 (New Things Heard in the Southern Chu) and Li Fan’s 李繁 (d. 829)⁷²⁹ *Ye Hou jiazhuang* 鄴侯家傳 (Family History of the Marquis of Ye), both of which miscellaneous

⁷²⁸ *Da Tang zhuanzai*, 21b, in *Siku quanshu*, 1035:538b.

⁷²⁹ For biographies of Li Fan, see *Jiu Tang shu*, 130.3623-5; *Xin Tang shu*, 139.4638-9.

collections compiled during the late Tang.⁷³⁰ The *Ye Hou jiazhuan* account quoted in the *Shuo fu* and the *Lei shuo* reads:

[Li] Mi (721-789)⁷³¹ said that Lu Qi was evil and wicked, [but] Emperor Dezong praised him as meticulous. [Li] Mi said, “Meticulousness is the manner of an evil minister.”

泌謂盧杞姦邪，德宗稱其小心。泌曰：小心乃姦臣之態。⁷³²

And the even more brief account from the *Nan Chu xinwen*, as quoted in the *Shuo fu*, reads “Li Mi said that Lu Qi’s meticulousness was the manner of an evil minister” 李泌謂盧杞小心乃姦臣之態。⁷³³ Relating to Sarah Allen’s comments on the relationship between a story in the domain of oral storytelling and its different manifestations in written accounts, the various versions of the discussion on Lu Qi’s wickedness is a possible indicator that the main idea of the story was circulated orally in the public domain of shared cultural memory, and was told in various versions by different parties. These different versions of stories labeling Lu Qi as *jianxie* 姦邪, “evil and wicked,” and as a *jianchen* 姦臣, “evil minister,” circulating orally during the late Tang period resulted in the different textual records of anecdotal accounts. As discussed in the previous chapter, these textual records preserved and transmitted the anecdotal memories of past, as well as the fragmented and variant nature of such anecdotal cultural memory.

⁷³⁰ Zhou Xunchu, *Tang ren yishi huibian* 唐人軼事彙編, 1:15.768.

⁷³¹ For biographies of Li Mi, see *Jiu Tang shu*, 130.3620-3; *Xin Tang shu*, 139.4631-8.

⁷³² See the Zhang Zongxiang edition of the *Shuo fu*, 7.9b (Taipei: Xinxing Shuju, 1963), p. 138a. Zhang’s edition identifies the source to be *Ye Hou jiazhuan* 鄴侯家傳. See also *Lei shuo*, 2.17b-18a, in *Siku quanshu*, 873:28b-29a.

⁷³³ See the brief quote from the *Nan Chu xinwen* in *Shuo fu*, 46b.30b, in *Siku quanshu*, 878:521b. This is Tao Ting’s 陶珽 (*jinshi* 1610) edition of the *Shuo fu*. Also the brief quote from the *Nan Chu xinwen* in Zhang Zongxiang 張宗祥 (1882-1965) edition of the *Shuo fu*, 73.12a (Taipei: Xinxing Shuju, 1963), p. 1078a.

In the two brief accounts from the *Nan Chu xinwen* and the *Ye Hou jiazhuan*, the comments on Lu Qi's wickedness came from Li Mi, the father of Li Fan. The *Jiu Tang shu* notes that Li Fan was "smart and sharp when young, had the name of a talented man, without [proper] conduct or righteousness" 少聰警，有才名，無行義⁷³⁴ and the *Xin Tang shu* describes him similarly as "talented and sharp when young, but without [proper] conduct" 少才警，無行。⁷³⁵ At the end of Li Mi's biography in the *Xin Tang shu*, the historians criticized the credibility of Li Fan's *Ye Hou jiazhuan* being "mostly superfluous and exaggerated, not trustworthy" 多浮侈，不可信。⁷³⁶ In addition to the doubtful credibility of the brief accounts involving Li Mi, they lack the "mnemotechnic effect" found in the much more dramatic "punch line" from the accounts of Li Mian commenting on Lu Qi's wickedness. Therefore, one might expect that the brief accounts on Li Mi's comment were not as memorable as the accounts on Li Mian's comment. In deed, over the time, they seemed to be taken over by the more memorable narrative with the more dramatic "punch line." And at one point, Li Mi was also recorded saying "People say [Lu] Qi is evil and wicked, however Your Majesty alone does not sense his evilness and wickedness, this is exactly that by which [Lu] Qi is evil and wicked" 人言杞姦邪而陛下獨不覺其姦邪，此乃杞之所以為姦邪也。⁷³⁷

Tracing the story of identifying Lu Qi's wickedness through historical records, an interesting phenomenon can be found – the memory of who said the "punch line" discussed

⁷³⁴ *Jiu Tang shu*, 130.3623.

⁷³⁵ *Xin Tang shu*, 139.4638.

⁷³⁶ *Xin Tang shu*, 139.4638.

⁷³⁷ *Zizhi tongjian*, 233.12a-b, in *Sibu beiyao*.

above became fuzzier over the time. In addition to the accounts from Tang miscellaneous collections, the discussion on Lu Qi between Emperor Dezong and a minister, be it Li Mian or Li Mi, also appears twice in the *Jiu Tang shu*, twice in the *Xin Tang shu*, and twice in the *Zizhi tongjian*. These three titles were all official histories compiled by scholar officials of the early Song dynasty, and all were available to Wang Dang while he worked on *Tang yulin*. In the *Jiu Tang shu*, the dialogue appears in the biography of Li Mian⁷³⁸ and the biography of Lu Qi.⁷³⁹ Both are similar to the *Guoshi bu* dialogue with Dezong asking the question and Li Mian uttering the “punch line.” The biography of Li Mi in the *Jiu Tang shu*, on the other hand, does not include a discussion between Dezong and Li Mi on the wickedness of Lu Qi.⁷⁴⁰ In the *Xin Tang shu*, the dialogue also appears in the biography of Li Mian,⁷⁴¹ with the same wording with that of the *Jiu Tang shu*, but is omitted from the biography of Lu Qi. However, a rather long conversation between Dezong and Li Mi on the wickedness of Lu Qi is added in the biography of Li Mi⁷⁴² where Li Mi gives a list of Lu Qi’s evil deeds. Though Li Mi here does not utter the exact “punch line,” he starts his response to the emperor’s question with a similar idea, “Were Your Majesty able to sense [Lu] Qi’s vileness, would it have led to the disaster during the Jianzhong (780-783) reign?” 陛下能覺杞之惡，安致建中禍邪。⁷⁴³ The *Zizhi tongjian* also records the conversations on Lu Qi between Dezong and his two ministers. The conversation from the first

⁷³⁸ *Jiu Tang shu*, 131.3636.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*, 135.3717-8.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 130.3620-3.

⁷⁴¹ *Xin Tang shu*, 131.4509.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, 139.4637.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*.

year (785) of the Zhenyuan 貞元 (785-805) reign is between Dezong and Li Mian, similar to their conversation in the biography of Lu Qi but without Li Mian uttering the “punch line.”⁷⁴⁴ The conversation from the fourth year (788) of the Zhenyuan reign is between Dezong and Li Mi, similar to their dialogue in the biography of Li Mi in the *Xin Tang shu*, but with the “punch line” added at the beginning Li Mi’s response. Thus the *Zizhi tongjian* account in 788 has Li Mi saying “People say [Lu] Qi is evil and wicked, however Your Majesty alone does not sense his evilness and wickedness, this is exactly that by which [Lu] Qi is evil and wicked” 人言杞姦邪而陛下獨不覺其姦邪，此乃杞之所以為姦邪也, before his line “If Your Majesty sensed it, how could there be the rebellion during the Jianzhong (780-783) reign?” 儻陛下覺之，豈有建中之亂乎。⁷⁴⁵ In most of the above cases, the conversation happened after Lu Qi was sent out of the capital and Emperor Dezong started thinking of promoting him again to a more significant position. This was objected by court officials who charged Lu Qi as being an evil and wicked minister, and the Emperor had to change his decision. Under such context, the Emperor posed his question about Lu Qi, which prompted the response, from either Li Mian or Li Mi, with the “punch line.” The complete accounts from the official histories are translated and examined below. First, the account in the biography of Li Mian in the *Jiu Tang shu* reads:

In no time, Lu Qi was promoted from a Supernumerary Adjutant⁷⁴⁶ of Xinzhou to the Prefect of Lizhou. Yuan Gao, the Supervising Secretary,⁷⁴⁷ objected to the edict and

⁷⁴⁴ *Zizhi tongjian*, 231.17a-b, in *Sibu beiyao*.

⁷⁴⁵ *Zizhi tongjian*, 233.12a-b, in *Sibu beiyao*.

⁷⁴⁶ Hucker, pp. 452, 597, #5713, #8250.

⁷⁴⁷ Hucker, p. 133, #587.

presented a memorial for the reason that [Lu] Qi, being wicked and glib, had harmed the administration [of the court] and had yet to fulfill his duty after he was demoted. In the end, [the Emperor] appointed [Lu Qi] as an Administrative Aide of Lizhou. On another day, the Sovereign spoke to [Li] Mian and said, “the multitude all say Lu Qi is evil and wicked, how come I don’t know [about it]! Do you, sir, understand what form it takes?” [Li Mian] replied, “People of the world all know he is evil and wicked, and Your Majesty alone does not know, this is exactly that by which he is evil and wicked.” People of the time valued [Li Mian’s] uprightness, however, from this time on he was estranged.

無何，盧杞自新州員外司馬除澧州刺史，給事中袁高以杞邪佞蠹政，貶未塞責，停詔執表，遂授澧州別駕。他日，上謂勉曰：「眾人皆言盧杞姦邪，朕何不知！卿知其狀乎？」對曰：「天下皆知其姦邪，獨陛下不知，所以為姦邪也。」時人多其正直，然自是見疏。⁷⁴⁸

The biography of Lu Qi in the *Jiu Tang shu* has more details on their conversation, where Li Mian comments on how the people would be disappointed if Lu Qi is promoted, before Dezong poses his question and Li Mian responds with the “punch line.” The objections from court officials such as Yuan Gao 袁高 are omitted in the translation here. The account reads:

[Lu Qi] received [the Emperor’s] pardon, and was transferred to be an Aide⁷⁴⁹ in Jizhou. He told others at his place of exile, “I will surely re-enter [the court] and be appointed.” That [same] day, the Sovereign indeed appointed [Lu] Qi to be the Prefect of Raozhou.....(Yuan Gao’s objection).....The Sovereign spoke to the councilors and

⁷⁴⁸ *Jiu Tang shu*, 131.3636.

⁷⁴⁹ Hucker, p. 112, #185.

ministers and said, “I want to appoint [Lu] Qi as the Prefect of a small prefecture, is this fine [with you]?” Li Mian replied, “It is fine even if Your Majesty appoint [Lu] Qi [as the Prefect of a] large prefecture, but how would you handle the disappointment of the millions of people?” The Sovereign said, “The multitude commented on [Lu] Qi being evil and wicked, how come I don’t know [about it]?” [Li] Mian said, “Lu Qi is evil and wicked, people of the world all know it, but only Your Majesty does not know, this is exactly that by which he is evil and wicked!” Emperor Dezong fell silent for a long time. Li Mi, the Policy Advisor,⁷⁵⁰ again responded, and the Sovereign said, “As to the affair regarding Lu Qi, I have already agreed to what Yuan Gao memorialized. How is that?” [Li] Mi paid his respect and said, “For several days the people outside [of the court] discussed this among themselves and compared Your Majesty to [Emperors] Huan and Ling of the Han. Today your minister received the royal instructions in person, only now did I realize that even Yao and Shun could not be compared to [Your Majesty]!” Emperor Dezong was greatly pleased and comforted and encouraged him. [Lu] Qi eventually died in Lizhou.

遇赦，移吉州長史。在貶所謂人曰：“吾必再入用。”是日，上果用杞為饒州刺史。上謂宰臣曰：「朕欲授杞一小州刺史，可乎？」李勉對曰：「陛下授杞大郡亦可，其如兆庶失望何？」上曰：「眾人論杞奸邪，朕何不知？」勉曰：「盧杞奸邪，天下人皆知；唯陛下不知，此所以為奸邪也！」德宗默然良久。散騎常侍李泌復對，上曰：「盧杞之事，朕已可袁高所奏，如何？」泌拜而言曰：「累日外人竊議，以陛下同漢之桓、靈；臣今親承聖旨，乃知堯、舜之不迨也！」德宗大悅，慰勉之。杞尋卒於澧州。⁷⁵¹

⁷⁵⁰ Hucker, p. 395-6, #4834.

⁷⁵¹ *Jiu Tang shu*, 135.3717-8.

The above account in the biography of Lu Qi in the *Jiu Tang shu* also includes a conversation between Dezong and Li Mi after Dezong talked to Li Mian about Lu Qi's wickedness. The dialogue implies that Li Mi also objected Dezong's plan to promote Lu Qi, thus, after Dezong changed his mind, Li Mi complimented the Emperor profusely. Perhaps Li Mi also remonstrated the Emperor earlier, but his remonstrations with regard to the issue of Lu Qi is not found in either the *Jiu Tang shu* biography of Lu Qi or that of Li Mi himself.

In the *Xin Tang shu* biography of Li Mian, the conversation between Dezong and Li Mian, largely identical with their conversation in the *Jiu Tang shu* biography of Li Mian, is dated in the first year (785) of the Zhenyuan reign, which reads:

When at the beginning of the Zhenyuan reign (785-805), the Emperor promoted Lu Qi to be a Prefect, Yuan Gao remonstrated against the edict so that it was not issued. The Emperor questioned [Li] Mian, "The multitude spoke of Lu Qi being evil and wicked, I on the contrary do not know [about it]. What do you say?" [Li] Mian said, "The whole world all knows it, while Your Majesty alone does not know, this is exactly that by which he is evil and wicked." [People of the] time regarded [Li Mian's] response as proper, but from this time on he was estranged.

貞元初，帝起盧杞為刺史，袁高還詔不得下。帝問勉曰：“眾謂盧杞姦邪，朕顧不知，謂何？”勉曰：“天下皆知，而陛下獨不知，此所以為姦邪也。”時躑其對，然自是益見疏。⁷⁵²

The biography of Lu Qi in the *Xin Tang shu* is mainly based on that of the *Jiu Tang shu*, the major difference is that Dezong's question with regard to Lu Qi's wickedness and Li Mian's

⁷⁵² *Xin Tang shu*, 131.4509.

response with the “punch line” are omitted. It can be viewed as a result of the *Guoshi bu* account being taken out of the narrative completely. The account is translated as follows:

In the first year of the Zhenyuan reign, [Lu Qi] was appointed by [the Emperor’s] edict to be the Prefect of Raozhou. Yuan Gao, the Supervising Secretary,⁷⁵³ ought to dispatch the edict but he would not draft it. He told the Grand Councilor,⁷⁵⁴ “[Lu Qi] went against the constant way of Heaven, caused the Owner of the Ten Thousand Chariots [i.e., the Emperor] to live the life of a refugee,⁷⁵⁵ and was fortunate to be pardoned and not executed. In entrusting him with a large prefecture [the Emperor] would fail to meet the expectations of the whole world.” The Grand Councilor was not pleased, and only then did he summon another Secretary⁷⁵⁶ to compose the document. [However, Yuan] Gao adamantly held against it [so that the edict] did not get to be passed. At this, the remonstrating ministers such as Zhao Xu, Pei Ji, Yuwen Xuan, Lu Jingliang, and Zhang Jian together responded [on the matter]. They did their utmost to say that [Lu] Qi’s offense was detested by [all within] the four seas, and if [the Emperor] now again reinstated him [in such a high position] the loyal ministers would feel chills in their hearts and the fine scholar-officials would feel pain in their bones, this would surely soon lead to disasters. Their words were sincere and to the point. The Emperor talked to the Grand

⁷⁵³ Hucker, p. 133, #587.

⁷⁵⁴ Hucker, pp. 514-5, #6819.

⁷⁵⁵ In the fourth year (783) of the Jianzhong 建中 reign, Li Xilie 李希烈 (d. 786) of the Huainan West Circuit 淮南西道 rebelled, claimed himself to be “Emperor” and his dynasty to be Chu 楚. On their way to rescue Xiangyang 襄陽 from the attack of Li Xilie, the troops from Jingyuan 涇原 mutinied and took Chang’an instead, Emperor Dezong fled the capital and took refuge in Fengtian 奉天. For the biography of Li Xilie see *Jiu Tang shu*, 145.3943-5, *Xin Tang shu*, 225b.6437-41.

⁷⁵⁶ Hucker, p. 417, #5136.

Councilor, “Is it fine to appoint [Lu] Qi [as the Prefect of a] small prefecture?” Li Mian said, “There’s nothing problematic for Your Majesty to even give him a large prefecture, but how would you handle the criticism from all four directions?” Only then did [the Emperor issued an] edict to make [Lu Qi] an Administrative Aide of Lizhou. Later, Li Mi, the Policy Advisor, had an audience, the Emperor said, “[Yuan] Gao and others commented on the matter concerning [Lu] Qi, I have already agreed with them.” [Li] Mi touched his forehead to the ground and congratulated [the Emperor], saying, “Day after day [the people] outside [of the court] regarded Your Majesty as the same as [Emperors] Huan and Ling of the Han, only now did I realize [you were the same kind of] sovereign as Yao and Shun.” The Emperor was happy. [Lu] Qi in the end died in Lizhou.

貞元元年，詔拜饒州刺史。給事中袁高當行詔書，不肯草，白宰相曰：“杞反易天常，使萬乘播遷，幸赦不誅，又委大州，失天下望。”宰相不悅，乃召它舍人作制，高固執不得下。于是諫臣趙需、裴佶、宇文炫、盧景亮、張薦等眾對，極言杞罪四海共棄，今復用之，忠臣寒膺，良士痛骨，必且階禍。其言懇到。帝語宰相曰：“授杞小州可乎？”李勉曰：“陛下與大州亦無難，如四方之謗何？”乃詔為澧州別駕。後散騎常侍李泌見，帝曰：“高等論杞事，朕可之矣！”泌頓首賀曰：“比日外謂陛下漢之桓、靈，今乃知堯、舜主也。”帝喜。杞遂死澧州。⁷⁵⁷

The conversation between Dezong and Li Mi in the above account from the *Xin Tang shu* biography of Lu Qi is also similar to that in the *Jiu Tang shu* biography of Lu Qi. The main difference is simply the *Guoshi bu* anecdote on identifying Lu Qi’s wickedness has been taken out. On the other hand, the biography of Li Mi in the *Xin Tang shu* includes a new account of a conversation between Dezong and Li Mi that parallels the preceding:

⁷⁵⁷ *Xin Tang shu*, 223b.6354.

The Emperor once casually said, “Lu Qi is honest, upright, and outspoken. But he is lacking in learnedness and cannot expand my [view] of the ways of antiquity. People all identified him as evil but I don’t sense it.” [Li Mi] replied, “Were Your Majesty able to sense [Lu] Qi’s vileness, how could the disaster during the Jianzhong (780-783) reign have been brought on? [Causing] Li Kui (713-784) [to be sent to] befriend the foreign countries⁷⁵⁸ and Yan Zhenqing (709-785) [to be sent] as an envoy [to pacify Li] Xilie (d. 786),⁷⁵⁹ he did a lot of harm to the virtuous men of earlier times. Moreover, Yang Yan’s (727-781)⁷⁶⁰ crime was not punishable with death, [but Lu] Qi edged him out and framed him, making Guan Bo⁷⁶¹ the Councilor instead. [Li] Huaiguang (729-785)⁷⁶² established merit and [Lu Qi] forced him to rebel. This is against Heaven.” The Emperor said, “What your Excellency said indeed happened. However, Yang Yan regarded me as if I were a boy three feet tall – whenever he had something to discuss and memorialize, if I agreed [to it] he would leave, if I did not allow [it] he would then [threaten to] resign his office. It was not only [Lu] Qi who abhorred him. As to the rebellion during the Jianzhong reign, did your Excellency also learn about what Sang Daomao said? It was fated to be thus.”

⁷⁵⁸ Lu Qi abhorred Li Kui and recommended him to Dezong as an envoy to the . See the biography of Li Kui in *Jiu Tang shu*, 126.3559-61, *Xin Tang shu*, 150.4807-9.

⁷⁵⁹ Yan Zhenqing had been serving the Tang court since the reign of Emperor Xuanzong and Lu Qi was envious of his authority and influence in court. Therefore, in the fourth year (783) of the Jianzhong reign, when Li Xilie of the Huainan West Circuit rebelled, Lu Qi recommended Yan Zhenqing to Emperor Dezong as the envoy to be sent to pacify Li Xilie. Li Xilie tried to force Yan to serve his Chu court but Yan resisted fiercely. When Li Xilie’s troops were defeated by the Tang and his brother executed, Li killed Yan Zhenqing in rage. See the biography of Yan Zhenqing in *Jiu Tang shu*, 128.3589-98, *Xin Tang shu*, 153.4854-61. See the biography of Li Xilie in *Jiu Tang shu*, 145.3943-5, *Xin Tang shu*, 225b.6437-41.

⁷⁶⁰ See the biography of Yang Yan in *Jiu Tang shu*, 117.3418-25, *Xin Tang shu*, 145.4722-7.

⁷⁶¹ Guan Bo was a puppet councilor controlled by Lu Qi. See the biography of Guan Bo in *Jiu Tang shu*, 130.3627-9; *Xin Tang shu*, 151.4817-9.

⁷⁶² See the biography of Li Huaiguang in *Jiu Tang shu*, 121.3491-6, *Xin Tang shu*, 224a.6375-9.

帝嘗從容言：“盧杞清介敢言，然少學，不能廣朕以古道，人皆指其姦而朕不覺也。”對曰：“陛下能覺杞之惡，安致建中禍邪？李揆和蕃，顏真卿使希烈，其害舊德多矣。又楊炎罪不至死，杞擠陷之而相關播。懷光立功，逼使其叛。此欺天也。”帝曰：“卿言誠有之。然楊炎視朕如三尺童子，有所論奏，可則退，不許則辭官，非特杞惡之也。且建中亂，卿亦知桑道茂語乎？乃命當然。”⁷⁶³

Li Mi then went on to convince the Emperor that the ruler should not believe in fate. This whole account, just like many other accounts on Li Mi's life in his biography in the *Xin Tang shu*, is nowhere to be found in the *Jiu Tang shu* biography of Li Mi. It is generally believed that many of these new accounts were in fact taken from Li Fan's *Ye Hou jiazhuan*. Li Fan, the son of Li Mi, was “smart and sharp when young, had the name of a talented man, without [proper] conduct or righteousness” 少聰警，有才名，無行義。⁷⁶⁴ His own flaws caused him to be despised among officials and gained him quite some enemies in court. The *Ye Hou jiazhuan* was composed when he realized he was framed and about to be executed, as the *Xin Tang shu* record indicates:

[Li] Fan was imprisoned and knew he was soon to die. He feared the merit and accomplishments of his late father would become obliterated, asked ward guards for some scratch paper, picked up the writing brush, composed ten chapters of the “Family History” and passed it on to the world.

繁下獄，知且死，恐先人功業泯滅，從吏求廢紙，筆握著家傳十篇，傳於世。⁷⁶⁵

Locked up in his prison cell, Li Fan must have written the family history based solely on his memory, if not his imagination as well. Judging from the entries quoted from the *Ye Hou*

⁷⁶³ *Xin Tang shu*, 139.4637.

⁷⁶⁴ *Jiu Tang shu*, 130.3623. See also *Xin Tang shu*, 139.4638.

⁷⁶⁵ *Xin Tang shu*, 139.4638.

jiazhuan in Zhang Zongxiang's edition of the *Shuo fu*, the nature of *Ye Hou jiazhuan* seems to be as fragmented, miscellaneous, and anecdotal as any other Tang dynasty collection of anecdotes. Though the compilers of the *Xin Tang shu* criticized Li Fan's "family history" as "mostly superfluous and exaggerated, not trustworthy" 多浮侈，不可信，they still "selected those [accounts] close to the truth and compiled them in the biography [of Li Mi]" 掇其近實者著於傳。⁷⁶⁶ Thus, some of Li Fan's personal memories of his father Li Mi, though fragmented and anecdotal, made their way into the official biography of Li Mi and as time lapsed became official history in the eyes of later generations.

How did the Song historians deliberate which accounts from Li Fan's personal memory were "close to the truth" 近實 and which ones were not? What were the criteria for "truth" 實 in the understanding of Song historians? None of these questions were explicitly addressed by early historians, but the way the *Xin Tang shu* compilers treated the *Ye Hou jiazhuan* signifies the long-existing, complex historiographical attitude toward the miscellaneous, anecdotal memories of the past. Thus, there is a "fuzzy" or "indistinct" attitude regarding the line between trust and suspicion – it is never clearly defined, often decided case-by-case, anecdote-by-anecdote, hinging on the rather subjective understanding of "truth" 實 in historiography. It is such an indistinct attitude toward the anecdotal memories of the past that results in the "fuzzy memory" found even in official histories.

In the case of Li Mi on Lu Qi's wickedness, it seems that the Song historians decided the above account was "close to the truth" and added it to the official biography. On the other hand, the account in the *Ye Hou jiazhuan* where Li Mi also identifies Lu Qi as being evil and wicked.

⁷⁶⁶ *Xin Tang shu*, 139.4638.

The comment “meticulousness is the manner of an evil minister” 小心乃姦臣之態⁷⁶⁷ seems to be regarded as not close to the truth and left out of the *Xin Tang shu* biography of Li Mi. The reasons for the Song historians’ particular deliberation on which one of the two accounts is “close to the truth” can only be speculated. Granted, the latter is too brief a comment to be substantial material for official biography, while the former offers a list of historical evidence for Lu Qi’s wickedness. Moreover, the conversation in the former account subsequently moves to demonstrate Li Mi’s advice on the wise ruler should not believe in fate, which adds to the depiction of Li Mi’s character and merit as a minister. But in addition to these reasons, could it be that the conversation also expresses an idea similar to that of the conversation between Dezong and Li Mian in the *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu* biographies of Li Mian? Though Li Mi here does not utter the “punch line” word-for-word to identify Lu’s wickedness as exactly the Emperor not knowing it, in asking the rhetorical question “Were Your Majesty able to sense [Lu] Qi’s vileness, would it have led to the disaster during the Jianzhong (780-783) reign?” 陛下能覺杞之惡，安致建中禍邪，⁷⁶⁸ he clearly presents the same idea that the Emperor not sensing Lu’s wickedness is where disaster originates. Could it be that by the Song, this particular idea, due to its dramatic and memorable nature, had become so conventionally established that it caused a snowball effect making accounts with similar ideas appear more logical in people’s understanding of the past and thus closer to the “truth?”

The reason can only be speculated as to why the dialogue with the “punch line” on identifying Lu Qi’s wickedness was dropped from the conversation between Dezong and Li

⁷⁶⁷ See the Zhang Zongxiang edition of the *Shuo fu*, 7.9b (Taipei: Xinxing Shuju, 1963), p. 138a. Zhang’s edition identifies the source to be *Ye Hou jiazhuang*. See also *Lei shuo*, 2.17b-18a, in *Siku quanshu*, 873:28b-29a.

⁷⁶⁸ *Xin Tang shu*, 139.4637.

Mian in the *Xin Tang shu* biography of Lu Qi. After all, as shown in the *Guoshi bu*, the *Da Tang zhuanzai*, the *Jiu Tang shu* biographies of Li Mian and Lu Qi, the “punch line” belongs to Li Mian. Even the biography of Li Mian in the *Xin Tang shu* itself keeps the dialogue with the “punch line.” While keeping what was in the *Jiu Tang shu* biography of Li Mian could be a simple act of following previous records, deleting the same dialogue from the *Jiu Tang shu* biography of Lu Qi seems to be a much more significant and active move to make. The *Xin Tang shu*'s inconsistency on keeping or deleting the “punch line” dialogue seems to suggest an undecided historiographical attitude toward this particular anecdote, which resulted in the “fuzzy” or “indistinct” memory on this issue within the official history itself.

To complicate the issue, when it came to the *Zizhi tongjian*, the “punch line” altogether became Li Mi's words rather than Li Mian's. The two *Zizhi tongjian* records on the same issue of Lu Qi's wickedness are similar to those in the *Xin Tang shu*: the account of Dezong and Li Mian's conversation dropped the *Guoshi bu* anecdote just like the *Xin Tang shu* biography of Lu Qi did; while the account of Dezong and Li Mi's conversation, which is based on the *Xin Tang shu* account taken from the *Ye Hou jiazhuan*, went as far as explicitly inserting the “punch line,” almost identical in wording to Li Mian's line, at the beginning of Li Mi's response to Dezong's question. Dezong and Li Mian's conversation is from the first year (785) of the Zhenyuan reign. It reads:

Lu Qi, the Supernumerary Adjutant⁷⁶⁹ of Xinzhou, received [the Emperor's] pardon, and was transferred to be an Aide⁷⁷⁰ in Jizhou. He told others, “I will surely re-enter [the court].” Shortly after, the Sovereign indeed appointed him to be the Prefect of

⁷⁶⁹ Hucker, pp. 452, 597, #5713, #8250.

⁷⁷⁰ Hucker, p. 112, #185.

Raozhou...(Yuan Gao's objection)... on the *wuwu* day, the Emperor spoke to the Grand Councilor, "Is it fine to appoint [Lu] Qi as the Prefect of a small prefecture?" Li Mian said, "If Your Majesty desires to appoint him, even [the Prefect of] a big prefecture would also be fine. [But] how would you handle the disappointment of all under heaven?" On the *renxu* day, [the Sovereign] made [Lu] Qi an Administrative Aide of Lizhou. He sent a messenger to Yuan Gao and said, "I carefully thought about your Excellency's words, they indeed were most appropriate." He again told Li Mi, "I have already agreed to what Yuan Gao memorialized." [Li] Mi said, "Day after day people outside [of the court] discussed among themselves and compared Your Majesty to the [Emperors] Huan and Ling. Now I humbly received your virtuous voice, you are [the ruler even] Yao and Shun could not catch up with." The Sovereign was delighted.

新州司馬盧杞遇赦，移吉州長史，謂人曰：「吾必再入。」未幾，上果用為饒州刺史。……戊午，上謂宰相：「與杞小州刺史，可乎？」李勉曰：「陛下欲與之，雖大州亦可，其如天下失望何！」壬戌，以杞為澧州別駕。使謂袁高曰：「朕徐思卿言，誠為至當。」又謂李泌曰：「朕已可袁高所奏。」泌曰：「累日外人竊議，比陛下于桓、靈；今承德音，乃堯、舜之不逮也！」上悅。杞竟卒於澧州。⁷⁷¹

This account is similar to the conversation between Dezong and Li Mian recorded in the biography of Lu Qi in the *Xin Tang shu* – without Li Mian uttering the “punch line.” Thus the *Guoshi bu* anecdote is not included in the official narrative here either.

The *Zizhi tongjian* conversation between Dezong and Li Mi is from the fourth year (788) of the Zhenyuan reign. It is similar to their dialogue in the biography of Li Mi in the *Xin Tang shu*, but with the “punch line” added at the beginning Li Mi's response. It is translated as follows:

⁷⁷¹ *Zizhi tongjian*, 231.17a-b, in *Sibu beiyao*.

With ease, the Sovereign discussed with [Li] Mi all the Grand Councilors since he took the throne and said, “Lu Qi is loyal, honest, steadfast and upright. People say [Lu] Qi is evil and wicked, I alone don’t think that is the case.” [Li Mi] said, “People say [Lu] Qi is evil and wicked, however Your Majesty alone does not sense his evilness and wickedness, this is exactly that by which [Lu] Qi is evil and wicked. If Your Majesty sensed it, how could there be the rebellion during the Jianzhong (780-783) reign? [Lu] Qi [caused] Yang Yan to be killed due to their personal feud, edged Yan Zhenqing out to the land of death, agitated Li Huaiguang and caused him to rebel. Thanks to Your Majesty’s sagely insights, you exiled him, the hearts of the people were immediately happy and Heaven also regretted the disaster. If not so, how much more widespread could the rebellion become!” The Emperor said, “Yang Yan regarded me as if I were a boy…….”

上從容與泌論即位以來宰相，曰：“盧杞忠清彊介，人言杞姦邪，朕殊不覺其然。”泌曰：“人言杞姦邪而陛下獨不覺其姦邪，此乃杞之所以為姦邪也。儻陛下覺之，豈有建中之亂乎！杞以私隙殺楊炎，擠顏真卿於死地，激李懷光使叛，賴陛下聖明竄逐之，人心頓喜，天亦悔禍。不然，亂何由弭！”上曰，“楊炎以童子視朕。。。。。”⁷⁷²

Here Li Mi says “People say [Lu] Qi is evil and wicked, however Your Majesty alone does not sense his evilness and wickedness, this is exactly that by which [Lu] Qi is evil and wicked” 人言杞姦邪而陛下獨不覺其姦邪，此乃杞之所以為姦邪也 in addition to his response found in the biography of Li Mi in the *Xin Tang shu*. The *Kao yi* 考異 comments on the added “punch line” that “in the *Jiu [Tang shu]* biography of Li Mian, [Li] Mian already said these words to Dezong, which is roughly similar to the words of Li Mi in the *Ye Hou jiazhuan*. It is unknown which one

⁷⁷² *Zizhi tongjian*, 233.12a-b, in *Sibu beiyao*.

is correct. Now both are preserved here” 舊李勉傳勉對德宗已有此語，與鄴侯家傳述泌語畧同，未知孰是。今兩存之。⁷⁷³ Apparently the *Zizhi tongjian* found it more suitable for the “punch line” to go with Li Mi’s line “If Your Majesty sensed it, how could there be the rebellion during the Jianzhong (780-783) reign” 儻陛下覺之，豈有建中之亂乎, than for it to stand alone as Li Mian’s line. The result is a response from Li Mi that combines the list of evidence for the disastrous results of Lu Qi’s wickedness, which is favored by the historiographical attitude over a simple brief comment, and the memorable “punch line” that represents the culturally established idea of Lu Qi’s wickedness, even though it was originally from the anecdotes about Li Mian. The combination forms a much better narrative – both substantial with weighty evidence and memorable with a dramatic, effective “punch line.”

This case shows the manipulative aspect of the historiographical attitude toward the anecdotal memories of the past. While later scholars of history spent much time and energy searching for empirical truth through textual questions such as “which one is correct” 孰是; the historians, on the other hand, took the authority, if not liberty, to decide on which anecdotal accounts were “close to the truth” 近實 and could be included in official history. And among those accounts included in histories, they held the authority to manipulate them so much so to the extent of fusing different accounts into one and putting words of one actor into the mouth of the other. In the case of identifying Lu Qi’s wickedness, it seems that who said the memorable line is not important, the *shi* 實, “truth,” of the anecdote is the understanding of Lu’s wickedness embedded in the “punch line.” Even if the anecdote was completely made up at the very

⁷⁷³ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.42. The “roughly similar” words mentioned here could be the *Ye Hou jiazhuan* entry on Lu Qi’s wickedness preserved in the *Lei shuo* and the *Shuo fu*, which features the line “meticulousness is the manner of an evil minister” 小心乃姦臣之態. Or it could be a different entry that is no longer extant today.

beginning, because of its memorable nature and lasting effects, the idea of Lu's wickedness had long become a culturally established *shi* over time. Thus the historiographical attitude toward these anecdotal memories of the past can be viewed as following a logic that is more culturally convincing than empirically verifiable, as seeking the cultural truth rather than the empirical truth.

What then is the significance of the *Tang yulin* including the *Guoshi bu* version of the anecdote on Li Mian identifying Lu Qi's wickedness? What is the attitude of anecdotal collections toward these fragmented accounts from the past? In placing the anecdote on Lu Qi's wickedness in the category "Yanyu" 言語 (Speech and Conversation, Quips and Repartee), Wang Dang apparently values the speech more than the fact who the speaker is. In other entries of the *Tang yulin*, Wang Dang sometimes would point out their obvious discrepancies with historical records, but would nonetheless keep the anecdotes in his collection. For example, anecdote #119⁷⁷⁴ in the "Zhengshi" 政事 (Affairs of Government) category reads:

During the years of the Kaicheng (836-840) reign, Li Shi was the Councilor and also in charge of the Revenue Section.⁷⁷⁵ One day he went to the morning court and was shot by an arrow, in the end he left [the capital] to garrison in Jiangling. From this on, [the emperor] decreed that the Grand Councilors should travel by sedan chairs and commanded the Lord of the Imperial Insignia⁷⁷⁶ to guard them with three thousand soldiers on their way in and out. Li [Deyu], the Duke of Wei, became the Councilor

⁷⁷⁴ The origin of this entry is unknown. The entry entitled "Panting weisong" 判停衛送 in the seventh juan "Xian ti ji" 獻替記 of the *Lei shuo* records a roughly similar account. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.75.

⁷⁷⁵ Hucker, p. 537, #7194.

⁷⁷⁶ Hucker, p. 168, #1162.

again, deliberated [on the issue] and said, “In [such] a place all [people] look upon, there naturally [should] be [a proper] appearance of the state. Living in [such] a time of peace, for what do I need to make military preparations? All service of escorting can be stopped.”

開成中，李石作相兼度支。一日早朝中箭，遂出鎮江陵。自此詔宰相坐檐子，出入令金吾以三千人宿直。李衛公復相，判云，在具瞻之地，自有國容；居無事之時，何勞武備？所送並停。⁷⁷⁷

At the end of the anecdote, there is a note added by Wang Dang that reads “[The year] Li [Deyu], the Duke of Wei, first became the Councilor was the seventh year (833) of the Taihe (827-835) reign, which was before Li Shi [served as Councilor] and the [matter of his] guards were not because of Li [Shi]’s incident. Whoever recorded this made a mistake” 李衛公初入相是太和七年，居李石之前，衛兵不因李事。記之者有誤。⁷⁷⁸ More over, the biography of Li Shi 李石 in the *Xin Tang shu* notes that in the first month of the third year (838) of the Kaicheng 開成 (836-840) reign, Li Shi went to court on horseback and was attacked by robbers, the emperor was shocked and “for the first time ordered twenty guards and soldiers of the Six Armies to accompany the Grand Councilors” 始命六軍衛士二十人從宰相。⁷⁷⁹ Thus, the anecdote included in the “Zhengshi” category here seems to be nowhere close to any verifiable historical fact. With its mistake in chronology, it cannot even be counted as “fuzzy memory,” and there seems to be no particular cultural significance to this account either. Why then did Wang Dang include such an account? Perhaps, a collection of anecdotal accounts from the past is compiled to preserve the

⁷⁷⁷ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.75.

⁷⁷⁸ Zhou Xunchu identifies this note to be added originally by Wang Dang. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.75.

⁷⁷⁹ *Xin Tang shu*, 131.4516. See also *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.75.

“memory” of the past – the past as remembered rather than the past as it was. Anecdotes, empirically true or false or “fuzzy,” naturally become part of people’s memory of the past over the time, or it can be said that they themselves produce a particular type of memory of the past.

In his article “Historiographical Anecdotes as Depositories and Vehicles of Cultural Memory,” Harald Hendrix points out that historiographical anecdotes contribute to the creation of cultural memory,⁷⁸⁰ and they possess “qualities that are judged more essential than the historian’s search for empirical truth.”⁷⁸¹ Hendrix also advocates that “they should be examined as such: not as true or false stories – like so many historians have been investigating them – but as indications of ideologies, at least in origin, during the period in which they are being conceived.”⁷⁸² Although Hendrix’s arguments are based on his study on “biographical anecdotes” that are closely associated with the life and personality of the historical figures they depict, his views are to a large extent valid to the study here on miscellaneous anecdotal collections. The example of the “fuzzy” or “indistinct” memory on Lu Qi’s wickedness supports Hendrix’s idea that “in historiographical discourses anecdotes have the rhetorical function of an exemplum: with great efficiency they convey the inner logic of historical facts, and in a way that people will easily remember it. This makes the factual basis of anecdotes virtually irrelevant, since it is not their function to communicate empirical facts. They communicate an interpretation of empirical facts.”⁷⁸³ As discussed above, the anecdotes on Lu Qi’s wickedness convey more of a cultural reality, or in Hendrix’s terms, an interpretation of the empirical facts of Lu’s

⁷⁸⁰ Hendrix, “Historiographical Anecdotes,” p. 18-20.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., p. 21.

⁷⁸² Hendrix, “Historiographical Anecdotes,” p. 22.

⁷⁸³ Ibid..

wickedness. Thus the “fuzzy” or “indistinct” memories caused by different historiographical attitudes toward these anecdotes do not harm the cultural reality they represent because though the details differ, the interpretation remains the same. On the other hand, the “fuzzy” or “indistinct” memories in turn reveal the issue that official histories, through their seemingly authoritative way of selectively using and manipulating anecdotal cultural memory, also subject themselves to the influence of the symbolic impressions made by such cultural memory.

Cultural memory is particularly strong and resilient. The cultural reality communicated in the concept of Lu Qi as a symbol of *jianxie* 姦邪, “evil and wicked,” had its wide and long-lasting influence beyond historical writing and reaching well into the Qing dynasty, and even today. In the *Taiping guangji*, we find an account entitled “Taiyin furen” 太陰夫人 (Lady of the Supreme Yin)⁷⁸⁴ that retrospectively explains why Lu Qi became a Grand Councilor. In this story, the evil and wicked nature of Lu Qi plays the decisive role and gains him the upper hand even though all those he deals with are either immortals or celestial authorities. The story is summarized as follows:

When young, Lu Qi was poor and took lodging in an abandoned house. His neighbor, a certain “Grandmother Ma” 麻婆, matched him with a young girl who turned out to be Lady of the Supreme Yin (i.e., The moon). The lady had the permission of the Heavenly Emperor to come to the human realm for a spouse and had picked Lu Qi, through Grandmother Ma, because he possessed the potential to be an immortal. When Grandmother Ma eventually brought Lu Qi to the Lady’s Water Crystal Palace, the Lady offered him three choices: to stay with her in the palace forever as an immortal, to

⁷⁸⁴ *Taiping guangji* (Tainan: Pingping chubanshe, 1974), 64.400-1.

become an “immortal on earth” 地仙 who could visit the palace from time to time, or to be the “Grand Councilor of the Central State” 中國宰相. To please the Lady of Supreme Yin, Lu Qi chose the first option. The delighted Lady thus memorialized the Heavenly Emperor and summoned his envoy, but Lu Qi remained silent when the envoy asked him to confirm his choice. He remained silent for a second time when the flustered Lady of Supreme Yin urged him to answer. Only when in the end the envoy repeated the three options again and pressed him to decide quickly, did Lu Qi shout out, “Grand Councilor of the Central State!” The Lady of Supreme Yin was greatly disappointed and Lu Qi was sent back to the human realm.

The story apparently came into being after Lu Qi became the Grand Councilor, and certainly also after the idea of him being evil and wicked became an established cultural concept. In offering a retrospectively formed supernatural explanation for Lu Qi’s ascending to high court positions where his sly and wicked nature plays a decisive role, the account not only highlights his wickedness, but also discredits his eligibility for the prestigious position. The account draws on the established cultural impression of Lu Qi’s evil and wicked nature and functions in turn to expand that idea through additional supernatural context and to perpetuate the idea through generating new content of the cultural memory on Lu Qi and transmitting such memory outside of historical writing. The lasting cultural image of Lu Qi being evil and wicked made him the perfect antagonist and evil driving force for the plot in the Qing dynasty vernacular novel *Erdu mei* 二度梅 (When Plum Blooms Again).⁷⁸⁵ The story is set in Tang dynasty. When an upright official was framed by Lu Qi and executed, his son went in flight from Lu’s persecution. Lu was

⁷⁸⁵ Xiyingtang zhuren 惜陰堂主人, *Erdu mei* 二度梅 (When Plum Blooms Again, Shanghai: Dawen Shudian), 1937.

the major evil force threatening the son's life and the love between him and the daughter of another family struck asunder by Lu Qi. The young lovers fought through many difficulties to eventually gain justice and get married under the Emperor's authority. The story of forty chapters was subsequently adapted into various opera and local drama performances, as well as drum storytelling performances. This image of Lu Qi and the memory of his wickedness have been actively kept alive till this day and have become the cultural *shi* 實, "truth," on a symbolic, cultural level that is rooted in but has grown beyond empirical historical truth.

5.1.2 Steelyard in the Dream, Old Owls on the Roof – the Migration of Memory

In the study of the *Tang yulin*, the passing of time is an important notion that covers the time from the Tang when the events represented in the anecdotes took place, or are believed to take place, to the Song when these short narratives were selected and compiled in the particular collection entitled *Tang yulin*. The idea refers to the passing of time beyond the individual's life span in general that allows the individuals' memory of personal experience, or their memory of the stories they made up, to spread over to the memory of others and migrate into the realm of collective and eventually cultural memory. During this process, these already short accounts tend to lose the tedious details that do not make much sense to audiences at a much more distant time period, and tend to gain an abstract, symbolic nature that is characteristic of culture memory. Such symbolic nature is hinted in the case of the many accounts on Lu Qi's wickedness where one "punch line" appears more memorable, more meaningful and more important than the many details of factual nature – including who was the one that said this line. Over the time, this line became the symbol of Lu Qi's wickedness and was even put into a different person's mouth to

support his case. Of course, in most cases, the many versions of the story that ever existed in the process of such migration of memory would be transmitted together, resulting in textual and oral variations of different amount of details. In some of the “extreme” versions, the stories may also take a form as compact as a single representative phrase or an idiom that represents the main idea of the original anecdote without telling the story at all. The following example of the steelyard in the dream will illustrate this point.

5.1.2.1 Steelyard in the Dream: From Individual Memory to Cultural Memory

The migration, or spreading, of memory from the individual to the collective and cultural realm is much more noticeable in the case of traumatic historical events. In discussing stories of martyrdom, Rania Huntington points out that “in remembering those who died during the times of the Taipings, personal memory and grief for those one loved must coexist with the obligations of hagiography.”⁷⁸⁶ Once a person died as a martyr, “an ordinary person in a commonplace memory has been translated to another level of public commemoration.”⁷⁸⁷ When discussing stories of ghosts weeping, she notes that “accounts of ghosts weeping after times of violence is an ancient trope,” “these lingering, unfixed voices are a compelling representation of an even less concrete but still disturbing form of memory than the visible apparitions. They are a collective rather than an individual experience.”⁷⁸⁸ The social attention on traumatic historical events functions to propel the migration of individual memory into the collective realm. The collective sentiment over loss and destruction also works to bring ideas, such as ghosts weeping,

⁷⁸⁶ Huntington, p. 77.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid..

⁷⁸⁸ Huntington, p. 79.

to a symbolic level, and attach culturally significant interpretations to such stories. In the end, these ideas, memories and their cultural significance will last through time. Similar processes of stories and anecdotes spreading into the realm of collective and cultural memory also existed in cases of more quotidian, less traumatic, memories; albeit less noticeable, and probably taking longer time.

Anecdote #455 about Shangguan Wan'er 上官婉兒 (664-710),⁷⁸⁹ in the category “Suhui” 夙慧 (Precocious Intelligence) of the *Tang yulin* serves as a good example:

The Lady of Bright Countenance, Shangguan [Wan'er], was the granddaughter of [Shangguan] Yi, the Attendant Gentleman.⁷⁹⁰ [At the time Shangguan] Yi received his punishment, his daughter-in-law Mrs. Zheng [was drafted] to fill [servant vacancies in] the Palace, and gave birth to the Lady of Bright Countenance as a posthumous child. The night when the mother was about to give birth, she dreamt of a person giving her a steelyard while saying, “take this to weigh the scholars of the world.” Mrs. Zheng then expected it to be a boy. When she gave birth to the Lady of Bright Countenance, she looked at her and said, “to weigh the world, how could it be you?” [The baby] made gurgling sounds as if replying “yes.”

⁷⁸⁹Shangguan Wan'er 上官婉兒 (664-710) was the granddaughter of court official Shangguan Yi 上官儀 (ca. 608-664). During the reign of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (i.e. Li Zhi 李治, 628-683, r. 649-683), Shangguan Yi urged the emperor to depose Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705, r. 683-705). When Empress Wu Zetian took the throne, he conspired to revolt against her, and was sentenced to death. The men of the Shangguan clan were killed and the women drafted to be servants in the palace. Shangguan Wan'er entered the palace with her mother and grew up there. Her literary talents were appreciated by Empress Wu Zetian and she became the Empress's personal secretary, was often ordered to appraise the poetry court officials wrote at imperial banquets. She was later entitled Lady of Bright Countenance when Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (i.e. Li Xian 李顯, 656-710, r. 683-684 and 705-710) resumed throne. See Zhang Huizhi, *Zhongguo lidai renming da cidian*, pp. 38-40; Charles O Hucker, *Official Titles*, p. 117.

⁷⁹⁰ Hucker, pp. 426-7.

上官昭容者，侍郎儀之孫也。儀之得罪，婦鄭氏填宮，遺腹生昭容。其母將誕之夕，夢人與秤，曰，持之秤量天下文士。鄭氏冀其男也，及生昭容，視之，云，秤量天下，豈是汝耶？口中啞啞如應曰，是。⁷⁹¹

As we know, Shangguan Wan'er indeed grew up to be a talented woman who became the personal secretary of Empress Wu and often served as the judge of the literary talents of court officials who were ordered to compose poetry at the Empress's banquets. In addressing her as the "Lady of Bright Countenance," the above narrative apparently came into being after Shangguan Wan'er was given such a title, and possibly even after her death. But the story in the narrative about the steelyard in the dream claims an origin even before her birth. If true, the story must have been initially told by Mrs. Zheng from her individual memory. It then must have been circulated orally at first until at a certain point it was recorded in the retrospective account translated above. But it is equally likely that the story was completely made up. In fact, Wang Dang took this anecdote from the *Liu Binke jiahua lu*, or the *Liu Gong jiahua* a collection of miscellaneous records by Wei Xuan 韋絢 (801- ca. 866). Wei Xuan recorded the anecdotes in the collection based on stories he heard within the literary circle around the famous poet and scholar official Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842). The following diagram roughly shows the transmission of the story across time.

⁷⁹¹*Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 11.306.

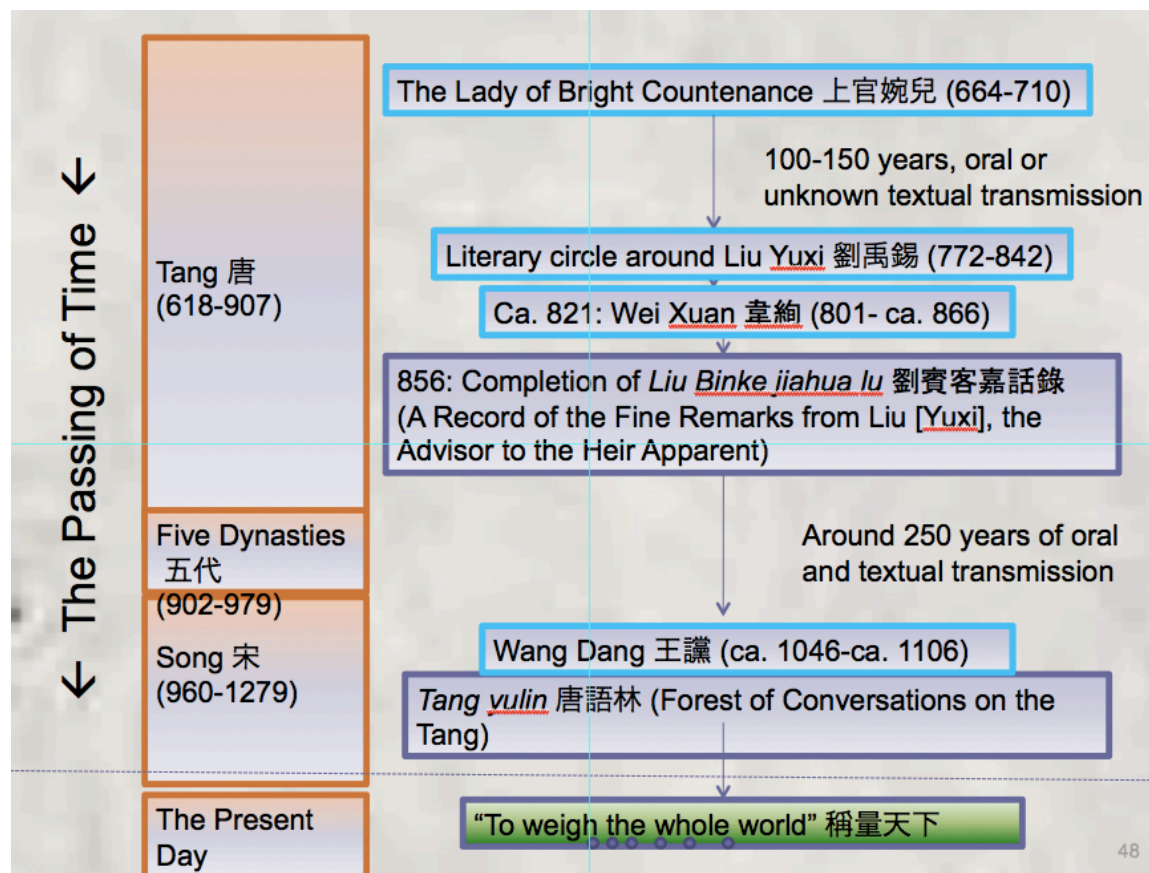


Figure 1. Transmission of the Story about the Steelyard in the Dream

As shown in the diagram, Wei Xuan lived almost a hundred and fifty years after the time of Shangguan Wan'er, a time long enough to generate the sense of distance felt in the narrative of anecdote above. It is likely that from the point Mrs. Zheng first told her story to the point the anecdote was first recorded, possibly by Wei Xuan, it had been transmitted orally for over one hundred years. Over this time, Mrs. Zheng's individual memory of the dream had thus entered the domain of collective memory shared by Tang literati scholars during their leisure time of storytelling. If the story was made up by a certain individual, when it was passed down and told orally in Liu Yuxi's circle of friends and students, it became their shared memory of the past. Or the story could be made up by the collective effort of a group of individuals, then the result of their collective storytelling, when eventually reaching Wei Xuan, also became recorded in

written form. This particular piece of memory about Shangguan Wan'er then became transmitted both textually and orally across time. After another two hundred years or so, Wang Dang picked this anecdote out from the cultural archives full of miscellaneous collections from the Tang dynasty, and compiled it into his *Tang yulin*. The memory of the steelyard in the dream became collective in two different senses. First, it became a story commemorated by a collective group, and second, this anecdote, together with many others, became part of a collective, anecdotal image of the past Tang dynasty.

Today, the idiom *chengliang tianxia* 秤量天下, “to weigh the world,” has become a generalized expression for the capacity of a person, especially a female, to evaluate and criticize a wide range of important issues of the world. But the people using this idiom might no longer know the story behind it, in fact, they often need to do a bit of research to get back to the *Tang yulin* account for the reason why the idiom is used the way it is now. Over the time, the story may have taken many oral and textual forms, and one of them is the symbolic form of the idiom that conveys the idea without actually telling the story. Its usage, therefore, has transcended its connection to the original individuals and event that gave birth to the story. To those who use the idiom without knowing the story, whether Ms. Zheng actually had the dream or not seems to have little significance. Even if the story of the dream was a later invention, it still conveyed an idea, a cultural significance across time and became part of the memory of the Tang. In this case, even if the memory does not convey historical reality itself, it does convey a certain sense of cultural reality.

Another example of a story in the *Tang yulin* whose cultural significance took the form of an idiom can be found in anecdote #363 in the category “Yaliang” 雅量 (Cultivated Tolerance).

The story reads:

[Once when] Li Zhaode 李昭德 (d. 697)⁷⁹² was the Director of the Secretariat⁷⁹³ and Lou Shide 婁師德 (630-699)⁷⁹⁴ was the Adviser,⁷⁹⁵ they went to court together. Lou [Shide] was overweight and walked slowly. Only after looking back and waiting [for him] several times, and he [still] could not catch up immediately, did Li [Zhaode] get angry and said, “This country bumpkin is indeed wearing me thin!” Lou [Shide] heard it, smiled patiently and said, “If Shide is not a country bumpkin, who is?” When the younger brother of [Lou] Shide was made the Prefect⁷⁹⁶ of Daizhou and about to depart [for his post], [Lou Shide] told him, “I, with my limited ability, occupy the position of a Grand Councilor,⁷⁹⁷ and in addition, now you are made head of a prefecture.⁷⁹⁸ Taking [the emperor’s favor] to excess is what people would find fault with, what [are we] to depend on to keep our ancestors’ bodies intact?” His younger brother knelt at his attention and said, “From now on, [even if there is the situation where] someone spits on my face, I dare not to complain, only to wipe it off. With this [attitude] I exhort myself and perhaps would not become a worry for my brother.” [Lou] Shide said, “This is

⁷⁹² Li Zhaode 李昭德 (d. 697) was a court official during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian. See his biographies in *Jiu Tang shu*, 87.2853-60; *Xin Tang shu*, 117.4255-7.

⁷⁹³ Hucker, p. 350.

⁷⁹⁴ Lou Shide 婁師德 (630-699), style name Zongren 宗仁, was a native of Yuanwu 原武 (in modern Henan 河南) and a court official during the reign of Emperor Gaozong (i.e., Li Zhi 李治, 628-683, r. 649-683) and Empress Wu Zetian. He was an important general guarding the frontier for about thirty years, and also served as a Councilor. He was well respected for his prudence and his political, military merits. See his biographies in *Jiu Tang shu*, 93.2975-7; *Xin Tang shu*, 108.4092-4.

⁷⁹⁵ Hucker, p. 338.

⁷⁹⁶ Hucker, pp. 558-9, #7567.

⁷⁹⁷ Hucker, pp. 514-5, #6819.

⁷⁹⁸ *Zhoumu* 州牧, regional governor, or provincial governor (Hucker, p. 336); here as general term for head of a prefecture.

exactly my worry. Now the situation where the previous person spits [on you] is developed out of anger. If you now wipe it off, it is due to your dislike for the previous person's spitting that you wipe if off, it then is going against the previous person's anger. Being spit on without wiping it off and letting it dry on its own, now isn't that the same as taking it with a smile?" During the time of the Empress Wu, [Lou Shide] was able to keep intact the favors and emoluments he enjoyed. It is due to this.

李昭德為內史，婁師德為納言，相隨入朝。婁體肥行緩，李屢顧待不即至，乃發怒曰：“叵耐殺人田舍漢！”婁聞之，徐笑曰：“師德不是田舍漢，更阿誰是？”師德弟為岱州刺史，將別，謂之曰：“吾以不才，位居宰相，汝今又拜州牧，叨據過分，人所疾也，將何以全先人發膚？”弟長跪曰：“自今唾某面上者，亦不敢言，但拭之而已。以此自勉，庶不為兄憂。”師德曰：“此適以為我憂也。夫前人唾者，發於怒也，汝今拭之，是惡前人唾而拭，是逆前人怒也。唾不拭而自乾，何若笑而受之？”當武後時，竟保其寵祿，率是道也。⁷⁹⁹

The cultural understanding of the story later took the symbolic form of the idiom *tuomian zigan* 唾面自乾, “being spit on the face and letting it dry on its own.” The idiom conveys the cultural significance placed on the virtue of forbearance and humility, but without telling the story, many of the people today who use the idiom may not even know that it was originated from a story about Lou Shide. Thus, such idioms are a kind of abstract, symbolic linguistic “handle” that when people take them they take the whole cultural background connected to them, though sometimes without knowing it. Diagram 2 tries to depict the general process of the migration of memory from the individual to the collective and cultural realms.

Over time, the autobiographical memory based on an individual's personal experience first becomes collective memory shared among the individual's circle of listeners when it is articulated. It represents a certain historical or historically fabricated moment, and as time goes

⁷⁹⁹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 242.

on, grows beyond the life span of its original owners. It becomes the orally and/or textually circulated, shared memory of later generations in the form of anecdotal accounts. This little piece of memory from the past goes through the mouth of the storytellers at leisure gatherings and the hands of those who put it into writing, classify it into categories and put it into collections. When the personal details of the original individual memory become gradually washed out by the tides of time, the cultural significance of the memory, as later generations remember it, grows more and more salient. In some “extreme cases,” such cultural significance becomes concentrated in the symbolic form of a linguistic unit such as the idiom.

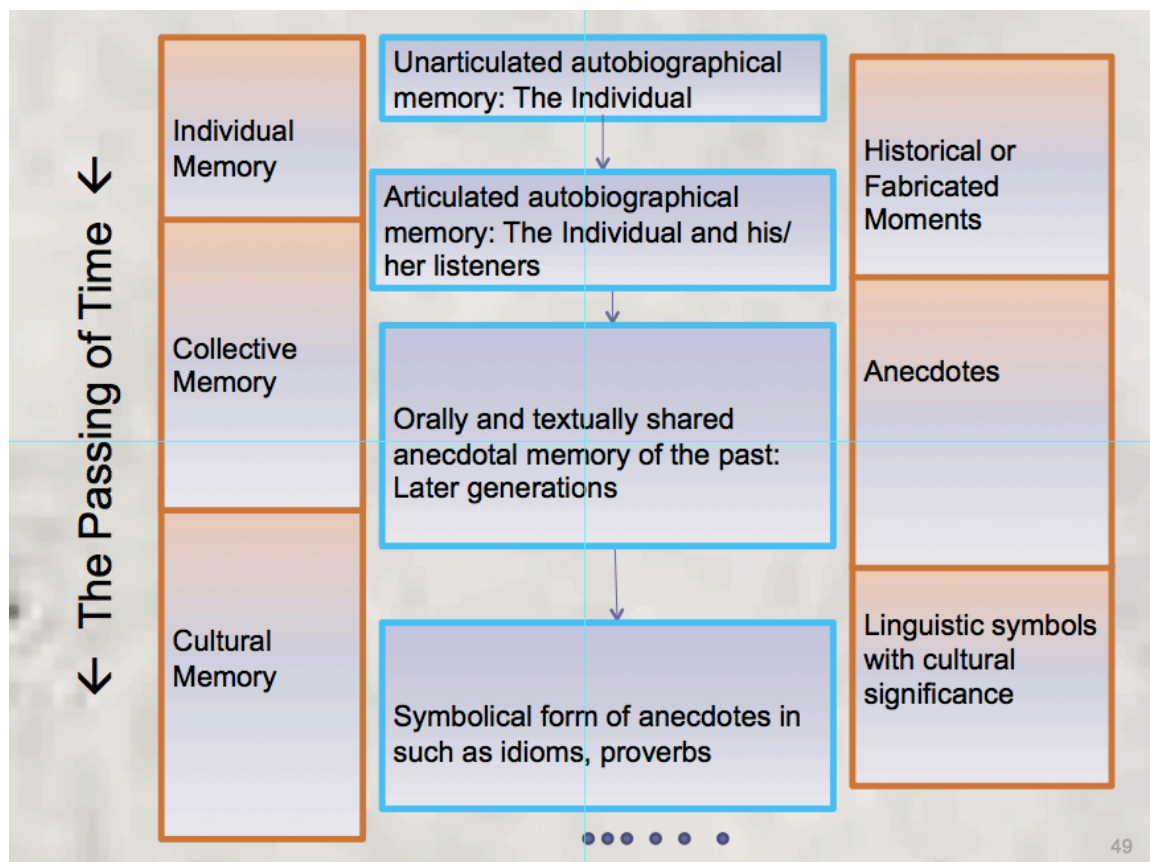


Figure 2: The Migration of Memory: From the Individual to the Collective and to the Cultural Realms

5.1.2.2 Old Owls on the Roof: Memory Migration from Marginalized Social Groups to Literati Culture

Some of the anecdotes in the *Tang yulin* suggest the migration of memory from marginalized social groups to the literati circle. In the section above, we already saw a woman's dream become a subject of male literati attention. In other cases, the common people's memories of the past were recorded and became part of the literati culture. An example is anecdote #568, "Li Ming Catches the Man in Green" 李銘捕綠衣人, in the category "Shangshi" 傷逝 (Grieving for the Departed), which is a story about memory itself. In this anecdote, a court musician who served Xuanzong 玄宗 before the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion recounted his memory of the Tianbao 天寶 (742-756) reign to Dezong 德宗 (Emperor Virtuous Ancestor, r. 779-805).⁸⁰⁰ Dezong was touched by his memory and decreed to bring all former musicians back to the restored Tang court.

When [Emperor] Dezong first ascended the Mansion of Diligent Government, there was no one outside [of the imperial palace] who knew about it. [Emperor Dezong] gazed [down from the mansion] and saw a person in green clothing riding on a donkey and wearing a hat. [The person] reached the foot of the mansion, looked upwards for a long time, lowered his head and went away eastward. The Sovereign immediately sent [messengers] to notify and alert the Capital Administrator,⁸⁰¹ and ordered [them] to seek out the person according to what he saw. The Administrator summoned Li Ming,

⁸⁰⁰I.e. Li Shi 李適 (742-805). Emperor Dezong 德宗 was the ninth emperor of Tang (Zhang Huizhi, 2041).

⁸⁰¹Hucker, p. 581, #7969.

Metropolitan Police Official⁸⁰² of Wannian [county] and sent him to hastily inquire and seek [the person] out. [County] Defender Li stood still and thought about it, then said, “I’m certain to capture him.” He headed out and summoned the Administrative Clerks⁸⁰³ and various officers concerned.⁸⁰⁴ [By his estimation], within several *li* outside of the Gate of Luminous Spring,⁸⁰⁵ there should be people who served as entertainers in their old posts at the various offices [of the old court]. They thoroughly searched through these people and the man in green clothing was indeed among them. They interrogated him and he said, “I am an old musician from the Tianbao reign. At that time, the Sovereign Emperor ascended this mansion several times, and every time he came, the owls would surely gather on top of the mansion, they were called ‘Old Owls Accompanying the [Imperial] Carriage.’ Ever since I retired and lived outside of the city, I never again saw them. Now flocks of owls gathered in great number, I again felt the scene was exactly like that of the past times. I knew for sure that the Sovereign was up there, [moved at the same time by] sorrow and joy I was on the verge of tears.” Because of this, [the Sovereign] decreed to completely gather these kinds of people, and still registered them with the Imperial Music Office (The Conservatory). County Defender Li was also

⁸⁰² According to Hucker (p. 393, #4807), this title is “a quasiofficial generic reference to the District Defenders” (Xianwei 縣尉) of the two districts, or counties, seated at Chang’an.

⁸⁰³ Hucker, p. 276, #3138.

⁸⁰⁴ *Suoyou* 所由, also written as *Suoyou guan* 所由官, was a term commonly used during the Tang and the Song to refer to the officials concerned of a certain matter. Hucker (p. 440, #5528) interprets it as “that through which or from which (governmental orders were promulgated), unofficial reference to a Prefect (chih-chou, chih-fu).”

⁸⁰⁵ The East Gate, also the main gate, of the Tang Capital Chang’an. The Gate of Luminous Spring was often used to refer to the capital city itself.

promoted and selected by the Capital Administrator, and later reached the rank of the Prefect.⁸⁰⁶

德宗初登勤政樓，外無知者。望見一人，衣綠乘驢戴帽，至樓下，仰視久之，俛而東去。上立遣宣示京尹，令以物色求之。尹招萬年捕賊官李銘，使促求訪。李尉佇立思之，曰，得必矣。出招幹事所由，春明門外數里內，應有諸司舊職事伎藝人，悉搜羅之，而綠衣果在其中。詰之，對曰，某天寶舊樂工也。上皇當時數登此樓，每來，鴟必集樓上，號隨駕老鴟。某自罷居城外，更不復見。今群鴟盛集，又覺景象宛如昔時，必知天子在上，悲喜且欲泣下。于是敕盡收此輩，卻系教坊。李尉亦為京尹所擢用，後至郡守。⁸⁰⁷

This anecdote, and the memory of the court musician, was recorded in the *Yin hua lu* 因話錄, and was later selected and included in the *Tang yulin*. In this case, the memory of this particular marginalized social group, the Tang dynasty court musicians, becomes part of the literati culture of the early Song. If the anecdote about the steelyard in the dream was indeed based on a dream of Shangguan Wan'er's mother, it also suggests that the personal memory of a woman drafted for palace service migrated into the literati culture. It first became the material of leisurely conversation, then became recorded and transmitted across time as part of the cultural memory of the Tang. In the case the anecdote was completely fictional, it then represents a kind of intentional manipulation of the memory of the marginalized social groups. Since the literati took it upon themselves to record the orally circulated anecdotal memories of the past, they naturally took the responsibility to facilitate such migration of memory from the marginalized social groups to the literati culture. During the process of gathering, selecting, and recording these anecdotes in writing, it is very likely that they felt the authority to edit and shape the

⁸⁰⁶ According to Hucker (p. 202, #1785), *Junshou* 郡守 was an unofficial reference to a Prefect (*Cishi* 刺史, *Zhifu* 知府, *Zhizhou* 知州) during the Tang.

⁸⁰⁷ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 16.388.

material at hand, or even inserted their own imagination in the stories from the marginalized social groups.

5.2 Restructuring Cultural Memory in the *Tang yulin*

5.2.1 Templates of Memory

5.2.1.1 The Dead and His Treasure, Buried Together: Cultural Values and Context

The symbolic nature of anecdotal cultural memory is also demonstrated on the level of groups of anecdotes. As a group, some anecdotes share the same narrative template with a similar plot and a similar cultural message. They are in fact templates of memory offering a typical, formulaic way of remembering and interpreting the anecdotal past. The compiler of an anecdotal collection, when concentrating such anecdotes and juxtaposing them, especially in the same category, seems to place more emphasis on the type of the story than on the varied details in each individual anecdote. The cultural significance conveyed in these stories of the same type, therefore, overshadows the historical details. Or to put it another way, the cultural reality represented in the symbolic form of the “memory template” overshadows the historical reality, or rather the lack of a unified historical reality, in the factual details. For example, in “Dexing” 德行 (Virtuous Conduct), the very first category of the *Tang yulin*, there are altogether forty-three anecdotes, and three of them are of a similar plot: Anecdote #10 “Li Mian Places Gold in Grave” 李勉置金於墓 reads:⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰⁸ A similar anecdote is attached to the end of the Biography of Li Mian in the *Xin Tang shu* but not to that in the *Jiu Tang shu*, see *Xin Tang shu*, 131.4509, *Jiu Tang shu*, 131.3636.

During the years of the Tianbao reign, there was a scholar who traveled to and lodged in the Song Commandery. At that time, Li Mian, the Duke⁸⁰⁹ of Qian, was young in years and was poor and afflicted; he stayed at the same tavern with this scholar. However, not ten days had passed before a disease broke out in the scholar and eventually became incurable. On the verge of death, [the scholar] told the Duke [of Qian], “I live in the Hong Commandery, and am going to seek office in the Northern Capital. I contracted this disease here and am about to die, it is my fate.” Thereupon [the scholar] took out one hundred *liang*⁸¹⁰ of gold from his luggage and presented it to the Duke of [Qian], saying, “Let my servants know nothing about this. You, sir, please complete the affairs of my death for me, and [I shall] present you [with] the rest of the gold.” Duke Li promised to conduct the affairs for him. When the rituals were completed, [Li Mian] placed the gold in the tomb and buried it there together [with the scholar]. Several years later, the Duke served as the County Defender⁸¹¹ of Kaifeng. The scholar’s brothers came with government documents from the Hong Commandery, searching along their way for the places the scholar had traveled and lodged at. When they reached the Song Commandery and learned that Li [Mian] was in charge of the funeral affairs for [their brother], they especially visited Kaifeng and asked for the whereabouts of the gold. The Duke took leave [from his post], went to the location of the tomb and took the gold out in order to give it [back] to them.

⁸⁰⁹ The title *Gong* 公 during the Tang, according to Hucker (p.290, #3388), was used to denote “a member of a ‘real’ feudal-like nobility with land grants for support,” but from Song on, it became “an honorary status normally conferred on distinguished military officers,” or a title “conferred posthumously on eminent civil officials prefixed with laudatory terms.”

⁸¹⁰ 1 *Liang* = 1/16 *jin* 斤. “Weights and Measures” in *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, 8:xlvi.

⁸¹¹ See Hucker, p.564, #7657. *Wei* 尉 is used as an abbreviated variant of *Xianwei* 縣尉 in this case.

天寶中，有一書生旅次宋州，時李汧公勉年少貧苦，與此書生同店。而不旬日，書生疾作，遂至不救。臨絕，語公曰，某家住洪州，將於北都求官，於此得疾且死，其命也。因出囊金百兩遺公，曰，某之僕使無知有此。足下為我畢死事，餘金奉之。李公許為辦事。及禮畢，置金於墓中而同葬焉。後數年，公尉開封。書生兄弟齎洪州牒來，累路尋生行止，至宋州，知李為主喪事。專詣開封，請金之所在。公請假至墓所，出金以付焉。⁸¹²

The second story with the similar plot is anecdote #17, “Li Yue⁸¹³ Buries the Dead Tribal Merchant” 李約葬死商胡. It reads:

Li Yue, the Vice [Director] of the Ministry of War,⁸¹⁴ once traveled along the River, and his boats and oars were next to that of a tribal merchant. The tribal merchant became ill, therefore he invited [Li Yue over] to meet and entrusted him with his two daughters, both extreme beauties. In addition he gave him a pearl, and [Li] Yue completely consented [to his will]. When the tribal merchant died, the wealth and treasures [he left behind] were as great as ten thousand [cash]. [Li] Yue thoroughly recorded their amount and sent them to the officials. He then sought nuptial matches for the two daughters, [only after this done,] did he start the funeral of the tribal merchant. [Li] Yue secretly placed the luminous pearl in his mouth, while none of the others knew this. Later, when the dead tribal merchant had relatives who came to manage his property and belongings, [Li] Yue asked the officials to take charge of the opening [of the tomb] and the digging [of the coffin], and to

⁸¹² *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.7.

⁸¹³ Li Yue, style name Cunbo 存博, was the son of Li Mian, and a descendant of the Tang ruling house. He served as a court official for Dezong. Talented in painting and calligraphy, he was famous for his integrity and elegant style (Zhang Huizhi, 894).

⁸¹⁴ *Yuanwai* 員外 here is used as a short term for *Yuanwai lang* 員外郎. See Hucker, p. 384, #4691; p. 597, #8250, #8251.

look for it, the luminous pearl was indeed there. His [Li Yue's] prudent conducts were all similar to this.

兵部李約員外嘗江行，與一商胡舟楫相次。商胡病，因邀相見，以二女託之，皆絕色也。又與一珠，約悉唯唯。及商胡死，財寶鉅萬，約悉籍其數送官，而以二女求配，始殮商胡。約自以夜光哈之，人莫知也。後死商胡有親屬來理資財，約請官司發掘檢之，夜光果在。其密行皆此類也。⁸¹⁵

The third story, anecdote #36 “Cui Shu” 崔樞, also has a plot of burying the dead without taking reward. It reads:

Cui Shu went to take the examination to be a Presented Scholar⁸¹⁶ and sojourned in Bian for half a year, lodging together with a sea merchant. When this person contracted a disease and was already gravely [ill], he told Cui [Shu], “I am grateful to be cared by you, sir, and not despised for being a foreign tribesman. Now [my] disease threatens to prevent me from getting up [again], and people from my tribe value burial by earth, if I die, can you, sir, treat me [the same] in the end as at the beginning?” Cui [Shu] granted him [his wish]. [The merchant] said, “I have a pearl, its price is ten thousand strings of cash.⁸¹⁷ [If one] obtains it, one will be able to walk on fire and go through water [without being harmed], it is indeed the ultimate treasure. I [now] make bold to present you, sir, with it.” Cui [Shu] accepted it and said [to himself], “As one heading for the Presented Scholar [examination], I travel among the commanderies and towns in order to support myself.

⁸¹⁵ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.11. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang ren yishi huibian* 唐人軼事彙編 v. 1, 19.1050-1.

⁸¹⁶ The *Jinshi* 進士 was a degree or status awarded to the successful candidate in the highest level of civil examinations who were then qualified for government offices. According to Hucker (p. 167, #1148), it was only one of the several high degrees, and “not necessarily the most esteemed,” during the Sui, Tang and early Song. In the 1060s, the *jinshi* examination was made more general, and the title became most esteemed.

⁸¹⁷ Min 緡, one thousand copper coins strung together is one *min*, also called one *guan* 貫.

How come all of a sudden I possess such extraordinary treasure?” [Later Cui Shu] took the opportunity when there was no one around, put [the pearl] inside the [merchant’s] coffin and buried it by the road.

A year later, Cui Shu traveled to make a living in the Hao Commandery, and heard there was a tribeswoman who came from the south to look for [the burial place of] her late husband and at the same time search for the whereabouts of the pearl. She presented [her case] at the [local] court, and said that the pearl must be in the possession of a Cultivated Talent⁸¹⁸ named Cui. Therefore [court officials sent people] to pursue and capture [Cui Shu] in the Hao [commandery]. Cui [Shu] said, “If the [merchant’s] tomb has not been opened by robbers, the pearl should [still] be intact.” Thereupon, they opened the [merchant’s] coffin and obtained his pearl. Wang Yanmo, the Commander of Pei,⁸¹⁹ marveled at his integrity and desired to appoint him as a retainer, [but] Cui [Shu] was not willing. The next year [Cui Shu] ascended the rank of the Presented Scholar, and in the end became in charge of the civil authority. He had a reputation for incorruptibility.

崔樞應進士，客居汴半歲，與海賈同止。其人得疾既篤，謂崔曰，荷君見顧，不以外夷見忽。今疾勢不起。番人重土殯，脫歿，君能終始之否？崔許之。曰，某有一珠，價萬緡，得之能蹈火赴水，實至寶也。敢以奉君。崔受之，曰，吾一進士，巡州邑以自給，奈何忽蓄異寶？伺無人，置于柩中，瘞于阡陌。後一年，崔遊丐亳州，聞番人有自南來尋故夫，并勘珠所在，陳于公府，且言珠必崔秀才所有也。乃于毫來

⁸¹⁸ According to Hucker (p.248, #2633), the *Xiucai* 秀才 of Tang dynasty was “originally one of several degrees awarded to men nominated for office by local authorities who passed qualifying examinations given by the Department of State Affairs 尚書省.” The degree was discontinued in 650 and the term *Xiucai* became “a common unofficial reference to a Presented Scholar 舉人.”

⁸¹⁹ Hucker, p. 438, #5475.

追捕，崔曰，儻窳窳不爲盜所發，珠必無他。遂剖棺得其珠。沛帥王彥謨奇其節，欲命爲幕，崔不肯。明年登第，竟主文柄，有清名。⁸²⁰

These three anecdotes share the same plot of a travelling scholar official encountering a sickly stranger. On his deathbed, the stranger entrusts the scholar official with completing his burial and his unfinished business if there is any. As a reward, the dying man offers either a precious pearl or a large amount of money. However, the scholar official then secretly buries the reward together with the dead, only when the relatives of the dead come looking for him would the scholar official open the tomb and return the treasure to them.

While Zhou Xunchu notes that anecdote #10 is taken from the *Da Tang zhuanzai* 大唐傳載, the *Taiping guangji* quotes the source of the same story as the *Shangshu tanlu* 尚書談錄.⁸²¹ Also according to Zhou Xunchu, anecdote #17 on Li Yue is originally taken from the *Shangshu gushi* 尚書故實,⁸²² and the source of anecdote #36 is unknown. Wang Dang took three anecdotes about three different scholar officials but of basically the same plot from different sources (two collections and one unknown source), and put them in the same category, “Virtuous Conduct.” It is apparent that neither the issue of avoiding redundancy nor that of achieving historical accuracy was much of a concern for the compiler. What the compiler cares about is the key value – helping a dying stranger and burying the dead without taking reward – represented in the

⁸²⁰ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.21-2.

⁸²¹ *Taiping guangji*, 165.1203.

⁸²² See also *Taiping guangji*, 168.1223-4, with the same source identified. Two other similar stories are found in the *Taiping guangji* (402.3240), one quoted from the *Jiyi ji* 集異記 with the title “Li Yue” 李約, another quoted from the *Duyi zhi* 獨異志 with the title “Li Guan” 李灌. The note after the story on Li Guan reads “in addition, the *Shangshu gushi* recorded that Li Yue, the Vice Director of the Ministry of War, buried a tribal merchant, received a pearl and placed it in the mouth [of the dead]. It was roughly the same with these two accounts” 又尚書故實載兵部員外郎李約葬一商胡，得珠以含之，與此二事略同.

narrative template of these anecdotes. Here, it is no longer important whether the details in each piece of these fragmented memories of the Tang are accurate historical facts. The group of anecdotes together reveals a “memory template” that functions as a vehicle of a particular way in remembering the past – to put emphasis on the cultural significance symbolically stored in the anecdotal memories of the past. Thus, the anecdotal memories, when transmitted in the form of “memory templates” and centered on a certain cultural value, gain a symbolic nature and convey a reality of the past that is more cultural than historical.

Furthermore, Wang Dang put special emphasis, more than any of the compilers of his source books did, on such a cultural significance by especially pulling these anecdotes of the same story template out of different sources and concentrating them in the “Virtuous Conduct” category. A closer look at the social and intellectual context of Wang Dang’s time reveals that this particular story template and the cultural significance it conveys reflect the concerns of the compiler’s own time more than that of the Tang. In the context of the set of anecdotal examples given above, this particular concern lies in the funeral customs of the Song dynasty.

Patricia Buckley Ebrey points out that “Buddhist monks and monasteries by Song times played much broader roles in funerary activities.”⁸²³ For example, Buddhist clergy often led the funeral procession, and Buddhist temples were “often used as places to store coffins until burial could be arranged.”⁸²⁴ She notes that “these practices seem to have been on the increase in Song

⁸²³ See Patricia Buckley Ebrey, “The Response of the Sung State to Popular Funeral Practices,” in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, Eds. *Religion and Society in T’ang and Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), pp. 209-240. Ebrey discussed popular funeral practices such as avoiding the *sha* 煞 spirits, i.e., “demonic spiritual forces brought into action by death” (p. 211), the Buddhist Services, and the employment of geomancers. Ebrey identifies that “the reliance on experts, the influence of religious ideas of afterlife, and the social problem of recreating family continuity and hierarchy in the face of death” as three key characteristics of current practice (p. 210).

⁸²⁴ Buddhist temples also “often aided the practice of cremation, providing crematories, storing ashes, or providing pools where ashes could be scattered.” *Ibid.* p. 214.

times, and they evoked vociferous criticism from Confucian scholars.”⁸²⁵ On the other hand, the popular practice of consulting geomancers for the site and time of burial was also criticized by Confucian scholar officials such as Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107). They deemed the practice of geomancy as illogical and immoral in that it resulted in delayed burial and made people fearful.⁸²⁶ These practices caused many social problems. On one extreme, people constantly dug up bodies to move them to a more auspicious burial ground, and on the other extreme, some burials were often delayed for years and even decades because an auspicious burial time or location could not be obtained. As a result of the latter case, neglected or forgotten coffins accumulated at Buddhist temples, and thus temples engaged in the practice of cremation. In the Song, it became “extremely common for families to bring the encoffined body to a temple to be left there until burial could be arranged, thus geomancers and Buddhist temples complemented each other in the provision of funerary services,”⁸²⁷ and “monks also sometimes served as geomancers.”⁸²⁸ These practices were condemned “most roundly” by Confucian scholars “because of the Neo-Confucian sectarian view that the promotion of Confucianism required the suppression of Buddhism.”⁸²⁹ Ebrey shows that the Song state responded in four aspects: first, with laws, ordinances and regulations that outlaw such practices as cremation, music at funerals, and long delays of burials; second, with administrative actions

⁸²⁵ Ebrey also comments that Confucian scholars criticized “especially cremation, which was labeled a desecration of the corpse and clear evidence that the foreign origins of Buddhism made its practices unsuitable for China.” Ibid. p. 214.

⁸²⁶ Ibid. pp. 215-6.

⁸²⁷ Ibid., p. 217.

⁸²⁸ Ibid., p. 218.

⁸²⁹ Ibid., p. 219.

and edicts that require local governments to set up charitable graveyards and inter unclaimed coffins; third, with publications that “define correct ideas, procedures and rituals;” and fourth, with positive examples of classical Confucian mourning practices set by the imperial house and scholar officials.⁸³⁰ Ebrey did not discuss in further detail the effectiveness of these state responses, and a closer look at the second aspect of state response – the policy of the charitable graveyards – and its effectiveness, proves to be very much relevant to the discussion of the “memory template” example here.

The practice of charitable graveyards started fairly early in the Song. The treatises on “Shihuo” 食貨 (Monographs on Financial Administration) in the *Song shi* 宋史 (History of the Song) reads, “during the Tianxi (1017-1021) reign, [the court of Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997-1022)] bought land at the Buddhist temples in the close suburbs of the capital and its environs in order to bury those among the dead that had no one to claim them. [To those who] buried the bodies, [the court] gave six hundred cash for each coffin, and half of that [amount] for burying the young [deceased]. Later [the court] did not provide [money for this purpose] anymore, and the dead were exposed by the road. At the end of the Jiayou (1056-1063) reign [of Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022-1063)], [the court] again decreed to provide [money] for this”

天禧中，于京畿近郊佛寺買地，以瘞死之無主者。瘞屍，一棺給錢六百，幼者半之；後不復給，死者暴露于道。嘉祐末，復詔給焉。⁸³¹ In the second year (1079) of the Yuanfeng 元豐 (1078-1085) reign, in the third month, Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067-1085) also issued an edict that reads, “the Buddhist temples within the territory of the Kaifeng Prefecture [are used for]

⁸³⁰ Ibid., p. 222-8.

⁸³¹ *Song shi*, 178.4338.

temporarily depositing coffins and caskets, [some families] are poor and cannot [afford the land to] bury them, thus as the years increase, [bodies] are exposed. Now it is ordered that the various counties accordingly buy into government [possession] three or five *qing* of land where nothing will grow, and let people inter [their dead] freely. Those [coffins] that have no one to claim, the [county] government shall bury them. Those of the commoners who wish to obtain money [to bury their dead], the [county] government shall loan the money to them. For every funeral, it should not exceed two thousand cash, and do not collect interest” 開封府界僧寺旅寄棺樞，貧不能葬，歲久暴露。其令逐縣度官不毛地三五頃，聽人安葬。無主者，官為瘞之；民願得錢者，官出錢貸之；每喪毋過二千，勿收息。⁸³² From this time on, the charitable graveyards policy was officially established. Monks were hired to oversee these charitable graveyards and were given the responsibility of interring the unclaimed coffins. The court rewarded the monks thus: “[after the number of the dead] buried reaches above three thousand, [the court will] certify⁸³³ one person to be a monk. [If the monk keeps up the work,] after three years, [the court will] grant him the Purple Garment.⁸³⁴ Once he obtains the Purple Garment, [the court will] grant him the title of a Master” 葬及三千人以上，度僧一人，三年與紫衣，有紫衣與師號。⁸³⁵

⁸³² *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿, 68.128 (7:6317b).

⁸³³ *Du* 度, also written as *du* 渡, was the Chinese term for *tarayati*. Originally the Chinese imperial court did not have restrictions on the number of people becoming Buddhist monks. As the number increased, however, the court established the *duseng* 度僧 policy to control the population of monks by issuing governmental certificates to those recognized to have entered monkhood.

⁸³⁴ The Purple Garment was a special honor the Tang court awarded to distinguished monks.

⁸³⁵ *Song huiyao jigao*, 68.128 (7:6317b).

These measures were carried out in the capital area as well as in the various commandaries and provincial counties. One record, found under the second month of the second year (1079) of the Yuanfeng reign in the “Shenzong benji” 神宗本紀 (Basic Annals of Emperor Shenzong) in the *Song shi*, reads “on the *jiayin* day, [the court] decreed to bury the exposed skeletons in Hanzhou” 甲寅，詔瘞漢州暴骸。⁸³⁶ Another, found under the third month of that same year, reads “on the *xinwei* day, [the court] decreed to provide land [for people] to bury the coffins deposited [at temples] within the capital’s environs. Those [coffins] with no one to return to, the government shall bury them” 辛未，詔給地葬畿內寄啟之喪，無所歸者官瘞之。⁸³⁷ As the policy was promulgated through out the Song territory, records of these charitable graveyards appeared in various local gazetteers.⁸³⁸ Scholar officials also recorded such practices in their own writings of prose and poetry. For example, Su Shi 蘇軾⁸³⁹ wrote “On Offering Sacrifice for the Dried Bones in Xuzhou” 徐州祭枯骨文⁸⁴⁰ during his tenure as the Prefect of Xuzhou from 1077

⁸³⁶ *Song shi*, 15.296.

⁸³⁷ *Song shi*, 15.297.

⁸³⁸ Zhang Bangwei 張邦煒 and Zhang Wen 張忞, “Song shiqi de yizhong zhidu” 宋時期的義冢制度 (The charitable tomb policy during the time of the Song), in Qi Xia 漆俠 and Hu Zhaoxi 胡昭曦. Eds. *Song shi yanjiu lunwen ji: 1994 nian nianhui biankan* 宋史研究論文集 一九九四年年會編刊 (Anthology of articles on the studies of Song history: proceedings of the 1994 annual conference; Shijiazhuang: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 1996), pp. 271-85.

⁸³⁹ Besides the promulgation of governmental policy to bury the unclaimed bodies and coffins, Su Shi’s humane effort in this aspect was also a result of the Buddhist influence on his worldview and thought. Su especially favored the Chan teachings and that of the Pure Land lineage, placing compassion, charity, and social welfare at the center of his belief. While the following short sacrificial prayers and inscriptions concerning burying the unclaimed bodies and coffins mention court edicts and government effort, and speak of the benevolence of the Confucian gentleman, Su Shi also wrote in private to a monk in Huizhou that his charitable deeds was to “dispel my impure obstruction.” See Ronald Egan, *Word, Image and Deed in the Life of Su Shi*, pp. 134-168.

⁸⁴⁰ Possibly written in the first year (1078) of the Yuanfeng 元豐 (1078-1085) reign, the short text reads, “I lament over you who passed away, wondering who you were in the past days. [Were you] soldiers or homeless folks? Who are your sons and grandsons? Though impossible to find out, who was not a subject of my [state]? The exposed bones are piled up, and I am grieved and saddened upon seeing them. [Thus] for them I chose [this

to 1079. And during his two and half year exile (1094-1097) in Huizhou during the Shaosheng 紹聖 (1094-1098) reign of Emperor Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1085-1100), he himself donated to help the local administration in burying unclaimed bodies⁸⁴¹ and wrote the “Huizhou guan zang baogu ming” 惠州官葬暴骨銘 (Inscriptions on Huizhou Government Burying the Exposed Bones),⁸⁴² and the “Huizhou ji kugu wen” 惠州祭枯骨文 (On Offering Sacrifice for the Dried Bones in Huizhou).⁸⁴³ The latter reads:

You people have had your bones exposed in the wild land and no one knows from what year on. If not soldiers then folks [you must have been], all innocent sons of my [state].

location and built] a spacious residence where the clay pit [of the grave] is wide and warm. Please join one another in returning and resting in peace, and may you each go back to your perfected [origin]” 嗟尔亡者，昔惟何人。兵耶氓耶？誰其子孫？雖不可知，孰非吾民。暴骨累累，見之酸辛。為卜廣宅，陶穴寬溫。相從歸安，各返其真。 See Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 8:63.495.

⁸⁴¹ During his exile in Huizhou, Su Shi left behind a series of correspondences with local officials, scholars and friends. In the second of a set of four such short notes later entitled “Yu Fu Weiyan Bijiao sishou” 與傅維岩秘校四首 (Four Pieces to Fu Weiyan, the Palace Library Editor), Su Shi wrote, “the matter of burying the skeletons, I know you are very attentive to it. Very soon I will again send the two scholars Feng and He to report to you in person, and I also have some money and things at the two scholars’ place [so that they will bring them to you]” 掩骼之事，知甚留意。旦夕再遣馮何二士面稟，亦有錢物在二士處。It is likely that Fu Weiyan was the official who was in charge of burying the exposed bones in Huizhou at that time. See Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 7:58.629-30; Hucker, pp. 375-6, #4575.

⁸⁴² Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 3:19.131-2. The short text reads, “In the second year (1095) of the Shaosheng reign after the Song dynasty came to exist, the government buried the exposed bones here. How could these be regarded as [bones] that no one claims? The benevolent men and the gentlemen are their claimers. The Scholar in Retirement at the East Slope wrote an inscription for their burial place, saying ‘men or heavenly beings, [may you, souls of the exposed bones,] follow the thought [that kindles the transformation] and move on. If there are those who are unable to do so, please reside here [with] the withered skulls. In the future may there [still] be gentlemen who would not forsake this intention [of burying the bones]. [Even if] the hills and valleys change [i.e., to switch places] and collapse, may they again offer coffins and shrouds for them” 有宋紹聖二年，官葬暴骨于是。是豈無主？仁人君子斯其主矣，東坡居士銘其藏曰：“人耶、天耶？隨念而徂。有未能然，宅此枯顛。後有君子，無廢此心。陵谷變壞，復棺衾之。” The second last sentence alludes to two lines in the poem “Shiyue zhijiao” 十月之交 (At the Conjunction [of the Sun and Moon] in the Tenth Month; Mao #193) in the “Xiao ya” 小雅 (Lesser Odes of the Kingdoms) chapter of the *Shijing*. The lines read “high banks become valleys, deep valleys become hills” 高岸為谷，深谷為陵 with the Mao commentary “this is to say they switch their places” 言易位也。 See Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Poetry*, 4:322.

⁸⁴³ Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 8:63.493-4.

Respectfully following the laws and regulations of the imperial court, which contain the article on burring skeletons,⁸⁴⁴ the supervising officials are carrying out [the order] and [I] have no intention to be stingy with my wealth. This [money] is used to restore this residence [of yours] anew, and [may you] rest peacefully forever at this house. What I hate is the harm and damage caused by dogs and pigs, [as well as] the ants and mole crickets digging through grave pits. All I can do is to build this Tomb for Many⁸⁴⁵ [but still] it is impossible to collect all the bodies [or any bodies in whole?]. I hope though you live here as a mixed group, there is no conflicts among you, and you will be loyal [to one another as if you are] brothers; or you could cast off your fetters and have no attachment [to past], and then transcend [this life] and reincarnated as men or heavenly beings.⁸⁴⁶

尔等暴骨於野，莫知何年。非兵則民，皆吾赤子。恭惟朝廷法令，有掩骼之文；監司舉行，無吝財之意。是用一新此宅，永安厥居。所恨犬豕傷殘，螻蟻穿穴。但為藪冢，罕致全軀。幸雜居而靡爭，義同兄弟；或解脫而無戀，超生人天。⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴⁴ Su Shi's second note in a series of four short correspondences to Fu Weiyan in Huizhou in 1095 mentions the matter of *yange* 掩骼, "burying the skeletons," as well. These two texts, the second note in the "Yu Fu Weiyan Bijiao sishou" and the "Huizhou ji kugu wen," were about the same project of burying unclaimed bones in Huizhou that Su Shi actively supported. See Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 7:58.629-30 and note above.

⁸⁴⁵ The term *congzhong* 藪冢, "Tomb for Many," is explained in Su Shi's "Fu Zheng gong shendao bei" 富鄭公神道碑 (Stele on the Sacred Way of Fu [Bi], the Duke of [the State of] Zheng) which reads "As for those of the homeless masses who died, [the Duke of the State of Zheng] built a big tomb to bury them, and called it Tomb for Many" 流民死者，為大冢葬之，謂之藪冢。The stele inscription was written for Fu Bi 富弼 (1004-1083), honorifically entitled the Duke of the State of Zheng 鄭國公, in the second year (1087) of the Yuanyou (1086-1094) reign (Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 2:18.725 ; full text 2:18.694-754).

⁸⁴⁶ Here the term *rentian* 人天 refers to the highest two of the six realms of existence (*Samsara*), or the six paths of reincarnation (*liudao lunhui* 六道輪迴), in the Buddhist belief. The order of the six realms, from lowest to highest, are as follows: the *diyu dao* 地獄道 (*Naraka-gati*), the Realm/Path for Beings in Hell; the *egui dao* 餓鬼道 (*Preta-gati*), the Realm/Path for Hungry Ghosts; the *chusheng dao* 畜生道 (*Tiryagyonigati*), the Realm/Path for Animals; the *Axiuluo dao* 阿修羅道 (*Asura-gati*), the Realm/Path for *Asura*; the *ren dao* 人道 (*manusya-gati*), the Realm/Path for Humans; and the *tian dao* 天道 (*deva-gati*), the Realm/Path for *Deva*. See William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, eds., *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London: Broadway House, 1937), pp. 138-9.

⁸⁴⁷ Li Zhiliang, *Su Shi wenji biannian jianzhu*, 8:493-4.

The charitable graveyards were given an official name right at the time when Wang Dang was most active in his political and literary engagement during the first decade of the 1100s. On the third day of the second month in the third year (1104) of the Chongning 崇寧 (1102-1106) reign, the Secretariat[-Chancellery] 中書 memorialized that:

In [various] counties and commandaries, there are those too poor to have means to bury [their dead], and those who die a traveler with their bodies exposed. It is extremely sorrowful and lamentable. Previously, during the Yuanfeng reign, Emperor Shenzong decreed that within the territory of the [Kaifeng] Prefecture, [the court] would collect and bury the dried bones in government-owned lands. Now [the court] desires to promulgate and expand the late Emperor's will by selecting vacant highlands where nothing will grow and establishing Gardens of Virtuous Beneficence Seeping Through. All the coffins among those deposited at monasteries and temples that have no one to claim, if they expose the remains of the dead, should all be buried in it.

州縣有貧無以葬，或客死暴露者，甚可傷惻。昨元豐中，神宗皇帝詔，府界以官地收葬枯骨。今欲推廣先志，擇高曠不毛之地，置漏澤園。凡寺觀寄留榱櫨之無主者，若暴露遺骸，悉葬其中。⁸⁴⁸

The “Huizong benji” 徽宗本紀 (Basic Annals of Emperor Huizong) in the *Song shi* also records that “on the *dingwei* day of the second month in the third year (1104) of the Chongning reign, [the court] established the Garden of Virtuous Beneficence Seeping Through” 崇寧三年二月丁

⁸⁴⁸ *Song huiyao jigao*, 68.130 (7:6318b).

未，置漏澤園。⁸⁴⁹ It can be argued that the promulgation of the charitable graveyards policy was in its full swing during the most active years of Wang Dang. Thus, the moral values and expectations in the policy and its practice could have played an important part in Wang Dang's selecting the three anecdotes discussed above from different source books, putting them all in his "Virtuous Conduct" category, and as a result, concentrating and emphasizing the value and cultural significance represented in such a story type.

However, the follies of the charitable graveyard policy were apparent from the very beginning of its implementation. Zhang Bangwei 張邦煒 et. al. summarized four major issues in the implementation of the policy: first, monks often resorted to deception in order to increase the number of coffins buried and to obtain reward; second, coffins were often carelessly buried; third, the practice sometimes incurred high cost and put local governments under heavy financial burden; and fourth, over the time, the charitable graveyards gradually lost their land to local despots.⁸⁵⁰ The first two follies had caused imperial concern. For example, on the eleventh day of the eighth month in the fifth year (1106) of the Chongning reign, the court issued an edict requesting the various commandaries and counties to cut and limit the reported number of coffins buried. It stipulated that any local officials who "made up the number [of burial] with those not ill and those already buried, should be flogged one hundred strokes" 以無病及已葬人充者，杖一百。⁸⁵¹ On the twenty-first day of the eighth month in the fifth year (1106) of the Chongning

⁸⁴⁹ *Song shi*, 19.368-9. The name *Louze yuan* 漏澤園, "The Garden of Virtuous Beneficence Seeping Through," was given by Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047-1126), the Grand Councilor of Emperor Huizong, to the pauper's cemetery, or Charitable graveyards, of the Song dynasty.

⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.*.

⁸⁵¹ *Song huiyao jigao*, 68.131 (7:6319a).

reign, the Department of State Affairs (*Shangshu sheng* 尚書省) memorialized that “the commandaries and counties sometimes carried out the policy of the Garden of the Virtuous Beneficence Seeping Through carelessly, and perfunctorily, not burying deep enough and thus causing [the coffins] exposed” 漏澤園州縣奉行尚或滅裂埋瘞不深遂至暴露.⁸⁵² Although, the court developed laws and regulations to punish fraud and prevent careless, perfunctory implementations of the policy, records of abusing the policy can still be found in local gazetteers of various places. For example, local records on the Garden of Virtuous Beneficence Seeping Through in the *Jiatai Kuaiji zhi* (嘉泰)會稽志 (Local gazetteer of Kuaiji by the Jiatai (1201-1204) Reign) note that after the policy was promulgated, “officials were quite excessive in carrying it out, even to the extent that [the Garden was] divided into three, discriminating the good and the lowly” 有司奉行頗過，至有分為三園，良賤有別.⁸⁵³ Some local officials would make a show burying the abandoned coffins and offering sacrifices for the dead at festivals,⁸⁵⁴ possibly for publicity, reputation, and awards. Even more outrageous is that “the monks overseeing the Garden deemed it best to have a large number of [coffins] buried, [and to] obtain government issued registers and certificates, as well as the Purple Garment. Thus there were those who took apart the skeleton [of the deceased] to make up the number” 守園僧以所葬多為最，得度牒及紫衣，遂有析骸以應數者.⁸⁵⁵ Viewed in this context, the stories above may have been Wang Dang’s response to the social issues in the implementation of the charitable

⁸⁵² *Song huiyao jigao*, 68.131 (7:6319a).

⁸⁵³ Shi Su 施宿, et. al. *Jiatai Kuaiji zhi* (嘉泰)會稽志 (Local gazetteer of Kuaiji by the Jiatai Reign) 13.42-5, rpt. in *Jing yin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*. 486:286a-287b.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid.*.

⁸⁵⁵ *Ibid.*.

graveyard policy. By taking there examples of burying strangers without taking rewards from three different sources and concentrating them in the “Virtuous Conduct” category, perhaps Wang Dang was indeed trying to show positive examples. Such an effort, consciously or subconsciously, suggested a particular way to remember the past through interpreting the anecdotal cultural memory through “memory templates” from the perspective of the social and intellectual concerns of the compiler’s time. Therefore, it can be argued that the cultural significance associated with the memory template is largely determined by the social context of the compilation of the *Tang yulin* and reflects the concerns of the Song society at that time.

5.2.1.2 The Sensational and the Supernatural – Selective Use of Cultural Memory

The above analysis shows an example of a “memory template” formed under the influence of the compiler’s current cultural inclinations in how the anecdotal past is to be interpreted and remembered. The formation of the “memory template” involves the explicit effort, be it conscious or subconscious, of selecting a group of anecdotes from different sources and putting them in the same category, concentrating the cultural significance these accounts represent. On the other hand, it also involves the implicit decision of rejecting the rest of the anecdotes in the pool of all the stories with the same plot. Three such “rejected” anecdotes sharing the same set of plot components with the above *Tang yulin* “memory template” are found in the *Taiping guangji*, one from the *Ji yi ji* 集異記 by Xue Yongruo 薛用弱 (fl. 821-849),⁸⁵⁶ one from the *Du yi ji* 獨異記 by Li Kang 李亢 of late Tang, and the third from the *Yuanhua ji* 原

⁸⁵⁶ For a detailed discussion of Xue’s possible dates and the time period covered by the *Ji yi ji*, see Gu Tianhong 古添洪, “*Ji yi ji* kaozheng yu muti fenxi” 集異記考證與母題分析 (The Textual History of *Ji yi ji* and the Analysis of Its Themes), in *Jiaoxue yu yanjiu* 教學與研究 (Teaching and Research, 1984) no. 6, pp. 229-258.

化記 by a certain Mr. Huangfu 皇甫 of late Tang. In the order presented here, these three accounts outline a spectrum of gradually increasing sensational effects and supernatural elements in their narratives, while at the same time they gradually lose the focus, if there is one, on virtuous conduct. If the standards of virtuous conduct in the three *Tang yulin* accounts represent one end of this spectrum, these three accounts in the *Taiping guangji* appear to have moved further and further away from it. First, the account under the title “Li Mian” from the *Ji yi ji* is translated here:

Li Mian, the Minister of Education, served as the [County] Defender of Xunyi⁸⁵⁷ at the beginning of the Kaiyuan reign. When his tenure was fulfilled, he planned to travel along the Bian River to Guangling. When he reached Suiyang, there was an old tribal man from Persia who all of a sudden became diseased. Leaning on his staff, [the old tribal man] visited [Li] Mian and said, “This son of a foreign land is burdened with illness and is very much dying, I long to return to Jiangdu. Knowing you, sir, are a venerable elder, I wish to entrust [myself] to your benevolent protection [to travel with you down the river], this is completely different from obtaining shelter from you without working for it.”⁸⁵⁸ [Li] Mian felt sorrowful for him. Thus he let [the old man] board his boat, and hence offered him gruel. The tribal man was extremely moved and ashamed, therefore he said, “I am in fact a descendent of the [lineage of] kings and nobles. I have already been engaged in

⁸⁵⁷ See Hucker, p.564, #7657. *Wei* 尉 is used as a variant of *Xianwei* 縣尉 in this case. Xunyi 浚儀 was a county of the Bian Commandary 汴州 during the Tang. It was under the administration of the Kaifeng Prefecture 開封府 during the Five Dynasties and the Song, and renamed as Xiangfu 祥符 County in the third year (1010) of the Dazhong Xiangfu 大中祥符 (1008-1016) reign of the Song. It was located less than five miles southwest of modern Kaifeng 開封 of Henan 河南 (Dai Junliang 戴均良, *Zhongguo gujin diming da cidian*, 3:2555; Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 5:44, 6:13).

⁸⁵⁸ The original comment in the *Taiping guangji* (402.3240) notes that the Ming dynasty edition does not have the sentence “this is completely different from obtaining shelter from you without working for it” 皆異不勞而獲護焉.

business and trade here for over twenty years. I have three sons at home, and I think there will surely be someone who comes to seek me out.”

司徒李勉，開元初，作尉浚儀。秩滿，沿汴將游廣陵。行及睢陽，忽有波斯胡老疾，杖策詣勉曰：“異鄉子抱恙甚殆，思歸江都。知公長者，愿托仁蔭，皆異不勞而獲護焉。”勉哀之，因命登艫，仍給饘粥。胡人極懷慙愧，因曰：“我本王貴種也，商販于此，已逾二十年。家有三子，計必有求吾來者。”

In a few days, the boat stopped upon the Si River, the old man became critically ill. Thus he dismissed the servants and told [Li] Mian, “In my country, the precious pearl that is transmitted together with the throne had just gone missing. They are recruiting the one who can obtain it, [and will install his family] among the hereditary houses of dukes and councilors. I thought of the urgency (or alarming nature) of the deed worth flaunting and coveted the positions [they offered]. Because of this I left my homeland and came to look for it. I have obtained it recently, and will immediately become rich and honored if I take it and return it back. This pearl should be priced at one million [cash]. I feared of traversing different lands with such treasure in my bosom, therefore, I cut open [my own] flesh and hid it inside. Unfortunately I met with this disease and will now die, moved by the favor and righteousness of you, sir, I will respectfully present it to you.” He then pulled out a knife and cut off one leg. As the pearl fell out, he died.

不日，舟止泗上，其人疾亟，因屏人告勉曰：“吾國內頃亡傳國寶珠，募能獲者，世家公相。吾銜其鑿而貪其位，因是去鄉而來尋。近已得之，將歸即富貴矣。其珠價當百萬，吾懼懷寶越鄉，因剖肉而藏焉。不幸遇疾，今將死矣。感公恩義，敬以相奉。”即抽刀決股，珠出而絕。

In the end, [Li] Mian paid for his burial clothes and bedding, and buried him by the Huai River. At the moment of [filling] the grave pit, [Li Mian] then secretly placed the pearl in

his mouth and left. After he arrived at Weiyang, he went to take a look over the market turret. All of a sudden, he [became mixed] with a group of tribal men [walking] side by side with him on his left and right and following him, they thus got to strike up a conversation. There was a young tribal man by him whose appearance and bearing were like that of the deceased. [Li] Mian then enquired of him, and [what he said] indeed matched that was recounted by the deceased. [Li] Mian then questioned him thoroughly about his experience, and he turned out to be the son of the dead tribal man. [Li Mian] told him the place [his father] was buried. The young tribal man wailed and wept, opened the tomb, took [his father's body] and left.

勉遂資其衣衾，瘞于淮上。掩坎之際，因密以珠含之而去。既抵維揚，寓目旗亭。忽与羣胡左右依隨，因得言語相接。傍有胡雛，質貌尚逝者。勉即詢訪，果與逝者所敍契會。勉即究問事跡，乃亡胡之子。告瘞其所，胡雛號泣，發墓取而去。⁸⁵⁹

Though sharing the same protagonist and a similar plot with anecdote #10 in the *Tang yulin*, this account carries a weaker message of the virtuous conduct of taking care of the burial of a sickly stranger. The old tribal man reveals his identity as “a descendent of the [lineage of] kings and nobles” 王貴種也 who has “already been engaged in business and trade here for over twenty years” 商販于此，已逾二十年. Li Mian is also informed that he has “three sons at home” 家有三子 and “there will surely be someone who comes to seek me[him] out” 必有求吾來者. Thus, the old tribal man does not appear as helpless as the young scholar or the travelling merchants from the accounts the *Tang yulin* selected. In the *Tang yulin* accounts, the scholar officials do not know that the relatives of the lonely travelers from faraway places would ever

⁸⁵⁹ *Taiping guangji*, 402.3240. See also Zhou Xunchu, *Tang ren yishi huibian* 唐人軼事彙編, 1:16.812.

come looking for them. With the possibility that the treasures might be left unclaimed forever, the scholar officials face a stronger temptation, and thus their actions of burying the treasure secretly offered to them together with the dead appear much more virtuous and commendable. In addition to the weakened moral message, the narrative of the *Ji yi ji* account seems to seek a sensational effect by offering rather graphic descriptions – the old tribal man, in order to take out the pearl hidden in his flesh, “pulled out a knife and cut off one leg. As the pearl fell out, he died” 即抽刀決股，珠出而絕。The following account is less sensational, but moves further away on the spectrum from the *Tang yulin* accounts due to the rather otherworldly characteristics of its protagonist and the supernatural elements in its narrative. This account from the *Du yi ji* 獨異記 with the title “Li Guan” 李灌 is translated as follows:

No one knew where this person Li Guan was from. His temperament was lonesome and quiet, and he often stayed at Jianchang County of the Hong Commandary. He tied his boat by the riverbank. There was a small thatched hut on the riverbank, and a sick Persian under its roof. [Li] Guan pitied that his [life] was about to end and provided him with soup and gruel. After several days, [the Persian] passed away. Before he expired, he pointed at the black rug he was lying on and said, “There is a pearl in the rug, [its size] can reach one *cun*. With this I shall repay your favor.” After he died, there was a faint light shining through and lighting up the rug. [Li] Guan took it up, examined it and obtained the pearl. He bought a coffin and buried him, secretly placed the pearl in the mouth of the tribal man. He planed trees there to mark [the Persian’s] tomb.

李灌者，不知何許人。性孤靜，常次洪州建昌縣。倚舟於岸，岸有小蓬室，下有一病波斯。灌憫其將盡，以湯粥給之。數日而卒。臨絕，指所臥黑氈曰中有一珠，

可徑寸，將酬其惠。及死，甞有微光溢耀。灌取視得珠。買棺葬之，密以珠內胡口中。植木誌墓。

Ten years after this, [Li Guan] passed by this old town again. At that time, Yang Ping was the Surveillance Commissioner,⁸⁶⁰ and there were official documents from the foreign country [to establish the case]. As [it was believed that] the tribal man died at a hostel in Jianchang, the families from which he received gruel and food had all been handcuffed and interrogated for years. [Li] Guan then questioned about their offense, the prisoners told him the whole matter from beginning to the end. [Li] Guan reported [the truth] to the officials of the county, and went together with them to the tomb outside the town to cut down the trees. The trees had already [become thick enough for one to] embrace them with both arms with hands barely touching each other. They opened the coffin and examined the dead tribal man. His appearance looked like as if he were alive. They then reached and obtained a pearl from his mouth and returned it. That same night, [Li Guan] left rowing his boat. No one knew where he went.

其後十年，復過舊邑。時楊憑為觀察使，有外國符牒。以胡人死于建昌逆旅，其粥食之家，皆被梏訊經年。灌因問其罪，囚具言本末。灌告縣寮，偕往郭墉伐樹。樹已合拱矣。發棺視死胡，貌如生，乃於口中探得一珠還之。其夕棹舟而去，不知所往。⁸⁶¹

⁸⁶⁰ See Hucker, p. 283, #3269.

⁸⁶¹ There is a short note at the end of this account which reads, “In addition, the *Shangshu gushi* recorded that Li Yue, the Vice Director of the Ministry of War, buried a tribal merchant, received a pearl and placed it in the mouth [of the dead]. It was roughly the same with these two accounts” 又尚書故實載兵部員外郎李約，葬一商胡，得珠以含之。与此二事略同。The “two accounts” here refer to the “Li Mian” anecdote from the *Ji yi ji* and the “Li Guan” anecdote from the *Du yi ji*. See *Taiping guangji*, 402.3240. See also Zhou Xunchu, *Tang ren yishi huibian*, 1:20.1140.

The experience described in this “Li Guan” account feels further removed from the literati culture Wang Dang focuses on in his *Tang yulin* due to two possible reasons. First, the protagonist probably is not the kind of person the scholar official would normally relate to. Compared to the three quite well known court officials from the *Tang yulin* accounts, Li Guan is obscure and rather mysterious – “no one knew where [he is] from” 不知何許人 and after the treasure is returned, “that same night, [Li Guan] left rowing his boat. No one knew where he went” 其夕棹舟而去，不知所往. All that can be known about him is that “his temperament was lonesome and quiet” 性孤靜. The account on a man of such an otherworldly nature serves more a transcendental end than the purpose of an example of virtue. Second, the account has a unmistakable supernatural aura to it. Li Guan planted trees to mark the location of the tomb when he buried the dead tribal man and his treasure. Many years later, “the trees had already [become thick enough for one to] embrace them with both arms with hands barely touching each other” 樹已合拱矣, but when “they opened the coffin and examined the dead tribal man, his appearance looked like as if he were alive” 發棺視死胡，貌如生. Yet on the spectrum of stories with similar plots, another story in the *Taiping guangji* under the title “Yu bing Hu” 鬻餅胡 appears to be even further away from the *Tang yulin* accounts of virtuous conduct than the “Li Guan” account. The “Yu bing Hu” from the *Yuanhua ji* 原化記 reads:

There was a Presented Scholar living in the capital, and among his neighbors there was a tribal man who sold bread [for a living].[The tribal man] had no wife. After several years, the tribal man suddenly got sick. The scholar kept him in mind and often checked upon him, offered him soup and herbal medicine. Eventually he still did not recover. On his deathbed, he told [the scholar], “When I was in my country, I was very rich. Because of

the turmoil, in the end I fled here. Originally I made arrangements with a fellow countryman to come [here] and meet each other, therefore I stayed here for a long time and could not move elsewhere. I received your sorrowful concern, and in order to repay you – there is a pearl inside my left arm which I treasured and cherished for many years, and now I will die and have no use of it any more – and for the very purpose of this, I present it and offer it to you. I beg of you to hold a funeral for me and bury me after I die. You, young gentleman, having obtained this, will not have much use of it either. Among people of the day, there isn't anyone who can recognize [its value] either. Only when you learn that there are travelers from the tribes of the western countries who come here, then you ask them about it, you should obtain a great sum.” The scholar promised him.

有舉人在京城，鄰居有鬻餅胡。無妻。數年，胡忽然病。生存問之，遺以湯藥。既而不愈。臨死告曰：“某在本國時大富，因亂，遂逃至此。本與一鄉人約來相取，故久於此，不能別適。遇君哀念，以奉答，其左臂中有珠，寶惜多年，今死無用矣，特此奉贈。死后乞為殯瘞。郎君得此，亦無用處。今人亦無別者。但知市肆之間，有西國胡客至者，即以問之，當大得價。”生許之。

After [the tribal man] died, [the scholar] cut open his left arm and indeed obtained a pearl. It was as big as a pallet, and not exactly radiant. After the scholar finished taking care of burial for him, he took [the pearl] out to sell on the market, and there was no one asking about it. After three years had passed, all of a sudden he heard there was a new tribal traveler arriving town, he then [tried to] sell them the pearl. The tribal man saw it and was greatly astonished, “How did you, young gentleman, obtain this precious pearl? This is not something that can be found anywhere close. I beg to ask about the place you obtained it.” The scholar then told him [the story]. Only then did the tribal man weep and say, “This was my fellow countryman. Originally we agreed to inquire about this thing

together. On our way here we were met with wind upon the sea, drifted and passed through several countries. Therefore we were separated for five or six years. Having arrived here, I was just about to seek for him, little did I know that he had already died.” He then sought to buy it. The scholar saw that the pearl was not exactly precious, only asked for a mere five hundred thousand [cash]. The tribal man paid him according to his price. The scholar inquired about the way [the pearl] can be used, and the tribal man said, “The people of Han have obtained a method [to use it]: take this pearl out to the sea, put it in one *shi* of oil and boil off two *dou* [of the oil], its [outer layers] will then be scraped off. One can dive into the sea [with it] and not get wet, and will become one who is feared by the dragon gods. This person can then take treasures [from them]. [Boiling the pearl] once [will allow one to enter the sea] six times.”

既死，破其左臂，果得一珠。大如彈丸，不甚光澤。生為營葬訖，將出市，無人問者。已經三歲。忽聞新有胡客到城，因以珠市之。胡見大驚曰：“郎君何得此寶珠？此非近所有，請問得處。”生因說之。胡乃泣曰：“此是某鄉人也。本約同問此物，來時海上遇風，流轉數國，故僭五六年。到此方欲追尋，不意已死。”遂求買之。生見珠不甚珍，但索五十萬耳。胡依價酬之。生詰其所用之處。胡云：“漢人得法，取珠於海上，以油一石，煎二斗，其則削。以身入海不濡，龍神所畏，可以取寶。一六度也。”⁸⁶²

This account is longer, with more details in its descriptions and dialogues, and there is no moral message embedded at all. The following factors contribute to the significant distance between this account and the *Tang yulin* stories of virtuous conduct: the Presented Scholar is a protagonist without even a name and the tribal man is not a stranger but rather an acquaintance; the account also to a certain degree seeks the sensational effect of the pearl being hidden in the arm of the

⁸⁶² *Taiping guangji*, 402.3243-4.

tribal man; the magical power of the pearl makes the anecdote more a supernatural story than a realistic account; and most importantly, the essential part of the shared common plot is missing: here the scholar in fact sells the pearl for profit rather than burying it together with the dead. The focus of the story then is switched the scholar's loss of profit due to his insufficient knowledge of the pearl's magical power. Therefore, at the other end of the spectrum opposite to the anecdotes of the *Tang yulin* "memory template," this story from the *Yuanhua ji* appears to be nowhere close to a moral example of virtuous conduct.

The six anecdotes, three from the *Tang yulin* and three from the *Ji yi ji* 集異記, the *Du yi ji* 獨異記, and the *Yuanhua ji* 原化記 respectively, show that there existed a whole spectrum of accounts of similar plots. The anecdotes forming the "memory template" in the *Tang yulin* all came from the morally charged end of the spectrum, while the accounts with weakened moral messages, sensational details, supernatural elements, and digressing halfway from the central plot of the "memory template" were left out. The *Ji yi ji*, the *Du yi ji*, and the *Yuanhua ji* are not even on the list of Wang Dang's source titles. It is possible that Wang Dang did not have access to these titles, but it is equally likely that Wang Dang consulted these books but chose not to use the material therein, probably because the contents of these three titles mostly involve accounts of *yi* 異, "the strange," with a sensational and supernatural nature. Moreover, two of the three anecdotes forming the "memory template" in the *Tang yulin* end with commending the morality of the scholar official, setting them as exemplary characters. Anecdote #17 ends with "His [Li Yue's] prudent conducts were all similar to this" 其密行皆此類也⁸⁶³ and anecdote #36 ends with "The next year [Cui Shu] ascended the rank of the Presented Scholar, and in the end became

⁸⁶³ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.11. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang ren yishi huibian* 唐人軼事彙編 v. 1, 19.1050-1.

in charge of the civil authority. He had a reputation for incorruptibility” 明年登第，竟主文柄，有清名。⁸⁶⁴ Compared to the nature of the three anecdotes not included, the “memory template” in the *Tang yulin* is a selective re-presentation of the cultural memory of the past and a prescribed moral-oriented perspective on how the anecdotal past is to be interpreted and remembered. Even material in the books on the source list of the *Tang yulin* is selectively used with the more sensational and supernatural accounts left out, which will be discussed in more detail later.

In addition to leaving out the sensational and the supernatural, the *Tang yulin* explicitly includes many anecdotes on how important court officials successfully refute the claims of supernatural efficacy. Anecdote #114⁸⁶⁵ offers an example of such endeavor being considered important and placed in the category of “Zhengshi” 政事 (Affairs of State). The account reads:

During the Baoli reign (825-827), it was said that Bozhou produced holy water,⁸⁶⁶ [those who] took it were cured of their chronic illnesses without fail and also there was not a single case amiss. Starting from Luo[yang] on to the several dozens⁸⁶⁷ of commandaries west of the River, people strove to donate clothes traded with money in order to drink

⁸⁶⁴ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.21-2.

⁸⁶⁵ This entry was originally from the *Da Tang zhuanzai* 大唐傳載. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.71-2.

⁸⁶⁶ The Juzhen edition of the *Tang yulin* reads “Liangzhou” 亮州 and Zhou Xunchu corrected it to be “Bozhou” according to the Qi Zhiluan edition and the *Lidai xiaoshi* edition of the *Tang yulin*. The “Biography of Li Deyu” 李德裕傳 in the *Xin Tang shu* (180.5330) reads “at that time, the Buddhist temples at Bozhou concocted words about the water there could cure illnesses and called it ‘Holy Water’” 時亳州浮屠詭言水可愈疾，號曰聖水。 This incident was also recorded in the “Biography of Li Deyu” in the *Jiu Tang shu* (174.4516). See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.71.

⁸⁶⁷ The original text in the *Da Tang zhuanzai* reads *shu* 數, “several,” rather than *shushi* 數十, “several dozens.” See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.71.

[the water] there.⁸⁶⁸ [Those who had the water] obtained profits in thousands and tens of thousands of cash, and people took turns to delude one another. Li Deyu was [serving office] in the Zhexi region. He ordered to have people gathered at a big market, set up a cooking pot,⁸⁶⁹ got the water [from Bozhou in it], and designated officials⁸⁷⁰ to get five *jin* of pork to be boiled [in it]. He said, “If this is [indeed] holy water, the meat should stay as it is.” In a short while [the meat] was thoroughly cooked. From this time on, people’s hearts were slightly settled, and those [who practiced] evil [crafts] soon were found out.

寶曆中，亳州云出聖水，服之愈宿疾，亦無一差者。自洛已來及江西數十郡，人爭施金貨之衣服以飲焉，獲利千萬，人轉相惑。李德裕在浙西，命于大市集人，置釜取其水，設司取豬肉五斤煮，云：「若聖水也，肉當如故。」遂巡熟爛。自此人心稍定，妖者尋而敗露。⁸⁷¹

The *Tang yulin* also includes dozens of anecdotes particularly refuting the efficacy of Buddhist and Taoist practices, especially their rain-seeking rituals.⁸⁷² On the one hand, the abundance of

⁸⁶⁸ Instead of “clothes traded with money” 金貨之衣服, the original text in the *Da Tang zhuanzai* reads “money, goods, and clothes” 金貨衣服, which Zhou Xunchu takes as the correct text. According to Zhou, the Qi Zhiluan edition and the *Lidai xiaoshi* edition of the *Tang yulin* reads “people strove to donate money and send servants to go and fetch [the water] in order to drink” 人爭施金貨人使往汲以飲焉. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.71.

⁸⁶⁹ The original text in the *Da Tang zhuanzai* reads *jin* 金 which Zhou Xunchu considers wrong. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.71.

⁸⁷⁰ Instead of *shesi* 設司, the original text reads *yu shisi* 於市司, which Zhou deems correct. According to Zhou, the Qi Zhiluan edition and the *Lidai xiaoshi* edition of the *Tang yulin* replaces the three characters *shesi qu* 設司取 with the character *tong* 同, which Zhou considers to be a typo for the character *yong* 用. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.72.

⁸⁷¹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 1.71-2.

⁸⁷² See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, examples of rain-seeking anecdotes are #92 (p. 54), #121 (pp. 76-77), #298 (p. 197), #676 (p. 464), while anecdotes #94 (p. 55), #114 (p. 71), #124 (p. 79), #322 (p. 215), #326 (p. 218), #344 (p. 232), #792 (p. 549), #813 (p. 564), #878 (p. 607) are on general Buddhist/Taoist practices or tricks and the social issues they caused. Counter examples showing the efficacy of Buddhist or Taoist predictions and practices, such as anecdotes #675 (p. 463), #677 (p. 464), #681 (p. 467), seem to offer the idea that a sage emperor, Emperor Xuanzong of Tang in these cases, would have command over the powers of worthy Buddhists and Taoists.

rain-seeking anecdotes in the *Tang yulin* suggests the influence of general social concerns about the widespread droughts during the years of Northern Song on the compilation of the collection. On the other hand, these anecdotes often aim to show the negative social impact of these practices and the punishments the practitioners receive from the government. Some of these accounts depict the Confucian scholar officials' triumph over the Buddhist and Taoist efforts in seeking rain. It can be argued that Wang Dang's principles in compiling the *Tang yulin* were primarily Confucian, and possibly significantly influenced by the Neo-Confucian hostility against Buddhist and Taoist practices in particular. Wang Dang was the son-in-law of Lü Dafang, the Grand Councilor of Emperor Zhezong during the Yuanyou (1086-1094) reign, and Lü Dafang was a disciple of Cheng Yi, one of the early Neo-Confucian thinkers. Although Wang Dang was among the literary circle of Su Shi who had fundamental intellectual disputes with Cheng Yi⁸⁷³ and embraced Buddhist thoughts of the Chan and the Pure Land schools,⁸⁷⁴ it seems that Wang Dang's compilation of the *Tang yulin* nonetheless maintained a fundamentally Confucian stance, and the cultural memory of the Tang re-constructed in the *Tang yulin* was shaped by the overall Confucian intellectual context of Wang Dang's time.

5.2.2 Worthy Beauties, Turnips and Tombstones: Categories as Structure of Memory and Memory's Resistance to Categorization

Categories play important roles in the organization and storage of memory. They are ideologically charged cultural symbols that communicate meaning and offer structure to the

Anecdotes involving rain-seeking and popular Buddhist and Taoist practices in the *Tang yulin* will be discussed in more detail in a separate study.

⁸⁷³ Egan, *Word, Image and Deed in the Life of Su Shi*, pp. 93-8.

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-68.

anecdotal memories of the past. These categories function to provide guidance to how the anecdotal past can be remembered and how the fragmented memories can be interpreted. The first four categories of the *Shishuo xinyu* and the *Tang yulin*, the “Dexing” 德行 (Virtuous Conduct), the “Yanyu” 言語 (Speech and Conversation, Quips and Repartee), the “Zhengshi” 政事 (Affairs of State), and the “Wenxue” 文學 (Letters and Scholarship), originated from the “four divisions of the Confucian School” 孔門四科 and carried with them a distinct undertone of Confucian values. As shown in the *Lun yu*, Confucius first used these four categories to evaluate the abilities of his disciples. The passage reads:

[Distinguished for their] virtuous conduct, there were Yan Yuan, Min Ziqian, Ran Boniu, and Zhonggong; [for their ability in] speech and conversation, Zaiwo and Zigong; [for their talents in the] affairs of state, Ran You and Jilu; [for their acquirements in] letters and scholarship, Ziyou and Zixia.

德行：顏淵，閔子騫，冉伯牛，仲弓。言語：宰我，子貢。政事：冉有，季路。文學：子游，子夏。⁸⁷⁵

This is also one of the earliest examples of categories being used for the purpose of character evaluation. These four categories were adopted in the *Shishuo xinyu* as the first four of a series of thirty-six categories on human characteristics, and subsequently, they became part of the organization scheme of the many works within the *Shishuo* genre that inherited the structure of the *Shishuo xinyu*. Thus, over the time, the categories used again and again then became symbols

⁸⁷⁵ See *Lun yu*, 11.3. Translation based on Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Confucian Analects*, 1:237-8; Chichung Huang, trans., *The Analects of Confucius*, p. 116; and Mather’s translation of the four categories.

that contributed to the establishment of a tradition, which was a part of the politics and propaganda of an ideology. During this process, these categories, as symbols, also gained rich layers of cultural and intellectual connotations during the development and transformation of the tradition.

Qian Nanxiu studies the *Shishuo xinyu* as a type of “character writing.” While the first four categories, by their origin, naturally bring to the structure of the *Shishuo xinyu* a strong moralistic tone, she points out that, in fact, the collection rather embodies the collective intellectual aura generally referred to as the Wei-Jin spirit. In translating the “Dexing” category as “*Te* conduct,” she argues that it conveys much more than the Confucian values of “virtuous conduct,” and the *te* should rather be interpreted as “potency, potentiality, and efficacy.”⁸⁷⁶ Qian states that the Wei-Jin scholars did not think of these categories in terms of moral categories, and they functioned as a taxonomy system of human nature.⁸⁷⁷ Additional sample categories of human characteristics from the *Shishuo xinyu*, as well as the *Tang yulin* as it inherited the *Shishuo* structure, are the “Fangzheng” 方正 (The Square and the Proper), the “Yaliang” 雅量 (Cultivated Tolerance), the “Xianyuan” 賢媛 (Worthy Beauties), the “Jianse” 儉嗇 (Stinginess and Meanness), the “Taichi” 汰侈 (Extravagance and Ostentation), and the “Chanxian” 讒險 (Slander and Treachery). With a system of altogether thirty-six categories of human characteristics, the *Shishuo xinyu* offers a symbolic memory structure as guidance to how its era should be represented, remembered and interpreted – a structure shaped by the cultural and intellectual context of the Wei and Jin times.

⁸⁷⁶ Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, pp. 127-30.

⁸⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

Qian identifies four stages in the development of the character appraisal tradition in ancient China: the rise of character appraisal (ca. 76-147) as the basis of Eastern Han scholar-official selection system; the morality-oriented stage (ca. 147-184) toward the end of Eastern Han as a response to the political conflict between scholar-officials and the eunuchs; the ability-oriented stage (ca. 184-239) during the Han-Wei 魏 transition period as a need to restore political and social order; the aesthetics-oriented stage (ca. 240-420) from early Wei to the end of Jin 晉 when the Wei-Jin Spirit cherished spontaneity (*ziran* 自然), genuineness and forthrightness (*zhenshuai* 真率).⁸⁷⁸ The various accounts in the *Shishuo xinyu* explored the relationship and dynamics between *ming* 名 and *shi* 實, “name and actuality,”⁸⁷⁹ *you* 有 and *wu* 無, “something and nothing,”⁸⁸⁰ *yan* 言 and *yi* 意, “words and meanings,”⁸⁸¹ as well as *xing* 形 and *shen* 神, “body and spirit.”⁸⁸² Together with the categories that formed the fundamental structure of the *Shishuo* tradition, these narratives represented the self-awareness, self-expression and self-fashioning of the Wei-Jin intellectuals deeply rooted in the context of the *xuanxue* and the *qingtan* traditions. As a result, a collective identity, the “Wei-Jin self” of the noble-literati community, was established through the character writings in the *Shishuo xinyu*, and a preferred way of remembering and interpreting such a collective Wei-Jin identity was suggested by the memory structure offered through the categorization system of the collection.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 26-42.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 63-8.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 68-72.

⁸⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 72-6.

⁸⁸² Ibid., pp. 76-83.

The thirty-six categories of the *Shishuo xinyu* structure include thirteen pre-Wei-Jin categories re-conceptualized within the Wei-Jin intellectual context, four categories that took shape during the Wei-Jin period, and nineteen categories newly formulated in the *Shishuo xinyu* itself.⁸⁸³ Thus the *Shishuo xinyu* structure did not all of a sudden come into being out of nothing, but was rather developed from and based upon the established categories of character appraisal from the past. While inheriting the established categories of the past, the *Shishuo xinyu* system of categorization also functioned to redefine these categories according to its current cultural and intellectual orientations and attach new layers of cultural significance to these categories. One specific example would be the “Xianyuan” 賢媛 category. Examined in comparison with the “Lienü” 列女 category in the section on official biographies in dynastic histories, the “Xianyuan” category offers a representative case of a category charged with cultural and ideological significance that embodies a tradition and at the same time is redefined every time it is employed during the development and transformation of the tradition.

The *Lienü zhuan* (Biography of Women) ascribed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 B.C.) “gave rise to two major female biographical traditions: *lienü* (exemplary women) and *xianyuan*

⁸⁸³ Ibid., pp. 124-6.

The thirteen Pre-Wei-Jin categories are: 1 Dexing 德行, 2 Yanyu 言語, 3 Zhengshi 政事, 4 Wenxue 文學, 5 Fangzheng 方正, 8 Shangyu 賞譽, 9 Pinzao 品藻, 14 Rongzhi 容止, 15 Zixin 自新, 29 Jianse 儉嗇, 30 Taichi 汰侈, 31 Fenjuan 忿狷, and 33 Youhui 尤悔.

The four Wei-Jin categories are: 6 Yaliang 雅量, 7 Shijian 識鑒, 24 Jian’ao 簡傲, and 36 Chouxi 仇隙.

The nineteen categories newly conceptualized in the *Shishuo xinyu* are: 10 Guizhen 規箴, 11 Jiewu 捷悟, 12 Suhui 夙慧, 13 Haoshuang 豪爽, 16 Qixian 企羨, 17 Shangshi 傷逝, 18 Qiyi 栖逸, 19 Xianyuan 賢媛, 20 Shujie 術解, 21 Qiaoyi 巧藝, 22 Chongli 寵禮, 23 Rendan 任誕, 25 Paitiao 排調, 26 Qingdi 輕詆, 27 Jiajue 假譎, 28 Chumian 黜免, 32 Chanxian 讒險, 34 Pilou 紕漏, and 35 Huoni 惑溺.

(virtuous and talented ladies).⁸⁸⁴ According to Qian Nanxiu's study on the *lienü* and *xianyuan* traditions, of the twenty-six extant dynastic histories, fourteen contain the *lienü* category; and of the thirty-five works imitating the *Shishuo xinyu*, eighteen contain the *xianyuan* category. In addition to these, the *lienü* category appears in numerous local gazetteers and there are also two *Shishuo* imitations that are exclusively devoted to women.⁸⁸⁵ Qian argues that both traditions "emulate Liu Xiang's *Lienü zhuan* in accentuating women's roles in family and in society. Each, however, has a specific orientation in representing women's lives and guiding their behavior. *Lienü* records, being incorporated into official history writing, became increasingly reflective of Confucian norms. Conversely, accounts of *xianyuan*, rooted in the free-spirited Wei-Jin intellectual aura and written by private scholars, featured strong-minded, self-sufficient literate women."⁸⁸⁶ Comparing the *lienü* chapter in Fan Ye's 范曄 (389-445) *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, the first dynastic history to include the *lienü* category, and the *xianyuan* chapter in the *Shishuo xinyu*, with both works completed around 430, Qian points out that "the profound differences between the two traditions at this historical point can be attributed to two factors: the sociopolitical backdrop of the time in which the stories were set, and the scholastic and ideological orientations of the respective authors."⁸⁸⁷ Liu Yiqing's work grew out of the traditions of *Xuanxue* 玄學 (Dark Learning, Mystic Learning) and *Wenxue* 文學 (Literature), Fan's work was rooted in the context of *Ruxue* 儒學 (Confucian) and *Shixue* 史學

⁸⁸⁴ Qian Nanxiu, "Lienü versus Xianyuan: The Two Biographical Traditions in Chinese Women's History," in *Beyond Exemplar Tales: Women's Biography in Chinese History*, edited by Joan Judge and Hu Ying (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2011), p. 70.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁸⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

(Historiographical learning).⁸⁸⁸ During the development and transformation of the historiographical tradition and the *Shishuo xinyu* tradition through the dynasties, the two categories *lienü* and *xianyuan* “had more or less kept a complementary relationship until the fourteenth century.” However, from the Ming dynasty on, as noted by various scholars such as Qian, Raphals, and Carlitz, “there was a marked shift toward the concept of the chastity cult in the *lienü* texts. At the same time, the *xianyuan* tradition most strongly asserted itself in valorizing free-spirited writing women.”⁸⁸⁹ This example highlights how these categories developed out of a particular focus in the representation of the past, here the representation of women’s life, how they became part of the textual and ideological structure of a particular tradition, here either historiography or character appraisal, and how they were defined and redefined during the transformation of these traditions, attached with new layers of cultural and ideological significance each time, and used as structural guidance to the remembrance and interpretation of that particular focus in the representation of the past.

This was also the case for the overall structure of categorization systems in many imitative works of the *Shishuo xinyu* in the later dynasties.⁸⁹⁰ On the one hand, these works either inherited or modeled after the structural system of the *Shishuo xinyu* and thus perpetuated its tradition. On the other hand, their adaptation of and amendment to the *Shishuo xinyu* scheme, as well as innovations based on it, brought in new layers of meaning and cultural significance to the overall structure of anecdotal memories within the context of their own times. The Tang dynasty

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 73.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 71.

⁸⁹⁰ For a list of imitative works, their authors and the time periods they cover, see Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, pp. 194-6, 202-3.

Shishuo xinyu imitations identified by Qian Nanxiu are: Wang Fangqing's 王方慶 (d. 702) *Xu Shishuo xinyu* 續世說新語 in ten *juan*, which is no longer extant; Feng Yan's 封演 (fl. 742-800) *Fengshi wenjian ji* 封氏聞見記 in ten *juan*, compiled around 800 or later, with thirty-six imitative categories from the *Shishuo xinyu* in the ninth and tenth *juan*; and Liu Su 劉肅 (fl. 806-820) *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語 in thirteen *juan*, with an author's preface dated 807 and around 380 anecdotes of Tang political and intellectual life in thirty imitative categories. Qian Nanxiu states that the Tang imitations of the *Shishuo* style introduced "strong ethical overtones" to the genre, stressed the Confucian principles of historical writing, in order "to hail the ruler and humble the subject, to expel the heterodoxy and to return to rectitude."⁸⁹¹ The differentiation of "the rectitude" 正 and "the heterodoxy" 邪 marked "a shift from aesthetic to ethical concerns" and the Tang imitations "changed the original genre from the character writing of the gentry into didactic writing for the gentry – from gentry self-appreciation into gentry self-cultivation."⁸⁹² This was achieved through a "thorough revision of the *Shishuo* scheme,"⁸⁹³ for example, in the *Da Tang xinyu*, Liu Su "expelled categories he considered 'heterodox'" that focused on "human frailties and eccentricities primarily in private life."⁸⁹⁴ Liu's new "explicitly normative system of classification" worked to "intensify the moral contrast between rectitude and heterodoxy"⁸⁹⁵ and advocate the "mutual cultivation between the emperor and his subjects."⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹¹ Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, p. 211-2.

⁸⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁸⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁸⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁸⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁸⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

The Song dynasty imitations identified by Qian Nanxiu are: Kong Pingzhong's 孔平仲 (fl. 1065-1102, *jinshi*, 1065) *Xu Shishuo* 續世說 in twelve *juan*, the earliest extant edition with a preface dated 1158, containing thirty-five *Shishuo xinyu* categories and three imitative categories; and Wang Dang's *Tang yulin* in eight *juan*, with thirty-five *Shishuo xinyu* categories and seventeen imitative categories. While acknowledging such an “ethical flavor would saturate almost all the *Shishuo* imitations to come,”⁸⁹⁷ Qian takes the Song imitations⁸⁹⁸ to be different in their value orientation due to the influence of Su Shi and the rise of the Lixue 理學 (Learning of Principles). On the one hand, they “consolidated the ethical orientation established by Tang imitations, campaigning to ‘establish the self’ through cultivating the heart – an introspective focus encouraged by the rise of Lixue (Learning of Principle) in the Song period.”⁸⁹⁹ Qian argues that the Song imitations emphasized on the notion of “sincerity,” which according to Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073) was the center of Confucian ethics,⁹⁰⁰ and that Wang Dang's *Tang yulin* especially “explores how literary creations express a sincere heart.”⁹⁰¹ Qian traces such an understanding of the function of literary cultivation of the self to the influence of Su Shi's intellectual stance.⁹⁰² This, too, was achieved through the adaptation of the *Shishuo xinyu*'s categorization system. Kong Pingzhong deleted the category “Haoshuang” 豪爽 from the

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 232.

⁸⁹⁸ The *Tang yulin* and Kong Pingzhong's 孔平仲 (fl. 1065-1102, *jinshi*, 1065) *Xu Shishuo* 續世說 (Continuation of the *Shishuo*) in 12 *juan*, the earliest extant edition of which contains a preface dated 1158.

⁸⁹⁹ Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, p. 233.

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 236.

⁹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 429, n. 79.

⁹⁰² Ibid., p. 233-46.

Shishuo xinyu structure and added three of his own: “Zhijian” 直諫 (Candid Admonition), “Xiechan” 邪諂 (Heterodoxy and Flattery), and “Jianning” 奸佞 (Craftiness and Obsequiousness).⁹⁰³ The content of all the rest of the *Shishuo xinyu* categories inherited by the *Xu Shishuo* also turned to focus more on principles of government and Confucian moral teachings. Wang Dang deleted the category “Jiewu” 捷悟 and added seventeen new categories of his own.⁹⁰⁴ The “Jiewu” category was left out possibly because it might have suggested a cultural

⁹⁰³ Translation of categories by Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, p. 233.

⁹⁰⁴ C#36) Shihao 嗜好 (Hobbies and Indulgences)

C#37) Lisu 俚俗 (Slang and Customs)

C#38) Jishi 記事 (Records and Happenings)

C#39) Rencha 任察 (Entrustment and Observation)

C#40) Yuning 諛佞 (Flattery and Smarminess)

C#41) Weiwang 威望 (Authority and Reputation)

C#42) Zhongyi 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness)

C#43) Weiyue 慰悅 (Comfort and Delight)

C#44) Jiyin 汲引 (Recommendation and Promotion)

C#45) Weishu 委屬 (Entrustment and Bestowal)

C#46) Biantan 砭談 (Counsel and Discussion)

C#47) Jianluan 僭亂 (Overstepping and Up heaving)

C#48) Dongzhi 動植 (Animals and Plants)

C#49) Shuhua 書畫 (Calligraphy and Paintings)

C#50) Zawu 雜物 (Miscellaneous Objects)

C#51) Canren 殘忍 (Cruelty and Hardheartedness)

C#52) Jice 計策 (Strategies and Intrigues)

connotation of quick perception that was deemed too frivolous, not prudent enough, and thus inappropriate to the Song scholar's idea of Confucian self-cultivation.⁹⁰⁵ As to the seventeen categories added by Wang Dang, Qian Nanxiu notes seven of them underscore the mei-e 美惡 dichotomy,⁹⁰⁶ and three emphasize proper governing,⁹⁰⁷ which are in line with the Confucian values of self-cultivation. While Qian did not comment on the rest of the seventeen categories added by Wang Dang, they could nonetheless lead to interesting discussions from the perspective of restructuring the cultural memory of the past. They are:

C#36) Shihao 嗜好 (Hobbies and Indulgences)

C#37) Lisu 俚俗 (Slang and Customs)

C#38) Jishi 記事 (Records and Happenings)

C#46) Biantan 砭談 (Counsel and Discussion)

C#48) Dongzhi 動植 (Animals and Plants)

C#49) Shuhua 書畫 (Calligraphy and Paintings)

⁹⁰⁵ An example of quick perception can be found in the following anecdote from the *Shishuo xinyu*:

Someone once offered Ts'ao Ts'ao a cup of curd (*lao*) to eat. Ts'ao tasted a little of it, then on the top of the lid wrote the character ho, "together," and showed it to the group, but no one in the group could make out what he meant. When it came Yang Hsiu's turn, he proceeded to taste some and said, "His Excellency is asking you people (*jen*) to taste one (*i*) mouthful (*k'ou*). What are you waiting for?" 人餉魏武一杯酪，魏武啖少許，蓋頭上提合字以示眾，眾莫能解。次至楊修，修便啖，曰，公教人啖一口也，復何疑？

See Yang Yong, *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian*, 11.524. Mather, p. 292-3.

⁹⁰⁶ Zhongyi 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness), Rencha 任察 (Trust and Perspicacity), Weiwang 威望 (Authority and reputation), Weiyue 慰悅 (Consolation and Happiness), Yuning 諛佞 (Flattery and Obsequiousness), Jianluan 僭亂 (Usurpation and Rebellion), and Canren 殘忍 (Cruelty and Heartlessness), translations by Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, p. 234.

⁹⁰⁷ Jiyin 汲引 (Selection and Recommendation), Weishu 委屬 (Designation and Assignment), Jice 計策 (Strategies and Policies), translation of categories by Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, p. 234.

C#50) Zawu 雜物 (Miscellaneous Objects)

Interestingly, the categories “Shihao” 嗜好 and “Biantan” 砭談 resemble the original categories from the *Shishuo xinyu* system in that they seem to depict human characteristics without bringing in an overly Confucian overtone or suggesting a focus on government administration. The categories “Shihao” seems to be able to present hobbies and indulgences that are highly individual-specific and contribute to the depiction and evaluation of human characters. The category title “Biantan,” if contrasted to the added category “Zhijian” 直諫 in Kong Pingzhong’s *Xu Shishuo*, seems to be more of an effort to pay homage to the Wei-Jin *qingtan* tradition than to offer Confucian moralistic interpretation of its content. Of course, due to the chaotic textual history of the *Tang yulin*, only the content of the first seventeen categories in Wang Dang’s original content list were transmitted more or less as they were; the rest were lost over the time and were reconstructed by collators of the *Siku quanshu* based on the entries scattered in various divisions of the *Yongle dadian*.⁹⁰⁸ These reconstructed entries are now organized in a rough chronological order instead of being restored into Wang Dang’s original categories. Without the contents of the categories “Shihao” and “Biantan,” the discussion here remains on a speculative level.

Similarly judged by their titles, the categories “Lisu” 俚俗, “Jishi” 記事, “Dongzhi” 動植, “Shuhua” 書畫, and “Zawu” 雜物 toward the end of Wang Dang’s list of contents suggest a possible shift in his principles of categorization – a shift from systematized character evaluation and exemplification to encyclopedic information organization. Wang Dang’s amendment to the

⁹⁰⁸Zhou Xunchu, “Preface,” *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 15.

Shishuo xinyu structure suggests an effort to encompass something of a rather different nature from the focus on the depictions of human characteristics in the *Shishuo xinyu* text. The image of Tang Wang Dang constructed in his *Tang yulin* thus does not seem to be solely relevant to the self-expression and self-cultivation of the literati scholar within a Confucian moralistic context. It is also an image of the past constructed out of the hope of preservation and the impulse of curiosity. In addition to offering guidance in Confucian self-cultivation, Wang Dang seems to strive to preserve the memory of the past, and for that purpose, to offer a structure that accommodates both. Combining intentions for literati self-cultivation and encyclopedic memory preservation naturally causes conflicts in the implementation of Wang Dang's project, which in turn illustrates the dynamics and conflicts between the miscellaneous, fragmented nature of cultural memory and the effort to impose order and structure on such memory.

Maybe an anecdote (#227) about turnips⁹⁰⁹ in the “Wenxue” category of the *Tang yulin* can serve as an example for the discussion here. The account is translated as follows:

At the places where Zhuge Liang's [troops] stopped,⁹¹⁰ he ordered the soldiers to grow turnips – why? [Wei Xuan] said,⁹¹¹ “to take the [turnips'] skin and eat it raw,⁹¹² this is

⁹⁰⁹ This entry is originally from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. It is quoted with the title “Manjing” 蔓菁 (Turnips) in the *Taiping guangji* with the [*Liu Gong*] *jiahua lu* noted as its source. The *Ganzhu ji* and the *Lei shuo* both quote it with the title “Zhuge cai” 諸葛菜 (Zhuge [Liang's] Vegetable). This short account is also found in the *Bai Kong liutie* 白孔六帖 and Tao Ting's edition of the *Shuo fu*. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.143-4.

⁹¹⁰ The *Liu Gong jiahua lu* and the *Shuo fu* texts have “the Revered Gentleman said” 公曰 at the beginning, which Zhou Xunchu believes should be added to the account. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.144.

⁹¹¹ According to Zhou Xunchu's collating note, the original account in the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* and the text quoted in the *Shuo fu* both read “[Wei] Xuan said” 絢曰, and the character *xuan* 絢 should be added accordingly. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.144.

⁹¹² The original text in the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* reads “Could it not be that they took those [turnips] with their skin freshly peeled off and ate them raw” 莫不是取其纔出甲者生啗. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.144.

one [reason]; to boil the broad-leaved [turnip] greens for food,⁹¹³ this is the second [reason]; if [the troops] stayed there long the turnips would then grow and spread with time, this is the third [reason]; it is not regretful if they left them behind, this is the fourth [reason]; it is easy [for the troops] to find and gather them when they returned, this is the fifth [reason]; in the winter, there were [turnip] roots they could dig out and eat, this is the sixth [reason]. Compared with the various kinds of other vegetables, the advantage [of the turnips] is extensive.”⁹¹⁴ Now the people of the three regions of Shu⁹¹⁵ call the turnip “Zhuge [Liang’s] Vegetable,” so do [the people of] Jiangling.

諸葛亮所止，令兵士獨種蔓菁者，何也？曰：取其甲生啖，一也；葉舒者煮食，二也；久居則隨以滋長，三也；棄去不惜，四也；回則易尋而採之，五也；冬有根可斷食，六也。比諸蔬屬，其利博哉！三蜀之人今呼蔓菁為諸葛菜，江陵亦然。⁹¹⁶

There is nothing wrong with growing turnips, especially from the perspective of the anecdote above. But it is slightly baffling when one encounters this anecdote among the many accounts in the category of literature and scholarship that quote lines of poetry and discuss allusions to classical texts. This entry is identified as being taken from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. The original account in the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* and the text quoted by the *Shuo fu* include the line “the Revered Gentleman said” 公曰 at the beginning and the line “[Wei] Xuan said” 絢曰 before the

⁹¹³ The original text in the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* reads “when the leaves spread out, they could be boiled for food” 葉舒可煮食. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.144.

⁹¹⁴ The text quoted in the *Taiping guangji* reads, “Isn’t its advantage also extensive!” 其利不亦博哉 which is followed by an extra line reading “Liu Yuxi said, ‘True.’” 劉禹錫曰信矣. Zhou Xunchu comments the extra line should be added to the text accordingly. The original text in the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* and the quoted account in the *Shuo fu* read similarly to the account, simply without giving the name “Liu Yuxi” 劉禹錫. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.144.

⁹¹⁵ The original text in the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* mistook *shu* 蜀 as *shu* 屬. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.144.

⁹¹⁶ See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.143-4.

list of advantages of growing turnips.⁹¹⁷ It appears to be a short excerpt from a conversation between Liu Yuxi and Wei Xuan. Moreover, in the “Wenxue” category, the two anecdotes (#225 and #226) before the turnips are also about Zhuge Liang.⁹¹⁸ Anecdote #225 is an account on Liu Yuxi’s comment on Zhuge Liang’s *Bazhengtu* 八陣圖 (Chart of the Eight Battle Formations) that ends with a quotation of Huan Wen’s 桓溫 (312-373) poem. It does have recognizable connections to the topic of the category – literature and scholarship. Anecdote #226, an account about someone digging up some of Zhuge Liang’s left behind arrows buried in the ground, however, seems to have none. After the discussion on turnips in anecdote #227, entry #228 is an account about the peony’s nature as a medicinal herb and how one line of Wei Xuan’s poem properly reflects such nature.⁹¹⁹

The short digression from the topic of literature and scholarship is possibly a result of the fluid nature of both the oral culture and the workings of memory. As discussed in chapter four, Wei Xuan recorded these anecdotes in writing for the compilation of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* in 856, some twenty years or so after he heard them during the casual conversations in Liu Yuxi’s literary circle. When Wei Xuan sat down to record these accounts from memory, the three anecdotes about Zhuge Liang probably came together to his mind by rule of association, which is the way memory works when retrieving information from a long time ago. It is also possible that at the time when Liu Yuxi and his students had their literary discussions, Liu commented on the Formation of Eight Trigrams and Huan Wen’s poetry was quoted. The topic then triggered someone’s, could also be Liu’s, memory of the buried arrows. The person thus jumps in saying,

⁹¹⁷ See notes above.

⁹¹⁸ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.141-3.

⁹¹⁹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.144.

“You know what? About Zhuge Liang, I just heard the other day that someone found his left behind arrows....” and the anecdote about the arrows was then thrown in the discussion. Subsequently the discussion wandered off topic, from literature and scholarship to various anecdotes related to Zhuge Liang and his troops, and at some point, the discussion on the advantage of growing turnips turned up. According to Zhou Xunchu’s notes, the anecdotes about the Formation of Eight Trigrams (#225) and the buried arrows (#226) are a combined entry in the transmitted Qi Zhiluan 齊之鸞 edition of the *Tang yulin*. Though not found in the extant transmitted edition of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*, anecdote #225 is quoted and identified to be from the collection in the *Taiping guangji*,⁹²⁰ therefore Tang Lan 唐蘭 (1901-1979) restored both #225 and #226 to his collated edition of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* based on the *Tang yulin* text.⁹²¹ It is likely that in the original *Liu Gong jiahua lu* Wei Xuan initially recorded these two entries next to each other as well. The anecdote (#227) about the turnips is indeed found in the extant transmitted edition of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*, whether it immediately follows the two restored entries (#225 and #226) in the original edition of the text is unknown. But based on its position right following those two accounts in the *Tang yulin*, it is reasonable to view it as one of a series of anecdotes that, based on the rule of association, turned up together in the conversations between Liu Yuxi and his students and/or in Wei Xuan’s mind when he tried to record the conversations from the old days in writing. The workings of memory and original oral culture embedded a kind of natural logic in these three anecdotes for them to be presented together as a set, they were nonetheless put in the same category even though the two accounts about arrows and turnips (#226, #227) were off the topic of literary and scholarly discussions. There is also the

⁹²⁰ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.142.

⁹²¹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.143.

possibility that #227 was not in a series of anecdotes together with #225 and #226 in the original *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. In this case, its position right after those two accounts in the “Wenxue” category would indicate that Wang Dang explicitly put an account about turnips in the category of literature and scholarship together with the other two accounts because of their shared topic of Zhuge Liang and their shared context and information source within Liu Yuxi’s circles. Miscellanies (*biji* 筆記) can work this way. The example here reveals an explicit case of the rule of association in working in Wang Dang’s work of collecting and organizing anecdotal memories of the past. Interestingly, it went against his own categorization system, which makes an even stronger case for the argument – the natural logic in the workings of memory and the oral culture where these anecdotes originated determined cultural memory’s natural resistance to systematic categorization.

Accounts on tombstones in the *Tang yulin* offer another example. Again in the “Wenxue” category, between an entry (#200)⁹²² on the meanings and connotations of the terms *fusi* 罽毼, “screens and shields,” and *huanying* 桓楹, “obelisks and columns,”⁹²³ and an entry (#202)⁹²⁴ on the explication of one line from the poem “Gantang” 甘棠 (Sweet Pear-Tree; Mao #16) in the *Shijing*,⁹²⁵ there is a short account on tombstones (#201). The account reads:

[Liu Yuxi] also said, “Ancient tombstones had holes.” Now we see tombstones with holes out in the field – people of ancient times used to tie the coffins [with ropes] through

⁹²² *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.128.

⁹²³ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.128-9.

⁹²⁴ *Ibid.*.

⁹²⁵ The poem is found in the “Shao nan” 召南 (The Odes of Shao and the South) chapter. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Book of Poetry*, 4:26.

these holes in order to lower them into the grave pit.

又說：古碑有孔。今野外見碑有孔，古者於此孔中穿棺以下於墓中耳。⁹²⁶

This entry is also identified to be from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. It seems to be a random piece of information having nothing to do with literature and scholarship, posing the same question of why it was included in the “Wenxue” category in the first place. The tombstones are certainly associated with the “screens and shields” and the “obelisks and columns” in the sense that they are all architectural constructions, especially that tombstones and funerary obelisks and columns are all structures at the graveyard. But the two entries are separated by the “[Liu Yuxi] also said” 又說, indicating that they did not belong to one integrated unit of oral activity but rather there was some kind of transition from one to the other. Moreover, the first account (#200) clearly focuses on the architectural terms’ connotations with regard to the relationship between the ruler and his ministers, while the second (#201) just offers a random piece of information on the function of the holes in the tombstones. Thus they were placed together not due to their connections on the level of literary usages and connotations of the terms, which would fit the topic of the category of literature and scholarship. They seem to be recorded together simply because tombstones and funerary obelisks share similar functions when burying the coffin, and they naturally come to mind together by the rather fluid rule of association present in the process of both casual discussions and remembrance.

Originally in the Qi Zhiluan edition of the *Tang yulin*, the series of anecdotes from #199 to #224 were one combined entry. Some entries in the series had their origins identified to be the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*, thus Tang Lan used the *Tang yulin* text to restore the whole series, including

⁹²⁶ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.128.

the account on tombstones, into the “Buyi” 補遺 (Adding What Was Left Behind) section of his own collated edition of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. Wang Dang included this account on tombstones as part of a series of anecdotes, all from one source, without picking out the miscellaneous pieces of information mixed in the accounts on literature and scholarship, and thus allowing the fluid nature of memory and oral culture to violate his own categorization of the anecdotes of the past.

Possibly Wang Dang was indeed faced with the dilemma of whether to separate the pieces of random information from the accounts on poetry, literature and scholarly study and put them into a different category, or to keep them within the series of anecdotes combined together by the natural logic in the rule of association that governs the workings of memory and the oral culture where these accounts originated. The reason for this speculation is that two other accounts on the function and origin of the holes in tombstones and tomb obelisks are found in the *Tang yulin*, not included in the “Wenxue” category, but possibly intended for the categories of an encyclopedic nature added by Wang Dang toward the end of the *Tang yulin*. They are from sources other than the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*: anecdote #1013⁹²⁷ is originally from the *Feng shi wenjian ji* and #1014⁹²⁸ is originally from the *Shangshu gushi* 尚書故實. Both accounts quote extensively from the *Yili* 儀禮, the *Li ji* 禮記, the *Zhou li* 周禮, the *Han shu* 漢書, as well as poetry and rhapsodies from old times, to offer a much more scholarly discussion on tombstones and tomb obelisks, as well as the holes in them, if compared to anecdote #201 from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. However, they are not included in the “Wenxue” category of the *Tang yulin*. They now

⁹²⁷ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 8.700-2.

⁹²⁸ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 8.702.

belong to the chronologically ordered sections of the *Tang yulin*, without being restored in any specific categories. But they seem to be able to fit in the encyclopedic categories added by Wang Dang such as the “Jishi” 記事 category. Additional categories of an encyclopedic nature are the “Lisu” 俚俗, the “Dongzhi” 動植, the “Shuhua” 書畫, and the “Zawu” 雜物, which all seem to have been designed to collect fragmented pieces of information and knowledge about objects of the physical world, as well as customs and practices of the human society, but not highly individualized accounts that exemplify human characteristics. Indeed there are a large amount of accounts in the restored part of the *Tang yulin* that would fit these categories. For example, #857 is an informative short account on the makeup and jewelry of the women of Tang capital:

During the Changqing (821-824) reign, the jewelry of women of the capital included pieces [made of] gold, emerald, pearls and jade. None of their hairpins, combs, and their dangling hair ornaments swaying with each step were not utterly beautiful, and they were called “Not Known to Hundreds.”⁹²⁹ The women shaved off their eyebrows to horizontally apply three or four light strokes of vermilion and purple makeup above and below their eyes, and called it “The Halo of Blood Makeup.”

長慶中，京城婦人首飾，有以金碧珠翠；笄櫛步搖，無不具美，謂之百不知。婦人去眉，以丹紫三四橫約於目上下，謂之血暈粧。⁹³⁰

The origin of this entry is unknown. Together with many similar accounts explaining various names and terms used in the political system, social customs and cultural practices of the Tang

⁹²⁹ The text quoted in the *Yongle dadian* reads “Superior to Hundreds” 百不如. *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.593.

⁹³⁰ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.593.

dynasty, the latter half of the *Tang yulin* seems to offer a museum-like view of the Tang culture, an image of the past constructed especially for the purpose of preservation and remembrance.

Therefore, the encyclopedic categories could be the proper place for the accounts on turnips and tombstones mixed in the “Wenxue” category. Or, no matter whether it is the “Wenxue” category or one of the categories of encyclopedic nature, the accounts on tombstones should at least be kept together in one same category for the purpose of providing order and structure to the anecdotal accounts of the past. The fact that they are separated in different places reveals the conflict between the categorization of cultural memory and the fluid nature of it that resists categorization. Perhaps, Wang Dang had planned to go through his collection one more time to reorganize his material and make up his mind on the categorization dilemma, just as Zhou Xunchu points out, that the *Tang yulin* was possibly an unfinished project.⁹³¹ If so, exactly because it is unfinished, we can view it as a snap shot during the working process of restructuring cultural memory, rather than a completed product in which every account had been already put in proper order and structure. As an unfinished project, it would allow us to see the traces left from the subtle conflict between the compiler’s effort to categorize memory and memory’s resistance to be categorized with one particular system. Cultural memory, due to its miscellaneous nature, tends to resist categorization and structure imposed from outside, not to mention a structure adapted from a system originally intended for Wei and Jin character appraisal. As discussed in chapter four of the dissertation, cultural memory owes its origin and transmission to the oral culture before it is recorded in textual forms. The fragmented, miscellaneous, and fluid nature of oral culture and oral transmission determines a kind of

⁹³¹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, pp. 15-7.

structure, or simply a fluid form, of the cultural memory that is more likely to be governed by the rule of association – the way memory works when remembering and recounting the anecdotal past. Categories in textual collections of anecdotes, no matter how complicated, cannot effectively model the dynamic and fluid way memory works through association. They did not originate from the rather spontaneous oral culture, but are rather products of careful thought and deliberation based on the conventions of organizing information in the written media. With categories as the structure of memory, every compilation tries to impose its own structure in their process of restructuring the cultural memory of the past, and the memory of the past in turn seems to resist such categorization.

5.2.3 The *Tang yulin*'s Selective Use of Source Material

On the level of anecdotal collections, the discussion in this section focuses on Wang Dang's selective recycling of the anecdotes from his source titles and his topical preferences. Examining all the source books of the *Tang yulin* would be a project too ambitious, therefore this study first uses a simple statistical method to roughly divide the fifty or so source titles into four groups, and then selects one representative title from each group for further discussion.

Zhou Xunchu, the compiler of the *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, numbered all the *Tang yulin* anecdotes and identified their origins. For each of Wang Dang's source titles, he constructed a list of *Tang yulin* anecdotes identified as being taken from the book.⁹³² Based on Zhou's valuable work, this study counts, for each of the source titles, the number of *Tang yulin* anecdotes from it and compares the number with the total number of anecdotes in the source book to find out *Tang*

⁹³² Anecdotes that are possibly taken from this book are marked with ? and that are taken from other sources but can also be found in this book are marked with *.

yulin's coverage of each of its source books. For example, according to Zhou Xunchu's list, the *Tang yulin* includes 158 anecdotes from the *Guoshi bu* 國史補. The *Siku quanshu* edition *Guoshi bu* has a total number of 308 anecdotes, therefore, according to the statistics here the *Tang yulin* covers 51% of the book. It should be made clear that the original state of the primary sources – the *Tang yulin* and its source books – remains a complicated issue. Some books were lost during their transmission and the extant editions were reconstructed by scholars of later dynasties, and the editions of the *Tang yulin*'s source books available today are likely to be different from what Wang Dang saw and used when he compiled *Tang yulin*. Therefore the statistics on *Tang yulin*'s percentage coverage of each source book should only be taken as estimated data that represent a rough picture of Wang Dang's use of his sources. To keep things on a relatively comparable level, the study here based total numbers of anecdotes on the *Siku quanshu* editions of most of the source titles. In some cases, if the size of a book remains a problematic and unclear issue, then the book is not considered for the purpose of the simple statistical method here.⁹³³

In order to figure out certain patterns in Wang Dang's use of source books, a cluster view of *Tang yulin*'s coverage of its sources is constructed and presented in Figure 3 below. The chart plots each source title's percentage covered by the *Tang yulin* against the size of the source title itself, and reveals four rough clusters. The clusters on the right side of the chart involve sources that are big compilations with around three hundred anecdotes, and the clusters on the left contain smaller sources books, most of which with less than one hundred anecdotes. Similarly, the two clusters on the top of the chart contain source books with a large percent of content

⁹³³ The *Tang huiyao*, a collection of one hundred *juan* also belongs to this group, only picked twenty, the twenty entries in the *Tang yulin* all came from the “Zalu” 雜錄 section of the book that collects the anecdotes left out of the established categories of the *Tang huiyao*. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 797.

covered by the *Tang yulin*, while clusters at the bottom contain source books from which only a small percentage of anecdotes are selected. The ranges of the four clusters are wide enough and hopefully would render the issue of missing exact initial sizes of the source titles somewhat less significant.

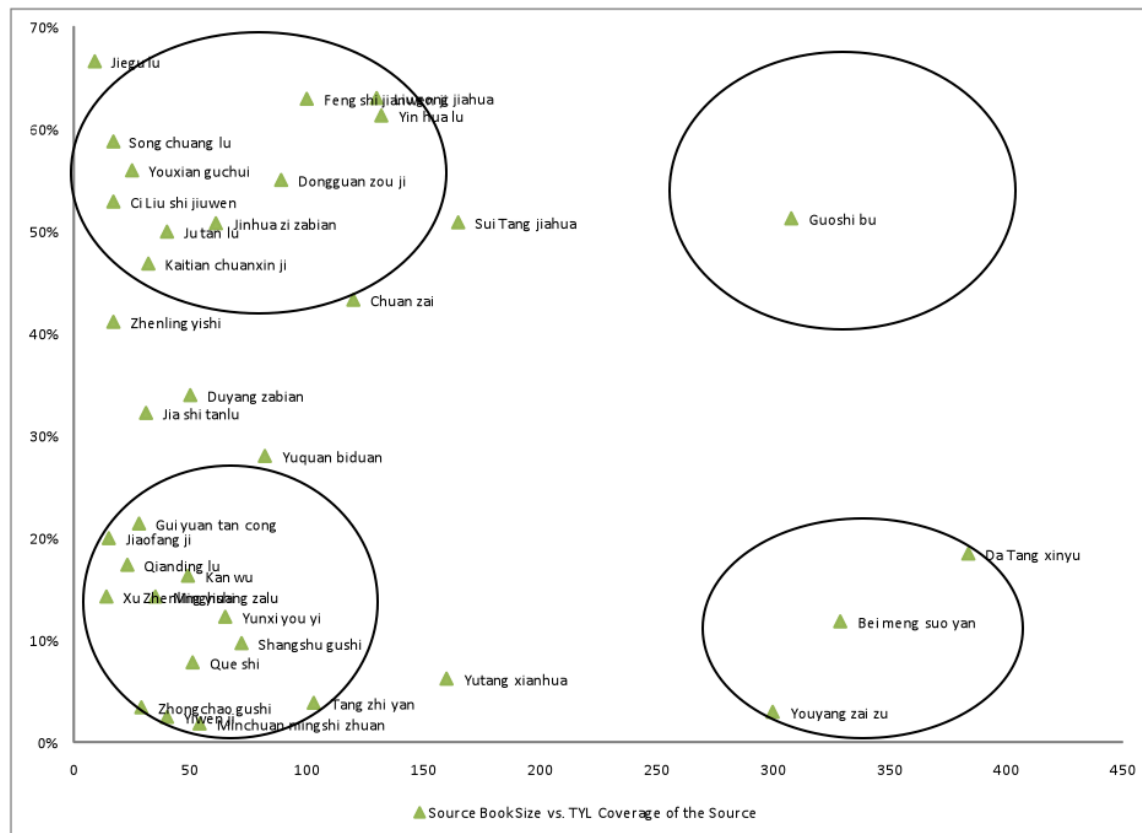


Figure 3. Cluster View of *Tang yulin*'s Coverage of Its Source Books

5.2.3.1 The *Guoshi bu*: Supplementing State History as A Goal

In the upper-right quarter of the chart in Figure 3, the *Guoshi bu* maintains a significant distance from other titles and represents a type of its own – a large compilation that contributes a large percentage of its content to the *Tang yulin*. It then can be argued that the *Guoshi bu* is one

of Wang Dang's main sources of material and its content is very close to Wang Dang's idea of a proper representation of Tang cultural memory. The *Guoshi bu*, also called the *Tang guoshi bu* 唐國史補, is a collection of anecdotes compiled by Li Zhao 李肇 (fl. ca. 812-?, d. before 836) during the years of the Changqing 長慶 (821-824) reign.⁹³⁴ It contains 3 *juan*, with a total of 308 anecdotes covering a time period of more than 100 years from the Kaiyuan 開元 (713-741) to the Changqing years of the early Tang. The accounts in the *Guoshi bu* have been generally regarded as historically reliable and been widely quoted in encyclopedias, miscellaneous collections, and scholarly works of later dynasties. Some of its accounts made their way into official histories such as the *Jiu Tang shu*, the *Xin Tang shu* and the *Zizhi tongjian* as well. In addition to historical anecdotes, the book also includes valuable accounts on literature and philosophy, social customs, literati culture, government policies and court regulations. The textual history of the *Guoshi bu* is relatively free of troubles in transmission,⁹³⁵ and Li Zhao's preface clearly states the principles he followed in selecting material for the collection:

I completely exclude those that speak of retribution, relate ghosts and spirits, prove dreams and divinations, and describe matters concerning women; I include, however, those that record events and facts, investigate the principles of things, discriminate the dubious and the unclear, give admonitions and caution, collect customs and folklore, and furnish material for discussion and entertainment.⁹³⁶

⁹³⁴ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 764.

⁹³⁵ For a brief summary of the extant editions, see *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 765.

⁹³⁶ Translation by Sheldon Lu. See Lu, *From Historicity to Fictionality*, p. 106-7.

言報應，敘鬼神，徵夢卜，近帷箔，悉去之；紀事實，探物理，辯疑惑，示勸戒，采風俗，助談笑，則書之。⁹³⁷

Since the *Tang yulin* includes 158 anecdotes from the *Guoshi bu*, which is half of the *Guoshi bu*'s content and more than the amount of anecdotes taken from any other source titles, the principles Wang Dang followed in choosing material for the *Tang yulin* must have been quite similar to Li Zhao's. The discussion on memory templates earlier in this chapter observes the tendency of leaving out accounts with supernatural elements and including accounts that refute the efficacy of Buddhist, Taoist and popular practices in the compilation of the *Tang yulin*, which reveals the influence of the Neo-Confucian hostility against Buddhism and Taoism during Northern Song times. Though Wang Dang did not leave behind an explicit statement of his principles of compilation, Li Zhao's principles expressed in his preface to the *Guoshi bu* can be taken as a convincing representation of the position of the *Tang yulin*.

5.2.3.2 The *Da Tang xinyu*: Redefining Content and Structure within the Shishuo Tradition

In the lower-right quarter of Figure 3, the cluster presents three large compilations with only a small percentage of their contents included in the *Tang yulin*. The *Bei meng suo yan* 北夢瑣言 appears to have a large number of trivial and vulgar anecdotes and jokes; the *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎, on the other hand, focuses on descriptions and stories about all kinds of gods, ghosts, the underworld and the Buddhist Hell. As discussed above, Wang Dang apparently preferred a different picture for the Tang cultural memory, which explains why only a small portion of these large collections made their way into the *Tang yulin*.

⁹³⁷ *Guoshi bu*, 1.1.

Interestingly, the *Da Tang xinyu* also falls in this cluster despite its focus on moral characteristics and responsibilities of court officials. The *Da Tang xinyu* is a collection in 13 *juan*, compiled by Liu Su 劉肅 (fl. 806-820), with the author's preface dated 807.⁹³⁸ It consists of 380 anecdotes of Tang political and intellectual life from the beginning of the Tang to the years of the Dali 大歷 (766-779) reign.⁹³⁹ Following the structural scheme of the *Shishuo xinyu*, the anecdotes in the *Da Tang xinyu* are grouped into 30 categories on moral characteristics, as well as abilities and responsibilities of court officials. Liu Su's own preface gives the collection the title *Da Tang shishuo xinyu* 大唐世說新語, positioning the collection squarely in the tradition of the *Shishuo xinyu*.⁹⁴⁰ According to Qian Nanxiu, during the Tang and Song period, the *Shishuo xinyu* tradition was viewed as one branch of historiography, rather than the writings of the unflattering *xiaoshuo* category, at least in the eyes of its followers.⁹⁴¹ Liu Su, in the preface to the *Da Tang xinyu*, especially claims the lineage of the *Shangshu* and the *Chunqiu*, and of the practice of Confucius, Zuo Qiuming, Sima Qian, and Ban Gu. He states that his own work includes “affairs relevant to administration and education, speeches touching upon literature and diction, principles worth emulating and setting as examples, and intentions/ambitions bound to preserve the antiquity” 事關政教，言涉文詞，道可師模，志將存古。⁹⁴² Moreover, Liu's postscript, the “Zonglun” 總論, places the *Da Tang xinyu* in the tradition of *yu* and identifies the *Han yu* 漢語 (Conversations of the Han) as its model. It reads,

⁹³⁸ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 787.

⁹³⁹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 787.

⁹⁴⁰ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 787.

⁹⁴¹ Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, p. 201.

⁹⁴² Liu Su, “Original Preface” in the *Da Tang xinyu*, p. 1.

“In the past, Xun Shuang⁹⁴³ recorded those affairs of Han that can be made examples and admonitions and composed the *Conversations of the Han* with them. Now what I recorded humbly follows this refined predecessor” 昔荀爽紀漢事可為鑒戒者，以為漢語。今之所記，庶嗣前修。⁹⁴⁴ Qian Nanxiu states that Liu Su’s work was intended to be “a guide to a scholar’s self-cultivation” for the ruler/minister to “expel heterodoxy and return to rectitude.”⁹⁴⁵ With such lofty intentions, the *Da Tang xinyu* should have been an ideal source for the *Tang yulin*, but on the contrary, the *Tang yulin* seems to be reluctant to use most of its material and unsatisfied with its overall structure. In fact, despite its historiographical ambitions, the *Da Tang xinyu* was criticized for including material too trivial, especially in the “Xienue” 諧謔 category. Although Chen Yinko 陳寅恪 (1890-1969) commends the *Da Tang xinyu* that “though regarded as miscellaneous history, except for the chapter ‘Jesting and Joking’ that is slightly trivial and miscellaneous, most of its contents all have their origins in the state history” 雖號為雜史，然其中除諧謔一篇，稍嫌蕪雜外，大都出自國史，⁹⁴⁶ the “Xienue” category seems to be the main reason for the it to be eventually categorized in the unflattering *xiaoshuo* category in the *Siku quanshu*. The *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* especially comments on the *Da Tang xinyu* that “among [its contents] the category of ‘Jesting and Joking’ is trivial and vulgar, unavoidably blemishes the book itself and violates the [proper] form of historiography. Now [the *Da Tang xinyu*] is degraded to the category of the school of minor discourses to better reflect its true

⁹⁴³ See “Xun Shuang liezhuan” 荀爽列傳 in *Hou Han shu*, 62.2057.

⁹⁴⁴ Liu Su, “Zonglun” in the *Da Tang xinyu*, p. 202. Based on Qian Nanxiu’s translation. For a complete translation of Liu Su’s postscript to the *Da Tang xinyu*, see Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, p. 204.

⁹⁴⁵ Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, p. 205.

⁹⁴⁶ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 787-8.

nature” 其中諧謔一門，繁蕪猥瑣，未免自穢其書，有乖史家之體例。今退置小說家類，庶協其實。⁹⁴⁷ It is then possible to speculate that Wang Dang possibly shared a similar view, and the *Tang yulin* was probably compiled as a response to the *Da Tang xinyu*, with the intention of replacing its place within the tradition of the *Shishuo xinyu*.

As Qian Nanxiu points out that later imitations of the *Shishuo xinyu* tended to fill in the time gaps left by previous authors.⁹⁴⁸ However, with the *Da Tang xinyu* already covering the time period from the Sui to mid Tang (ca. 581-779),⁹⁴⁹ Wang Dang still chose to compile the *Tang yulin* to cover the whole range of the Tang (618-907).⁹⁵⁰ At the same time, Wang Dang's contemporary, Kong Pingzhong, compiled the *Xu Shishuo*, which covered the time period from the Southern and Northern dynasties to Five Dynasties, ca. 420-960.⁹⁵¹ It seems that Wang Dang wanted to produce a work that solely focused on the Tang and that represented the Tang times as a whole, which would naturally replace the *Da Tang xinyu*'s position in the tradition of continuing the legacy of the *Shishuo xinyu*. In terms of content and structure, Wang Dang seems to be quite critical to the *Da Tang xinyu* because the *Tang yulin* discards most of the *Da Tang xinyu*'s content as well as its categorization scheme, instead, it follows the original structure of the *Shishuo xinyu* and assigning the anecdotes picked from the *Da Tang xinyu* to the categories of the traditional structure. The *Tang yulin* includes 73 of the 384 anecdotes in the *Da Tang*

⁹⁴⁷ Liu Su, “Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao” in *Da Tang xinyu*, p. 207.

⁹⁴⁸ Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, p. 201.

⁹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*.

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

xinyu,⁹⁵² and the following table gives the number and the list of anecdotes in each *Tang yulin* category that are identified to be from the *Da Tang xinyu*.⁹⁵³

Table 1. Anecdotes Selected from the *Da Tang xinyu*, Listed by the Categories of the *Tang yulin*

<i>TYL</i> Categories	Total number of Anecdotes	Number of Anecdotes from <i>DTXY</i>	List of Anecdotes Selected from <i>DTXY</i> (by Zhou Xunchu's # for <i>TYL</i> accounts)
C#1) Dexing 德行	43	3	3*, 39, 40
C#2) Yanyu 言語	41	18	48, 53*, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 75*
C#3) Zhengshi 政事	92	5	87, 88, 163, 167, 168
C#4) Wenxue 文學	108	4	178?, 260, 261, 264
C#5) Fangzheng 方正	65	12	330*, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341
C#6) Yaliang 雅量	22	4	350m, 361, 362, 364
C#7) Shijian 識鑿	37	4	395, 396, 402, 405
C#8) Shangyu 賞譽	24	1	409*
C#9) Pinzao 品藻	13	3	434*, 435*, 439
C#10) Guizhen 規箴	9	0	
C#11) Suhui 夙慧	21	1	473
C#12) Haoshuang 豪爽	23	0	
C#13) Rongzhi 容止	11	0	
C#14) Zixin 自新	6	1	515*
C#15) Qixian 企羨	51	1	566
C#16) Shangshi 傷逝	10	0	
C#17) Qiyi 栖逸	13	0	
C#18) Xianyuan 賢媛	21	2	604, 607

⁹⁵² See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 840-2. The list missed two anecdotes.

⁹⁵³ *: Zhou Xunchu identified another book as the original source of the anecdote, but it is also found in the *Da Tang xinyu*.

?: Zhou Xunchu identified the *Da Tang xinyu* as the possible source for this anecdote.

m: not on Zhou Xunchu's list of anecdotes found in the *Da Tang xinyu* on p. 840-2, but the collator's note to this anecdote mentions other texts quoted it from the *Tang xinyu*.

C#19) Shujie 術解 to C#52) Jice 計策	489	14	617*, 628, 634, 635*, 636, 644, 647?, 651m, 653, 661, 663*, 664, 665, 939?
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Most of the anecdotes from the *Da Tang xinyu* are included in the first nine categories of the *Tang yulin*, and most significantly, they make up half of the “Yanyu” 言語 category, almost one fifth of the “Fangzheng” 方正 category, and almost one fifth of the “Yaliang” 雅量 category.

But in “Wenxue” 文學, the largest category of 108 anecdotes, only 4 are from the *Da Tang xinyu*.

One interesting phenomenon is that the anecdotes from the *Da Tang xinyu* tend to appear in consecutive series in the *Tang yulin* categories. For example, in the “Yanyu” category, 16 anecdotes from the *Da Tang xinyu* form a long series (#53 to #68) without being interrupted by anecdotes from other sources, and similarly, in the “Fangzheng” category, all 12 anecdotes from the *Da Tang xinyu* form a long series (#330 to #341) without being interrupted. This phenomenon happens to the anecdotes selected from other source titles of the *Tang yulin* as well, and may offer a glimpse into how Wang Dang worked when compiling his collection. It suggests that Wang Dang probably went through one source book and picked all that fit his idea of a *Tang yulin* category before moving on to the next source book. In categories where the series are relatively short, they sometimes do get interrupted by anecdotes from other sources, which prompts the idea that possibly Wang Dang picked the anecdotes by writing them down each on a piece of paper and placing them in stacks, or boxes, each designated to one *Tang yulin* category. Occasionally the pages got mixed up with adjacent pages, and in this case, it would be easier for a thicker stack of pages from one source title to maintain consecutive series of anecdotes within itself, while much harder for a thinner stack to have its pages remain next to each other. Or he wrote them down one after another on pieces of paper before sorting the pages into *juan*, this

way, an account spreading over two pages made it easier to place the pages one after the other, while pages starting with a new account could be mixed up with those with accounts from other sources.

When picking material, Wang Dang focused on the categories at the beginning of the *Da Tang xinyu*, and seemed to be not as interested in the content of later categories, only occasionally picking a couple of accounts from them. Except for three anecdotes picked from the much-criticized “Xienue” category, the contents of the last nine categories of the *Da Tang xinyu* were completely ignored. The following table shows the list of *Da Tang xinyu* categories, the number of anecdotes in them, the number selected from them, and where the selected anecdotes are placed in the *Tang yulin*.

Table 2. Anecdotes in the *Tang yulin* Selected from Each of the *Da Tang xinyu* Categories

	<i>Da Tang xinyu</i> Categories	Total Number	Number selected by <i>TYL</i>	<i>TYL</i> Categories Where Selected Accounts Are Put
1	“Kuangzan” 匡贊 (Commendation and Praise)	15	9	Yanyu 言語 (54, 55, 56, 57), Zhengshi 政事 (88, 167, 168), Shijian 識鑒 (405), Qixian 企羨 (566)
2	“Guijian” 規諫 (Admonitions and Remonstrations)	7	7	Yanyu 言語 (58, 59, 60, 61, 62), Xianyuan 賢媛 (604), Unknown: (664)
3	“Jijian” 極諫 (Extreme Remonstrations)	20	18	Yanyu 言語 (63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68), Fangzheng 方正 (331, 332, 333, 334, 341), Yaliang 雅量 (364), Xianyuan 賢媛 (607), Unknown: (634, 636, 644, 653, 665)

4	“Gangzheng” 剛正 (The Unyielding and the Upright)	14	6	Fangzheng 方正 (335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340)
5	“Gongzhi” 公直 (The Just and the Straightforward)	21	1	Yanyu 言語 (53*)
6	“Qinglian” 清廉 (The Clean and the Incorrupt)	9		
7	“Chifa” 持法 (Enforcing the Law)	19	2	Zhengshi 政事 (163), Fangzheng 方正 (330*)
8	“Zhengneng” 政能 (Administrative Abilities)	14		
9	“Zhonglie” 忠烈 (Loyalty and Martyrdom)	13	1	Unknown: (617*)
10	“Jieyi” 節義 (Integrity and Righteousness)	5		
11	“Xiaoxing” 孝行 (Filial Conduct)	9		
12	“Youti” 友悌 (Fraternal Love)	5	1	Dexing 德行 (39)
13	“Juxian” 舉賢 (Recommending the Worthy)	27	2	Shijian 識鑒 (402), Unknown: (663*)
14	“Shiliang” 識量 (Insight and Tolerance)	13		
15	“Rongshu” 容恕 (Pardon and Forgiveness)	12	4	Dexing 德行 (3*, 40), Yaliang 雅量 (350m, 362)
16	“Zhiwei” 知微 (Understanding the Subtle)	16	6	Zhengshi 政事 (87), Shijian 識鑒 (395, 396), Shangyu 賞譽 (409*), Pinzao 品藻 (439), Zixin 自新 (515*)
17	“Congmin” 聰敏 (The Smart and the Sharp)	14	5	Wenxue 文學 (260, 261), Pinzao 品藻 (434*, 435*), Suhui 夙慧 (473),
18	“Wenzhang” 文章 (Literature and Essays)	19	2	Wenxue 文學 (178?), Unknown: (651m)
19	“Zhushu” 著述 (Compilations and Compositions)	12	1	Wenxue 文學 (264)
20	“Congshan” 從善	5	1	Yaliang 雅量 (361)

	(Following the Good Word)			
21	“Yuning” 諛佞 (Flattery and Smarminess)	12	2	Yanyu 言語 (48), Unknown: (635*)
22	“Lige” 釐革 (Reform and Change)	17		
23	“Yinyi” 隱逸 (Seclusion and Disengagement)	9		
24	“Baoxi” 褒錫 (Honors and Awards)	12		
25	“Chengjie” 懲戒 (Punishment and Warning)	15		
26	“Quanli” 勸勵 (Persuasion and Encouragement)	9		
27	“Kuren” 酷忍 (Brutality and Hardheartedness)	10		
28	“Xienue” 諧謔 (Jesting and Joking)	14	3	Unknown: (628, 647?, 661)
29	“Jiyi” 記異 (Recording the Strange)	5		
30	“Jiaochan” 郊禪 (Sacrifice to Heaven and Earth)	6		
	Unidentified/With Discrepancies		2	Yanyu 言語 (75*) Unknown: (939?)
	Total	379	73	

Four categories stand out as most quoted. The *Tang yulin* covers all seven anecdotes from the “Guijian” 規諫 category, eighteen out of twenty anecdotes from the “Jijian” 極諫 category, almost two thirds (nine out of fifteen) from the “Kuangzan” 匡贊 category, and almost half (six out of fourteen) from the “Gangzheng” 剛正 category of the *Da Tang xinyu*. The “Zhiwei” 知微 and the “Congmin” 聰敏 categories also receive a coverage close to one third. As mentioned

earlier the selected anecdotes are mostly found in the first nine categories of the *Tang yulin*. The eighteen anecdotes that make up half of the *Tang yulin*'s "Yanyu" category consist of four from the "Kuangzan" 匡贊 category of the *Da Tang xinyu*, five from the "Guijian" 規諫 category, six from "Jijian" 極諫, one from "Gongzhi" 公直, one from "Yuning" 諛佞, and one of unknown origin. The twelve anecdotes that make up one third of the *Tang yulin*'s "Fangzheng" category include five from "Jijian" 極諫, six from "Gangzheng" 剛正, and one from "Chifa" 持法 of the *Da Tang xinyu*. The *Da Tang xinyu* adapted the categories of the *Shishuo xinyu*, with its "Gangzheng" 剛正 category similar to the "Fangzheng" 方正 in the *Shishuo xinyu*, its "Xienue" 諧謔 similar to the "Paitiao" 排調, its "Yinyi" 隱逸 similar to the "Qiyi" 栖逸, its "Congmin" 聰敏 similar to the "Suhui" 夙慧, its "Wenzhang" 文章 and "Zhushu" 著述 similar to the "Wenxue" 文學, and its "Zhengneng" 政能 similar to the *Shishuo xinyu*'s "Zhengshi" 政事. However, for Wang Dang, the new categories of the *Da Tang xinyu* seemed improper for a collection following the tradition of the *Shishuo xinyu*, therefore Wang based his own collection's structure on the *Shishuo xinyu*'s categories instead. In addition, Wang Dang adopted the "Yuning" 諛佞 category and adapted three similar ones from the *Da Tang xinyu*: the "Zhonglie" 忠烈 became "Zhongyi" 忠義, the "Kuren" 酷忍 became "Canren" 殘忍, and the "Jiyi" 記異 became "Jishi" 記事. Here Wang Dang again seems unable to tolerate the idea of bringing anything "strange" (*yi* 異) to his collection.

As mentioned earlier, Qian Nanxiu states that the Tang imitations⁹⁵⁴ of the *Shishuo* style introduced “strong ethical overtones” to the genre, stressed the Confucian principles of historical writing, “to hail the ruler and humble the subject, to expel the heterodoxy and to return to rectitude.”⁹⁵⁵ Therefore, the Tang imitations “changed the original genre from the character writing of the gentry into didactic writing for the gentry – from gentry self-appreciation into gentry self-cultivation.”⁹⁵⁶ Qian comments that Liu Su “expelled categories he considered ‘heterodox’” that focused on “human frailties and eccentricities primarily in private life.”⁹⁵⁷ Liu’s new “explicitly normative system of classification” functioned to “intensify the moral contrast between rectitude and heterodoxy”⁹⁵⁸ and to advocate the “mutual cultivation between the emperor and his subjects.”⁹⁵⁹ Qian argues the Song imitations⁹⁶⁰ were different in their value orientation due to the influence of Su Shi and the rise of the Lixue 理學 (Learning of Principles) and they emphasized on the notion of “sincerity,” which according to Zhou Dunyi was the center of Confucian ethics.⁹⁶¹ Qian’s analysis on the intellectual backgrounds of the compilations of the

⁹⁵⁴ In addition to the *Da Tang xinyu*, Tang imitations of the *Shishuo xinyu* also include Wang Fangqing’s 王方慶 (d. 702) *Xu Shishuo xinyu* 續世說新語 (Continuation of the *Shishuo xinyu*) in 10 *juan*, which is no longer extant, and Feng Yan’s 封演 (fl. 742-800) *Fengshi wenjian ji* 封氏聞見記 in 10 *juan*, compiled around 800 or later. The *Fengshi wenjian ji* includes 36 imitative categories from the *Shishuo xinyu* in *juan* 9 and 10. See Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, p. 211.

⁹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-2.

⁹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁹⁶⁰ The *Tang yulin* and Kong Pingzhong’s 孔平仲 (fl. 1065-1102, *jinshi*, 1065) *Xu Shishuo* 續世說 (Continuation of the *Shishuo*) in 12 *juan*, the earliest extant edition of which contains a preface dated 1158.

⁹⁶¹ Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China*, p. 236.

Da Tang xinyu and the *Tang yulin* offers valuable insights in the way Wang Dang selectively used the material from the *Da Tang xinyu*.

5.2.3.3 The *Liu Gong jiahua lu*: A Circular Way of Reconstructing Cultural Memory

The cluster in the upper-left quarter of Figure 3 presents a group of books that are small collections but contributed a high percentage of their anecdotes to the *Tang yulin*. Possibly these are the titles regarded by Wang Dang as highly relevant to his picture of Tang cultural memory. Some of these are miscellaneous records that need to be analyzed more closely to find out Wang Dang's interest in them, while others are clearly books on specific subjects that Wang Dang may have found suitable for his reconstruction of the image of the Tang. For example, found in this cluster favored by Wang Dang is the *Jiegu lu* 羯鼓錄, a small collection on the music and instruments of minority tribes. It contains one introductory entry on musical instruments, eight anecdotes, and one particular entry listing dozens of melody titles. Of the nine entries of the *Jiegu lu*, the *Tang yulin* includes six. Therefore, it can be argued that music was a topic Wang Dang preferred to represent in his picture of Tang cultural memory. Among other titles in this cluster that need more analysis, the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*⁹⁶² is a good example for the discussion here.

According to Zhou Xunchu's list, the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* is the textually verified origin of 40 anecdotes, as well as the possible origin of another 42 anecdotes, in the *Tang yulin*. If the possible origin can be trusted, the distribution of these 82 accounts in the *Tang yulin* reveals a significant concentration in the "Wenxue" category. The first 18 categories of the *Tang yulin* remained more or less intact during textual transmission, while the contents of the rest of the 34

⁹⁶² See note above on the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* in Chapter 4 of the dissertation.

categories were lost, and then restored in a roughly chronological order. These 34 categories with recovered contents combined together cover 29 anecdotes from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*, but it is now impossible to find out how many each of these category includes. The first 18 categories of the *Tang yulin* each covers a small amount of 0 to 4 anecdotes from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*, but the “Wenxue” category itself covers 34 anecdotes from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*, making a striking difference from other categories. Clearly, Wang Dang used the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* mainly for its value in literature and scholarship. The “Wenxue” category in the *Tang yulin* contains altogether 108 anecdotes, thus about one third (34 anecdotes) of it is from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. Another one fifth (18 anecdotes) is from the *Guoshi bu*, the second largest source of the category, and together the accounts from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* and the *Guoshi bu* consist almost half of the “Wenxue” category. Based on this analysis, the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* is not only used mainly for its literary value, but also used as the most important source for the category on literary topics.

The following questions remain: How reliable is the list of the forty-two *Tang yulin* anecdotes with the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* identified as their possible origin? How is the “possible origin” determined? What causes the uncertainty and what significance does it attach to the understanding of the reconstruction of cultural memory in anecdotal collections? The central issue here is that the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* had already been lost by the Song dynasty and a major part of the now extant edition was in fact recovered from later texts that quoted from it. According to Zhou Xunchu, Luo Liantian 羅聯添 and Tang Lan 唐蘭 (1901-1979), the existing editions⁹⁶³ all stemmed from an incomplete Song dynasty woodblock edition. The incomplete

⁹⁶³ The *Jigutang congke* 稽古堂叢刻 edition the *Gushi wenfang xiaoshuo* 顧氏文房小說 edition and the *Xuehai leibian* 學海類編 edition. see Richardson, p. 14-20; *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 789.

edition was originally a collated manuscript owned by a certain Bian Yuan 卞園 (fl. 1170-1173) who arranged for its printing in 1173.⁹⁶⁴ Therefore the edition Wang Dang used remains unknown to the present scholars.

According to Zhou Xunchu, Bian Yuan's 1173 edition of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* had a total of 130 entries, among which only 45 were from Wei Xuan's original *Liu Gong jiahua lu* and 85 were mixed into the edition from other titles such as the *Shangshu gushi* 尚書故實, the *Xu Qi xie ji* 續齊諧記, and the *Sui Tang jiahua* 隋唐嘉話. Perhaps because the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* also had the shortened title *Jiahua* 嘉話, it was often confused with the *Sui Tang jiahua* 隋唐嘉話 during the Song dynasty.⁹⁶⁵ Throughout the later dynasties, scholars put considerable effort to the restoration of the content of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. Ji Yun 紀昀 (1725-1805) comments on the *Siku quanshu* edition of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* that “although it is what is left of the incomplete and residual text, rather than the original work, it is also possible that we have already obtained eight or nine parts out of [the original] ten” 雖殘闕之餘，非復舊帙，然大概亦十得八九矣。⁹⁶⁶ Of the modern editions, Zhou Xunchu regards Tang Lan's edition as the most elaborately collated because Tang carefully separated those entries mixed in from other titles, and added in 56 new entries based on the quoted accounts found in the *Tang yulin* text.⁹⁶⁷ Some

⁹⁶⁴ See Bian Yuan's postscript to the incomplete woodblock edition. For a detailed discussion on this topic, see Richardson, p. 14-20; *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 789.

⁹⁶⁵ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 789.

⁹⁶⁶ Richardson, p. 12. Translation mine.

⁹⁶⁷ See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 789. Despite his high regard of Tang's edition, Zhou Xunchu also points out that Tang's edition was published by the Zhonghua Shuju in 1965, at that time, the photolithographic edition of the *Yongle dadian* had just been printed, thus Tang Lan did not have the opportunity to collate his edition against it and failed to include several entries that the *Yongle dadian* cited the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* as their source.

texts when quoting from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*, explicitly noted the book's title as its source, which made the recovering process relatively straightforward. However, other texts, such as the *Tang yulin*, often quoted material without explicitly pointing out the source, which complicated the recovering process and caused uncertainties. This was also the reason Zhou Xunchu identified some of the *Tang yulin* entries as “possibly” from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. The series of anecdotes from #199 in to #224 in the *Tang yulin*'s “Wenxue” category offers a good example for this case.

As mentioned earlier, according to Zhou Xunchu's list the “Wenxue” category includes thirty-four anecdotes from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*, an amount significantly larger than the number of *Liu Gong jiahua lu* anecdotes included in other *Tang yulin* categories. However, we can only be certain about such an origin for eleven of the thirty-four anecdotes, and for the rest of the twenty-three anecdotes, this origin is a “possible” one. How was such a “possible” origin determined? A representative case is the series of twenty-six anecdotes from #199 to #224 in the “Wenxue” category, among which nine anecdotes, #203, #206, #210, #211, #212, #213, #214, #216, #217, had their origins identified with certainty as the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*, and seventeen had the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* identified as their “possible” source.⁹⁶⁸ The *Liu Gong jiahua lu* as the origin of #203 is explicitly stated in the *Ganzhu ji* 紺珠集, the *Lei shuo* 類說, the *Shihua zonggui* 詩話總龜 and the *Shuo fu* 說郛;⁹⁶⁹ The *Yongle dadian*, when quoting #206 noted its origin as the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*;⁹⁷⁰ Similarly, all the rest of the nine anecdotes listed above have their origin explicitly noted in the collections that quoted them including the titles mentioned above as well

⁹⁶⁸ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.127-41.

⁹⁶⁹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.130.

⁹⁷⁰ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.131-2.

as the *Taiping guangji*, the *Tang shi jishi*, and the *Bai Kong liutie* 白孔六貼.⁹⁷¹ The *Siku quanshu* collators of the Qi Zhiluan edition of the *Tang yulin* commented that the accounts from #199 to #227 were possibly from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* because they often claimed “Liu Yuxi said,” and some of these entries were combined together as one.⁹⁷² Zhou Xunchu explicitly points out that the series of twenty-six anecdotes from #199 to #224 were originally combined as one big entry in the Qi Zhiluan edition of the *Tang yulin*. Since nine items in this big series had textual evidence for its origin to be identified as the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*, it does make sense to believe all twenty-six items of this series were from the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. Based on the *Tang yulin* text, Tang Lan included this long series into the “Buyi” 補遺 (Adding What Was Left Behind) section of the present day edition of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*. Then, based on Tang Lan’s decision, Zhou Xunchu determined the “possible” origin of the anecdotes in this series of twenty-six accounts in the *Tang yulin*. The key evidence here is that nine items among the series of twenty-six had their origin explicitly identified in more than one collection that quoted them. Therefore, both Tang Lan’s and Zhou Xunchu’s decisions seem to be quite reliable. However, despite the apparent advantage of using the *Tang yulin* to restore the original text of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu*,⁹⁷³ there are still some possible hidden issues that need to be considered. As Zhou Xunchu points out that Bian Yuan’s 1173 edition of the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* was probably already a mixture of several *xiaoshuo* titles,⁹⁷⁴ then it is likely that the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* edition Wang Dang used to compile the *Tang yulin* also had more entries than Wei Xuan’s original work. If

⁹⁷¹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.127-41.

⁹⁷² *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2.127.

⁹⁷³ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 789.

⁹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*.

this was the case, using the *Tang yulin*, even if it were the original edition directly from Wang Dang's hands, to restore the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* might still end up as an effort of mixing the content of several anecdotal collections again, causing the memories of the past to seep from one collection to another.

Overall, the above example illustrates a circular way of reconstructing cultural memory in anecdotal collections when the source book became lost and had to be restored from the material in later collections that quoted from it. An individual, when getting advanced in years, would forget and would need to be reminded of his or her past by those who received these memories from the individual. Similarly, when being transmitted across time, texts also would “forget,” with memories preserved in it falling apart, and would need to be “re-minded” from other texts that received some of the memories from it. It is a rather common phenomenon in textual transmission and restoration that memories of the past, transmitted from one text to the other, are often transferred back to amend the source text damaged over the time. Thus, the cultural memory and the images of the past represented in the available editions of anecdotal collections are results of such circular reconstructions of memory through textual transmission and restoration. The image of the past presented in a current edition of an anecdotal collection can be viewed as a blend of multiple layers of memory construction and reconstruction. In the case of understanding the relationship of the *Tang yulin* and its source books, as well as understanding the restructuring of the cultural memory of the Tang in the *Tang yulin* and in any other anecdotal collection, it is important to keep in mind that the cultural memory of the past can be passed on in a circular way and over the time, memories preserved in these collections would more or less seep from one to the other, causing their representations of the past to mix and blend to some degree that probably can never be clearly identified.

5.2.3.4 Women and the Supernatural: The Less Preferred Topics

Back to Figure 3, the cluster in the lower-left quarter of the chart contains a group of small collections that received rather low coverage by the *Tang yulin*. Many of these books are also on specific subjects. The books in this cluster are of two types: one includes the books from the original list of source titles given by Wang Dang, for example, the *Yiwen ji* 異聞集, the *Zhongchao gushi* 中朝故事, the *Guiyuan congtao* 桂苑叢談, the *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議, the *Kanwu* 刊誤, and the *Xu Zhenling yishi* 續貞陵遺事. The other type includes the titles not on Wang Dang's list but are still identified by Zhou Xunchu as source titles of the *Tang yulin*, for example, the *Que shi* 闕史, the *Minchuan mingshi zhuan* 閩川名士傳, the *Qianding lu* 前定錄, the *Beili zhi* 北里志,⁹⁷⁵ and the *Jiaofang ji* 教坊記.⁹⁷⁶ These titles represent topics touched, but much less preferred in Wang Dang's construction of the Tang cultural memory. For example, the only entry Zhou Xunchu identified to be possibly from the *Yiwen ji* is anecdote #783,⁹⁷⁷ a story normally referred to as the “Shangqing zhuan” 上清傳 (Biography of Shangqing). The *Yiwen ji* is a collection of Tang dynasty *chuanqi* 傳奇 (Transmitting the Marvelous) stories in ten *juan*, compiled by Chen Han 陳翰 toward the end of the Tang.⁹⁷⁸ The book is no longer extant, but the

⁹⁷⁵ For an annotated translation and detailed study on the *Beili zhi*, see Wang Jing 王菁, *Courtesan Culture in the “Beili zhi” (Records of the Northern Quarter) in the Context of Tang Tales and Poems*, Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2009.

⁹⁷⁶ The *Jiaofang ji* by Cui Lingqin 崔令欽 (fl. 749) was compiled after the An Lushan rebellion broke out in order to preserve the memory of the prosperous days of the Music Office at the court in Chang'an. The accounts in the *Jiaofang ji* includes the regulations of the Music Office, the important figures there, anecdotes related to the Music Office, as well as 327 tune titles. See *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 806.

⁹⁷⁷ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 6.542-3.

⁹⁷⁸ *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1542.

short note in the *Junzhai dushu zhi* describes it as “compiled by Chen Han of the late Tang, who took the type of strange and marvelous affairs of the Tang included in records and biographies and made a book” 右唐陳翰編，以傳記所載唐朝奇怪事類為一書。⁹⁷⁹ According to Zhou Xunchu, around forty *chuanqi* stories that are now extant are from this collection, such as the “Zhenzhong ji” 枕中記, the “Li Wa zhuan” 李娃傳, the “Huo Xiaoyu zhuan” 霍小玉傳, the “Nanke Taishou zhuan” 南柯太守傳, the “Liu Yi zhuan” 柳毅傳, and the “Shangqing zhuan” included in the *Tang yulin*, possibly the “Qiuranke zhuan” 虬髯客傳 found in the *Tang yulin* as well.⁹⁸⁰ Among these stories, the “Shangqing zhuan” appears to be the one most close to the political life at court. It is also a story free of overly sensational or supernatural elements, and its plot has nothing to do with female attractions or love affairs. This observation brings the discussion back to Wang Dang’s tendency to avoid accounts of the marvelous, the sensational, and the supernatural. In general, the titles appear in this last group of *Tang yulin*’s source books seem to confirm a selecting criteria similar to the *Guoshi bu*’s principle to “exclude those that speak of retribution, relate ghosts and spirits, prove dreams and divinations, and describe matters concerning women.”

With examples from the four groups of source titles of the *Tang yulin*, the above analysis on how Wang Dang used his source material indicates that Wang Dang possibly intended his anecdotal representation of the Tang to be a supplement to the official histories. It is an image of the Tang left out of the official historical discourse, but nonetheless raised up from the archives of cultural memory, separated from the vulgar, the fantastic, and the supernatural stories, to be

⁹⁷⁹ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 781.

⁹⁸⁰ *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, p. 781.

plausible and meaningful in the sense of historical writings. Sheldon Lu observes that “Chinese historical discourse had to meet two major criteria to appear plausible to the reader: a poetics of narrative that was realistic, naturalistic, and verisimilar, and a hermeneutic that established a meaningful pattern for the course of human history.”⁹⁸¹ Such criteria in turn reveal a traditional Chinese reading convention that based its interpretation of texts in a given “horizon of expectations.”⁹⁸² Within such a reading convention, “any narrative that violates such a ‘vision’ and ‘system of values’ is regarded as non-historical or anti-historical and as belonging to the categories of the strange, the supernatural, the fantastic, and the exotic.”⁹⁸³ Although Lu’s discussion focuses on the interpretation of fictional narratives, it appears to be relevant to Wang Dang’s interpretation of the anecdotal narratives of the Tang in his source books as well. Wang Dang seems to have followed a similar “official cultural code”⁹⁸⁴ in the process of reading, interpreting, and selecting anecdotes for his own construction of an anecdotal landscape of Tang cultural memory. Thus, Wang Dang became a historian outside of the official venues of historiography. He recovered an alternative history of the Tang dynasty by reading in the “historical mode” and mining the archives of the Tang cultural memory with criteria in line with that of historiography. Still the *Tang yulin* is not exactly a history, but rather a collectively lived cultural biography of the Tang dynasty put together by Wang Dang, a Song literati scholar reading the anecdotal past within the interpretive conventions of his time. Assmann notes that “the concept of cultural memory comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals

⁹⁸¹ Lu, *From Historicity to Fictionality*, p. 94.

⁹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

specific to each society in each epoch, whose ‘cultivation’ serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image. Upon such collective knowledge, for the most part of the past, each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity.”⁹⁸⁵ In this way, the Tang cultural memory constructed, or “cultivated,” in the *Tang yulin*, can also be viewed as a preferred self-image of the Song literati culture.

⁹⁸⁵ Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” p. 132.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The *Tang yulin* seems to be a misunderstood text among the many anecdotal collections from Tang and Song times. Often it is regarded as a book about the Tang, when in fact, it is but an image of the Tang constructed from the perspective and context of the Song. Such a misunderstanding is possibly due to the lack of information on the life of its compiler Wang Dang and on his purpose and principles of compilation. The *Tang yulin* serves as a good example when it comes to what can be learned about the past through such mysterious texts.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Wang Dang was born into a privileged family and enjoyed the benefit of lineage connections and marriage associations with distinguished figures of the early Song court. He himself was possibly not particularly ambitious or talented in his politics. He only occupied minor posts and seemed to operate mainly under the influence and protection of Lü Dafang, his powerful father-in-law. Though Wang Dang's known ancestors all held military offices, it seems that Wang Dang oriented himself more as a civil official instead and devoted himself to literary and artistic pursuits. There is no official biography of Wang Dang, and the records of his life that are accessible to present day researchers exist mainly in fragmented form in biographies and records about other historical figures. When pieced together, they form an incomplete picture. The fragments of Wang's life are found in such records as court disputes, memorials, and writings of more significant historical figures, primarily Su Shi and Lü Dafang. It is very likely that Su Shi and Lü Dafang were indeed the two main political and intellectual influences in Wang's life, but it is also possible that other influential factors are simply unknown to us because they were not associated with important figures whose records were preserved and transmitted. Therefore, it is important to always keep in mind the limitations

on the presentation of Wang Dang's life and the constraints on any observations and conclusions attempted under such circumstances. For an insignificant figure like Wang Dang, the image of his life depends very much on the transmission of records on the significant and influential historical figures around him.

What we can learn about the *Tang yulin* is to some extent of a similar nature to that about its compiler. Except for a brief preface listing fifty source books and fifty-two category names, Wang Dang did not leave behind any additional comments on the compilation of the collection. Moreover, due to the chaotic textual transmission of the collection, only the contents of the first eighteen categories on Wang Dang's list were transmitted more or less as they were; the rest of the book was lost and later restored by collators of the *Siku quanshu* based on the entries scattered in various rhyme divisions of the *Yongle dadian*. Thus the text of the *Tang yulin* we know today is but a reconstructed image of the original collection pieced together for the most part by the Ming and Qing editors. The extant *Tang yulin* depends very much on the transmission of the more significant texts, such as the *Yongle dadian*, that preserved some of the *Tang yulin*'s content by quoting from it. The extant *Tang yulin* also depends on the transmission of its source books whose extant editions shed light on the restoration of the *Tang yulin*'s content.

Transmission, the key issue to the understanding of the life of both the author and the text itself, is also the key concept to the theoretical approach taken by this dissertation to examine the *Tang yulin*'s content and structure. The study here proposes to understand the traditional Chinese concept of memory as “processes.” The process of memory production is explored with examples of the meanings and usages of such mnemonic terms as *zhi* 誌/志; the process of memory storage is discussed with examples of the meanings and usages of *cang/zang* 藏; the process of memory retrieval is discussed with terms such as *yi* 憶, *nian* 念, and *wang* 忘; the

process of memory transmission is examined with representative mnemonic and communicative terms such as *ji* 記 and *yu* 語. *Yu* 語, “conversations,” is obviously an important notion in any discussion of the *Tang yulin* since the content of the *Tang yulin* contains a large amount of dialogues, quotations, and popular sayings embedded in the anecdotes, and most of the anecdotes are set in conversational contexts. Conversation-related characteristics of the collection also include the probable oral origins of its stories, and the oral circulation and transmission of the anecdotes both before they were recorded in writing and after as they circulated orally in parallel with their written forms. Moreover, these anecdotes were, as one can imagine and as often declared in the prefaces of similar collections, material to facilitate discussions and laughter. In the case of the *Tang yulin* (Forest of Conversations on the Tang), all these aspects converge in the title of the collection. Most importantly, *yu* 語, “conversations,” as a literary tradition, has its roots in *xiaoshuo* 小說 and *zashi* 雜史, and functions as a bridge connecting the anecdotal memories of the past circulated and transmitted within the oral culture and the textual accounts that perpetuates and preserves them. In this sense, “conversations” serves as the vehicle and repository of the anecdotal memory of the past and ensures its transmission from the oral to the textual forms, as well as in both oral and textual forms.

The earliest “conversations” (*yu*) titles in the Confucian tradition, such as the *Lun yu* 論語 and the *Kongzi jiyu* 孔子家語, were compiled in an era of oral and manuscript culture, and well represent the dynamics between the oral transmission of teaching and doctrine, and the commemoration and consolidation of such fragmented oral teaching in the compilation of the text. The *Guo yu* 國語 represents the “conversations” (*yu*) titles functioning as *waizhuan* 外傳, “outer commentary,” and *zashi* 雜史, “miscellaneous histories,” within the historiographical

tradition, while the *Yulin* 語林 and the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 represent the “conversations” (*yu*) titles as *xiaoshuo* 小說, “minor discourses.” *Zashi* and *xiaoshuo* are closely related to the concepts of cultural memory and the production of cultural memory in the sense that the anecdotal accounts are memories of the past transmitted across time and space, well beyond the individual’s life span or the existence of groups, societies and dynasties; and as a whole, they do not belong to any particular individual or group, nor do they address or represent any particular events or topics. Second, they are accounts and memories that tend to be left outside of the official venues of historical discourse and that exist in the vast cultural archives of the society – in miscellaneous collections and oral tradition.

This study treats the anecdotal narratives as the vehicle and repository of cultural memory and anecdotal collections as the reconstructed landscape of the cultural memory of the past. In selectively recycling the anecdotal material from its source books and restructuring the selected content with its own categorization system, the *Tang yulin* reconstructed an image of the Tang that is shaped by the social, cultural and intellectual context of the Song times. The “fuzzy” or “indistinct” nature of cultural memory, as discussed in the first section of Chapter Five, lends itself to the manipulation of those who use it to construct their own images of the past. This nature also reveals a symbolic characteristic of cultural memory in the sense that historical accuracy and empirical details in the anecdotes are less important than the cultural values and ideological significances they convey. These fragmented accounts were born rather as symbolic interpretations than as factual representations of historical moments, and they were circulated, transmitted, perpetuated and preserved for this symbolic value as well. The symbolic nature of anecdotal cultural memory is also demonstrated in the structural formations of groups and categories of anecdotes in a collection. The formation of these groups, or “memory templates,”

and the categorization system in the *Tang yulin* shows that the restructuring of cultural memory in an anecdotal collection is facilitated and shaped by the social, intellectual and cultural context and concerns of the compiler's own time. While the anecdotal collection tries to impose structure and order to the miscellaneous memory of the past, which indicates a desire to influence the present, the fluid nature cultural memory inherited from its oral origins, on the other hand, determines its resistance to systematic categorization. The *Tang yulin*'s selective use of its source material demonstrates the principle of compilation to offer a supplement to the official histories and to preserve the miscellaneous anecdotal memories of the Tang culture and society. While the *Tang yulin* is a text restored from the quoted entries in the *Yongle dadian*, some of *Tang yulin*'s source books, such as the *Liu Gong jiahua lu* lost long ago, also relied on the contents of the *Tang yulin* to be restored. This phenomenon suggests a circular transmission of cultural memory from the source book to a text and then from the text back to the source book. To some extent, the transmission of anecdotal collections embodies the transmission of the anecdotal cultural memory of the past. And the text, in terms of its content and structure, its circulation and transmission, as well as its ravagement and restoration, becomes a physical analogy of the cultural memory.

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Appendix

Translations of Textual History Records

1. “Siku quanshu *Tang yulin tiyao*” 四庫全書唐語林提要 (Introduction to the *Tang yulin* in the *Siku quanshu*)⁹⁸⁶

See dissertation text.

[Zhou] Xunchu’s note: this introduction was composed and recorded based on the memorial submitted by the collators of the *Siku [quanshu]* that was included at the beginning of the Juzhen (Garnered Treasures) edition of the *Tang yulin* housed at the Wuying (Martial Valor) Hall. The Complete Table of Content of the *Siku quanshu* included [this introduction] in the 141st juan, the category of philosophers, and the second section of the category of the school of minor discourses.

勛初案：此提要據武英殿聚珍本唐語林卷首所載四庫館臣上書著錄。四庫全書總目載於卷一四一子部小說家類二。⁹⁸⁷

2. Qing dynasty Yu Jiayi’s 余嘉錫 (1884-1955) “Siku quanshu *Tang yulin tiyao bianzheng*” 四庫全書唐語林提要辯證 (Dispute and Proof of the Introduction to the *Tang yulin* in the *Siku quanshu*)

Eight *juan* of the *Tang yulin*, compiled by Wang Dang of the Song. Chen Zhensun’s (ca. 1183-1262) [*Zhizhai*] *shulu jieti* (Critical remarks on the Catalogue of Straightforward study) reads, “Wang Dang, [style name] Zhengfu, of Chang’an took fifty schools of minor

⁹⁸⁶ Zhou Xunchu, “Siku quanshu *Tang yulin tiyao*” 四庫全書唐語林提要, in *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:813-4.

⁹⁸⁷ Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:814.

discourses on the Tang, grouped [their content] into thirty-five categories according to the *Shishuo [xinyu]*. In addition he added seventeen categories, and made [all together] fifty-two categories.” Chao Gongwu’s (ca. 1105-1180) *Junzhai dushu zhi* (Record of reading books at the Commandery Study) reads, “Compiler unknown. It emulates the style of the *Shishuo [xinyu]*, and records distinguished talks of the Tang reign, grouping them into categories. It newly added seventeen categories such as the ‘Hobbies and Indulgences,’ the rest are all still old ones.” [Wang] Dang’s name is not seen among the biographies of [official] histories. When examining the entry on Pei Ji in the book, [one finds] the character “Ji” is [replaced with] a blank space with a note saying “name of the emperor.” During the Song, only Huizong[’s reign] avoided Ji as taboo, therefore [Wang] Dang was someone lived during the Chongning (1102-1106) and Daguan (1107-1110) [reigns].

唐語林八卷。宋王讜撰。陳振孫書錄解題云：「長安王讜正甫，以唐小說五十家，倣世說分三十五門，又益十七門，爲五十二門。」晁公武郡齋讀書志云：「未詳撰人。效世說體分門，記唐世名言，新增嗜好等十七門，餘皆仍舊。」讜之名不見史傳。考書中裴佶一條，「佶」字空格，注云「御名」，宋惟徽宗諱佶，則讜爲崇寧、大觀間人矣。

[Yu] Jiayi’s note: Lu Xinyuan (1838-1894) says in the ninth *juan* of his *Yigutang tiba* (Prefaces and Postscripts Written at the Yigu Hall), “[Wang] Dang was the son-in-law of Lü Dafang. In the fourth year (1089) of the Yuanyou 元祐 reign (1086-1094) he was appointed [in court] Aide in the Directorate of Education, Wu Anshi, the Right Remonstrator, commented that his [appointment] would not convince public opinion, [Lü] Dafang himself also appealed [to the throne] to change [the appointment], and it was changed to Aide in the Directorate for Imperial Manufactories. See the 430th *juan* of Li Tao’s *[Xu Zizhi] tongjian [changbian]* 續資治通鑑長編.” I, [Yu] Jiayi did the textual research again on this, [and

found that] the affairs concerning [Wang] Dang that can be discovered are not limited to this. The 413rd *juan* of the [*Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*] reads, “Liu Anshi (1048-1125), the Right Exhorter, said, the day Lü Dafang, the Grand Councilor, was appointed Vice Director of the Secretariat, he appointed in court his son-in-law Wang Dang as the River Transport Director of the District East of the Capital.” This memorial can be found in the 1st *juan* of the *Jinyan ji*. Again the notes in the 457th *juan* [of the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*] quotes Shao Bowen’s *Bianwu*, “Yang Wei met the Councilor Lü [Dafang] through Wang Dang, the Councilor Lü [Dafang]’s son-in-law, and the Councilor Lü [Dafang] favored him.” *Juan* 15 of Shao Bo’s (d. 1158) *Wenjian hou lu* 聞見後錄 (Later Records of What Was Heard and Seen) reads, “Lü Weizhong (i.e., Lü Dafang), the Grand Councilor, composed a passage for the tombstone of the monk Fa Yunxiu. The Grand Councilor desired to let Dongpo render it in calligraphy for the tombstone inscription, but did not dare to tell [Dongpo] himself, instead he asked his nephew,⁹⁸⁸ Wang Dang, to tell him.”

嘉錫案：陸心源儀顧堂題跋卷九云：「讜，呂大防子婿也。元祐四年除國子監丞，右司諫吳安詩言其不協公論，大防亦自請改除，改少府監丞。見李燾通鑑四百三十卷。」嘉錫更考之，讜之事蹟可見者，尚不止此。長編卷四百十三云：「右正言劉安世言，宰相呂大防任中書侍郎日，堂除其女婿王讜京東排岸司。」此奏見盡言集卷一。又卷四百五十七注引邵伯溫辨誣云：「楊畏因呂相之壻王讜見呂相，呂相愛之。」邵博聞見後錄卷十五云：「呂微仲丞相作法雲秀和尚碑，意欲得東坡書石，不敢自言，委甥王讜言之。」

In *juan* 128 of Wang Chang’s *Jinshi cuibian*, there are inscriptions on the Mount Hua by the Revered Gentleman Lü and others, one of them reading “Ziwei (Purple Tenuity), the Revered Gentleman Lü, prayed for snow with Lu Na of Wenshang, Cheng Zhi of Luoyang, Wang Dang of Fanchuan in his company. [Wang] Dang inscribed on the nineteenth day of mid-

⁹⁸⁸ An alternative term for son-in-law in ancient China.

winter in the *guichou* year of the Xining reign.” The year of *guichou* was the sixth year (1073) of the Xining (1068-1077) reign. The postscript by Wang [Chang] identifies “Ziwei, the Revered Gentleman Lü” as Lü Gongbi (1007-1073), I note that, in the Biography of Lü Dafang in the History of Song, [Lü] Dafang started to manage the Hua Prefecture in the fourth year (1071) of the Xining reign, and previously he had served as a Drafter at the Document Drafting Office, and therefore he was called “Ziwei, the Revered Gentleman Lü.” If so then it should be [Lü] Dafang, and not [Lü] Gongbi. Though [Wang] Dang’s name is not seen among the biographies of [official] histories, there are those among his deeds that can be found through textual research.

王昶金石萃編卷一百二十八，有呂公等華岳題名云：「紫微呂公祈雪，汶上盧訥、洛陽程旨、樊川王讜從。熙寧癸丑仲冬十九日讜題。」癸丑者，熙寧六年也。王氏跋謂紫微呂公爲呂公弼，余案宋史呂大防傳，大防以熙寧四年知華州，其先嘗直舍人院知制誥，故稱爲紫微呂公。然則是大防，非公弼也。讜名雖不見史傳，而其事固有可考矣。⁹⁸⁹

3. “Siku quanshu jianming mulu *Tang yulin tiyao*” 四庫全書簡明目錄唐語林提要

(Introduction to the *Tang yulin* in the Concise Table of Content of the *Siku quanshu*)

Eight *juan* of the *Tang yulin*, compiled by Wang Dang of the Song. The original edition has long been lost, now it is collated and restored from the *Yongle dadian*. Although its form and style imitate the *Shishuo xinyu*, the old facts, fine speeches and graceful deeds it recorded, when compared with the official histories, often mutually illustrate and explain one another. The purpose it intended is particularly different from Liu Yiqing’s advocating the Pure Conversation.

⁹⁸⁹ Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:815-6.

唐語林八卷。宋王讜撰。原本久佚，今從永樂大典校補。其體例雖仿世說新語，而所記故實、嘉言懿行，多與正史相發明。與劉義慶之標舉清談，用意又殊。

[Zhou] Xunchu's note: this introduction is included in the category of the school of minor discourses, in the Branch of the Philosophers, in juan 14 of the Concise Table of Content of the Siku quanshu.

勛初案：此提要載於四庫全書簡明日錄卷十四子部十二小說家類。⁹⁹⁰

4. “**Qi Zhiluan ben Tang yulin tiyao**” 齊之鸞本唐語林提要 (Introduction to the *Tang yulin* in the Edition [Printed] by Qi Zhiluan) in the **Siku quanshu zongmu** 四庫全書總目 (the Complete Table of Content of the Siku quanshu)

Two *juan* of the incomplete edition of the *Tang yulin*, the edition housed at the Palace Treasury, the name of the compiler not noted. Based on the *Yongle dadian*, textual research [on the edition shows that] it is the book by Wang Dang, just the eight *juan* of it was lost. At the beginning [of the edition] there is a preface by Qi Zhiluan of Tongcheng written during the Jiajing years of the Ming, also saying what he had obtained was not a fine[carefully emended] edition. Now [we, the collators of the Siku quanshu] have selected [entries] from the *Yongle dadian*, and again amended it to be a [restored] collection, and included it separately in the record. This incomplete and residual edition has become worthless. Because it was the original book by [Wang] Dang and had been circulated in the world for long, we still attach and preserve its entry here.

⁹⁹⁰ Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:814-5.

殘本唐語林二卷內府藏本不著撰人名字。以永樂大典所載考之，即王讜之書，佚其八卷耳。前有明嘉靖間桐城齊之鸞序，亦稱所得非善本。今已採掇永樂大典，重為補綴成帙，別著於錄。此殘缺之本，已為土苴；以其為讜之原書，久行於世，故仍附存其目焉。

[Zhou] Xunchu's note: this text is originally included in the first section of the preserved entries in the category of the School of Minor Discourse, in the Branch of the Philosophers, in juan 143 of the Complete Table of Content of the Siku quanshu.

勛初案：此文原載四庫全書總目卷一四三子部小說家類存目一。⁹⁹¹

5. Ming dynasty Qi Zhiluan's 齊之鸞 “Tang yulin xu” 唐語林序 (Preface to the *Tang yulin*)⁹⁹²

Outside of the histories and left behind by literature, such books of picking and gathering, if the affairs [recorded] are not distinctive or conversations not unique, cannot make those who hear about them excited or those who talk about them admire. Only the Shishuo [*xinyu* by the Prince of] Linchuan abundantly possesses such marvelous circumstances/sentiments. People of the past commented that its keen wit⁹⁹³ seemed profound and the jesting and joking were also chilling, thus it was worthy to be called the progenitor of all discussions – which is indeed a good description [of the book]. After this there was the [*Tang*] *yulin* about Tang, could it again be something originated from this? In my spare time, I once got [the opportunity] to read and recite it aloud and to savor and ruminate over it. Its intention and

⁹⁹¹ Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:816.

⁹⁹² Huang Qingquan 黃清泉, et. al. Eds., *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu* 中國歷代小說序跋輯錄 (A Collection of the Prefaces and Postfaces of the Minor Discourses Titles from All Dynasties of China, Wuhan: Huazhong Normal University Press, 1989), p.188. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 813.

⁹⁹³ *Jifeng* 機鋒 is a term originated from Buddhist practices involving enlightening riddles.

imagery, its diction and style, then again, are different. Roughly put, the *Shishuo [xinyu]* is pure and open, unaffected and aloof, but the *[Tang] yulin* is profound and extensive, refined and upright; the *Shishuo [xinyu]* wins for its sentiments and the *[Tang] yulin* wins for its factualness: this is their big difference. Now again, when taking up the wood tablet to compose literature who does not talk about the difficulties of [trying] “to establish [his own] mark” and “to breakout and shine [on his own]!” Learned scholars and talented individuals afflicted their mind and [produced] enormous passages but in the end there were none who had the remarkable ability of appreciation, such cases are not few. Thus on the occasions of friendly intercourses, with [only] a few words or a couple of expressions, without contemplation or conspiracy, to make spirit and principle [of the conversation] superior and smooth is again the most difficult of all.

史外文餘，採輯之帙，非事別語別，不能使聞者興，談者慕。唯臨川世說，蔚有奇情，昔人評其機鋒似沉，滑稽又冷，可以為談之宗，信善述也。是後唐有語林，殆又濫觴於是者乎？問嘗得而諷味之，其意象詞致，乃更不同，蓋世說清曠簡遠，而語林精博典質；世說情勝，語林實勝：其大較也。且夫操牘以為文也，不曰「樹幟」、「脫穎」之難乎！學士才人苦心大篇而訖無俊賞者為不少矣，則酬應之頃，單言隻辭，不經慮謀而神理超暢，又其最難者也。

The people of Tang reprimanded the arcaneness and emptiness from the left of the [Yangtze] River, corrected it with an unsophisticated and unembellished [style], therefore what is narrated now seems to contain many essential and factual [aspects]. Although in countering [the arcaneness and emptiness] with the Way it is not necessarily complete, its opinions [expressed with brush and tongue] are graceful and elegant, its intention and interest are far-reaching. It is spirited, marvelous, refreshing and pleasing, neither strenuous nor tedious. It is as if a layer of jade in the stone, a grain of gold left in the sand, as if one *chi*/section of brocade among the raw silk, one piece of finely sliced meat for private enjoyment among the

crudely chopped chunks. It is as if the sacrificial vessel in the ditch and the shavings decorated with green and yellow,⁹⁹⁴ it is important not to treat it as something ordinary.

唐人懲江左玄虛，矯以渾淡，故今所述，似多要確。雖其折之以道，未必盡然，而筆舌翩翩，意興悠寄，神奇爽媚，非苦非煩，譬之石中片玉，砂中遺金，縞中尺錦，截中禁鬻，溝中犧尊，青黃之斷，要不可以常品視之。

How true! The marvelous treasures of the Garden of Arts, when in the form of a book, will not be superfluous either. Pitying that the edition I obtained has many errors, I tried to roughly correct it. But my position as a county official deals with the extremely vulgar and I was unable to [carry out the scholarly work] in detail. I again commanded students at the county school named Gu Yingshi and Shen Weibi to collate and revise it for me. There are again those [places in the text] where the meaning cannot be discerned, together I ordered

⁹⁹⁴ This sentence alludes to a story in the *Zhuang zi* 莊子. Section fifteen of the chapter “Heaven and Earth” 天地 in the *Zhuang zi* reads, “A century-old tree is broken up and made into a sacrificial vessel decorated with green and yellow, while the shavings are thrown into a ditch” 百年之木，破為犧尊，青黃而文之，其斷在溝中. Qi Zhiluan’s “Preface to the *Tang yulin*” reverses the situation with the images of the sacrificial vessel in the ditch and the shavings decorated with green and yellow. Comparing the text with the sacrificial vessel shows its value, but the image of the vessel in the ditch shows it is underappreciated. Comparing the text with the shavings possibly indicates the common attitude among literati toward *xiaoshuo* which is described by Qi as “outside of the histories and left behind by literature, such books of picking and gathering” 史外文餘，採輯之帙 at the beginning of the preface. But then the image of “shavings decorated with green and yellow” 青黃之斷 elevates the status of the shavings, and here the *Tang yulin* text, to that of the finely decorated sacrificial vessels and the highly regarded works such as histories and literature respectively. However, the point the *Zhuang zi* makes with the parable is that “If we compare the sacrificial vessel with the shavings in the ditch, there may be a difference in their esthetic appeal, but they are alike in having lost their original nature” 比犧尊於溝中之斷，則美惡有間矣，其於失性一也. The passage continues to discuss the “five things that may lead to the loss of one’s original nature” 失性有五 that are “all injurious to life” 皆生之害也. These are the things that satisfy the senses and most of all the “preferences and aversions which unsettle the mind” 趣舍滑心，使性飛揚. The passage concludes with the message that those who devote their lives pursuing these things are caged and fettered by their desires. The image of the parts of the century-old tree that become the decorated sacrificial vessel and the shavings in the ditch have both lost their original nature seems too indicate the harm of differentiation forced by men. Therefore, could it be that Qi Zhiluan, in reversing the places of the vessel and the shavings in his analogy to the *Tang yulin* text, also perhaps subconsciously tries to erase the distinction between the esteemed texts and the *xiaoshuo* collections? Or at least between the histories and literature he mentioned at the beginning and this specific *xiaoshuo* collection for which he dedicated the preface. Translations of the *Zhuang zi* passage by Victor Mair. See *Wondering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu, Translated with an Introduction and Commentary by Victor H. Mair* (New York, NY: Bantam Books, 1994), pp. 116-7.

them to leave the questions open and preserve the mistaken text in hope of waiting for [the discovery of] a fine edition. The two students unexpectedly requested for it to be published, therefore I agreed and overstepped my authority to write at the beginning of it. Narrated by Qi Zhiluan of Tongcheng, after the full moon of the third month of the second year (1523), the *guiwei* year according to the order of years, of the Jiajing (1522-1566) reign of the Imperial Ming dynasty.

信哉！藝苑之奇珍也，其爲書亦非贅矣。惜予所得本多謬，稍嘗正之，而縣吏劇俗，莫能詳也。復命庠生顧應時、沈維俾加校勘焉。又有不能意曉者，並令闕疑承誤，以俟善本。二生遽請梓行，因諾而僭書其端。
皇明嘉靖二年歲次癸未三月既望桐城齊之鸞敘。⁹⁹⁵

6. Lu Xinyuan's 陸心源 (1838-1894) "*Tang yulin ba*" 唐語林跋 (Postscript to the *Tang yulin*)

Eight *juan* of the *Tang yulin*, compiled by Wang Dang of the Song. The original edition has long been lost, this was the edition copied out from the *Yongle dadian* by the collators [of the Siku quanshu] during Emperor Qianlong's (1736-1795) reign and printed and circulated through the Garnered Treasures woodblocks. The [*Zhizhai*] *shulu jieti* (Critical remarks on the Catalogue of Straightforward studio) reads, "Wang Dang, [style name] Zhengfu, of Chang'an took fifty schools of minor discourses on the Tang, grouped [their content] into thirty-five categories according to the *Shishuo* [*xinyu*]. In addition he added seventeen categories, and made [all together] fifty-two categories." The "Introduction [to the *Tang yulin*

⁹⁹⁵ Huang Qingquan 黃清泉, et. al. Eds., *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu* 中國歷代小說序跋輯錄 (A Collection of the Prefaces and Postscripts of the Minor Discourses Titles from All Dynasties of China, Wuhan: Huazhong Normal University Press, 1989), p.188. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 813.

in the Complete Table of Content of the *Siku quanshu*] reads, “[Wang] Dang’s name is not seen among the biographies of [official] histories. When examining the entry on Pei Ji in the book, [one finds] the character ‘Ji’ is [replaced with] a blank space with a note saying ‘name of the emperor.’ During the Song, only Huizong[’s reign] avoided Ji as taboo, therefore [Wang] Dang was someone lived during the Chongning (1102-1106) and Dagan (1107-1110) [reigns].” Note: [Wang] Dang was the son-in-law of Lü Dafang. In the fourth year (1089) of the Yuanyou 元祐 reign (1086-1094) he was appointed [in court] Aide in the Directorate of Education, Wu Anshi, the Right Remonstrator, commented that his [appointment] would not convince public opinion, [Lü] Dafang himself also appealed [to the throne] to change [the appointment], and it was changed to Aide in the Directorate for Imperial Manufactories. See the 430th *juan* of Li Tao’s [*Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*] 續資治通鑑長編. (Juan 9 of the *Yigu tang tiba*, Prefaces and Postscripts Written at the Yigu Hall).

唐語林八卷，宋王讜撰。原本久佚，此則乾隆中館臣從永樂大典錄出，以聚珍板印行者也。直齋書錄解題云：長安王讜正甫以唐小說五十家，仿世說，分三十五門，又益十七門，為五十二門。提要云：讜之名不見于史傳。考書中裴佶一條，「佶」字空格，註云：「御名。」宋惟徽宗諱佶，則讜為崇寧、大觀間人矣。案：讜，呂大防子壻也，元祐四年七月除國子監丞，右司諫吳安詩言其不協公論，大防亦自請改除，改少府監丞，見李燾通鑑四百三十卷。(儀顧堂題跋卷九)⁹⁹⁶

7. Qing Dynasty Zhou Xizan’s 周錫瓚 (1742-1819) “Jiao Qi Zhiluan ben *Tang yulin* tiji” 校齊之鸞本唐語林題記 (Introduction to the Collating of Qi Zhiluan’s Edition of the *Tang yulin*)

⁹⁹⁶ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.189. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:816.

Three *juan* of the *Tang yulin* manuscript. The complete edition of the *Tang yulin* has not been available. What is available is but an edition printed by Qi Zhiluan in the upper and the lower two *juan*. Now I collated it against the old three *juan* manuscript newly bought by my Shiliju (Residence of the Scholar-Official's Ritual Propriety), and only then did I know the wood-cut edition was originated from this manuscript. The style of the columns and the shape of the characters are the same and matching each other, only that [the printed edition] changed the three *juan* division to two *juan*, and as a result, there are a few pages that are not right where the two *juan* were separated. Occasionally there are corrections to mistaken characters. The Ming people's baseless revisions when printing books are often like this. In the copy of the wood-cut edition, there is a note inserted by a former collator, saying "the page before [the entry on] Li Xilie is missing; another edition in three *juan*, the upper, the middle and the lower, is also missing the 29th [page] of the second *juan*. It seems that there is again another edition of the wood-cut editions, which is possibly just changing the three *juan* [edition] later into a two *juan* [edition]. On the list of the categories at the beginning of the chapters, only the two characters 'Wenxue' are tiny, and I added them again so that they are now legible. Therefore I copied those pages at the division of the chapters again, and in addition added the missing pages, carefully collated and corrected in order to restore the original [condition] of the incomplete three *juan* [edition]. But I still attached at the end the five pages I took out of the copy of the wood-cut edition so that the fault of baseless revisions in Ming dynasty book printing is demonstrated. The postscript by Huang [Pilie] narrates the situation of the book in great detail, and I also included it here for those who read this book to use as a reference. On the ninth day of the eighth month in the *jiazi* year (1804, the ninth

year) of the Jiaqing (1796-1820) reign, noted by Zhou Xizan, the Xiangyan jushi (the Scholar in Retirement at Xiangyan).”(The edition in the Series of Books by the Lingjiange Attached to the Upper *juan* of the Sequel to Records of the Prefaces and Postscripts of Books Housed at the Shiliju).

唐語林三卷鈔本。唐語林未見完本。見者，齊之鸞所刻上下二卷爾。今假士禮居新購舊鈔三卷校之，乃知刻本即發源於鈔本，行款字形一一相同，惟改三卷為二卷，以致分卷處有幾頁不對，間有改正誤字，明人刻書妄改，往往如此。刻本中有舊校者夾簽云：李希烈前一頁缺，別本上中下卷者，亦缺二卷廿九號。似刻本又有一本，或即將三卷本後改二卷。其卷首分門，「文學」二字獨細小，重添可見矣。余因將分卷之頁重鈔，兼補缺頁，細心校改，以復不全三卷之舊，而刻本之五頁抽出者，仍釘於後，著明刻妄改之非。黃跋述書之原委甚詳，亦錄之，以為讀是書者攷焉。時嘉慶甲子八月九日，香巖居士周錫瓚識。(士禮居藏書題跋記續卷上附〔靈鷲閣叢書本〕)⁹⁹⁷

8. Qing Dynasty Huang Pilie's 黃丕烈 (1763-1825) “*Tang yulin chaoben tiji*” 唐語林鈔本題記 (Introduction to the Manuscript Edition of the *Tang yulin*)

Three *juan* of manuscript edition of the *Tang yulin*. This three *juan* of old manuscript edition of the *Tang yulin* has altogether fifteen categories, the first *juan* including “Dexing,” “Yanyu,” and “Zhengshi,” the second *juan* including “Wenxue,” “Fangzheng,” “Yaliang,” and “Shijian,” and the third *juan* including “Shangyu,” “Pinzao,” “Guizhen,” “Suhui,” “Rongzhi,” “Qixian,” “Qiyi,” and “Xianyuan.” I checked it against Chen [Zhensun]’s [*Zhizhai*] *shulu jieti* and Chao [Gongwu]’s *Junzhai dushu zhi* [and found] it probably is not a complete edition. Chen says “eight *juan*” and Chao says “ten *juan*,” thus there were already two editions during the Song. During the Ming, the *Baichuan shuzhi* also said it had ten *juan*, which should be the edition seen by Chao [Gongwu]. But later book collectors had seldom recorded [this title]. As I carefully read the Complete Table of Content of the *Siku quanshu*, it

⁹⁹⁷ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.189-90. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:816-7.

reads that from Ming dynasty on “its prints and editions long lost, therefore the Ming (1368-1644) dynasty [scholar] Xie Zhaozhe’s (1567-1624) *Wu za zu* (Five miscellaneous groups) quotes Yang Shen’s (1488-1559) words, saying “the [*Tang*] *yulin* was rarely transmitted, people also hardly know [about it].” Only what the library at the Wuying (Martial Valor) Hall houses has an incomplete edition carved [and printed] during the beginning years of the Ming Jiajing (1522-1566) reign by Qi Zhiluan of Tongcheng. It is divided into two *juan* in first and second halves, and only contains the eighteen categories from “Dexing” (Virtuous Conduct) to “Xianyuan” (Worthy Beauties). At the beginning there is [Qi] Zhiluan’s own preface, saying what he obtained was not a fine edition, its characters’ strokes jumbled and sections’ order erroneous, almost unreadable.” Having examined this, I thus conclude that which survived in the Ming also [contained] only these categories from “Dexing” to “Xianyuan.”

唐語林三卷鈔本。此舊鈔本唐語林三卷，一卷載德行、言語、政事，二卷載文學、方正、雅量、識鑒，三卷載賞譽、品藻、規箴、夙慧、容止、企羨、栖逸、賢媛，共十五門。以陳氏書錄解題、晁氏郡齋讀書志核之，蓋不全本也。陳云「八卷」，晁云「十卷」，在宋已有二本。明時百川書志亦云十卷，當是晁所見本，然後來藏書家罕有著錄。伏讀四庫全書總目云：明以來「刊本久佚，故明謝肇淛五雜俎引楊慎語，謂『語林罕傳，人亦鮮知』。惟武英殿書庫所藏，有明嘉靖初桐城齊之鸞所刻殘本，分爲上、下二卷，自德行至賢媛，止十八門。前有齊之鸞自序，稱所得非善本。其字畫漫漶，篇次錯亂，幾不可讀。」審是，則明所存者，亦止此德行至賢媛矣。

The *Siku [quanshu* edition] was collated and amended according to the *Yongle dadian*. These three *juan*, though not complete, are still based on a Song dynasty manuscript edition, the Song dynasty taboos characters in these volumes are all missing which can serve as strong evidence. The bookseller from Yangzhou brought books of several dozens of titles to seek business [from me while I] was troubled for not seeing any desirable. [But] this edition was

indeed rare and hard to find, and I bought it with two *liang* and four *qian* of silver. Today the weather is quite strongly sunny and the moisture on the plinth stone is all gone. [I sat] under the lowered blinds of the northern window and wrote this after my lunch. By Huang Pilie, the Old Man Gathering Firewood, on the sixth day of the sixth month of the *jiazi* year (1804). (The edition in the Series of Books by the Lingjiange; the Upper *juan* of the Sequel to Records of the Prefaces and Postscripts of Books Housed at the Shiliju)

四庫乃從永樂大典校補。此三卷雖不全，尚是照宋鈔本，卷中宋諱皆缺其文，可爲確證。揚州書估攜書數十種求售，苦無當意者，此本實爲罕祕，以白金二兩四錢易之。今日天氣老晴，礎潤皆收，垂簾北XX下，午飯後書此。蕘翁黃丕烈，時甲子六月六日。(士禮居藏書題跋記續卷上〔靈鷲閣叢書本〕)

[Zhou] Xunchu's note: the category of the School of Minor Discourses under the Branch of the Philosophers in *juan* eleven of Mo Youzhi's (1811-1871) *Lüting zhi jian chuanben shumu* (A Book List of the Transmitted Editions known and Seen by Lüting, i.e., Mo Youzhi) records the eight *juan* of the *Tang yulin*, compiled by Wang Dang of Song. The edition published by Qi Zhiluan of Tongcheng during the early Jiajing reign has two *juan* and is incomplete. There are also the Juzhen edition, the XX edition in Min, the Xiyinxuan edition, the Mohai jinhu edition, and the Shoushange edition. Zhang Junheng's (1872-1927) critical notes in the upper margin reads "I just saw there was a published edition, which is the edition collated by Guan Fanzhuan using Huang Raopu's old manuscript copy. Huang [Raopu] said his old manuscript was actually in three *juan* and the wood-cut edition was originated from that but was arbitrarily combined into two *juan*."

勛初案：莫友芝邵亭知見傳本書目卷十一子部小說家類載唐語林八卷，宋王讜撰。嘉靖初桐城齊之鸞刊，二卷，不全。又有聚珍本、閩覆本、惜陰軒本、墨海金壺本、守

山閣本。張鈞衡眉批曰：「頃見有刊本，關飯王巽用黃蕘圃舊抄校本。黃云舊鈔實三卷，刻本即出於彼，而強併爲二卷。」⁹⁹⁸

9. Qing Dynasty Huang Pilie's 黃丕烈 (1763-1825) "Qi Zhiluan ben *Tang yulin juanshou tiji*" 齊之鸞本唐語林卷首題記 (Introduction at the Beginning of Qi Zhiluan's Edition of the *Tang yulin*)

The two *juan* of this edition, upper and lower, are arbitrarily divided. I obtained an old manuscript which is actually divided into three *juan*. Judging by this, possibly the number of *juan* mentioned by Chao [Gongwu] and Chen [Zhensun] are already not complete. The people of Ming were fond of displaying their cleverness, and they were often unwilling to be the followers of old conventions. Therefore the divisions and combinations [of the different *juan*] were all out of their own invention. Now I collated it against the old manuscript and [found that] not only the meaning of the text is all the same but also the columns and entries [on the pages] are matching. They only differ slightly on the several pages, some crowded and some scanty, at the dividing point of each *juan*. This trace is evident and cannot be covered up. It is just that I have not seen the original edition and thus do not know how to criticize. It is too much that the book printing by the Ming people is unreliable like this! By the Old Man Gathering Firewood. (The edition in the Series of Books by the Lingjiange; the Upper *juan* of the Sequel to Records of the Prefaces and Postscripts of Books Housed at the Shiliju)

此本上下二卷，係硬分者。余得舊鈔，實分三卷，蓋視晁、陳兩家所云卷數，已不全矣。明人好作聰明，往往不肯爲舊貫之仍，故分併皆由自造，今以舊鈔勘之，不特文義皆同，即行款亦合，惟于分卷處有幾葉或擠或排之稍異爾。此迹顯然，莫可掩飾，

⁹⁹⁸ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.190. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:817-8.

特未見原本，無從指摘。甚矣，明人刻書之不可信如此！蕘翁。（士禮居 藏書題跋 記續卷上〔靈鷲閣叢書本〕）⁹⁹⁹

**10. Qing Dynasty Fu Zengxiang's 傅增湘 (1872-1950) “*Tang yulin chaoben tiji*” 唐語林鈔
本題記 (Introduction to the Manuscript Edition of the *Tang yulin*)**

Three *juan* of the *Tang yulin*, compiled by Wang Dang of the Song. Old manuscript edition, ten columns with twenty characters [per column on each page]. There are two postscripts by Huang Raopu. They are included as follows: (the first postscript is already included, see passage above, and will not be reproduced again [here], noted by [Zhou] Xunchu). Zhou Xizan's postscript is included before the second postscript [by Huang Raopu] (It is included above, and not recorded again [here]). At the end, it says “in the early winter of the *renwu* year (1822, the second year) of the Daoguang (1821-1850) reign, Master Yitang (Rippling Pond) showed me the manuscripts of poetry and essays from his Xiaotongjin shanfang [studio], and entrusted me to include them in the ‘Yiwen’ category of the newly edited Commandary Gazetteer for him. Thus I respectfully read through them and saw this entry among the prefaces and postscripts. Its original edition was exactly the edition at my house, for this reason I included it below, just to illustrate the mentality of sharing and appreciating a marvelous work at that time, etc. etc. By Raofu (the Man Gathering Firewood, i.e., Huang Pilie 黃丕烈, 1763-1825). Written down by [Huang] Meiliu, the grandson.” (Letter left behind by Sheng Poyi, seen in the middle of the fifth month of the *renzi* year, 1912, when I [Fu Zengxiang] entered the Capital). (in the third section of the Branch of the Philosophers,

⁹⁹⁹ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.191. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:818.

in *juan* nine of the *Cangyuan qunshu jingyan lu*, Records of Passing through My Eyes the Books at the Garden of Collections)

唐語林三卷，宋王讜撰。舊寫本，十行二十字。有黃蕘圃跋二則。錄後：(第一跋已錄，見前，不複出。勛初識)。第二跋前錄周錫瓚跋。(前已錄過，不複記。)末云：「道光壬午初冬，漪塘先生以小通津山房詩文稿見示，屬為載入新修郡志藝文門，因拜讀一過，見題跋中有此一則，其原本即余家藏本也，緣錄於後，以見當時奇文共賞之心云爾。蕘夫。孫美鏐書。」(盛伯義遺書，壬子五月中旬入都見。)(藏園群書經眼錄卷九子部三)¹⁰⁰⁰

11. Qing dynasty Fu Zengxiang's "Qi Zhiluan ben *Tang yulin* tiji" 齊之鸞本唐語林題記

(Introduction to the Qi Zhiluan Edition of the *Tang yulin*)

see chapter 3 of the dissertation.

12. Qing dynasty Zhou Zhongfu's 周中孚 (1768-1831) "*Tang yulin tiji*" 唐語林題記

(Introduction to the *Tang yulin*)

Eight *juan* of the *Tang yulin* (in the edition of the *Mohai jinhu*, A Golden Pot in the Sea of Ink), compiled by Wang Dang of the Song. ([Wang] Dang, style named Zhengfu, was a native of Chang'an. Examining his life based on the textual research on his book, was probably someone lived during the Chongning (1102-1106) and Dagan (1107-1110) [reigns].) The *Siku quanshu* included and recorded [the *Tang yulin*], the [*Zhizhai*] *shulu jieti* (Critical remarks on the Catalogue of Straightforward studio) and the [*Wenxian*] *tongkao* did the same. The [*Junzhai*] *dushu zhi* (Record of reading books at the Commandery Study) takes it as in 10 *juan*, its compiler unknown. Then again the "Yiwen zhi" in the History of

¹⁰⁰⁰ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.191. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:818-9.

Song takes it as in 11 *juan*. Chen [Zhensun (ca. 1183-1262)] states that [Wang] Zhengfu “took 50 schools of minor discourses on the Tang, grouped [their content] into 35 categories according to the *Shishuo [xinyu]*. In addition he added 17 categories, and made [all together] 52 categories. The *Zhongxing shumu* notes ‘11 *juan*’ but with the 15 categories after the ‘Jishi’ missing. It also says, ‘one edition has 8 *juan*.’ The current edition also has only 8 *juan*, but none of the categories and entries are not missing.” If this is the case, then the reason that [different bibliographies] take [the book] to be in 10 *juan* or 11 *juan* is that the editions they base their records on are different.

唐語林八卷(墨海金壺本)。宋王讜撰。(讜，字正甫，長安人。以其書考之，蓋崇寧、大觀人也。)四庫全書著錄，書錄解題、通考同。讀書志作十卷，未詳撰人；宋志又作十一卷。陳氏稱正甫「以唐小說五十家，倣世說分門三十五，又益十七，為五十二門。中興書目『十一卷』，而闕記事以下十五門。又云：『一本八卷』。今本亦止八卷，而門目皆不闕」。然則作十卷、十一卷者，皆所據之本不同也。

From the Ming dynasty on, this book has become lost. There is only an incomplete edition in 2 *juan* extant whose woodblocks were carved by Qi Zhiluan of Tongcheng during the early years of the Jiajing reign, including the eighteen categories “Dexing,” “Yanyu,” “Zhengshi,” “Wenxue,” “Fangzheng,” “Yaliang,” “Shijian,” “Shangyu,” “Pinzao,” “Guizhen,” “Suhui,” “Haoshuang,” “Rongzhi,” “Zixin,” “Qixian,” “Shangshi,” “Qiyi,” and “Xianyuan.” Now the collators [of the *Siku quanshu*] divided it into 4 *juan*, collated and amended it with another 4 *juan* from the *Yongle dadian*, in order to restore the old edition mentioned by the two scholars Chen [Zhensun] and Ma [Duanlin (1254-1323)]. As to the originally divided categories and entries, it is impossible to recover through textual research, therefore [the collators of the *Siku quanshu*] ordered the content roughly according to their time periods,

with those entries without time periods identified compiled and attached at the end, while keeping its original preface and table of content at the beginning.

自明以來，其書已佚，僅存嘉靖初桐城齊之鸞所刻殘本二卷，凡德行、言語、政事、文學、方正、雅量、識鑒、賞譽、品藻、規箴、夙慧、豪爽、容止、自新、企羨、傷逝、棲逸、賢媛十八門。今館臣析為四卷，又從永樂大典校補四卷，以復陳、馬兩家之舊。至原分門目，已不可考見，因略以時代為次，無時代者編附于後，而存其原序目于首。

The old facts, speeches and deeds it recorded, when compared with the *Xin [Tang shu]* and the *Jiu Tang shu*, often mutually illustrate and explain one another. [Its purpose] is not to advocate and praise the Pure Conversation like the intended purpose of Liu [Yiqing]'s book. Zhang Ruoyun simply collated and carved woodblocks based on the Juzhen edition produced by the Wuying Hall and put at the beginning one passage of introduction. The *Shuofu* and the *Lidai xiaoshi* both only selectively included one *juan* of it, that's all. (quoted in *juan* 64 of the *Zhengtang dushu ji*, the second part of the twelfth section in the Branch of the Philosophers, in the category of the School of Minor Discourse and the middle section of the category of the Miscellaneous Affairs)

所記故實言行，多與新、舊唐書相發明，非標舉清談，如劉氏書之用意也。張若雲即遵武英殿聚珍版校梓，冠以提要一篇，說郭、歷代小史均止節錄一卷而已。(鄭堂讀書記卷六四子部十二之二小說家類、雜事中)¹⁰⁰¹

13. Qing dynasty Li Ciming's 李慈銘 (1829-1894) "*Tang yulin tiji*" 唐語林題記

(Introduction to the *Tang yulin*)

¹⁰⁰¹ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.192-3. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:819-20.

The Tang yulin (compiled by Wang Dang of the Song). Browsing at night the *Tang yulin* by Wang Dang of Song, also the Shoushange edition. It has altogether eight *juan* and thus is the *Juzhen* edition produced by the Wuying Hall. Its first four *juan* were [produced from] the original printed by Qi Zhiluan of Ming, the next four *juan* were what were gathered from under the various rhyme categories of the *Yongle dadian* and were thus distinguished [from the previous four *juan*] with the title “Addendum” but without attaching categories. The edition by Wang [Dang] imitates the thirty-five categories from the *Shishuo [xinyu]* and in addition added seventeen categories from “Shihao” to “Jice,” making it fifty-two categories. [Wang Dang] selected minor discourses of fifty titles, and the *Yongle dadian* still records the book titles, the original table of contents, and the categories and complete lists of those [titles] he selected. Now most of the various books are possibly lost, and rely on this [i.e., the *Tang yulin*] to preserve a rough idea of them. Moreover, what [the *Tang yulin*] records are mostly fine speeches and elegant affairs and it is an indispensable book for those who conduct textual research on the affairs of the Tang. Qian Xizuo 錢熙祚 (d. 1844) attached one *juan* of “Collator’s Note” to it, mostly taking those of the various [source] books that are extant and using them as references of textual study, which is indeed enough to correct the errors in the current edition caused by printing based on earlier editions.

On the twenty-fourth day of the first month in the *guiyou* year (the twelfth year, 1873) of the Tongzhi (1862-1874) reign (in section 6 the Miscellaneous Records of *juan* 8 of the *Yuemantang dushu ji*, Records of Reading Books at the Yueman Hall)

唐語林(宋王讜撰)。夜閱宋王讜唐語林，亦守山閣本，凡八卷，即武英殿聚珍本。其前四卷為明齊之鸞原刻，後四卷則從永樂大典各韻下輯入者，故別之曰「補遺」，而不繫門目。王氏本仿世說三十五門，又益以嗜好至計策十七門，為五十二門。採集小說五十家，大典中尚載其所採書名原序目及門類總目，今諸書多或亡佚，賴此存其梗

概，且所載多嘉言韻事，為考唐事者所不可少之書。錢氏繫以校勘記一卷，多取諸書之閒存者，以相參考，時足正今本沿刻之誤。

同治癸酉正月二十四日(越縵堂讀書記八文學(6)雜記)¹⁰⁰²

14. Qing dynasty Geng Wenguang's 耿文光 (1830-ca. 1908) "*Tang yulin tiji*" 唐語林題記 (Introduction to the *Tang yulin*)

Eight *juan* of the *Tang yulin* (compiled by Wang Dang of the Song). The edition by Xiyinxuan. The originally edition has long been lost. The *Siku quanshu* edition was collected from the *Yongle dadian*, and [this edition here] was republished by Li Xiling (1794—1844). There is a list of source books at the beginning.

唐語林八卷(宋王讜撰)。惜陰軒本 原本久佚。四庫館本採自永樂大典，李錫齡重刊。前有引書目。

The original edition selected fifty schools of minor discourses, grouped [their content] into 52 categories, the first 35 categories were from the *Shishuo [xinyu]* and the next 17 categories were added by [Wang] Zhengfu, as a whole it was entitled *Tang yulin*. What the [*Yongle*] *dadian* recorded [as the source books of the *Tang yulin*] are altogether 48 titles. The Juzhen edition added the *Feng Yan wenjian ji* and the *Qiuxuke zhuan* in order to restore the original 50 titles. The eighth *juan* recorded three passages from the *Yushitai ji* in great detail. What the various titles recorded often include the affairs and deeds of the Censors at their time and the words of teasing and jesting. But this [the *Tang yulin*] [only] included the essentials of them and often recorded decrees, regulations and old facts. The rest of the fine

¹⁰⁰² Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.193. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:820.

speeches and graceful deeds [recorded], when compared with the official histories, often illustrate and explain one another. Though it imitates the form of the *Shishuo [xinyu]*, it is different from Liu Yiqing's solely esteeming the Pure Conversation.

原本採小說五十家，分爲五十二門，其上三十五門出世說，下十七門，正甫所續，總號唐語林。大典所載，凡四十八家，聚珍本以封演聞見記、虬鬚客傳補入，以還五十家之舊。第八卷記御史臺記三篇甚詳。諸家所記，多載當時御史事跡，戲笑之言，此則錄其要節，多記典章故實。其他嘉言懿行，多與正史相發明。雖仿世說之體，與劉義慶之專尚清談者異矣。

Li [Xiling] wrote in his postscript, "The extant books out of the fifty titles are already few."

[Yang] Sheng'an (i.e., Yang Shen 楊慎, 1488-1559) says "the [*Tang*] *yulin* was rarely transmitted, people also hardly know [about it]." In the early years of the Ming dynasty Jiajing reign, there was the edition published by Qi Zhiluan of Tongcheng, divided into two *juan*, the upper and the lower. [Qi Zhiluan]'s own preface says what he himself obtained was not a fine edition. The Siku quanshu edition was collected from the *Yongle dadian*. It divided the two *juan* of Qi [Zhiluan]'s edition into four *juan*, added an addendum of four *juan*, to make it still eight *juan*.

李氏跋曰：五十家書存者已少。升菴謂「語林罕傳，人亦鮮知。」明嘉靖初有桐城齊之鸞刊本，分爲上下二卷，自序云自得非善本。四庫館本輯自永樂大典，分齊本二卷爲四卷，補遺四卷，仍爲八卷。(萬卷精華樓藏書記卷九九子部十二小說家類一)¹⁰⁰³

15. Qing dynasty Qian Xizuo's 錢熙祚 (d. 1844) "Shoushange congshu ben Tang yulin jiaokan ji" 守山閣叢書本唐語林校勘記 (Collator's Note on the Shoushange congshu edition of the Tang yulin)

¹⁰⁰³ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.194. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:820-1.

What the *Shuofu* quoted from the *Tang yulin* are just a scanty few of entries. Their titles roughly correspond with [those in] the incomplete edition [printed] by Qi Zhiluan, thus I know the edition Tao Nancun saw was already incomplete. However, though the edition printed by Qi [Zhiluan] is worn out and illegible, it nonetheless has quite a few that are not included in the *Yongle dadian*. I tried to verify them with the original book [the *Tang yulin*] quoted from, and they differ from each other. Among these [cases] there are also many where the [*Tang*] *yulin* [text] is correct while the current edition [of the source book] is incomplete and is in turn revised and corrected based on [the *Tang yulin*]. Since I sent the title to print based on the *Siku quanshu* edition, I again selected and listed the similarities and differences, attached the records at the end of the volume for them to serve as references. On the day before the White Dew of the *jihai* year (1839), I, Qian Xizuo, with the style name Xizhi, tentatively recorded this.

說郛錄唐語林，寥寥數條，其標題大略適與齊之鸞殘本合，知陶南村所見本已不完矣。然齊刻雖漫漶，頗有出永樂大典外者。試以所引原書證之，互有出入；其語林是而今本原XX闕，反藉以訂正者亦不少。既遵四庫本付梓，復採列異同，附記卷末，以備參考。己亥白露前一日，錢熙祚錫之甫識。

[Zhou] Xunchu's note: the original text of the "Collator's Note" is overly elaborated and thus not included. PS. This "Collator's Note" is also included in *juan 5* of the *Qianshi jiake shumu* (List of Books Printed by the Qian Family).

勛初案：校勘記原文文繁不錄。又此校勘記併載錢氏家刻書目卷五。¹⁰⁰⁴

16. Qing dynasty Sun Xinghua's 孫星華 "*Tang yulin jiaokanji ba*" 唐語林校勘記跋

(Postscript to the Collator's Note on the *Tang yulin*)

¹⁰⁰⁴ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.194-5. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:821.

As noted before, Wang Dang, style name Zhengfu, of the Northern Song collected fifty schools of minor discourses from the people of Tang, imitated the format of the *Shishuo [xinyu]* and compiled the *Tang yulin*. From the middle of the early Ming, the editions [at that time] have already been scattered and lost. During the time of Emperor Qianlong, the collators of the *Siku [quanshu]* searched through what the *Yongle dadian* recorded, took as their reference the incomplete edition printed by Qi Zhiluan, and still collated [the book] into eight *juan* according to its original form. After they printed and circulated [the book] using the Juzhen woodblocks, only then were there the Shoushange edition printed by the Qian family of Jianshan and the Xiyin shushu edition by the Li family of Sanyuan, both probably editions whose woodblocks were re-carved based on the Juzhen edition.

按北宋王讜正甫集唐人小說五十家，仿世說體成唐語林，自前明中葉刊本即經散佚，乾隆時四庫館臣搜永樂大典所載，參以齊之鸞所刻殘本，仍照原本葺為八卷，用聚珍版印行傳布後，乃有金山錢氏守山閣本，三原李氏惜陰書塾本，蓋皆從聚珍本翻雕者也。

Recently Lu [Xinyuan] of Guian printed the *Qunshu jiaobu* and claimed to have obtained the complete edition printed in the Ming, searched and found fourteen entries, all neglected and left out by the Juzhen edition. He selected five entries and printed them in an Addendum, and the rest of entries that already appeared in the Collator's Note for the Shoushange edition by the Qian family were not printed redundantly. According to the postscript by Qian Xizuo 錢熙祚 (d. 1844), it has such words as “though the edition by Qi [Zhiluan] is worn out and illegible, it nonetheless has quite a few that can be used to revise and correct what is missing from the current editions of its source books. Therefore I selected and listed the similarities

and differences and composed this Collator's Note."¹⁰⁰⁵ His collation was extremely careful and his quotes and references were very detailed and clear. The only thing is that though Qian [Xizuo] claimed that he re-carved the woodblocks based on the Juzhen edition, still his edition again occasionally has similarities and differences as compared with this edition [here that was] printed in the Min area. Moreover, there are entries where Qian's edition is mistaken but this edition is not; [and places in the text] where Qian's edition combined two entries into one by mistake and Qian marked in his [Collator's] Note one should be singled out as another entry but this edition [here] does not combine [entries] by mistake. I compared [the two editions] with each other for a week, sometimes adding to and sometimes deleting from [the edition I have]. In addition, due to its passages and pages are slightly complicated, I divided it into two *juan*. Still following Qian's format, I printed and attached them at the end of the volume to serve as a reference for textual research. Moreover, there are quite many wrong characters in the original edition printed in the Min, I now attach this note so that the woodblocks of this book can avoid the trouble of [having its characters] cut out and corrected. Having copied and carved [the blocks], I then attached a few words here. Noted by Sun Xinghua of Kuaiji at the mid-autumn of the *jiawu* year (1894) of the Guangxu (1875-1908) reign.

近日歸安陸氏刻群書校補，謂得明刻全本，搜出十四條，皆聚珍本所漏採，爰取五條，刻為拾遺，餘已見於錢氏守山閣本校勘記者，不復複刻。據錢氏跋云：「齊本雖漫漶，然頗有可訂正今本原書XX闕者，因採列異同，作校勘記。」等語，其XX勘極為矜慎，援據亦甚詳明。惟錢氏雖稱係照聚珍本翻雕，乃與閩刻此本又復間有異同，且有錢本誤而此本不誤者；錢本誤兩條作一條，於記中標明應另條提行而此本並不誤聯者。互對一周，或增或刪，並以篇葉稍繁，分為兩卷，仍依錢氏之式，刊附卷尾，以備參考。

¹⁰⁰⁵ Qian Xizuo's 錢熙祚 (d. 1844) "Collator's Note" reads differently from what is quoted here. See the passage translated above.

且閩刻原本誤字不少，現附此記，則書版可省剝改之煩。繕刻既畢，爰綴數語。光緒甲午仲秋會稽孫星華識。

[Zhou] Xunchu's note: this postscript by Sun [Xinghua] and his next postscript are both included at the end of the *Tang yulin* in the wood-cut edition published by the Guangya Shuju. Sun [Xinghua] says "Recently Lu [Xinyuan] of Guian printed the *Qunshu jiaobu* and claimed to have obtained the complete edition printed in the Ming, searched and found fourteen entries, all neglected and left out by the Juzhen edition." In fact, Lu [Xinyuan] only says "The edition of *Tang yulin* now extant is only the Juzhen edition. The Ming edition I have in my possession has fourteen entries more and now I collated and added them as follows." Originally he did not say these fourteen entries were found through searching the complete edition printed in the Ming. While the second section of the Category of Minor Discourses under the Branch of the Philosophers in *juan* 63 of Lu Xinyuan's *Bisonglou cangshu zhi* (Records of the Book Collection at the Bisonglou) records that "Eight *juan* of the *Tang yulin* printed during the Ming; from Zhu Zhucha's old collection; compiled by Wang Dang of Song; Prefaced by Xu Zhiluan." Sun [Xinghua]'s mistake perhaps originated from this. However there are quite many mistakes and errors in this text by Lu [Xinyuan]. "Xu" is the wrong character for "Qi." Qi Zhiluan's edition is divided into two *juan*, the upper and the lower, how could it have eight *juan* [instead]? The fourteen entries of text mentioned in the *Qunshu jiaobu* are simply collected from Qi Zhiluan's edition of the *Tang yulin*. PS. The collator's note written by Sun Xinghua is also overly elaborated and not included here.

勛初案：孫氏此跋與下跋均載廣雅書局刻本唐語林卷尾。孫氏云「近日歸安陸氏刻群書校補，謂得明刻全本，搜出十四條，皆聚珍本所漏採。」實則陸氏僅云「唐語林今所見者惟聚珍本。余所蓄明刊本多十四條，今校補如左。」初不言此十四條乃從明刻全本搜出也。而陸心源《宋樓藏書志》卷六三子部小說類二著錄「唐語林八卷明刊本朱竹垞舊藏 宋王謙撰 徐之鸞序」孫氏之誤或由此而起。然陸氏此處文字頗多舛誤。

「徐」乃「齊」之誤。齊之鸞本上下二卷，何八卷之有？群書校補中之十四條文字即從齊之鸞本唐語林中輯出。又孫星華所作之校勘記亦文繁不錄。¹⁰⁰⁶

17. Qing dynasty Sun Xinghua's "*Tang yulin shiyi ba*" 唐語林拾遺跋 (Postscript to the Addendum of the *Tang yulin*)

As noted before, a contemporary person, Lu [Xinyuan] of Guian, selected fifteen entries from a complete edition published in the Ming, and printed them in his *Qunshu jiaobu*. However, [out of the fifteen] one entry in the “Qixian” category, seven entries in the “Xianyuan” category are all selected and attached [to the text] in the “Collator’s Note” to the Shoushange edition together with remarks of the collation. Lu [Xinyuan] probably has not seen it by chance. For this reason I only selected five entries and printed them as an addendum, for the details of the rest, see “Collator’s Note.” Noted by Sun Xinghua.

接近人歸安陸氏從明刊全本採出十五條，刻入其群書校補中，然企羨門一條，賢媛門七條，守山閣校勘記已悉採附，並有校語，陸氏蓋偶未見。茲故僅擇取五條，刻為拾遺，餘詳校勘記。孫星華識。¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰⁶ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.195. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:821-2.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Huang Qingquan, *Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo xuba jilu*, p.196. Zhou Xunchu, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, 2:822.