

Texts and Translations for The First Print Era: The Rise of Print Culture in China's Northern Song Dynasty

The following are supplementary texts, with translations, which had to be cut (to meet word count limits) from the footnotes of [The First Print Era: The Rise of Print Culture in China's Northern Song Dynasty](#). All translations are my own. A key to title abbreviations can be found in the frontmatter of the book itself; editions of other cited texts used are listed in the book's bibliography.

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Chapter Two

Note 32

“During the Tang, this term had referred to the Zhaowen Hall 昭文館, the Jixian Academy 集賢院, and the Historians' Hall 史館. In the Song, however, the term in effect became a way to the different subject-matter divisions within the unified palace library, first held in dilapidated buildings inherited from the Later Zhou, and then moved to the newly-built Chongwen Court 崇文院 in 978. “When the hall was finished all the books from the West Hall were moved, and split into two corridors for storage. The East Corridor became the Zhaowen archive, the Southern Corridor became the Jixian archive, and then the Western Corridor was split into classics, histories, masters, and collections sections, and became the Historians' Hall archive. But in all six repositories both primary and secondary copies only totaled 80,000 juan.” 院既成，盡遷西館之書，分為兩廊貯焉。以東廊為昭文書庫，南廊為集賢書庫，西廊分經、史、子、集四部，為史館書庫，凡六庫書籍正、副本僅八萬卷。SHYJG 6: 3499.

Note 34

“In 976, after Jiangnan was pacified, the emperor commanded the Herald of the Crown Prince, Lü Guixiang, to Jinling to collect the books there, and he got over 20,000 scrolls, and brought them to the Historians' Hall. The false kingdoms had all collected books; those of Wu and Shu were the most, but those of the lower Yangtze were quite high-quality, many of them handed down.” 開寶九年，江南平，命太子洗馬呂龜祥就金陵，籍其圖書，得二萬餘卷，送史館。偽國皆聚典籍，惟吳、蜀為多，而江左頗精，亦多修述。SHYJG 5: 2824

Note 35

“In the ninth month of 965, the emperor commanded the Reminder of the Right Sun Fengji to go to Western Shu to collect the ritual implements, books, classics, and seals of the False Shu and return them to court. In the fifth month of 966, Fengji presented the books and ritual implements of False Shu. The implements did not reach the standard, so they were all commanded to be destroyed; the books were given to the Historians' Hall.” (乾德)三年九月，命右拾遺孫逢吉往西川取偽蜀法物、圖書、經籍、印篆赴闕。至四年五月，逢吉以偽蜀圖書、法物來上。其法物不中度，悉命毀之；圖書付史館。SHYJG 5: 2823.

Note 40

“In the Taiping Xingguo period, all of the subdued kings died, and among their former ministers, some promulgated their complaints, so Taizong gathered and employed them all, and established them in the Halls. He bade them to edit the collected books, such as the *Divinitory Tortoise of the Records Bureau*, the *Blossoms from the Garden of Letters*, and the *Taiping Broad Records*. He extended the reach of their writings, rewarded them with salaries and stipends, in order to subjugate their minds, so that most in the end grew old amidst letters.” 太平興國中，諸降王死，其舊臣或宣怨言。太宗盡收用之，置之館閣，使修群書，如《冊府元龜》、《文苑英華》、《太平廣記》之類。廣其卷帙，厚其廩祿贍給，以役其心。多卒老於文字之間。 Wang Mingqing, *Record of a Whisk*, 36. (The Divinitory Tortoise was of course commissioned by Zhenzong, not Taizong.)

Chapter Three

Note 3

“In 630, because the classics had been separated for a very long time from the sages who penned them, and the text was rife with errors, he commanded Secretariat Vice-Director Yan Shigu to compile a corrected *Five Classics* in the Palace Libraries.” 貞觀四年，太宗以經籍去聖久遠，文字訛謬，詔前中書侍郎顏師古於秘書省考定《五經》。 Wu Jing, *Zhenguan Governance Essentials*, 384.

Note 10

“Again, both the *Changes* and the *Odes* were recarved in new additions, and it was ordered that Chen Pengnian and Feng Yuan re-edit all of the mistakes and omissions from the text and commentary of the nine classics, and these were also republished.” 又並易詩重刻板本仍命陳彭年馮元校定自後九經及釋文有訛缺者皆重校刻板 YH 2: 944-192.

Note 14

“The *Book of Qi* says, ‘The Prince of Hengyang, [Xiao] Jun, often minutely copied the Five Classics, making them into a single scroll and placing them in a kerchief-box, as a hedge against forgetting.’ “《齐书》曰：衡阳王钧常手自细书写五经，部为一卷，置于巾箱中，以备遗忘。 TPGJ 7:899-390.

Note 18

“It was decreed: ‘In response to officers’ not noting of items, distributed texts together with provision for inspection and reception by the Secretariat-Chancellery. Where there have been cheat sheets collected, these must all be recorded and reported upwards. As for private texts published by officials, the Kaifeng prefectural office is charged with seeking out copies of each. Should there be no original, they are ordered to copy them out from memory, and hand them over to the prefecture.” 詔：「應官司不著事目發過文字，並供檢納中書。有夾帶書簡，亦盡錄同申。臣僚所發私書，委開封府下逐家取副本。或無底，令追省抄錄，申府繳奏。」 SHYJG 5: 3015.

“Three days in advance of the sequestration they are to submit everything they have reviewed: regulations of every kind, the *Penal Codes*, the *Subregulations*, edicts, pronouncements, the *Gradations*

and *Calendrical Edicts, the Major Rites and Orders from the Imperial Hand*, national maps, almanacs, rites-masters lists of holidays, name taboos, etc., all must go to the examination hall for inspection. If there should be found any cheat sheets usable for preparation or with answer-texts, the violators are to be stricken from the examination lists in order.” 鑾院前三日，投納所習律令格式、《刑統》、《編勅》附令勅書、德音、《五服年月勅》、大禮御札約束、《九域圖》、曆頭、祠部休假名、廟諱等，赴試院點檢。如到，夾帶可以準備斷案答義文字者，先次駁放。SHYIG 9: 5524.

Note 24

“In the ninth year of Kaibao at the Shouzhu Caves in Tanzhou there was founded a compound at Yuelu Mountain, including the area beneath Yellow Cave, which was to welcome students from all over. It consisted of five lecture halls and fifty-two dormitory rooms.” 開寶九年潭州守朱洞始創宇於嶽麓山抱黃洞下以待四方學者作講堂五間齋序五十二間 YH 5 : 947-353.

Note 25

“On the *gengyin* day it was known from Zhou Shuyan of Jiangzhou that at White Deer Grotto in Mt. Lu there were several thousand students who were begging for copies of the nine classics for use in their studies. It was decreed that the Imperial Academy provide copies, so these were sent to them.” 庚寅，知江州周述言廬山白鹿洞學徒常數千百人，乞賜九經，使之肄習。詔國子監給本，仍傳送之。XZZTJCB 1: 402.

Note 46

“Formerly there were four lines of poetry that sung of the things that made people happy in life: ‘Meeting sweet rains after long drought, seeing an old acquaintance in a strange land, a candlelit night in the bridal chamber, and seeing one’s name on the golden board’ A fan added on four lines about disappointment: ‘a widow leading her son in tears, a general seized by the enemy, losing favor in front of palace women, and failing the examinations.’ These two poems show the extremities of joy and sorrow.” 舊傳有詩四句誦世人得意者云：“久旱逢甘雨，他鄉見故知。洞房花燭夜，金榜掛名時。”好事者續以失意四句曰：“寡婦攜兒泣，將軍被敵擒。失恩宮女面，下第舉人心。”此二詩，可喜可悲之狀極矣。Hong Mai, *Notes*, 2: 476.

Chapter Four

Note 36

“The old Sichuan edition of Du’s poetry lacked notes, and though it was organized chronologically it did not separate out ancient-style from regulated verse...the modern Yuzhang officially-printed edition seems to be a reprint of the Zhenjiang Sichuan edition; although it separates out various notes, and also separates old-style from regulated verse, nonetheless its chronology is different.” 舊蜀本杜詩，並無註釋，雖編年，而不分古、近二體，其間略有公自註而已。今豫章庫本，以為翻鎮江蜀本，雖分雜註，又分古、律，其編年亦且不同。Yan Yu, 2: 727.

Note 46

“What is difficult to find a precedent for is such a fractious political situation that included such a brazen literary dissenter as Su Shi. It was because Su, despite the volatility of the politics of the era, persisted in composing poems of outspoken criticism that he was punished. Li Ding and the others surely intended to make an example of Su to intimidate the opposition into silence. They had tried to do just that with Zheng Xia a few years earlier, but their success was incomplete.” Ronald Egan, *Su Shi*, 51.

Note 47

“[The trial] was the first major effort to extend the curtailment of public opinion beyond the reformist subversion of an independent Censorate and Board of Policy Criticism to the larger world of letters, an effort that would eventually end in the banning of all published works by members of the Yüan-yü government. But this development cannot be laid at the doorstep of the monarchy itself...the rise of literary persecution in the Northern Sung seems more a result of bureaucratic factionalism than of any attempt by the Sung monarchs to exert their theoretical powers of absolute control.” Hartman 1990, 44.

Note 48

“This case, in the Song dynasty was called an “imperial imprisonment” and could only be brought on the orders of the emperor; moreover it was tried by a “special court” staffed on the emperor’s order, and after the judgment of the court was finished, the verdict and sentencing recommendations were sent upward to him, for the emperor to make the final decision.”; “Without doubt, this [poetry of Su Shi’s] was a challenge to imperial authority, and so extraordinary measures had to be adopted in order to suppress it; at the same time, it was a warning to the opposition party, fulfilling the role of ‘killing one to warn one hundred.’” Li Yumin, “Poetry Trial,” 269; 272.

Note 50

“One work of poetry and rhapsodies together with other kinds of letters were sent to Wang Shen and others, who had them printed.” 一作詩賦及諸般文字寄送王詵等，致有鏤板印行。Su, 33.

Chapter Five

Note 4

“Xuanzang used Huifeng paper to print images of the Samantabhadra Buddha, and sent them in all directions--every year exactly five assloads.” 玄奘以回鋒紙印普賢像，施于四方，每歲五馱無餘。Feng Zhi, *Scattered Records*, 107. (Reference appears in *juan 5*, citing the *Lost Records from the Garden of Monks* 僧園逸錄).

Note 17

“The *New History of the Five Dynasties* writes that when Emperor Zhaozong of the Tang visited Huazhou, and climbed the Reach-the-Clouds Tower, looking northwest to the capital, he composed a “Pusa Man” in three stanzas, the last of which read, “From wild smokes are born emerald trees, a person goes through on the path. Where can I find a hero, to recapture our central territories?” The rubbing of this lyric is still in a Buddhist temple in Shanzhou, the paper badly crinkled. I once passed through and saw

it—later people had written enough colophons on it to fill a huge scroll.” 《新五代史》書唐昭宗幸華州，登齊雲樓，西北顧望京師，作《菩薩蠻》辭三章，其卒章曰：「野煙生碧樹，陌上行人去。安得有英雄，迎歸大內中。」今此辭墨本猶在陝州一佛寺中，紙札甚草草。余頃年過陝，曾一見之，後人題跋，多盈巨軸矣。Shen Kuo, *Dream Stream Notebooks*, 47. (juan 5)

Note 26

“In Fuzhou there is no fine stone, so they carve words on hardwood, and often those have seen my brush-traces, though the carvers sometimes miss the mark.” 閩中無佳石，以堅木刊字，往往有予筆跡，模刻多或失真。Cai Xiang, "Ping shu" 評書, QSW 47: 1016.

Note 28

A typesetting error resulted in two references to sources in Shui Laiyou, Collected Glosses on the Chunhua Palace Tracings, being conflated with the reference to Cao Shimian. I apologize to readers for missing this correction before printing. My original full note is as follows:

“In the time of Taizong, he once sent to purchase the authentic traces of former worthies, had these collected into Model Letters in ten juan, and had them cut onto woodblocks and stored. Every time a great minister ascended to the Two Administrations, he would be presented with a copy.” 太宗皇時，嘗遣使購募前賢真蹟，集爲法帖十卷，鏤板而藏之。每有大臣進登二府，則賜以一本。Cao Shimian, *Catalogue of Model Letters Compendia*, 1. 按：In the early Southern Song, Zheng Xingyi 鄭興裔 even specifies that the blocks for the edition were carved from jujube wood (棗木). Shui Laiyou, *Collected Glosses*, 470. There was a story in circulation that Taizong had had the edition printed from specially-carved stone blocks (intended for printing, not for use as public steles), but this is refuted by Huang Bosi, who does note that Liu Hang did use stone blocks for his reprinting. Shui, 469.

Note 30

“Every time a great minister was elevated to one of the two bureaus, a copy was bestowed upon him.” 每有大臣進登二府者，則賜以一本。Ouyang Xiu, “Record of Collected Antiquities with Appended Critiques” 集古錄跋尾卷 *juan 10*, *Collected Works* 5: 2314.

Note 41

“I used to enjoy looking over the leftover traces of Wei and Jin calligraphy, and thinking of the lofty intentions of those former people. But what we call “model tracings” are nearly all about mourning, asking after the sick, telling of separations. But greetings and exchanges between family and friends—there are only a few lines of that.” 余嘗喜覽魏、晉以來筆墨遺迹，而想前人之高致也。所謂法帖者，其事率皆弔哀、候病、敘睽離、通訊問，施於家人朋友之間，不過數行而已。Ouyang Xiu, “Record of Collected Antiquities with Appended Critiques” 集古錄跋尾卷 *juan 4*, *Collected Works* 5: 2164.

Note 47

“To the right is calligraphy of Yu Shinan, an incomplete piece, a note freely written on some occasion. The characters and strokes are exquisite. Though I’ve written for many stele carvings in my life, none of them come up to this. How could conscientiousness or casualness be the direct cause of superior or

inferior work?” 右虞世南所書，言不成文，乃信筆偶然爾。其字畫精妙，平生所書碑刻多矣，皆莫及也。豈矜持與不用意，便有優劣邪。(集古錄跋尾 juan 5: “千文候虞世南書”) Ouyang Xiu, *Complete Works*, 2: 1151.

Note 57

Here is Li Zhizhong's description of one aspect of how to distinguish woodblock from moveable-type editions, as given in his introductory text: "...the words on the page appear individuated and loose, without any feeling at all of sinuous brushwork finished in a single breath...and at the same time, because books printed with moveable time were picked and arranged a character at a time, there often appears unevenness in a single line, sometimes even slanted or upside-down words." 版面文字看起来显得疏落、松散、毫无笔走龙蛇、一气呵成之感的...与此同时，活字印刷的书籍由于是一个字一个字捡排起来的，所以一行文字中常常出现字与字之间的不整齐，甚至歪斜或单字横置、倒置的现象。Li Zhizhong, *500 Questions*, 370-1.

Note 65

"In learning Thin Metal Style one must first learn Chu's characters, Song Huizong completely evolved his style from Chu's characters. When writing this style, apart from the thinness of the characters, one must also pay attention to their hardness. If they're only thin and not hard, they become "bronze strands" with nothing calligraphic about them." 學瘦金體必先學褚字，宋徽宗完完全全由褚字變出來的。寫這種字，除了字體要瘦而外，必須注意的是[硬]，因為光瘦而不硬，便成了銅絲，毫無書法的意味了。Cao Weichu, *Study of Calligraphy*, 123.

Note 72

"The Imperial Academy's printing of Academy editions has been plagued by quite a few errors, and blanks in the printing; it is not reasonable for scribes to fill these in by hand. But if error-ridden, how can these educate when distributed to province and county, or when bestowed upon the barbarians?" 國子監印造監本書籍，差舛頗多，兼版缺之處，筆吏書填，不成文理。頒行州縣，錫賜外夷，訛謬何以垂示? QSW 164: 167-8. [Shanghai]