

 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

東亞圖書館
East Asian Library
and the *Gest Collection*

This title is provided ONLY for personal scholarly use. Any publication, reprint, or reproduction of this material is strictly forbidden, and the researcher assumes all responsibility for conforming with the laws of libel and copyright. Titles should be referred to with the following credit line:

© The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University

To request permission to use some material for scholarly publication, and to apply for higher-quality images, please contact gestcirc@princeton.edu, or

**The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection
33 Frist Campus Center, Room 317
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08544
United States**

A fee may be involved (usually according to the general rules listed on <http://www.princeton.edu/~rbsc/research/rights.html>).

Wang Qingyuan, "Examination of a Song Edition of the Chunqiu jizhu (Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals)", The East Asian Library Journal 11, no. 1 (2002): 48-95, accessed January 14, 2017, https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/qingyuan_wang.EALJ.v11.n01.p048.pdf

Examination of a Song Edition of
the *Chunqiu jizhu*
(Collected Annotations for
Spring and Autumn Annals)

WANG QINGYUAN

TRANSLATED BY ALFREDA MURCK

This article introduces a rare Song-dynasty (960–1279) edition of *Chunqiu jizhu* (Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals) in the collection of the Liaoning Provincial Library. Composed by Zhang Qia (1161–1237) and published in 1275, the Liaoning exemplar is compared with other extant Song editions of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, and, in addition, textual errors in former catalogue records are resolved and the reasons for the errors are analyzed.

BACKGROUND ON ZHANG QIA'S WORK

In 1989, while putting the library's holdings in order, the editors of the catalogue of ancient books at the Liaoning Provincial Library (hereafter Liaoning Library) discovered a Song-dynasty woodblock edition that had not been previously catalogued. This complete and undamaged Song-dynasty edition entitled *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn An-*

nals was composed by Zhang Qia. The blocks were carved at a private charitable school in Huating (Huating yishu; in present-day Jiangsu province) in 1275, the first year of the Deyou reign period (1275–1276). The book has altogether eleven chapters (*juan*) of “assembled annotations” (*jizhu*) and one chapter comprising “Guiding Principles” (Gangling). The block format is ten columns of text per half page, with eighteen characters in each column. Small characters are in double columns with twenty-seven characters to a column. The center column of the woodblock has a “white mouth,” that is, upper and lower parts of the column are left blank, and a single fishtail, that is, a v-shaped guide for folding the printed sheet in half. On the left and right of the block are double borderlines. At the bottom of the central columns of the blocks the names of the respective carvers are engraved: Liang, Gui, Qi, Miaogui, Shen and many others. Throughout the text, single characters that occur in personal names of members of the Song-imperial rulers, such as Xuan, Kuang, Zhen, Zheng, Huan, Heng, Wan, Rang, and Shen, are lacking a normally required final stroke in observance of the taboo on use of such characters. (See figure 1) In all, the book has eight fascicles and is printed on fine white “bark-fiber, or bast-fiber paper” (*pizhi*). Close examination of the appearance of the paper and style of the calligraphy reveals that both are clearly characteristic of a Song-woodblock edition.

The prefatory material of the Liaoning Library’s *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* includes the following texts: an official directive (*diewen*) from the Linjiang military prefecture (Linjiang jun) dated the ninth lunar month of the first year of the Duanping reign period (1234–1236); a Department of State Affairs directive from the eighth month of the same year; Zhang Qia’s formal memorandum (*zhuang*) of 1234 introducing the book to the court, a note recording that in the ninth month of the same year Zhang Qia again formally introduced the book; an appended note by Zhang Qia (*xiao tiezi*); and a preface by Wei Zongwu (d.1289) dated 1275. Wei’s preface records: “This book has existed only in the printed edition from Linjiang, and after [woodblocks for this work] were destroyed in a fire, Dong Keweng (dates unknown) showed me a copy of this book, saying that he must ensure its life in transmission. And thus he had printing blocks cut at the charitable school

之始於隱公者非它以平王之所終也平既不王東遷之後周室微弱諸侯強大朝覲不修貢賦不奉號令無所束賞罰無所加壞法易紀變禮亂樂弑君戕父攘國竊號在在有之征伐四出蕩然不禁天下之正中國之事皆諸侯分裂之平玉庸暗歷孝逾惠莫能中興播蕩陵夷逮隱而死雅誥不復作天下無復有王矣故詩至黍離而降書至文侯之命而絕春秋乃作自隱公而始也

元年春王正月

元年者隱公之始年也古者諸侯之國各隨其君之年以紀事故不書是年為平王之四

十九年至於正朔則王所建也此所謂春乃建子月冬至陽氣萌生在三統為天統蓋天統以氣為主故月之建子即以為春而丑寅之氣皆天之所以生劉歆云三統者天施地化人事之紀天施周正建子也地化商正建丑也人事之紀夏正建寅之謂也周正建子在夏時則十一月也聖人雖欲行夏之時而春秋因史作經方尊周以一天下豈遽改其正朔哉然古者記事簡畧多以事繫日以日繫月以月繫年至於事之以大畧見者乃繫事於時考之書如春大會于盟津秋大熟未穫此事以大畧見而繫時者也其餘記其日月則不必繫時如伊訓惟元祀十有二月畢命惟十有二年六月庚午臚其他如武成康誥顧命等篇皆月不繫於時蓋止欲紀歲月故舉月則知時也春秋筆削史記以立大公於元年之下王正月之上每歲四時必加謹春夏秋冬之文皆經氏於前春天時正月王正書春王正月示人君當上奉天時下承正

1. Block format for Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275), *juan* 1, pp. 1a-1b. In the fourth and fifth columns of printed characters from the right, each occurrence of the character for *huan* in the name of prince Huan of Lu is missing the final horizontal stroke, a variant form used

春秋卷第一

杜氏曰春秋者魯史記之名也史之所記必表
年以首事年有四時故錯舉以為所記之名也

張洽集註

隱公

名息姑惠公之子毋聲子謚法不尸其位曰隱○傳惠公
元妃孟子孟子卒繼室以聲子生隱公宋武公生仲子仲

子生而有文在其手曰為魯夫人故仲子歸于我生桓公而惠公
薨是以隱公立而奉之○公羊傳桓公幼諸大夫扳隱而立之隱
於是焉而辭立則未知桓之將必得立也且如桓立則恐諸大夫
之不能相幼君也故凡隱之立為桓立也○伊川程氏傳曰夫子
之道既不行於天下於是因魯春秋立百王不易之大法平王東
遷在位五十一年卒不能復興先王之業王道絕矣孟子曰王者
之迹熄而詩亡詩亡然後春秋作適當隱公之初故始於隱公又
曰詩亡者謂雅亡政教號令不及於天下也○泰山孫氏曰春秋

to avoid writing this Song taboo character, the personal name of the Song emperor Qinzong (r. 1126–1127). Photocopies of the exemplar in the Liaoning Provincial Library courtesy of the author.

in Huating.”¹ Wei Zongwu’s preface confirms that the recently discovered book is definitely the Huating charitable school edition. The discovery of this exemplar of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* has not only added an authentic book in the Classics category to known Song-dynasty editions, it also contributes a reliable guide for assessing and correctly identifying other editions of this book.

A native of Qingjiang (in present-day Jiangxi province), Zhang Qia had the courtesy name Yuande and the literary cognomen Zhuyi. In 1208 he earned his presented-scholar or “metropolitan-graduate” (*jinshi*) degree. He served successively as commandant of Songzi prefecture, administrator of public order in Yuanzhou, district magistrate for Yongxin, and controller-general of Chizhou. His last position was assistant editorial director for compiling historical materials at the court. He had a good reputation as an official. Late in life he stayed at home and worked on his writing. The court, learning of his scholarship, commanded the acting official of the Linjiang military prefecture to call on Zhang Qia to request that his manuscripts be copied for presentation to the court. After the works were submitted to the emperor, Zhang was given the honorary official title Attendant at the Hall of Treasured Seal (Baozhangge).² When he died in 1237 at the age of seventy-seven, he was granted the posthumous honorific Wenxian.³ His books include *Chunqiu jizhuan* (Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals); *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, the work discovered in the Liaoning Provincial Library; *Chunqiu dili yan’ge biao* (List of the Evolution of Geographic Names in Spring and Autumn Annals); *Zuo shi mengqiu* (Introduction to the Commentary of Zuo); *Xu tongjian changbian shilüe* (Outline of the Xu tongjian changbian); and *Lidai junxian dili yan’ge zhi* (Record of Geographic Changes in Counties and Commandaries Over Time).

Zhang Qia at one time served as the head of the White Deer Grotto Academy (Bailudong shuyuan),⁴ and his research on *Spring and Autumn Annals* became widely known. He also had been a student of Zhu Xi (1130–1200), and discussed with him studies of *Spring and Autumn Annals*. As one observer wrote, “Zhang studied with Master Zhu, and with every letter he wrote [to Zhu] posing questions and arguing issues, he always so hit the mark that not even Zhu himself could prevail over him.”⁵ Of the books that Zhang Qia wrote, he first completed the

twenty-six-chapter *Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals*. Late in life, he also composed his *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* and *List of the Evolution of Geographic Names in Spring and Autumn Annals*, two works based on his early work *Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals*. Appraising the scope of and the approach in his own works, Zhang wrote:

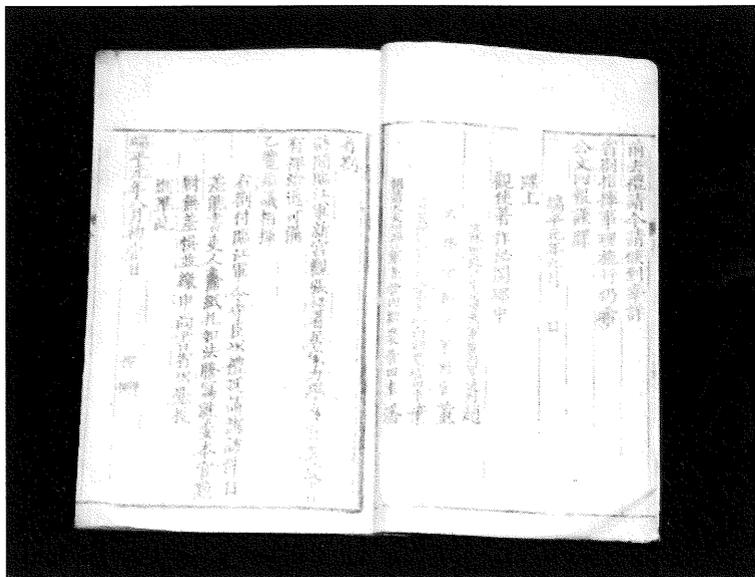
Over the years, teachers and friends have transmitted knowledge and discussed [*Spring and Autumn Annals*] with me. Outstanding scholars since the Han (25 BCE–220 CE) and Tang (618–907) dynasties have expounded on the meanings of the book's 240 years of events.⁶ I have meticulously studied all of their scholarly opinions, noting where they agree and disagree, considering whether they are right or wrong. After many years, it seems that I have a modest sort of achievement. I do not make my own judgments of [others'] faults, but rather I select that which is sufficient to clarify the Sage's intent, and append that at the left of each matter [in the Classic's text] to make an explanation (*zhuan*), giving my work the name *Collected Commentaries for Spring and Autumn Annals*. Moreover, because of my inadequacies in preparation of this work, I also have copied the model of my former teacher Zhu Xi in his [annotations of] the *Analects* and the *Mencius*, drawing on his profound perceptions, explaining and ordering his views in making my *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. In so doing, where occasionally in my ignorance I chanced to have some slight insight, I have also had the temerity to add that after the views of the various worthies.⁷

Having heard of his fame as an author, the court learned of the book and commanded the Department of State Affairs to send the following dispatch to the Linjiang military prefect to ask that his books be submitted to the court:

In Linjiang military prefecture, call on the Xingong Daoist temple manager and editorial director Zhang Qia, who stays at home and exerts himself in scholarship.⁸ He has completed many

books that can contribute to governing and that should be at hand for perusal. . . . Instruct the local officials to call on him with appropriate ceremony to extend an invitation [to appear at court] and to learn the titles [of his books]. Present him with paper and assign scribes so that the texts may be scrupulously copied out. Entrust the temple staff to proofread to ensure that there are no errors. Then it should be handed over to the Department of State Affairs in order to be submitted to the throne.⁹ (For the text of this dispatch, see figure 2.)

During the Song dynasty, in the Jiangxi region, there was a long tradition of serious scholarship on *Spring and Autumn Annals*. An example is the renowned Northern-Song scholar Liu Chang (1019–1068), whose literary cognomen was Gongshi. He produced many books that survive today including *Chunqiu zhuan* (Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals), and *Chunqiu quanheng* (Weighing Spring and Autumn Annals),



2. “Department [of State Affairs] Directive,” *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, dated 1234 (Huating Charitable School, 1275), prefatory materials, p. 1a. Photograph of the exemplar in the Liaoning Provincial Library courtesy of the author.

and *Chunqiu yilin* (Interpretations of Spring and Autumn Annals). After Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* circulated, it received strong commendations from contemporary scholars. One wrote:

[Zhang Qia] of Qingjiang, like Zhao Chu (dates unknown) of Guqi and Liu [Chang] Gongshi, made a name for himself for his studies of *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Today Liu's works *Commentary [on Spring and Autumn Annals]*, *Weighing [the Spring and Autumn Annals]*, and *Interpretations [of Spring and Autumn Annals]* still survive. Ever since Jing[guogong, i.e. Wang Anshi] (1021–1086) arrogantly promoted his heretical proposals, *Spring and Autumn Annals* has been largely ignored, and Liu Chang's study has not had much currency. After more than a century, Zhang Qia alone embraced this one Classic. He could analyze the differences among the "Three Commentaries" (*sanzhuan*), tracing back to the succession of the Guan and Luo schools [that is, Zhang Zai (1020–1077), and the brothers Cheng Yi (1033–1107) and Cheng Hao (1032–1085)].¹⁰ He modeled his work on Zhu Xi's *Lun Meng jizhu* (Collected Annotations on the *Analects* and *Mencius*); he broadly collected the essential interpretations of former Confucian scholars, and amid them added his own opinions. It was published as a book of eleven chapters. . . . For *Spring and Autumn Annals*, he also had *Collected Commentaries* in twenty-eight chapters, and *Introduction to the Commentary of Zuo* in one chapter. The *Collected Annotations* was the last to come out. In consequence of his repeated editings and refinements, it is outstanding and precise.¹¹

It was already the end of the Song when Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* was published, and at the beginning of the Yuan (1271–1368), his work and Hu Anguo's (1074–1138) *Chunqiu zhuan* (Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals) were equally well regarded. Zhang's great-grandson, Zhang Tingjian (fl. fourteenth century), wrote,

When, in 1313, the Branch Censorate for the several Jiangnan regions circulated documents to each of the prefectures [in

Jiangnan related to the reinstatement of the civil service examinations], the regulations designated Zhang Qia's *Collected Commentaries* for use in relation to *Spring and Autumn Annals*. In 1314, when an imperial rescript proclaimed the restoration of the examinations, many scholars eagerly sought to buy his [*Collected*] *Commentaries* and his [*Collected*] *Annotations*.¹²

At the beginning of the Hongwu era (1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the editions of the Five Classics and the Four Books designated for use by the local education intendants primarily bore the commentaries and annotations of Zhu Xi. Only for the *Changes* were the commentaries and explanations of Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi used simultaneously. For *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the preferred choices were Hu Anguo's *Commentary* and Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations*. During the era of the Yongle emperor (1402–1424), the Hanlin Academy chancellor Hu Guang (1370–1418) received an imperial command to compile the *Chunqiu jizhuan daquan* (Comprehensive Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals) for use as standard for the examinations, initiating the primacy of Hu Anguo's *Commentary*.¹³

Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations* gradually fell out of use. In 1564, imperial clansman Zhu Mujie (1517–1568) had new blocks cut for printing Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* at his studio Juletang. Zhu Mujie's regard for the book was very high, as his preface stated:

Since my youth I have studied this classic but was never satisfied with my understanding of it. I carefully compared each of the many selected statements, and yet, [I found] Zhang's [*Collected*] *Commentaries* are known by few people, which is a constant regret for me. Not long ago I acquired a rare-book edition owned by the Shen clan of Wu prefecture and read it extensively. I had it carved into woodblocks, printed, and placed in my studio. There are altogether eleven chapters. . . . It has been said that commentaries on the Classics do not argue and analyze inconclusively, but rather resort to vague obscurities. Those whose knowledge of institutions is not complete turn to eviden-

tial research to fill in the details. However, there still will be points on which scholars don't agree, such as the inception of spring and the first month of the year. Zhang was unique in respecting the Zhou-dynasty (ca. eleventh century–771 BCE) interpretation. . . . His statements are elegant.¹⁴

Zhu Mujie's woodblock edition, however, also had limited distribution.

With the publication of the imperially commissioned *Chunqiu zhuanshuo huizuan* (Compiled Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals) in the Kangxi era (1661–1722) of the Qing dynasty,¹⁵ the reliance on Hu Anguo's *Commentary* gradually lessened, and because Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations* and Hu's *Commentary* had points of difference, Zhang's book once again became well regarded. In the same era, the compilation *Tongzhitang jingjie* (Explication of the Classics Edited at the Tongzhitang), edited by Nalan Chengde (1655–1685), did not include Hu Anguo's *Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals* but rather included Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. A preface attributed to Nalan Chengde praised Zhang and denigrated Hu: "I admire this book. It collects together the strengths of many scholars, and in balancing disparities, it embraces the most appropriate. It does not make Hu's mistakes of forced reading. It is fully appropriate to be promulgated to education officials."¹⁶ During the Qianlong reign (1736–1796), the editors of the imperially sponsored compilation *Siku quanshu* (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries) selected both Hu and Zhang's books for inclusion. Their evaluation of Zhang's book touches on the ancient debate over which month was the true beginning of the year. "In Zhang Qia's book, spring is considered to begin with the *zi* month [i.e. the next lunar First Month following the winter solstice] and is in accord with the *Commentary of Zuo's* interpretation. It is sufficient to dash the trivial and muddled vulgarities of other authors."¹⁷

THE EXEMPLARS COMPARED

According to various catalogue entries, there are three exemplars of Song-dynasty woodblock imprints of Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* extant today.

National Palace Museum, Taipei (1235?)

In the Classics section of its *Guoli gugong bowuyuan shanben jiuji zongmu* (Comprehensive Catalogue of Rare and Old Books in the National Palace Museum), the Palace Museum in Taipei lists among the entries on *Spring and Autumn Annals* a book identified as “the Linjiang military prefectural school (Linjiang junxue) edition of 1235 in two fascicles.”¹⁸ Regrettably no description of the block or of the colophons and seals is recorded there. However, in the first chapter of *Cangyuan qunshu jingyanlu* (Cangyuan’s Record of Rare Books Seen), which preserves Fu Zengxiang’s (1872–1949) meticulous notes on Song-woodblock editions in the original Beiping Palace Museum collection, the description of the book is as follows:

[The book has] a large woodblock frame, ten columns of eighteen characters [per half page], annotations in double columns of twenty-seven characters, white mouth, and double border lines. There are an official directive from the Linjiang military prefecture dated 1234, a Department of State Affairs’ directive, a formal memorandum by Zhang Qia, Zhang Qia’s official communication of 1235, and an appended note followed by the “Chunqiu gangling” (Guiding Principles for Spring and Autumn Annals). Collectors’ seals include “Pingyang Jizi zhi zhang” (Seal of Jizi from Pingyang) and “Pingyang Jizi shoucang tushu zhi yin” (Seal of the Collection of Jizi from Pingyang), as well as seals of both the Qianlong emperor and the Tianlu [linlang] library. It had no previous descriptive record. Also there is a seal reading “Chizaotang tushu yin” (Seal of the Collection of Chizaotang).¹⁹ (See figure 3.)

Fu Zengxiang’s record was made in 1927 when he worked in the Palace Museum on the Committee to Rehabilitate the late-Qing Imperial Household (Banli Qingshi shanhou weiyuanhui). Of the books that he saw from the Qing-palace Tianlu linlang collection, one was the exemplar of Zhang Qia’s *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* that is now in the Palace Museum in Taipei.

National Library of China (1255)

The Rare Book Department of the National Library, Beijing, owns an exemplar described as a “Linjiang military prefectural school (Linjiang junxiang) woodblock edition of 1255 in twelve fascicles.”²⁰ The format of this book is eight columns [per half page] with sixteen characters per column; double columns of small characters are also sixteen per column. The woodblock center column has a white mouth, and there are double borders left and right. (See figure 4.)

National Library of China (1275)

The Rare Book Department, National Library, Beijing, also owns an exemplar described as a Song-dynasty edition in ten fascicles.²¹ The book, like the exemplar in the Palace Museum in Taipei, also has ten columns of eighteen characters per half page, small characters in double columns with twenty-seven characters to a column, white mouth, and double borders left and right. (See figure 5.)

In chapter three of the imperial catalogue *Tianlu linlang shumu xubian* (Tianlu Linlang Book Catalogue, Continued), there are two entries for Song-dynasty woodblock editions of Zhang Qia’s *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. One is a book in two fascicles, and one is a book in ten fascicles. The entry for the two-fascicle book says:

[B]efore the chapters, there are an official dispatch from the Linjiang military prefecture dated the ninth lunar month of the first year (1234) of the Duanping reign period; . . . a formal memorandum by Zhang Qia written in [the same month] asking the court to review his clean copy; another request by Zhang dated the seventh month of the second year (1235) [of the Duanping reign]; Zhang Qia’s appended note explaining that each of the taboo characters [that were written in full form] were covered with a yellow piece of paper; and finally the “Guiding Principles for Spring and Autumn Annals.” According to the regulations for examinations established early in the Ming, both Hu Anguo’s *Commentary* and Zhang Qia’s *Collected Annotations*

前去禮請今請候到幸詳

省劄指揮事理施行仍希

公文回報謹牒

端平元年九月 日

牒

牒上

觀使著作祕閣郎中

文林郎臨江軍司理參軍權判官通判趙

文林郎臨江軍判官董

宣教郎通判臨江軍兼管內勸農管田事葉

朝請大夫知臨江軍兼管內勸農管田事潘

3. Collectors' seals in the exemplar of Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275) in the original Beiping Palace Museum. Photocopy of images in *Photographs of*



臨江軍

牒上

觀使著作秘閣郎中

今月初五日准

安撫使衙牌筒備准

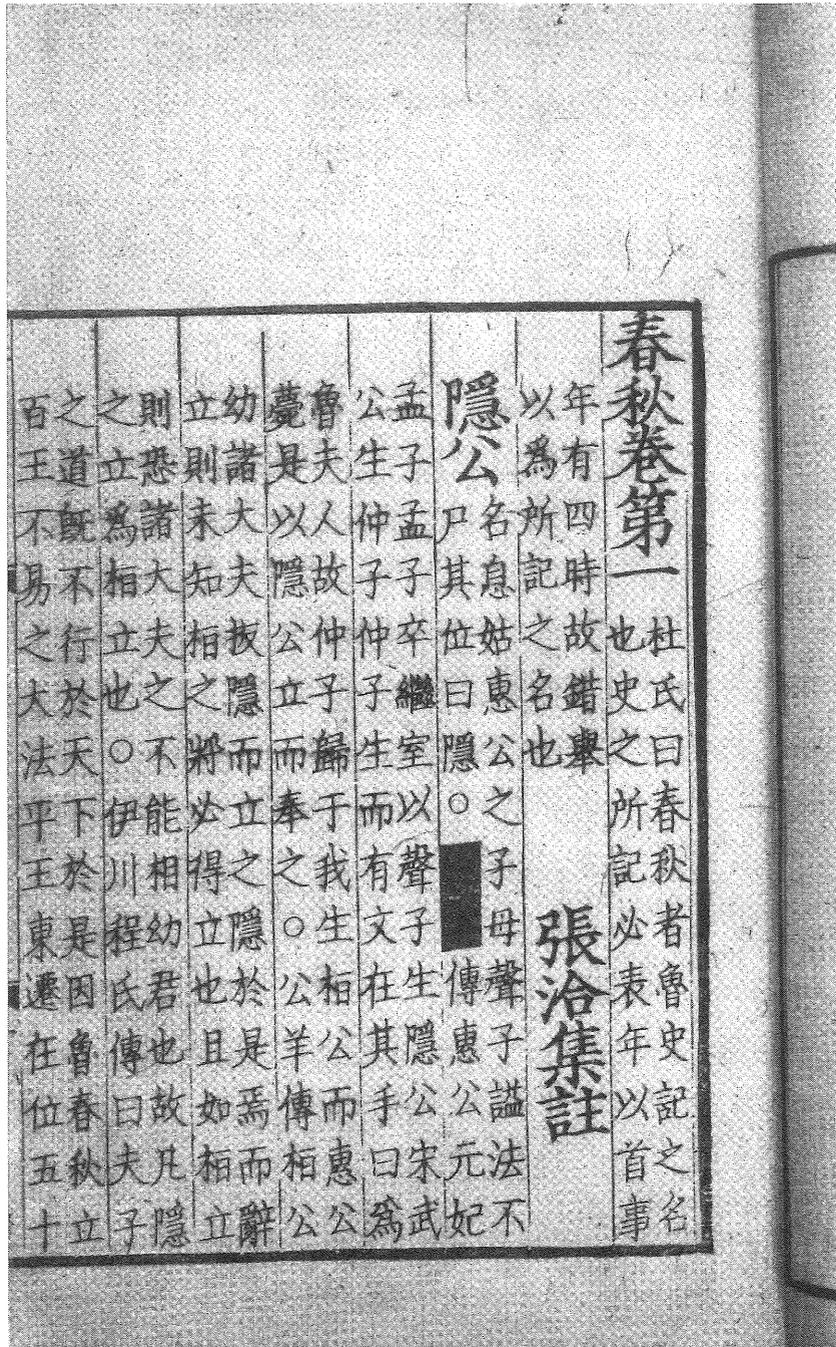


尚書省劄子訪聞臨江軍新宮觀張秘著居家
力學多著成書有裨治道可備

乙覽劄付臨江軍令守臣以禮延請詢訪件
目差能書吏人齋紙扎如法謄寫就委本官
點對無差悞並繳申尚書省以憑投

進須至公文

牒除已委請司戶趙從事并差虞候萬宣齋牒劄



春秋卷第一

杜氏曰春秋者魯史記之名也史之所記必表年以首事

年有四時故錯舉

張洽集註

以為所記之名也

隱公

名息姑惠公之子母聲子謚法不

孟仲子卒繼室以聲子生隱公宋武

公生仲子仲子生而有文在其手曰為

魯夫以隱公立而奉之○公羊傳桓公

幼則大夫拔隱而立之隱於是焉而辭

立則未夫相之將必得立也且如桓立

則悉諸大夫之不能相幼君也故凡隱

之道既不行於天下於是因魯春秋立

百王不易之法乎東遷在位五十

4. National Library of China exemplar of Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Linjiang Military Prefectural School, 1255), *juan 1*, p. 1a. Photograph courtesy of the National Library of China, number 025.

春秋卷第一

杜氏曰春秋者魯史記之名也史之所記必表年以首事年有四時故錯舉以為所記之名也

張洽集註

隱公

名息姑惠公之子母聲子謚法不尸其位曰隱○傳惠公元妃孟子孟子卒繼室以聲子生隱公宋武公生仲子仲

子生而有文在其手曰為魯夫人故仲子歸于我生桓公而惠公竟是以隱公立而奉之○公羊傳桓公幼諸大夫叛隱而立之隱於是焉而辭立則未知桓之將必得立也且如桓立則恐諸大夫之不能相幼君也故凡隱之立為桓立也○伊川程氏傳曰夫子之道既不行於天下於是因魯春秋立百王不易之大法平王東遷在位五十一年卒不能復興先王之業王道絕矣孟子曰王者之迹熄而詩亡詩亡然後春秋作適當隱公之初故始於隱公又曰詩亡者謂雅亡政教號令不及於天下也○泰山孫氏曰春秋

5. National Library of China exemplar of Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275), *juan 1*, p. 1a. Photograph courtesy of the National Library of China, number 12346.

were to be used for *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Education officials listed his book together with texts by Zhu Xi, Cai Shen (1167–1230), Hu Anguo, and Chen Hao (1261–1341). Later scholars increasingly turned to ease and convenience, [provided by the Yongle-period *Comprehensive Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals* compiled by Hu Guang], and [Zhang Qia's text] was not used. Only the Tongzhitang [i.e. Nalan Chengde] cut new blocks. It seems Song editions are as rare as a male phoenix.²²

Every detail of this book's appended texts, such as the additional front matter, prefaces, and the seals, are identical to the entry in Fu Zengxiang's *Cangyuan's Record of Rare Books Seen*, which confirms that this two-fascicle exemplar is the very exemplar listed as "Linjiang military prefectural school edition of 1235" now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Taipei (i.e. the first exemplar listed above). What's more, judging from its provenance and successive ownerships, binding, and number of fascicles, the ten-fascicle exemplar recorded in the *Tianlu Linlang Book Catalogue, Continued*, should be the very exemplar in the Beijing National Library identified as a Song edition in ten fascicles.

Liaoning Provincial Library (1275)

The Huating charitable school edition of 1275 newly discovered in the Liaoning Library is clearly different from the Linjiang military prefectural school woodblock edition of 1255 in the collection of the Beijing National Library. Whereas Liaoning's exemplar has ten columns of eighteen characters, with small characters in double columns of twenty-seven characters, white mouth, and double border lines left and right, Beijing's Linjiang military prefectural school edition of 1255 has eight columns of sixteen characters. (Compare figure 1 with figure 4.)

Is it possible that the Liaoning Library edition was printed from the same woodblocks as Beijing National Library's ten-fascicle edition? In order to assess the similarities and differences, Liaoning Library sent photocopies of sample pages from its exemplar of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* to the National Library so that it could be compared to the ten-fascicle edition. Li Zhizhong of the National

Library carefully examined the two exemplars and determined that they both were printed from the very same blocks. (Compare figure 1 with figure 5.) The two exemplars differ in that the National Library exemplar does not include Wei Zongwu's 1275 preface. Because of that, when it was first catalogued, there was no way to establish precisely the date of the edition. Therefore, previously the book had been authenticated as simply a "Song-woodblock edition." At this point, the discovery of Liaoning Library's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* not only proved without a doubt that the National Library's exemplar was a genuine Song-dynasty edition, but also establishes that exemplar's year of publication and publisher.

The woodblock format (*hangkuan*) of the Taipei Palace Museum's exemplar of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* is also fundamentally the same as the Liaoning Library's Song edition of 1275. Only the description of the border lines is slightly different. As noted above, in his *Cangyuan's Record of Rare Books Seen*, Fu Zengxiang recorded that the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* that he had seen had double border lines. According to the pattern of the entries in Fu Zengxiang's work, this would seem to imply that the exemplar in Taiwan has double border lines on all four sides of the page frame, where as the edition in the Liaoning Library has double border lines on the left and right only.²³ To find out whether or not Fu Zengxiang had made an error, the illustrated work *Gugong shanben shuying chubian* (Photographs of Rare Books in the Palace Museum, First Series) was consulted. Indeed, just below the image of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* is the following note: "Composed by Zhang Qia of the Song; a Song edition. At the front of the book are a Linjiang military prefecture dispatch dated 1234, a formal memorandum and short appended note by Zhang Qia, likely cut at that time. There are seals of Chizaotang, various collection seals of Pingyang Jizi, and imperial seals of Tianlu linlang, Tianlu jijian, and of the Qianlong emperor."²⁴ (See figures 3, 6, and 7.) Comparison of the photographic image of this exemplar with Liaoning's edition showed that, other than some individual differences in seals (the Liaoning edition has no collector's seals), the column form, typeface, and block style of the two books are identical.²⁵ (Compare figure 8 here with figure 3 above.) From this we can

之始於隱公者非它以平王之所終也平既不王東遷之後周室微弱諸侯強大朝覲不修貢賦不奉號令無所束賞罰無所加壞法易紀變禮亂樂弒君弑父攘國竊號在在有之征伐四出蕩然不禁天下之正中國之事皆諸侯分裂之平王庸暗歷孝逾惠莫能中興播蕩陵夷逮隱而死雅誥不復作天下無復有王矣故詩至黍離而降書至文侯之命而絕春秋乃作自隱公而始也

元年春王正月

元年者隱公之始年也古者諸侯之國各隨其君之年以紀事故不書是年為平王之四

十九年至於正朔則王所建也此所謂春乃建子月冬至陽氣萌生有三統為天統蓋天統以氣為主故月之建子即以爲春而丑寅之氣皆天之所以生劉歆云三統者天施地化人事之紀天施周正建子也地化商正建丑也人事之紀夏正建寅之謂也周正建子在夏時則十一月也聖人雖欲行夏之時而春秋因史作經方尊周以一天下豈遽改其正朔哉然古者記事簡畧多以事繫日以日繫月以月繫年至於事之以大畧見者乃繫事於時考之書如春大會于盟津秋大熟未穫此事以大畧見而繫時者也其餘記其日月則不必繫時如伊訓惟元祀十有二月畢命惟十有二年六月庚午胙其他如武成康誥顧命等篇皆月不繫於時蓋止欲紀歲月故舉月則知時也春秋筆削史記以立大法於元年之下王正月之上每歲四時必加謹春夏秋冬之文皆程氏所謂春天時正月王正書春王正月示人君當上奉天時下承王正

6. Double side-border lines of page frame of the exemplar in the original Beiping Palace Museum of Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275), juan 1, p. 1a-1b. Photocopies of images in *Photographs of Rare Books in the Palace Museum, First Series* (Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan, 1929), unpaginated. Note that it appears that this

春秋卷第一

杜氏曰春秋者魯史記之名也史之所記必表年以首事年有四時故錯舉以為所記之名也

張洽集

隱公

名息姑惠公之子母聲子謚法不尸其位曰隱○傳惠公元妃孟子孟子卒繼室以聲子生隱公宋武公生仲子仲

子生而有文在其手曰為魯夫人故仲子歸于我生桓公而惠公薨是以隱公立而奉之○公羊傳桓公幼諸大夫拔隱而立之隱於是焉而辭立則未知桓之將必得立也且如桓立則恐諸大夫之不能相幼君也故凡隱之立為桓立也○伊川程氏傳曰夫子之道既不行於天下於是因魯春秋立百王不易之大法平王東遷在位五十一年卒不能復興先王之業王道絕矣孟子曰王者之迹熄而詩亡詩亡然後春秋作適當隱公之初故始於隱公又曰詩亡者謂雅亡政教號令不及於天下也○泰山孫氏曰春秋

photograph has been touched up. The left- and right-border lines and column lines have been redrawn, and the inking smudges in the first three columns on the right have been removed.

春秋卷第一

杜氏曰春秋者魯史記之名也史之所記必表年以首事年有四時故錯舉以為所記之名也

張洽集註

隱公

名息姑惠公之子母聲子謚法不尸其位曰隱○傳惠公元妃孟子孟子卒繼室以聲子生隱公宋武公生仲子仲

子生而有文在其手曰為魯夫人故仲子歸于我生相公而惠公薨是以隱公立而奉之○公羊傳相公幼諸大夫扳隱而立之隱於是焉而辭立則未知相之將必得立也且如相立則恐諸大夫之不能相幼君也故凡隱之立為相立也○伊川程氏傳曰夫子之道既不行於天下於是因魯春秋立百王不易之大法乎王東遷在位五十一年卒不能復興先王之業王道絕矣孟子曰王者之迹熄而詩亡詩亡然後春秋作適當隱公之初故始於隱公又曰詩亡者謂雅亡政教號令不及於天下也○泰山孫氏曰春秋

7. Unretouched image of the exemplar in the original Beiping Palace Museum, now held in the Palace Museum in Taipei, of the 1275 edition of Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. Photograph of image in *Guoli gugong bowuyuan Songben tulu* (Illustrated Catalogue of Song Editions in the National Palace Museum) (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1977), illustration 13.

confirm that Taipei Palace Museum's exemplar of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* and the Liaoning Library's edition of 1275 were, without question, printed from the same blocks. The reason for dating the Taipei edition to 1235 was likely because, in the absence of Wei Zongwu's preface of 1275, Zhang Qia's formal memorandum of 1235 was used to date the exemplar. Therefore, the 1275 edition discovered in the Liaoning Library can be used to verify that the edition in the Palace Museum, Taipei, is none other than the 1275 edition. Thus, an error originally made in the catalogue can be rectified. At the same time, this also clarifies that the two Song-woodblock exemplars of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* listed in the *Tianlu Linlang Book Catalogue, Continued* are the same edition, that of the Huating charitable school edition of 1275.

THE CHALLENGES OF AUTHENTICATING EARLY EDITIONS

After Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* was completed, printing blocks for the work were cut only twice during the Southern Song (1127–1279). In 1235, Zhang submitted his *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* to the court, and from his memorandum of 1234 alone, where Zhang Qia wrote that the work was "neatly transcribed and bound" (*shanxie zhuangbei*), probably in butterfly style, we know that at that time printing blocks for the work had not yet been carved.²⁶ In 1255 the book was first engraved at the Linjiang military prefectural school and then became available for wider distribution. The 1255 block-carved edition of the Linjiang military prefectural school was thus the first printed edition of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. This is confirmed by the 1255 postface by educational official Fang Yingfa (1223–1288) of Puyang, which is included in the Linjiang military prefectural edition (For the Chinese text, see figure 9). Fang Yingfa wrote,

In the Duanping reign, when the court sought [his] writings, [Zhang Qia] presented both his [*Collected*] *Annotations* and his [*Collected*] *Commentaries* to the imperial book storage. The emperor wanted Zhang to lead the Classics Colloquium (*jingwei*) at

前去禮請今請候到幸詳
省劄指揮事理施行仍希
公文回報謹牒

端平元年九月 日

牒

牒上

觀使著作祕閣郎中

文林郎臨江軍司理參軍權判官通判趙

文林郎臨江軍判官董

宣教郎通判臨江軍兼管內勸農管田事葉

朝請大夫知臨江軍兼管內勸農管田事潘

臨江軍

牒上

觀使著作秘閣郎中

今月初五日准



安撫使衙牌筒備準

尚書省劄子訪聞臨江軍新宮觀張秘著居家
力學多有著成書有裨治道可備

乙覽劄付臨江軍令守臣以禮延請詢訪件
目差能書吏人齋紙扎如法謄寫就委本官
點對無差悞並繳申尚書省以憑投

進須至公文

牒除已委請司戶趙從事并差虞候萬宣齋牒劄

書註傳悉上冊府

天子需公經帷力辭

迺以直祕閣奉祠年

七十有七以率僕生

9A. Fang Yingfa, "[Postface]," Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Linjiang Military Prefecture School, 1255), pp. 5a-6b.

十八卷左氏蒙求一

卷集註家晚出屢經

刪潤尤彌精密

端平間朝廷徵所著

學甫陽方應叢謹書

卷之五

三

9B. Continuation and conclusion of Fang Yingfa's "[Postface]."

晚安敢以善語繫公

書後既利于學官因

考其本末如此寶祐

乙卯中和節日郡文

the court, but he firmly declined. Then rather, he was given an honorary position associated with the Imperial Archives. He died at age seventy-seven. Born late as I am, I hardly dare append my disorderly words to the master's book, except that now that [Zhang Qia's work] finally has been carved into blocks at the government school, [I wanted to verify] its circumstances from start to finish.²⁷

Fang's postface not only states clearly that the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* was first cut in 1255 at the Linjiang military prefectural school, it also clarifies that in 1235 the text had not been carved onto woodblocks for printing.

Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals also has a Yuan-period edition of 1314 from newly carved blocks, which includes a postface by Zhang Qia's great-grandson Zhang Tingjian. The postface says, "My great-grandfather master Wenxian's three books—*Collected Commentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Collected Annotations [for Spring and Autumn Annals]*, and *List of the Evolution of Geographic Names*—were acquired by the Court for the Imperial Library in 1234. Thereafter, the *Collected Annotations* were engraved at the military prefecture school. In 1260 [the blocks] were destroyed in a fire."²⁸ His mention of the military prefectural school edition of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* agrees with the one previously described above in Fang Yingfa's postface, that is to say, with respect to the woodblocks having been carved in 1255. According to Zhang Tingjian's postface, the Linjiang military prefectural school edition of 1255 was the earliest woodblock edition of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, and in 1260, only five years after they were engraved, the blocks were lost in a fire. The number of copies printed and distributed could not have been many. Therefore, twenty years later in 1275, the text was again carved at the Huating charitable school. Of the 1275 edition, there are now three exemplars known, those in the collections of the Liaoning Library, the Beijing National Library, and the Palace Museum in Taiwan. By comparison, the only known exemplar of the 1255 edition is in the National Library, Beijing.²⁹

It has been extremely difficult for Song- and Yuan-dynasty edi-

tions to be transmitted to later ages. Perhaps not even one of one hundred copies manages to survive. Each surviving exemplar, because of natural or man-made factors, has distinctive features. Because the front matter of the known exemplars of the 1275 Huating charitable school edition of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* includes different prefaces, the corresponding catalogue entries also have differences. For example, note the National Library's entry that described it simply as "Song-woodblock edition," while the Palace Museum concluded that it had a woodblock edition of 1235. In fact, since the Song dynasty, the 1275 edition of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* has been little known. Even Zhang Qia's great-grandson Zhang Tingjian, in the postface that he wrote for the 1314 edition of *Collected Annotations*, spoke only of the Linjiang military prefectural school edition of 1255 and never mentioned the Huating charitable school edition of 1275. In the Ming dynasty, in 1564, when Zhu Mujie carved the Juletang woodblock edition of *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, his preface similarly did not mention the Huating edition of 1275.³⁰ During the Kangxi era of the Qing dynasty, in the series *Explanation of the Classics* produced at the Tongzhitang, compiled and edited by Nalan Chengde, its version of Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* bore Wei Zongwu's preface dated 1275. From the inclusion of that preface we know that the edition that Nalan Chengde used for the text (*diben*) was the Huating charitable school edition of 1275. However, even though Wei's preface was included in that early-seventeenth-century series, it seems to have elicited little attention.

The woodblock edition of the Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* published by the Huating charitable school in 1275 has survived little noticed. Although reference to it was not included in the *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu* (Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books),³¹ the exemplar of the 1275 imprint, newly discovered and catalogued by the Liaoning Provincial Library, has recently been published in a slightly reduced facsimile format and now may again be clearly known to the world.³² Through this one aspect of the matter we can see that in the vast subject of rare books, the authentication of early editions cannot be taken lightly. The Huating charitable school edition of 1275

had sunk into oblivion because both the exemplar in the National Library, Beijing and the one in the Palace Museum, Taipei had lost the 1275 preface by Wei Zongwu. In his preface, Wei clearly stated his esteem of Zhang Qia's insights into the meaning and significance of the text of and the commentaries on *Spring and Autumn Annals*. He also quietly conveyed a sense of relief and satisfaction that in his day, the life of this work had been successfully extended. The complete text of Wei Zongwu's 1275 preface to Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* follows in English. (For the Chinese text, see figure 10.)

I have heard that Cheng Yi said: "There is a method for reading the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, which is to use the *Commentaries* (*zhuan*) to test the *Classic* (*jing*), and the *Classic* to test the *Commentaries*."³³ Today we observe that in Zhang [Qia] Zhuyi's *Collected Annotations [for Spring and Autumn Annals]*, the text of the commentaries he has composed is placed below that of the *Classic* and sets forth there the views of all the various specialists, allowing the student immediately upon opening the book to clearly perceive the method of subtly emending wording [to show approval and disapproval]. In that, he has firmly grasped the understanding that Master Yichuan [Cheng Yi] has bequeathed to us, and in that vein, moreover, he also has inserted here and there his own views, drawing out the obscure, clarifying the concealed, and investigating with great skill what is extremely subtle, thus bringing out what previous persons' writings have failed to attain. [Zhang's exegesis] can be likened to having a collection of valuables for making vessels, the better to take the pieces of gold and fragments of jade and perform [on their surfaces] the work of carving and chiselling, [thereby revealing their intrinsic worth], and [and in doing so accomplish something] that those subsequent persons engaged in this work were unable to match.³⁴

For example, as when discussing the state of Chu's rescue of the state of Zheng [in 605–612 BCE], the text not only does not write the word "rescue," (*jiu*) but disparagingly designates only that [a body of] "men" (*ren*) [from Chu made an incursion into

Zheng (*Churen fa zheng*)]. This simple designation further demotes Chu, at that time still looked upon as a semi-barbarian state], and therein, [in Zhang Qia's opinion], revealing that the barbarian Yi and the Di tribes did not merit advancement [to the status of the Zhou kingdom's subordinate states, otherwise the *Spring and Autumn Annals* text would be worded "an army of Chu rescued Zheng"].³⁵ And regarding the state of Wu's intervention to save the state of Chen [in 486 BCE], [the *Spring and Autumn Annals*] does not write "an army" (*shi*) [of Wu] nor does it even write "men" [of Wu but merely writes "the heir of Chu led a force and invaded Chen, and Wu saved Chen" (*Chu gongzi jie shuaishi fa Chen Wu jiu Chen*)], therein, [in Zhang Qia's interpretation], revealing how the changing times had become even more grievous.³⁶

Another example is seen in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* passage, "the duke [of Lu] went to the [Zhou royal] capital [in 577 BCE]," (*gong ru jingshi*) following which it subsequently is stated that [at a meeting with heads of other states they agreed] "to invade Qin" (*fa Qin*). Here, [Zhang Qia] comments, [as a warning, it would seem, to the scholar bureaucrats of his own time], that the elements of the servitor's ritual requirements, although barely surviving, cannot be dispensed with, and those servitors who fail to assume particular responsibility for their ritual proprieties are deserving of blame, which thus twice emphasized the essential ethical point.³⁷

[Another example is seen in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* passage] regarding "the burial of duke Jing of Cai [in 552 BCE]" (*zang Cai Jinggong*), following which it subsequently is stated that "in consequence of the calamity of the [palace] fire in Song" (*Song zai gu*) [the great officers of several states had a meeting at Shanyuan to discuss how to assist the state of Song]. Here, [Zhang Qia] states that debased standards were used in exchanging formal communications causing apprehension that the central states would bring each other into barbarism [to become] like the Yi, a moral point thrice repeated [in this passage of *Spring and Autumn Annals*].³⁸

猶之聚寶為器益以零金碎玉
而加追琢之工後有作者弗可及
已其間如論楚之救鄭既不書救
又賅稱人以見夷狄之不足進至吳
之救陳既不書師復不書人以見世
變之益可哀他如於公如京師而繼
之呂伐秦而謂臣禮之僅存者不可

嘗聞之程子云看春秋有法以
傳考經以經考傳今觀主一張
君集註纂傳文載於經下而繫
以諸家之說使學者開卷筆削
之法瞭然在目固已得伊川先生
之遺意而又間附以己見索幽闡秘
研精極微有前人論著之所未到

惟見其為斷爛朝報耳二百四
十餘年褒貶之筆夫子之志不
幾泯夫此書惟臨江有刊本遭
燬之後董克翁以錄本示予謂不
可不壽其傳故鋟梓於華亭之義
塾云德祐乙亥菊節後學衛宗武
謹書



廢臣禮之不尊者為可貶而兩寓
其旨於葵蔡景公而繼之呂宋
災故而謂用變例以迭書慮中
國之淪胥于夷而三致其意若此
之類發明為多皆能沉潛書法之
妙體認史外傳心之蘊不為無補於
聖經苟惟無得於此則若荆公

With examples of this kind, Zhang Qia makes many original points, which all display his capacity to penetrate deeply the subtleties of the writing style [of the Classic], while grasping intuitively the essence of the meaning transmitted beyond the historical record, and which cannot fail to complement significantly the Sage's Classic itself. For if we could gain no knowledge of [Zhang Qia's achievement], like [Wang Anshi] Jinggong, we too might perceive in it [i.e. in *Spring and Autumn Annals*] nothing more than worthless court documents. Would not this record of more than two hundred and forty years [721–479 BCE]³⁹ of praise and blame conveying the Master (Confucius)'s profound intent then virtually be lost to view?

This book has existed only in the printed edition from Linjiang, and after [woodblocks for this work] were destroyed in a fire, Dong Keweng showed me a copy of this work, saying that he must ensure its life in transmission. And thus he had printing blocks cut at the charitable school in Huating. Respectfully written in the year *yihai* of the Deyou reign period (1275), in the season of chrysanthemums, by [Zhang's] later student, Wei Zongwu.

Wei Zongwu's preface is followed by small square, relief seal reading, "Wei Zongwu yin" (Wei Zongwu's seal) and a larger rectangular, relief seal reading "Qifu" (Qifu).⁴⁰

NOTES

1. Wei Zongwu, "[Xu]" ([Preface]), dated 1275, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, (Huating Charitable School, 1275), p. 2b. This passage is quoted from Wei's preface in the exemplar in the collection of the Liaoning Provincial Library.
2. For the Northern-Song (960–1127) antecedent of this office, see *Zhongwen dacidian* (Great Dictionary of Chinese Phrases), 10 vols. (Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua daxue yinhang, 1985), vol. 3, p. 618. The Hall of Treasured Seal was the place where Song Taizong's (r. 977–998) and Zhenzong's (r. 998–1022) writings were stored. In the Southern Song the position awarded Zhang Qia seems to have been honorific with no responsibilities.
3. Tuo Tuo (1313–1355) et al., *Songshi* (Official History of the Song) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), *juan* 430, p. 12785. See also Zhu Mujie, "Ke Chunqiu

jizhu xu” (Preface for the Carving of Collected Annotations to Spring and Autumn Annals), *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Juletang, 1564). This woodblock exemplar of 1564 is in the collection of the Shanghai Library, and Ren Guangliang of the Shanghai Library provided a handwritten copy of this preface.

4. White Deer Grotto, the name of a place lying east of Mt. Lu (Lushan) and just north of the Song-dynasty Nankang military prefecture (present-day Xingzi xian) in northern Jiangxi, became a noted gathering place for scholars in the late-Tang and Five-dynasties (907–960) periods, and something like an informal academy existed there. When Zhu Xi served as prefect of the Nankang military prefecture between 1178 and 1181, he made a practice of visiting the site of the White Deer Grotto Academy, and impressed by its history, decided to foster its rebuilding. He petitioned the throne to have an official Confucian academy established on the site, requesting for it a donation of printed sets of the classics and a name panel in the emperor’s handwriting for its entranceway. Those requests were granted, and thus the White Deer Grotto Academy came into being. For it, Zhu Xi wrote up a famous set of principles and regulations to guide the conduct of the academy, which greatly influenced the conduct of Confucian academies thereafter.

By the early 1230s, the fortunes of the academy had declined. In the early 1230s, Yuan Fu (1214 *jinshi*), a prominent scholar and official who had provincial posts in Jiangxi, noted that the academy had fallen into disrepair and summoned Zhang Qia to see if he would be willing to become its director (*shanzhang*). It was on Yuan Fu’s recommendation that Zhang Qia earlier had been promoted to controller-general at nearby Chizhou, Anhui. Zhang Qia responded, “Ah, that site preserves the traces of my late teacher [Zhu Xi]. Could I refuse?” (*Official History of the Song*, *juan* 430, p. 12787) Zhang Qia’s tenure as director of the White Deer Grotto Academy may have ended in 1235 or 1236, but he is credited with reviving the institution and strengthening the influence there of Zhu Xi.

Work in the White Deer Grotto Academy establishes Zhang Qia’s close relationship with Zhu Xi and the reason that Zhang’s work conveys Zhu’s criticism of Hu Anguo’s (1074–1138) subsequently dominant *Chunqiu zhuan* (Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals). See note 33 below for more discussion of Hu Anguo’s work on *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

5. Fang Yingfa [1233–1268, Hengyou-era (1241–1252) *jinshi*], “Hou xu” (Postface), 1255, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Linjiang Military Prefectural School, 1255). Fang Yingfa’s postface also says, “Zhu Xi commented that a scholar’s last effort should be *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The reason is that narrating and expounding, which form the major elements in the other classics, are uniquely spare in *Spring and Autumn Annals*. How could this [Zhang Qia’s] book be no more than the assemblage of past scholars’ accomplishments? Isn’t it rather a supplement to the inadequacies of those who teach?” An exemplar of the woodblock edition containing Fang Yingfa’s

- postface is in the collection of the National Library, Beijing, and Li Zhizhong of the National Library provided a copy of this text.
6. The dates covered by the *Spring and Autumn Annals* record are 721–479 BCE, a span of 242 years. The dates that James Legge first gave for the beginning and the end of this record of the Chunqiu-era history differed slightly. See James Legge, *Chinese Classics*, (1872; Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 1960), vol. 5, pp. 102–110. In his second edition of this collection, Legge corrected a mistake he had made in determining the birth and death dates of Confucius (551–479 BCE). Using that correction, we can calculate the years covered by the *Spring and Autumn Annals* to have been 721–479 BCE.
 7. Zhang Qia, “Zhuang” ([Second] Memorandum [on Submitting His Book]), dated 1234 (ninth lunar month of the first year of the Duanping reign), *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275), *juanshou*. This memorandum of submission may also be found in Zhu Yizun (1629–1709), *Jing yi kao* (Investigation of the Meaning of the Classics), 300 *juan*, no. A41–48 in *Sibu beiyao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), *juan* 189, p. 2a.
 8. The Song court, which heavily patronized Daoism, established court-supported Daoist temples (*Daoguan*) that, in many places, functioned as elements in local administration. The post of manager (*zhuguan*) was a civil-service sinecure, often held by persons of no Daoist religious or philosophical leanings. Zhang Qia’s official biography mentions that he was appointed manager of Daoist temples at two different times and places, but does not mention that he also held such a position at Linjiang. See *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 430, pp. 12785–12788.
 9. “[Shangshu]sheng zha”(Department [of State Affairs] Directive), dated 1234, Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating Charitable School, 1275), *juanshou*, p. 1a. In the prefatory material in the 1275 edition of Zhang Qia’s work, the Linjiang Military Prefecture directive that immediately precedes the directive issued by the Department of State Affairs repeats this text.
 10. Three other texts, the *Zuo zhuan* (Commentary of Zuo), *Gongyang zhuan* (Commentary of Gongyang), and *Guliang zhuan* (Commentary of Guliang), traditionally have been known at the “Three Commentaries” on *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Today they are generally regarded as independent, parallel texts relating the history of the Spring and Autumn period that were erroneously subordinated to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* classic early in imperial times, if not before. For a summary of the traditional counter view, see Zhao Yi (1727–1814), *Gaiyu congkao* (Collected Studies Written While Observing Mourning) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1957), *juan* 1, pp. 41–44. See below, note 33, for additional discussion of these three texts.
 11. Fang Yingfa, “Postface.”
 12. Zhang Tingjian, “Hou xu” (Postface), 1314, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (1314 woodblock edition). This postface is also preserved in Zhu Yizun, *Jing yi kao*, *juan* 189, p. 2a.

13. Hu Guang, *Chunqiu jizhuan daquan* (Comprehensive Collected Comentaries on Spring and Autumn Annals), 37 *juan* plus *shoujuan*, 2 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, Yongle era).
14. For the text of this preface, see Zhu Mujie, "Preface for the Carving of Collected Annotations to Spring and Autumn Annals." The disagreement to which Zhu Mujie referred was over the three competing theories as to which lunar month marked the beginning of the year. This was a matter of contention among the exegetes that all three calendars could continue in use in the different states in violation of the Zhou claims to hegemony. The Xia (twenty-first–sixteenth centuries BCE), Shang (sixteenth–eleventh centuries BCE), and Zhou dynasties, according to traditional exegesis, related the twelve lunar months in their solar-lunar calendar to the names of the twelve earth stems. All three took the winter solstice as the departure point. The Xia calendar started the new year with the lunar Third Month, that is the *yin* month (*jian yin*). The Shang calendar started the new year with the lunar Second Month, that is the *chou* month (*jian chou*). And the Zhou commenced the new year with the lunar First Month, that is the *zi*, month (*jian zi*). The last was the theory that Zhang Qia supported.
15. Wang Shan (1645–1728), comp., *Chunqiu zhuanshuo huizhuan*, 38 *juan* (Beijing: Neifu, 1721).
16. Nalan Chengde, "Qingjiang Zhang shi Chunqiu jizhu xu" (Preface to Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals by Zhang [Qia] of Qingjiang), dated 1677, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Tongzhitang, 1680), pp. 1a–b. The compilation of this work in more than eighteen hundred *juan* is sometimes also attributed to Xu Qianxue (1631–1694), Nalan Chengde's mentor. Nalan Chengde's name is also given as Nalan Xingde or simply Singde. See Arthur Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1655–1912)* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 331 and 662–663.
17. Ji Yun (1724–1805) et al., comp., *Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu* (Imperially Commissioned Comprehensive Catalogue of the Complete Library in Four Categories), ed. Siku quanshu yanjiusuo, corrected edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), p. 350.
18. Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, *Guoli gugong bowuyuan shanben jiuji zongmu* (Comprehensive Catalogue of Rare and Old Books in the National Palace Museum) (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1983), vol. 1, p. 98.
19. Fu Zengxiang, *Cangyuan qunshu jingyanlu*, comp. Fu Xinian (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), vol. 1, p. 81. All three of the individual-collectors' seals are those of Wang Wenbo (Qing dynasty, courtesy name Jiqing, *hao* Keting), a poet and painter from Tongxiang, Zhejiang. For a list of various seals used by Wang Wenbo, see Ren Jiyu, ed. *Zhongguo cangshulou* (Chinese Book Collections) (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 2001), p. 290. This image of the exemplar once held in the Beijing Palace Museum illustrated here is found in Beijing gugong bowuyuan tushuguan, ed., *Gugong shanben*

- shuying chubian* (Photographs of Rare Books in the Palace Museum, First Series) (Beiping: Gugong bowuguan tushuguan, 1929), Classics Section, unpaginated. See also note 23, below.
20. Zhongguo guji shanben shumu bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu: jingbu* (Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books: Classics Section) (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989–1998), p. 268.
 21. Ibid.
 22. Peng Yuanrui (1731–1803) et al., ed., *Qinding Tianlu linlang shumu xubian* (Imperially Authorized Catalogue of the Tianlu Linlang Collection, Expanded Edition) (1797; Changsha: Wang shi, 1884), *juan* 3, p. 9.
 23. In *Cangyuan's Record of Rare Books Seen*, Fu Zengxiang's vocabulary for cataloguing sometimes used "double (or single) borders" or "left- and right-double (or single) borders." In those cases when he did not specify "left and right," Fu's comments consistently meant "on all four sides" [of the block].
 24. Beijing gugong bowuyuan tushuguan, ed., *Photographs of Rare Books in the Palace Museum, First Series*, unpaginated. In this photograph of the exemplar of the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*, the first three columns of this first page of *juan* one show no traces of ink brushed across the block where the columns were not completely carved out as are evident in the Liaoning Library and in the National Library of China's exemplars of printings from these same blocks. Either the printing of the exemplar now held in the Taipei Palace Museum was executed with greater care or the photograph of this exemplar in this 1929 catalogue was cleaned up prior to publication. The latter seems a more probable explanation.
 Images of this exemplar in the Palace Museum in Taipei may be seen in later publications of that museum (for example, figure 7). See Guoli gugong bowuyuan, ed., *Guoli gugong bowuyuan Songben tulu* (Illustrated Catalogue of Song Editions in the National Palace Museum) (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1977), pp. 26–27 and illustration 13; and Guoli gugong bowuyuan bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Songbanshu tezhan mulu* (Catalogue of a Special Exhibit of Printed Books from the Song Dynasty) (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1986), pp. 86–87. The descriptive statements that accompany Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* in these catalogues both erroneously date its publication to 1235.
 25. The lack of seals in the exemplar in the Liaoning Library has led to speculation about exactly how this work came into the collection. An answer to this question awaits further research.
 26. Zhang Qia, "[Second] Memorandum [on Submitting His Book]," p. 2a.
 27. Fang Yingfa, "Postface to the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*," pp. 5a–6b.
 28. Zhang Tingjian, "Postface [to the *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*]," pp. 2a–b. See note 12 above.
 29. *Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books: Classics Section*, p. 268.
 30. We can place the three copies of the 1275 Huating charitable school edition of the *Collected Commentaries for Spring and Autumn Annals* known to be extant

in the context of subsequent historical events. In 1276, the year after the Huating edition, the Southern-Song capital Lin'an was captured by Mongol troops. Between the fighting and attendant chaos, the lives of the people of the Jiangnan region were utter misery. Huating, today known as Songjiang in Shanghai municipality, was also ransacked and burned, thus making it a matter of common sense that the woodblocks probably did not survive long and that the distribution of the printed work was limited.

31. *Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books: Classics Section*, pp. 268ff.
32. Zhang Qia, *Chunqiu jizhu* (Collected Annotations on Spring and Autumn Annals), 11 *juan* in Liaoning sheng tushuguan guben shanben congshu, Series 1 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2003).
33. The Classic, referred to here is the text of *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The *Commentaries* refer to the *Commentary of Zuo*, *Commentary of Gongyang*, and *Commentary of Guliang*. See above, note 10. However, here, Cheng Yi intends the word *zhuan* (commentary) to be taken more broadly to include those three texts as well as all the subsequent explications of *Spring and Autumn Annals* text, up to and including those of Cheng's own time. Zhao Yi, in his essay "Ge shi limu yitong" (Differences and Similarities Among the Contents of Various Official Histories) under the sub-heading "Liezhuang" (Biographies), states: "In early writings, both where events are being recorded or theories are being established in connection with explications of the Classics, those are all called 'zhuan.'" See Zhao Yi, *Nianershi zhaji* (Miscellaneous Notes on the Twenty-two Official Histories), ed. Du Weiyun (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1975), p. 3.

Zhu Xi, who greatly admired Cheng, quotes him in a quite similar statement, though worded a bit more fully: "Use the *Commentaries* to test the *Classic's* traces of events; use the *Classic* to test the *Commentaries'* truth or falsehood." See Qian Mu, *Zhu Zi xinxue an* (New Analysis of Zhu [Xi]'s Scholarly Writings), 5 volumes (Taipei: Sanmin shuju zong jingxiao, 1971), vol. 4, p. 100.

Cheng Yi wrote a work entitled *Chunqiu zhuan* (Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals). Unlike his better known *Yi zhuan* (Commentary on the Book of Changes), it is not included in the well known compilations of writings on the classics, nor do specialized writings on *Spring and Autumn Annals* cite it. It is not included in the Qing-period *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (Bibliographic Abstracts for the Comprehensive Index to the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries) compiled by Yongrong (1744–1790), Ji Yun et al. and presented to the throne in 1782, nor is it in Nalan Chengde's compilation *Explication of the Classics Edited by Tongzhitang*, which does include mention of Zhang Qia's *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals*. Nor does James Legge name it among the list of fifty-seven works he consulted in making his translation of *Spring and Autumn Annals* published 1872. For an authorized reprint of Legge's translation, see his *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, pp. 136–147. In quotations from Legge's translation, romanizations have been converted to *pinyin*; dates are as given in Legge. Cheng Yi's own "Preface" to his *Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals* is, however, extensively

quoted in his biography in *Official History of the Song*, *juan* 427, pp. 12721–12722; it makes clear his intention in writing the work. He states: “In later ages, scholars using the historian’s point of view have discussed the *Spring and Autumn Annals* only in terms of its praise for the good and blame for the bad, and nothing else, to the extent that the great model it sets forth for ordering the world remains unrecognized by them.” Cheng Yi wants the *Classic* to be read for its larger principles, and not just for its well known subtleties of language indicating approval and disapproval of specific persons and specific acts where it was traditionally accepted that Confucius himself had edited the text to insert wordings that would subtly reveal his ethical standards. (Legge and some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Chinese scholars did not accept the idea that Confucius had shaped the text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* to express his personal perspectives on the history of that age. See Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, pp. 81–84.) Because of the traditionally accepted view of Confucius’ role, Zhu Xi was ambivalent on the matter of whether he wanted to, or whether other scholars should, write critically on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, to avoid tampering with the intent of Confucius. See Qian Mu, comp., *New Analysis of Zhu [Xi]’s Scholarly Writings*, vol. 4, pp. 95–111. Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, and later Zhang Qia, however, all demanded a broader approach to the work, and the latter two disapproved in particular of Hu Anguo’s *Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals* for failing to reveal the *Classic*’s more lofty intent. Zhang Qia took his master Zhu Xi’s approval of Cheng Yi’s work to engage in his own critical study of the *Classic* following Cheng’s methods.

34. Wei Zongwu uses the simile of “working (*duizhuo*) fine treasures” to emphasize the artistry and value of Zhang Qia’s exegetical skill. One source for the simile is in the last stanza of the poem “Yupu,” (Mao number 238) in the *Shijing* (Book of Odes) in a group of “*Daya*” (Greater Odes) written in praise of king Wen of Zhou. In Karlgren’s translation this stanza reads, “(As if) carved and chiselled is his (decor=) exterior, (like) gold and jade is his (look=) appearance; vigorous is our king, he makes laws and rules for (the states of) the four quarters.” See Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), p. 191. Legge’s wording is “Engraved and chiselled are the ornaments; of metal and jade is their substance. Ever active was our king, giving laws and rules to the four quarters (of the kingdom).” See James Legge, *The She King or Book of Poetry, Chinese Classics* (1876; Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), vol. 9, pp. 442–444. Legge’s explanatory commentary for this stanza (p. 444) makes it clear that the intent of the poem is that the true inner character of the ruler is made known by the finely crafted external aspects of his attire, such that the one represents the other. From this we can derive the meaning that the finely worked exterior elements of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* text in Zhang Qia’s work indicate its true inner worth.
35. This refers to events of the third through the tenth years of duke Xuan of Lu, 605–612 BCE. See Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn*

- Annals* (Huating yishu, 1275), *juan* 6, p. 4a ff. See also Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 291 ff and the general discussion in Tong Shuye, *Chunqiu shi* (History of the Spring and Autumn Era) (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1946), pp. 114–128, 197. Chu had long been considered an advanced state of *man* or “southern-barbarian” origins, but in this instance it is considered to have reverted to barbarian behavior generally described as that of the *yidi*, a generalized term for all barbarians, that is to say, those who could not be counted as proper Chinese (*Huaxia*).
36. This refers to an event in the tenth year of duke Ai (“the Grieving”) of Lu, 486 BCE. See Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating yishu, 1275), *juan* 11, p. 9b. See also Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, pp. 820–821. The text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* adds that this happened when the state of Wu went to the aid of Chen. Background information in the accompanying passage in the *Commentary of Zuo*, (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 821, par. 11) explains that the viscount of Wu, leading the rescue force, upbraided the leader of the army of the state of Chu, saying: “Our two rulers (meaning the rulers of Chu and Wu) do not endeavor to display virtue, but are striving by force for the supremacy over all the States” [comprising the Zhou kingdom, of which all were nominally the subjects]. (On those words and some further admonishment) “[both parties] withdrew [from Chen].”
37. This is found in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* account for the thirteenth year of duke Cheng of Lu, 577 BCE. See Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating yishu, 1275), *juan* 7, p. 13a. See also Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 379. The phrase “went to the [Zhou royal] capital” covers the fact that the visit without prior summons to ascend to the capital was extremely improper, according to the fuller account in the accompanying passage from the *Commentary of Zuo*, and sure to bring calamity by violating the ritual proprieties of respect and deference.
38. This was an event in the 30th year of duke Xiang of Lu, 542 BCE. The fuller description of the event is given as follows: “In the summer, in the fourth month, Ban, heir-son of Cai, murdered his ruler. In the fifth month, on (the day) *jiawu*, there was a fire [in the palace of] Song, [in which] the eldest daughter [of our duke Cheng], [who had been married to duke Gong (r. 587–575)] of Song, died.” The fire, causing the death of a noble lady, and other features of the improper scene, are interpreted to indicate that the formalities proper to relations among the states had gravely deteriorated, thus arousing Heaven’s ire. See Zhang Qia, *Collected Annotations for Spring and Autumn Annals* (Huating yishu, 1275), *juan* 8, p. 33a. See also Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 555. The meeting is reported in the *Commentary of Zuo*, as one conducted “with the want of good faith,” hence drawing the judgment that those events were in consequence of the fire in Song. See Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 558, par. 9.
39. See above, note 6.
40. Wei Zongwu, “[Preface],” pp. 1a–2b. Qifu is Wei Zongwu’s courtesy name.

GLOSSARY

- Ai 哀
 Bailudong shuyuan 白鹿洞書院
 Ban 般 [班]
 Banli Qingshi shanhou weiyuanhui 辦理
 清室善後委員會
 Baozhangge 寶章閣
 Cai 蔡
 Cai Shen 蔡沈
 Cangyuan qunshu jingyanlu 藏園群書經
 眼錄
 Chen 陳
 Cheng 成
 Cheng Hao 程顥
 Cheng Yi 程頤
 Chen Hao 陳澧
 Chizaotang tushu yin 摛藻堂圖書印
 Chizhou 池州
 chou 丑
 Chu 楚
 Chu gongzi ji shuaishi fa Chen Wu jiu Chen
 楚公子結帥師伐陳吳救陳
 Chunqiu dili yan'ge biao 春秋地理沿革表
 Chunqiu gangling 春秋綱領
 Chunqiu jizhu 春秋集註
 Chunqiu jizhuan 春秋集傳
 Chunqiu jizhuan daquan 春秋集傳大全
 Chunqiu quanheng 春秋權衡
 Chunqiu yilin 春秋意林
 Chunqiu zhuan 春秋傳
 Chunqiu zhuanshuo huiquan 春秋傳說彙
 纂
 Chunyou 淳祐
 Churen fa Zheng 楚人伐鄭
 Daoguan 道觀
 Daya 大雅
 Deyou 德祐
 Di 狄
 diben 底本
 diwen 牒文
 Dong Keweng 董克翁
 Duanping 端平
 duizhuo 追琢
 Fang Yingfa 方應發
 fa Qin 伐秦
 Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘
 Gaiyu congkao 陔餘叢考
 Gangling 綱領
 Ge shi limu yitong 各史例目異同
 Gong 共
 gong ru jing shi 公如京師
 Gongshi 公是
 Gongyang zhuan 公羊傳
 Guan 關
 Gugong shanben shuying chubian 故宮善本
 書影初編
 Gui 圭
 Guliang zhuan 穀梁傳
 Guoli gugong bowuyuan shanben jiuji
 zongmu 國立故宮博物院善本舊
 籍總目
 Guqi 古齊
 hangkuan 行款

- Hanlin 翰林
Heng 恒
Hou xu 後序
Huan 桓
Hu Anguo 胡安國
Huating 華亭
Huating yishu 華亭義塾
Huaxia 華夏
Hu Guang 胡廣
jian chou 建丑
Jiangnan 江南
jian yin 建寅
jian zi 建子
jiawu 甲午
jing (classic) 經
Jing (name of a duke) 景
Jinggong 荊公
Jingguogong 荊國公
jingwei 經帷
Jing yi kao 經義考
jinshi 進士
Jiqing 季青
jiu 救
Ji Yun 紀昀
jizhu 集註
juan 卷
juanshou 卷首
Juletang 聚樂堂
Ke Chunqiu jizhu xu 刻春秋集註序
Keting 柯庭
Kuang 匡
Liang 諒
Liaoning 遼寧
Lidai junxian dili yan'ge zhi 歷代郡縣地理沿革志
Liezhuan 列傳
Lin'an 臨安
Linjiang 臨江
Linjiang jun 臨江軍
Linjiang junxiang 臨江郡庠
Linjiang junxue 臨江軍學 [臨江郡學]
Liu Chang 劉敞
Lu 盧
Lun Meng jizhu 論孟集註
Luo 洛
Lushan 廬山
man 蠻
Mao 毛
Miaogui 繆圭
Nalan Chengde 納蘭成德
Nalan Xingde 納蘭性德
Nankang 南康
Neifu 內府
Nianershi zhaji 廿二史劄記
Peng Yuanrui 彭元瑞
Pingyang Jizi 平陽季子
Pingyang Jizi shoucang tushu zhi yin 平陽季子收藏圖書之印
Pingyang Jizi zhi zhang 平陽季子之章
pinyin 拼音
pizhi 皮紙
Puyang 莆陽
Qi 玘
Qifu 淇父
Qin 秦

- Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu* 欽定四庫全書總目
Qinding Tianlu linlang shumu xubian 欽定天祿琳琅書目續編
 Qingjiang 清江
Qingjiang Zhang shi Chunqiu jizhu xu 清江張氏春秋集註序
 Qinzhong 欽宗
 Rang 讓
 ren 人
 sanzhuàn 三傳
 Shang 商
 [Shangshu]sheng zha 尙書省劄
 shanxie zhuangbei 繕寫裝褙
 Shanyuan 澶淵
 shanzhang 山長
 Shen (name of block carver) 詵
 Shen (name of clan) 沈
 Shen (Song taboo character) 慎
 shi 師
Shijing 詩經
 shoujuan 首卷
 Siku quanshu 四庫全書
Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四庫全書總目提要
 Song 宋
 Songjiang 松江
Songshi 宋史
 Song zai gu 宋災故
 Songzi 松滋
 Taizong 太宗
 Tianjin 天津
 Tianlu jijian 天祿繼鑑
 Tianlu linlang 天祿琳琅
Tianlu linlang shumu xubian 天祿琳琅書目續編
 Tongxiang 桐鄉
 Tongzhitang 通志堂
 Tongzhitang jingjie 通志堂經解
 Tuotuo 脫脫
 Wan 完
 Wang Anshi 王安石
 Wang Qingyuan 王清原
 Wang Shan 王掞
 Wang shi 王氏
 Wang Wenbo 汪文柏
 Wei Zongwu 衛宗武
 Wei Zongwu yin 衛宗武印
 Wen 文
 Wenxian 文憲
 Wu 吳
 Xia 夏
 Xiang 襄
 xiao tiezi 小貼子
 Xingde (Singde) 性德
 Xingong 新宮
 Xingzi xian 星子縣
 Xu 序
 Xu Qianxue 徐乾學
Xu tongjian changbian shilue 續通鑑長編事略
 Xuan (a duke of Lu) 宣
 Xuan (Song taboo character) 玄
 Yi 夷
 Yichuan 伊川
 yidi 夷狄

- yihai 乙亥
 yin 寅
 Yi zhuan 易傳
 Yongrong 永瑤
 Yongxin 永新
 Yuande 元德
 Yuan Fu 袁甫
 Yuanzhou 遠州
 Yupu 楫樸
 zang Cai Jingong 葬蔡景公
 Zhang Qia 張洽
 Zhang Tingjian 張庭堅
 Zhang Zai 張載
 Zhao Chu 趙初
 Zhao Yi 趙翼
 Zhen 貞
 Zheng 鄭 (name of a state)
- Zheng 徵 (Song taboo character)
 Zhenzong 眞宗
 Zhongguo guji shanben shumu 中國古籍善
 本書目
 Zhou 周
 zhuan 傳
 zhuang 狀
 Zhuang 狀
 zhuguan 主管
 Zhu Mujie 朱睦㮮
 Zhu Xi 朱熹
 Zhuyi 主一
 Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊
 zi 子
 Zuo shi mengqiu 左氏蒙求
 Zuo zhuan 左傳