

**A SURVEY OF  
THE HISTORICAL SOURCES FOR  
THE FIVE DYNASTIES AND  
TEN STATES IN SONG TIMES**

Johannes L. Kurz    UNIVERSITI BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

*Part 1: Introduction*

Our understanding of the period called the Five Dynasties and Ten States (for a list of the individual states, see figure 1) is largely built on information derived from the two official histories written in 974 (*Wudaishi* 五代史) and 1053 (*Wudai shiji* 五代史記) respectively. Although Song scholars (especially those who had been active under the various regimes or had access to first-hand information) were eager to write about the earlier period, the authors of these two official histories, for different reasons, neglected to work with anecdotal historical materials written during the period, and they also generally ignored texts compiled by authors active under the Ten States.

This bibliography attempts to survey existing and lost official and private writings on Tang and Five Dynasties/Ten States from the 10th to the 12th centuries, through catalogues and bibliographical monographs dating from the Song and Yuan periods. It thus supplements the efforts made by the compilers and contributors of *A Sung Bibliography*, whose main emphasis lay on surviving texts dealing directly with the Song dynasty. Existing historical works, however, merely provide us with a limited and rather biased insight into the total production of historical texts. In contrast, texts that were lost

---

I would like to express appreciation for the invaluable help provided by Holger Kühnle and the Institute of Chinese Studies, University of Heidelberg, who searched various libraries in Germany to provide me with copies of most of the texts described below. Without his support the paper would have been nearly impossible to write. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of the anonymous reviewers for the *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*.

*Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 33 (2003)

Tang 唐 618–907	
Five Dynasties	Ten States
Later Liang 後梁 907–923	Wu 吳 902–937
Later Tang 後唐 923–936	Wu-Yue 吳越 907–978
Later Jin 後晉 936–946	Former Shu 前蜀 907–925
Later Han 後漢 947–950	Min 閩 909–945
Later Zhou 後周 951–960	Southern Han 南漢 917–971
	Jingnan 荆南 924–963
	Chu 楚 927–951
	Later Shu 後蜀 934–965
	Southern Tang 南唐 937–975
	Northern Han 北漢 951–979
Song 宋 960–1279	

Fig. 1. List of Dynasties

also tell us something about the writing and reading habits of people in the Five Dynasties/Ten States and the Northern Song, who apparently enjoyed what may be called historical ‘chatter’ more than factual, and thus rather dry, official historical writings. Apart from that, a survey of the texts written during the period also shows us the astonishing number of texts produced (and unfortunately lost), and reminds us that the official works surviving represent only a fraction of those produced.

#### THE OFFICIAL HISTORIES OF THE FIVE DYNASTIES

The first Official History of the Five Dynasties (*Wudaishi* 五代史), compiled between 973–974 on imperial order, deals with the northern dynasties, which were regarded as the legitimate predecessors of the Song.<sup>1</sup> It was largely based on official material produced by the court historians of the Five Dynasties.

---

1. Wang Gungwu, “The *Chiu Wu-tai shih* and History-Writing During the Five Dynasties,” *Asia Major* VI (1958): 1–22.

The order of May 19, 973 reads as follows:

Since the Tang, states have risen and disappeared successively. If there are no historical records of the events, how are future generations going to learn about them? We left the disorder of those times only recently and have not yet had time for the compilation [of a history]. To serve later generations as examples every period must be judged with praise and blame (*baobian* 褒貶). It is appropriate to charge a close official who has complete control over it [with this task]. The history of the five dynasties from the Liang through to the Later Tang, Jin, Han and Zhou shall be supervised by the Vice Grand Councilor Xue Juzheng 薛居正.<sup>2</sup>

At the time when Taizu made this statement about the end of the ‘disorder,’ the Northern Han, Southern Tang, Wu-Yue as well as the autonomous region of Qingyuan 清源 in Fujian had not yet been annexed. The scholars working on the History of the Five Dynasties were all northerners. Information on other states which had existed simultaneously with the Five Dynasties was included on the one hand in the *shixi* 世襲 (hereditary houses) section, on the other hand in the *jianwei* 僭偽 (usurpers) section. Inclusion in one of the two sections depended on the status of the relevant state. States which had pledged allegiance to the northern dynasties and used their reign periods were listed under the hereditary houses; those states which had established themselves independently were grouped under the usurpers. The states were identified through their ruling families and not through their dynastic designations. The first entry in the *shixi* section of the *Wudaishi* treats the Li 李 family of the northern state of Qin and others, followed by the Gao 高 family of Jingnan, the Ma 馬 of Chu, and the Qian 錢 of Wu-Yue. All these states had recognized the suzerainty of the northern Five Dynasties.

The chapters on ‘usurpers’ start with the Yang 楊 of Wu, followed by the first two emperors of the Southern Tang, the Wang 王 of Min, the Liu 劉 of the Southern Han, and the Liu 劉 of the Northern Han. The list ends with the Wang 王 of the Former Shu and the Meng 孟 of the Later Shu.

This way of dealing with the states and the empires among the Ten States informed later Song historiography. The distinction between hereditary houses and usurpers represented the former as slightly more legitimate than the

---

2. *Song dazhaoling ji* 宋大詔令集, ed. by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 (Beijing, 1962), 150-555.

other. Furthermore it justified the campaigns of Taizu against states such as Jingnan, the Later Shu, and the Southern Tang, and underlined his status as the rightful successor to the imperial throne that he himself had usurped in 960.<sup>3</sup>

Ouyang Xiu, through his *Wudai shiji* 五代史記 (or “New History of the Five Dynasties,” *Xin Wudaishi*), influenced not only the views of his contemporaries on the period but also those of several generations of sinologists. Ouyang Xiu privately compiled this new work on the history of the Five Dynasties in the years between 1036–1053. The work, which was to supersede the *Wudaishi*, was only published under imperial auspices in 1073, since Ouyang Xiu himself had refused to publish it during his lifetime.

Ouyang Xiu defined the status of the states in the south in the same manner as the *Old History of the Five Dynasties* had done:

Among the rulers of the Ten States during the Five Dynasties (*wudai shiguo* 五代十國) were seven who declared themselves emperors and changed the reign titles. Wu-Yue, Jing[nan] and Chu always followed the reign titles of the Middle Kingdom (*zhongguo* 中國).<sup>4</sup>

As in the older work, Wu-Yue, Jingnan and Chu were through their relations with the Five Dynasties defined as dependent kingdoms. Ouyang Xiu did not regard the other states as real and legitimate empires. This would have run counter to the accepted version of the transferral of power in the North from the Tang through the Five Dynasties to the Song. However, he at least notes that the states in question considered themselves to be independent empires.

Following the above statement Ouyang Xiu continues to explain the illegitimacy of the Ten States. He describes how the other seven states (Wu, Southern Tang, Former Shu, Later Shu, Southern Han, Eastern Han (Northern Han)) were ruled by emperors with their own reign titles but argues that these had no consequences whatsoever for developments in north China. Because of their geographical situation in the original heartland of Chinese

---

3. On Taizu’s ‘unexpected’ rise to emperorship, see Johannes L. Kurz, “Empereur à la surprise: The Making of Song Taizu,” in *Measuring Historical Heat: Event, Performance and Impact in China and the West, Symposium in Honour of Rudolf G. Wagner on his 60th Birthday* (Heidelberg, 3–4.11.2001), [sun.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/conf/birthdaypic.htm](http://sun.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/conf/birthdaypic.htm).

4. Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudaishi* 新五代史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992) (hereafter XWDS), 71.873.

civilization, the Five Dynasties had to be considered legitimate representatives of the Middle Kingdom. Since the Ten States did not form part of the original *zhongguo*, he did not reserve proper annals for them but rather dealt with them in monographic form (*zhi* 志).

Ouyang Xiu closes his discussion with an imaginary dialogue with an anonymous person who asks him questions about the Ten States. In this dialogue he presents further evidence for the illegitimacy of the claims of the southern states. He points out that they conferred aristocratic titles without certificates and that even the empires among them paid regular tribute to the Five Dynasties.

In contrast to the preceding Five Dynasties history, Ouyang Xiu's text groups all the Ten States under hereditary families (*shijia* 世家), and the distinction between those paying tribute to the northern dynasties and those refusing to pay thus vanished. This was an important step to actually establish the states as the Ten States, and subsume them under the new label.

Ouyang Xiu also justified his inclusion of the Northern Han as one of the Ten States. For him the Northern Han were distinct from the foreign barbarian states because the form they used to address the emperors of the Later Zhou was similar to those used by the other nine states in addressing the emperors of the other northern dynasties.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, however, he omitted Yan 燕, a state established by Liu Shouguang 劉守光 (?–914) in 911 in the region around modern day Beijing, which had received treatment as an independent state in the 'usurper'-section of the *Wudaishi*.

#### OTHER HISTORIES OF THE FIVE DYNASTIES

The term Five Dynasties was used as soon as the Song dynasty was proclaimed in 960. The first historians to use the term were Fan Zhi 范質 (911–964) in his *Wudai tonglu* 五代通錄 and Wang Pu 王溥 (922–982) in his *Wudai huiyao* 五代會要. Both authors dealt exclusively with the history of the northern dynasties from the Later Liang to the Later Zhou. They did not have access to any of the archives of the historiography institutes of the southern states nor those of the Northern Han. By the time the *Wudaishi* was compiled, the term *wudai* was thus already in use to denote the northern dynasties, as is also apparent in the imperial compilation order, which explicitly asked

---

5. XWDS 71.881–882.

for a history of the “Five Dynasties.” The evident ease with which the term “Five Dynasties” was established was most probably due to the fact that the dynasties in the north had succeeded each other in chronological order in roughly the same geographical region. This situation differed sharply from that in the southern region, where states existed simultaneously in different geographical territories.

#### THE TEN STATES

The first major work to deal with several of the “illegitimate” states was the *Jiuguo zhi* 九國志 by Lu Zhen 路振 (957–1014). His work included basic annals for the rulers and biographies of officials of the following states: Wu, (Southern) Tang, Former Shu, Later Shu, Southern Han, Eastern (Northern) Han, Min, Chu, and Wu-Yue.<sup>6</sup>

Another attempt to provide a history of some of the southern states was probably made about the same time that the *Jiuguo zhi* was compiled in the early 11th century. The *Wuguo gushi* 五國故事 provides information on the history of the six southern empires of Wu, the Southern Tang, the two Shu states (which are dealt with as one state), the Southern Han, and Min.<sup>7</sup> It thus left out the southern kingdoms of Wu-Yue, Chu, and Jingnan, as well as the northern empire of the Northern Han. This book is the only example where a limited number of states were treated according to their political organization.

In 1064 Lu Zhen’s grandson Lu Lun 路綸 submitted the work of his grandfather Lu Zhen, the *Jiuguo zhi*, to the throne, after he had added information on the state of Jingnan. The work at that time consequently carried the title *Shiguozhi* 十國志.<sup>8</sup>

6. Wang Yinglin 王應麟, *Yuhai* 玉海 (hereafter cited as *YH*) (Siku leishu congkan), 47.14a (279).

7. The founders of the two Shu states as well as the Southern Han established themselves from the start as empires. Wu declared its own reign title in 919 and the Wu ruler assumed the imperial title in 927. The Southern Tang was an empire from 937 to 958, the year they submitted to the Later Zhou. Min was proclaimed an empire in 933.

8. The nature of the additions by Lu Lun is not clear. They were apparently insufficient, since Zhang Tangying 張唐英 (1029–1071) supplemented them with two *juan* on Northern Chu (Bei Chu 北楚). See *YH* 47.14b–15a (279). The surviving text (12 *juan* of an original 51) includes Zhang’s supplement (in fragmentary form) as an integral part. The entry on the *Jiuguo zhi* in *A Sung Bibliography* is misleading, in that it says that the two Shu states are treated as one. This

The number of states, which ranged from six to nine, as in *Wuguo gushi* or in *Jiuguo zhi*, seems to be arbitrary, because more than ten states had existed on “Chinese” territory in the years between roughly 900–980. The Ten States, which since the end of the eleventh century were recognized as a single historical entity, had either been founded in the very last years of the Tang or during the period 907–960, and were finally incorporated into the empire of the Song in 979.

**THE SOURCES: TRANSMISSION AND  
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CATEGORIZATION OF TEXTS**

A fair number of historical works dealing with the Five Dynasties are extant; the same, however, is unfortunately not the case with the Ten States. The notable exception here is the Southern Tang, for which we have quite a lot of historical material left.<sup>9</sup> None of the original historical works on Wu, the Former Shu, Later Shu, Min, and Northern Han are extant today, and only a few works on Chu, Wu-Yue and the Later Shu survive. All extant works dealing with the history of the Southern Han, for instance, were written at the beginning of the 10th century.

We can only speculate why the bulk of works dealing with Ten States history disappeared, and why among those extant the number of anecdotal works is relatively high. I would assume that the survival of books had to do with their popularity among the reading public. Their entertaining nature was

---

actually is done in *Wuguo gushi*. It also neglects to mention Lu Lun's efforts. See *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 115. The SS identifies Lu Lun as the son of Lu Zhen. See SS 441.13062.

9. See Johannes L. Kurz, “Sources for the History of the Southern Tang (937–975),” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 24 (1994): 217–235. See also Lei Jinfang 雷近芳 and Guo Jianhui 郭建淮, “Jincun Nan Tang shi zhu lunlüe” 今存南唐史著論略, *Foshan daxue xuebao* 佛山大學學報 1 (1995): 80–84, and Zhang Liping 張歷憑 and Lei Jinfang, “Siku quanshu suoshou Nan Tang shi zhu bijiao yanjiu” 四庫全書所收南唐史著比較研究, in *Xinyang shifan xueyuan xuebao: zhesheban* 信陽師範學院學報: 哲社版 3 (1994): 46–48. For a survey of studies in Southern Tang history in Mainland China see Zou Jingfeng 鄒勁風, “Yijiusiji nian yihou de guonei Nan Tang shi yanjiu zhuangkuang ji kaogu faxian” 1949年以後的國內南唐史研究狀況及考古發現, in *Zhongguoshi yanjiu dongtai* 中國史研究動態 5 (1996): 12–16. The most recent work on the Southern Tang is by Ren Shuang 任爽 and is entitled *Nan Tang shi* 南唐史, published by Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe 東北師範出版社 in 1995. See the review by Xu Songwei 徐松巍 and Shi Xiaoyun 史小云 in *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 4 (1998): 186–189.

one decisive factor, the other being the status of the state they were dealing with.

In this regard the Southern Tang ranks foremost among others, a fact that must be related to that state's influence on the early Northern Song. As I have argued elsewhere, the great compilations during emperor Taizong's reign, such as the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 and the *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 were produced with the co-operation of a large number of Southern Tang scholars. These scholars were working with a library whose core consisted of book collections transferred to Kaifeng from Jinling after the fall of the Southern Tang in 976.<sup>10</sup> As this state aspired to be the rightful heir of the Tang and had come close to realizing the unification of China in the early 940's,<sup>11</sup> there surely existed a certain interest among northerners to learn about it. Note that the official works on Southern Tang history, such as the *shilu* 實錄 of the first emperor (written under his successor), as well as the *Jiangnanlu* 江南錄, compiled on imperial order by Taizong, are no longer extant, but the majority of anecdotal works survive.

Though we completely lack information on the size of editions in the Northern Song, we may still deduce that books on Southern Tang history were widely read; so it must have been relatively easy to replace lost copies in the palace libraries. This may also partly explain why so many books on Southern Tang history have made it across the Song-Ming transition.

One reason that few other titles survived was the incidence of natural catastrophes, such as the burning of the imperial library in early spring of 1015. Chen Zhensun informs us that especially books dating back to the end of the Tang and the Five Dynasties fell victim to the fire that raked the palace for one day and two nights.<sup>12</sup> If a book had existed in only one copy held by the library, the fire thus meant the end of it.

Still, the relatively high number of copies available or the popularity of an author or his work output were not a guarantee that a certain work would

10. See Johannes L. Kurz, "The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilation Project," *T'oung Pao* 86.4-5 (2001): 289-316.

11. See Johannes L. Kurz, "The Yangzi in the Negotiations between the Southern Tang and Its Northern Neighbours (Mid-Tenth Century)," in Sabine Dabringhaus and Roderich Ptak, eds., *China and Her Neighbours: Borders, Visions of the Other, Foreign Policy 10th to 19th Century* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), pp. 29-47.

12. See the commentary to the entry on the *Yutang fengchenlu* 玉堂逢辰錄 in *ZSJ* 7.195.

survive. If we take a closer look, for example, at Yang Jiuling 楊九齡, who was a prolific writer active under the Later Shu, we find five titles in the SS bibliographical monograph.<sup>13</sup> None of these have survived and there is only the most minimal of information on the man himself.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, all of the *shilu* compiled by Li Hao, the official historiographer of the Later Shu, numbering 190 *juan* in all, have disappeared. In contrast, a very short work like the *Nan Tang jinshi* (2 *juan*), which is not a historical work in the strict sense of the word but contains gossip and hearsay from the Southern Tang court, is still extant today. It may, however, actually be the small size and the anecdotal nature of the work that appealed to and attracted the contemporary reader, in the same way as pornographic and gossipy works by so-called *philosophes* in eighteenth century France were distributed in larger numbers and quantities than any of the works that form our image of the Enlightenment.<sup>15</sup> It is easy to understand that the entertainment factor of anecdotal works is far higher than that of the mainstream historical works such as *shilu*. While the *shilu* satisfy the historical curiosity of modern readers and researchers, they are not made to be read for entertainment.

A good example for examining the transmission of a book is the *Jiangnan yeshi* 江南野史, which we can trace through the major Song, Ming, and Qing catalogues. Its author Long Gun 龍袞, a native of Jinling, probably wrote the work between 1010–1023. Wang Mingqing 王明清 (1127–after 1214) mentions in his *Huizhu houlu* 揮麈後錄 that Long wrote a biography of Ouyang Xiu's

---

13. *Zhengshi zalun* 正史雜論 (10 *juan*) in SS 203.5096 *bieshi* 別史; *Guitang bianshi* 桂堂編事 (20 *juan*) in SS 203.5116 *zhuanji* 傳記 and SS 208.5359 *bieji* 別集; *Jingshi shumu* 經史書目 (7 *juan*) in SS 204.5146 *mulu* 目錄; *San'gan zhi* 三感志 (3 *juan*) in SS 206.5223 *xiaoshuo* 小說; *Mingyuan* 名苑 (50 *juan*) in SS 207.5297 *leishi* 類事. The *Zhengshi zabian* 正史雜編 (10 *juan*) in SS 209.5410 *wenshi* 文史 seems to refer to the *Zhengshi zalun*. The SS quite often lists one and the same work with slightly modified titles in different categories, or as one can see in the example of the *Guitang bianshi* above, it even puts the same work (under the same title) under different headings. This does not increase trust in this bibliographical monograph. One may ask furthermore if the monograph is not merely a reflection of an ambition to collect all titles that once were held in the imperial libraries rather than an actual list of titles that were part of their holdings during the compilation of the SS in the 1340s.

14. Chao Gongwu 晁公武, comp., *Zhaode xiansheng junzhai dushuzhi* 昭德先生郡齋讀書志, (hereafter JDZ) 2B.2a (37) and Wu Renchen 吳任臣, comp., *Shiguo chunqiu* 十國春秋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983) 56.817.

15. See Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York: Norton, 1996).

father.<sup>16</sup> An entry in the *Guangchuan huaba* 廣川畫跋 suggests that Long also worked as a painter.<sup>17</sup>

According to the *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目 (hereafter cited as SKZ) the book was incomplete already during the early Ming period, comprising only ten of the original twenty *juan*.<sup>18</sup> This information is contradicted by the well-known bibliophile Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664) who claimed to possess a hand-written copy in 20 *juan*.<sup>19</sup> This either was damaged or vanished completely when the Jiangyunlou 絳雲樓, the library Qian had built for his favourite concubine, was destroyed by fire in 1650 together with the bulk of works stored there. His great-great nephew Qian Zeng 錢曾 (1621–after 1699) mentions this copy in 20 *juan* as well.<sup>20</sup> However, it is not clear from his catalogue if he actually possessed the complete copy.

The *Jianganlu* is a completely different case as it was compiled on imperial order by two former Southern Tang officials, Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916–991) and Tang Yue 湯悅 (fl. 940–983), in 979 or 980. The work is remarkable insofar as it was the only imperially commissioned history for one of the Ten States. The two scholars working on it had been political adversaries at the Southern Tang court. It may be safe to assume that Taizong believed that the brush of the historian would be more upright if it was held by two antagonists who could mutually check depictions of persons and events. Still, the work was criticized by some scholars, including Chen Pengnian, for its biased depiction of events at the court. Chen was prompted by the work to write a different account, the *Jiangan bielu* 江南別錄. Wang Anshi also criticized the work, on the grounds that Xu Xuan did not tell the truth concerning his colleague Pan You 潘佑, who was executed for remonstrating with the ruler. Interestingly, Wang arrived at his view on the book based on information that he obtained from his uncles who had been working in Jiangan.<sup>21</sup>

16. Wang Mingqing, *Huizhu houlu* (Congshu jicheng), 6.500.

17. Dong You 董道 (fl. early 12th cent.), *Guangchuan huaba* (Congshu jicheng), 6.71–72.

18. *Siku quanshu zongmu*, comp. by Yongrong 永瑤 et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 66.13b–15a (1388–1389). The statement there is based on entries in Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1541–1620), *Guoshi jingji zhi* 國史經籍志 (Congshu jicheng), 3.62 and in Qian Zeng 錢曾, *Dushu minqiu ji* 讀書敏求記 (Congshu jicheng), 2.35.

19. Qian Qianyi, *Jianguyunlou shumu* 絳雲樓書目 (Yueyatang congshu), 1.20.

20. Qian Zeng, *Shugutang cangshumu* 述古堂藏書目 (Yueyatang congshu), 1.13b–14a.

21. Wang Anshi, “Du Jianganlu” 讀江南錄, in *Huangchao wenjian* 皇朝文鑑, comp. by Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (Sibu congkan), 130.1325.

Thus the hearsay of relatives was considered more faithful and authentic than the written word of the historian. Ouyang Xiu relied on oral information as well, since his family came from Jiangnan and his relatives transmitted their insider knowledge to him.<sup>22</sup> As in Wang Anshi's case, Ouyang's depiction of Xu Xuan is a very negative one, and in the final commentary to the chapter on the Southern Tang in the *Wudai shiji*, only Tang Yue is credited with authorship of the *Jiangnanlu*.

The relatively high esteem that orally transmitted material enjoyed—at least in the case of the Wudai shiguo-period—is attested to by a number of works. There are for instance the *Ermuji* 耳目記, the *Ru Luo ji* 入洛記, and the *Diaoji litan* 釣磯立談, among others, that fall under the same category. They all share a personal and thus specifically informed view on events and persons. The fact that such texts were so numerous tells us three things.

First of all, their authors apparently felt that they had been witnesses or recorders of something that was of sufficient importance to be transmitted in writing. Secondly, they were not happy with the official written record, which they regarded as incorrect. Thirdly, their interest in the events they had witnessed or even participated in was shared by their contemporaries until the late Northern Song, after which a large majority of these titles disappear from the catalogues of imperial and private libraries.

The way that different bibliographers generally classified these works is rather uniform through the centuries. Ouyang Xiu's *Wudai shiji* provides a good example of bibliographical consistency since the work was always listed as *shi* 史 ("history") in the sub-category *zhengshi* 正史 (official history), with the notable exception of the *Tongzhilüe* 通志略 (compiled by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–1162), hereafter TZL), which arranges the work under the sub-category *tongshi* 通史 (comprehensive history).

Interestingly, classifications within the *shi* category apparently were quite flexible, as one can see in the case of the *Wudai dengkeji* 五代登科記. It was considered first of all a work dealing with examinations and thus placed under the sub-category *kedu* 科第, but then it was shifted into the *gushi* 故事 (historical anecdotes) category, only finally to be listed under *zhuanji* 傳記 (miscellaneous biographies and records).

*Gushi* 故事 is a sub-category of "history" in *Suichutang shumu* 遂初堂書目 (compiled by You Mao 尤袤 (1127–1193), hereafter SCTSM), TZL, and

---

22. See XWDS 62.779.

*Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (compiled by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1325), hereafter WXTK), as well as in *Song shi*, which in its introduction to the history section of the bibliographical monograph describes thirteen sub-categories, including *gushi* and *zhuanji*.<sup>23</sup> Where *gushi* did not represent an independent category, as in *Chongwen zongmu* (compiled by Wang Yaochen (1001–1056) et al., hereafter CWZM) and *Zhizhai shulu jieti* (compiled by Chen Zhensun (fl. 1190–1249), hereafter ZSJ), works of this type would appear under *weishi* 僞史 (histories of illegitimate states), *zashi* 雜史 (miscellaneous histories), *bashi* 霸史 (histories of hegemons)<sup>24</sup> or *zhuanji*, depending on the form and contents of the book. The *Wuguo gushi*, for instance, contained information on several states, and thus was placed in the sub-category *weishi*. The *Jiawang gushi* 家王故事 informed the reader about the Qian 錢 family of Wu-Yue and thus was categorized as *zhuanji*.

The *Wudai huiyao* presents yet another special case, as it is listed under *gushi* in the WXTK. This has to do with Ma Duanlin's understanding of *gushi* as a form of loosely connected historical precedents.<sup>25</sup> The origin of that kind of thinking about *gushi* is, however, older than the WXTK, for we find a *Shiguan gushi* 史館故事 in 30 *juan* already compiled by the historiography office of the Later Zhou.<sup>26</sup>

In some rare instances a book could change from one main category into another, like the *Guangzheng zaji* 廣政雜記, which was perceived by people in the Song as *weishi* or *bashi*, but was moved by the Yuan dynasty compilers of the *Song shi* into the *xiaoshuo* 小說 section of the 'masters' (*zi* 子).

A good number of works from the *xiaoshuo* genre have survived. Again, I understand this as a sign of a widespread distribution of these works among the reading audience. However, we cannot be sure how the readers themselves understood the works; that is, if they read them as pure entertainment 'fiction,' or as anecdotal history interspersed with some supernatural bits and pieces, or if they made that kind of discrimination at all. Apparently the categorization of books as such implied no evaluation in terms of historical accuracy and served only to divide books according to the topics with which they dealt.

23. SS 203,5085.

24. The WXTK distinguishes between *weishi* and *bashi*, while the other reference works consulted use either *weishi* or *bashi*.

25. See the introduction to *gushi* in WXTK 201.1679.

26. CWZM 2.75. Cf. also the entry in JDZ 2B.6A (39) and WXTK 202.1688. In TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 602, the work consists of 3 *juan* only.

*Part 2: Bibliography of Historical Sources for  
the Five Dynasties and Ten States in Song times*

The following list comprises titles that deal with events and persons of the late Tang and Five Dynasties/Ten States. It also includes both historical and *xiaoshuo* titles written during the Five Dynasties/Ten States period and early Northern Song about the Tang dynasty. It covers first all the extant works on each state, and then all the lost works. The earliest reference for each title is given, and the number of *juan* ascribed to the work is taken from the earliest entry in the catalogues or bibliographical monographs. Within each section, titles are arranged alphabetically and in the bibliographical category under which they appear in the earliest reference. Thus, for example, the *Pishi jianwenlu* 皮氏見聞錄 is listed under history, as in the CWZM, despite the fact that all later bibliographers put this book under *xiaoshuo*. I have omitted the *shilu* for the rulers of the Five Dynasties as these have been treated previously by Wang Gungwu and Guo Wuxiong 郭武雄.<sup>27</sup> The list is by no means intended to be comprehensive.

Titles marked with a dagger (†) are mentioned in Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* (hereafter ZZTJ) "kaoyi";<sup>28</sup> those marked with a double dagger (‡) contributed to the *Taiping guangji*.

ABBREVIATIONS OF MAIN REFERENCES<sup>29</sup>

- CWZM: *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 1034–1038, comp. by Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 (1001–1056) et al.<sup>30</sup>  
 JDZ: *Zhaode xiansheng junzhai dushuzhi* 昭德先生郡齋讀書志, comp. by Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (? – after 1171).<sup>31</sup>

27. Wang, "The *Jiu Wudaishi*," and Guo Wuxiong, *Wudai shiliao tanyuan* 五代史料探源 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1987).

28. Sima Guang 司馬光 et al., *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992).

29. The catalogues and bibliographical monographs in this section represent the surviving body of works dealing with Song imperial and private collections. For a critical evaluation of these works see Piet van der Loon, *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A Critical Study and Index* (London: Ithaca Press, 1984), pp. 1–28.

30. In Congshu jicheng. This catalogue was not reconstructed until 1799. For more information see Ssu-yü Teng and Knight Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works* (3rd ed.) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 14–15.

31. In Sibu congkan guangbian. This catalogue of the library of Chao Gongwu has been supplemented twice. The first addition (*fuzhi* 附志, 1 *juan*) as well as the second (*houzhi* 後志,

- SCTSM: *Suichutang shumu* 遂初堂書目, comp. by You Mao 尤袤 (1127–1193).<sup>32</sup>  
 SS: *Songshi* 宋史 1343–1345, comp. under the supervision of Tuotuo 脫脫.<sup>33</sup>  
 TZL: *Tongzhilüe* 通志略, comp. by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–1162).<sup>34</sup>  
 WXTK: *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, comp. by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1325).<sup>35</sup>  
 YH: *Yuhai* 玉海, comp. by Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296).<sup>36</sup>  
 ZSJ: *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解體, comp. Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (fl. 1190–1249).<sup>37</sup>

Abbreviations of the categories under which the titles appear in catalogues and bibliographical monographs:

BA = <i>bashi</i> 霸史	XS = <i>xiaoshuo</i> 小說
BIE = <i>bieshi</i> 別史	ZJ = <i>zhuanji</i> 傳記
BN = <i>biannian</i> 編年	ZA = <i>zashi</i> 雜史
TS = <i>tongshi</i> 通史	ZS = <i>zhengshi</i> 正史
WS = <i>weishi</i> 僞史	

EXTANT WORKS ON TANG HISTORY WRITTEN  
 DURING THE FIVE DYNASTIES AND TEN STATES  
 AND THE EARLY NORTHERN SONG

*Kaiyuan tianbao yishi* 開元天寶遺事 (1 *juan*), by Wang Renyu 王仁裕 (879–956)<sup>38</sup>

SOURCES: JDZ 2B.20a (46) ZJ; TZL *yiwentlüe* 3, 597 ZA; ZSJ 7.192 ZJ; WXTK 195.1651 ZA; SS 203.5102 *gushi* 故事

2 *juan*) were made by Zhao Xibian 趙希弁 (?–after 1250). On the complicated transmission of the work in various editions, see Teng and Biggerstaff, *Annotated Bibliography*, pp. 15–16, and *A Sung Bibliography*, ed. by Yves Hervouet (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978), pp. 196–197.

32. In *Congshu jicheng*.

33. Beijing, *Zhonghua shuju*, 1977.

34. Shanghai, *Shanghai guji chubanshe*, 1990.

35. Beijing, *Zhonghua shuju*, 1991(1986).

36. In *Siku leishu congan*.

37. In *Congshu jicheng*. The present *Zhizhai shulu jieti* was recompiled from the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 in the Qing. See Teng/Biggerstaff, *Annotated Bibliography*, p. 16.

38. Wang Renyu et al., *Kaiyuan tianbao yishi shizhong* 十種 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985).

*Nanbu xinshu* 南部新書 (10 *juan*), by Qian Yi 錢易 (fl. late 10th–early 11th cent.)<sup>39</sup>

SOURCES: *JDZ* 2A.21a (35) ZA; *SCTSM* p. 22 XS; *ZSJ* 7.194 ZJ; *WXTK* 196.1654 ZJ; *SS* 206.5230 XS

*Tang shu* 唐書 (200 *juan*; comp. in 945), by Liu Xun 劉煦 (888–947) et al.<sup>40</sup>

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.46 ZS; *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 591 ZS; *JDZ* 2A.9a (28) ZS; *SCTSM* p. 5 ZS; *ZSJ* 4.97 ZS; *YH* 46.52a (266) ZS; *WXTK* 192.1626 ZS; *SS* 203.5086 ZS  
 COMMENTS: The *SCTSM* lists three editions of the work, namely an old Hangzhou edition (*jiu Hangben* 舊杭本), a Sichuan edition in small characters (*Chuan xiaozi* 川小字), and a Sichuan edition in large characters (*Chuan dazi* 川大字).

*Tang yulin* 唐語林 (8 *juan*), by Wang Dang 王讜 (fl. early 12th cent.)<sup>41</sup>

SOURCES: *TZL yiwēnlüe* 6, 651 XS; *SCTSM* p. 23 XS; *JDZ* 3B.7a (63) XS; *ZSJ* 11.323 XS; *WXTK* 217.1769 XS; *SS* 206.5229 XS

COMMENTS: The *TZL* gives no author. According to *SS* the work comprised 11 *juan*.

*Zhongchao gushi* 中朝故事 (2 *juan*), by Wei Chiwo 尉遲偓 (Southern Tang)<sup>42</sup>

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.65 ZA; *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 598 ZA; *JDZ* 2A.21a (35) ZA; *SCTSM* p. 7 *zazhuan* 雜傳; *ZSJ* 7.193 ZJ; *WXTK* 196.1654 ZJ; *SS* 203.5105 *gushi*

COMMENTS: This book deals with miscellaneous events at the end of the Tang. The *TZL* calls the author Wei Chishu 樞.<sup>43</sup>

*Zhonghua gujinzhu* 中華古今注 (3 *juan*), by Ma Gao 馬縞 (Later Tang)<sup>44</sup>

SOURCES: *ZSJ* 10.297 (*zi* 子) *zajia* 雜家; *WXTK* 214.1751 *zajia* 雜家; *SS* 205.5210 *zajia* 雜家

39. Qian Yi, *Nanbu xinshu* (Congshu jicheng).

40. *Jiu Tang shu*, comp. by Liu Xun et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975 (1991)).

41. Wang Dang, *Tang yulin jiaozheng* 校證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987). For a short discussion of Wang Dang's name and life dates see *Siku quanshu zongmu*, 141.1196.

42. Wei Chiwo, *Zhongchao gushi* (Congshu jicheng).

43. In *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 602, a *Zhongshu gushi* 中書故事 is listed with an author Wei Chiwo 尉遲偓. Since it is listed close to a work by another Wu author (*Zaifu mingjian* 宰輔明鑑 (10 *juan*) by Zhang Yi 張翼), it may refer to the *Zhongchao gushi* as well.

44. Ma Gao, *Zhonghua gujinzhu* (*Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀).

## EXTANT WORKS ON THE FIVE DYNASTIES

*Qingyi lu* 清異錄 (2 *juan*), attr. to Tao Gu 陶穀 (903–970)<sup>45</sup>

SOURCES: SCTSM p. 23 XS ; ZSJ 11.328 XS; WXTK 216.1762 XS

*Wudai chunqiu* 五代春秋 (5 *juan*), by Yin Shu 尹洙 (1001–1046)<sup>46</sup>

SOURCES: JDZ *fuzhi* 附志 5A.17b (137), BN; YH 41.15a (138) *xu chunqiu* 續春秋

COMMENTS: Only two *juan* are surviving today.

†*Wudai huiyao* 五代會要 (30 *juan*; comp. in 963), by Wang Pu 王溥 (922–982)<sup>47</sup>

SOURCES: CWZM 3.176 *leishu* 類書; TZL *yiwenlue* 藝文略 3.600 *huiyao* 會要; JDZ 3B.23b (71) *leishu*; SCTSM p. 25 *leishu*; ZSJ 5.155 *diangu* 典故; YH 51.39a–b (384) *diangu*; WXTK 201.1681 *gushi* 故事; SS 207.5299 *leishi* 類事

COMMENTS: In CWZM the work is referred to simply as *Huiyao*.

†*Wudai shiji* 五代史記 (74 *juan*; publ. in 1073), by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072)<sup>48</sup>

SOURCES: TZL *yiwenlue* 3.591 TS; JDZ 2A.8a (28) ZS; YH 46.53b–54a (267) ZS; WXTK 192.1628 ZS; SS 203.5086 ZS

COMMENTS: The JDZ records 75 *juan* for the work.

†*Wudaishi* 五代史 (150 *juan*; comp. in 974), by Xue Juzheng 薛居正 (912–981) et al.<sup>49</sup>

SOURCES: CWZM 2.47 ZS; JDZ *houzhi* 1. 12a–b (194) *shi* 史; SCTSM p. 5 ZS; YH 46.53b–54a (266–267) ZS; WXTK 192.1628 ZS; SS 203.5086 ZS

COMMENTS: In SCTSM the work is addressed as *Jiu* 舊 *Wudaishi*.

45. See *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 320, and Guo, *Wudai shiliao*, pp. 143–145. Within the work emperor Taizu is addressed with his posthumous title, so that it seems unlikely that Tao was the author, as he died during Taizu's reign. This work is not listed in the SS.

46. Yin Shu, *Wudai chunqiu* (Xuehai leibian). See *A Sung Bibliography*, pp. 78–79.

47. Wang Pu, *Wudai huiyao* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978). See also *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 177.

48. Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudaishi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974 (1992)). See *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 62.

49. *Jiu Wudaishi*, comp. by Xue Juzheng et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976). See *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 62.

†*Wudaishi bu* 五代史補 (5 *juan*; comp. in 1012), by Tao Yue 陶岳 (fl. 980 – after 1026)<sup>50</sup>

SOURCES: *JDZ houzhi* 1.18b–19a (197–198) ZA; *SCTSM* p. 6 ZA; *ZSJ* 5.143 ZA; *YH* 47.13a (278) ZA; *WXTK* 196.1655 ZJ; *SS* 203.5095 BIE

COMMENTS: In *JDZ*, *ZSJ* and *WXTK* the title of the work is given as *Wudai bulu* 五代補錄.

*Wudaishi quewen* 五代史闕文 (2 *juan*; comp. in 995), by Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 (954–1001)<sup>51</sup>

SOURCES: *JDZ* 2A.23a (36) ZA; *SCTSM* p. 6 ZA; *ZSJ* 5.143 ZA; *YH* 47.13a (278) ZA; *WXTK* 196.1655 ZJ; *SS* 203.5095 BIE

*Wudaishi zuanwu* 五代史纂誤 (5 *juan*; comp. in 1090 (?)), by Wu Zhen 吳縝 (fl. 2nd half 11th cent.)<sup>52</sup>

SOURCES: *TZL yiwentlue* 3.591 TS; *JDZ* 2B.4b *shiping* 史評; *SCTSM* p. 14 *shixue* 史學; *SS* 203.5086 ZS

#### WORKS TREATING SEVERAL STATES

†*Jiuguo zhi* 九國志 (49 *juan*), by Lu Zhen 路振 (957–1014)<sup>53</sup>

SOURCES: *TZL yiwentlue* 3, 596 BA; *JDZ* 2B.1b (37) WS; *SCTSM* p. 7 WS; *ZSJ* 5.132 WS; *YH* 47.14a–15a (279) ZA; *WXTK* 200.1672 WS; *SS* 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: The *TZL* attributes the work to Zeng Yan 曾顏. He is however the author of the *Bohai xingnianji* 渤海行年記 in 10 *juan*, a work which, judging from its title, was a chronology of events in the state of Bohai in northeastern China. See *TZL yiwentlue* 3, 595.

*Wuguo gushi* 五國故事 (2 *juan*)<sup>54</sup>

SOURCES: *SCTSM* p. 7 WS; *ZSJ* 5.132 WS; *WXTK* 200.1672 WS; *SS* 203.5104 *gushi*

50. Tao Yue, *Wudaishi bu* (*Siku quanshu*). See also *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 68. This work also provides information on persons and events of the Ten States.

51. Wang Yucheng, *Wudaishi quewen* (*Siku quanshu*). See *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 67.

52. Wu Zhen, *Wudaishi zuanwu* (*Congshu jicheng*). See *A Sung Bibliography*, pp. 68–69.

53. Lu Zhen, *Jiuguo zhi* (*Congshu jicheng*). See *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 115.

54. Anon., *Wuguo gushi* (*Xuehai leibian*). See *A Sung Bibliography*, pp. 114–115.

## WORKS TREATING SINGLE STATES

## Wu-Yue

*Baoguang lu* 葆光錄 (3 *juan*), by Chen Zuan 陳纂 (fl. early Song)<sup>55</sup>

SOURCES: ZSJ 11.327–328 XS; WXTK 216.1761 XS; SS 206.5229 XS

†*Jiawang gushi* 家王故事 (1 *juan*), by Qian Weiyan 錢惟演 (973–1034)<sup>56</sup>

SOURCES: CWZM 2.70 WS; ZSJ 7.194 ZJ; WXTK 198.1663 ZJ; SS 204.5167 BA

COMMENTS: Qian wrote about his family, the rulers of Wu-Yue.

†*Wu-Yue beishi* 吳越備史 (15 *juan*; comp. in 970), by Fan Jiong 范炯 and Lin Yu 林禹<sup>57</sup>

SOURCES: CWZM 2.70 WS; TZL *yiwentüe* 3, 595 BA; ZSJ 5.131 WS; YH 47.15a–b (279) ZA; WXTK 200.1672 WS; SS 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: Both authors were former officials of Wu-Yue. The original work in 12 *juan* treated the history of Wu-Yue from 875 to 978. Between 970 to 987 a further 3 *juan* were added. Today only four *juan* are extant. Sometimes, as in YH, Qian Yan 錢儼 (937–1003) is credited with the authorship.

## Southern Han

(*Tang*) *zhiyan* (唐) 摭言 (15 *juan*), by Wang Dingbao 王定保 (*jins*hi of 900)<sup>58</sup>

SOURCES: CWZM 3.152 XS; TZL *yiwentüe* 6, 651 XS; JDZ 3B.5b (62) XS; SCTSM p. 21 XS; ZSJ 11.312 XS; WXTK 216.1761 XS; SS 206.5223 XS

## Jingnan

‡*Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言 (30 *juan*), by Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 (?–968)<sup>59</sup>

SOURCES: CWZM 2.120 ZJ; JDZ 3B.5a (62) XS; ZSJ 11.313 XS; WXTK 216.1761 XS; SS 209.5229 XS

COMMENTS: The WXTK lists the work with 20 *juan*.

55. Chen Zuan, *Baoguanglu* (Congshu jicheng).

56. Qian Weiyan, *Jiawang gushi* (*Wuchao xiaoshuo daguan* 五朝小說大觀).

57. Fan Jiong and Lin Yu, *Wu-Yue beishi* (Siku quanshu).

58. Wang Dingbao, *Tang zhiyan* (Congshu jicheng). On the *Tang zhiyan* cf. also A *Sung Bibliography*, p. 189.

59. Sun Guangxian, *Beimeng suoyan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981). See A *Sung Bibliography*, pp. 96–97, and Guo, *Wudai shiliao*, pp. 118–124.

*Chu*

†*San Chu xinlu* 三楚新錄 (3 *juan*), by Zhou Yuchong 周羽冲 (fl. early Song)<sup>60</sup>

SOURCES: CWZM 2.118 ZJ; TZL *yiwentüe* 3, 595 BA; SCTSM p. 7 WS; ZSJ 5.132 WS; WXTK 200.1672 WS; SS 203.5115 ZJ<sup>61</sup> and 204.5167 BA

COMMENTS: The ‘Three Chu’ in the title refers to the state of Chu under the rule of the Ma 馬殷 (r. 896–930), the autonomous territory of Wuling 武陵 under the control of the warlord Zhou Xingfeng 周行逢 (917–962), and the state of Jingnan under the rule of Gao Jixing 高季興 (907–929).

*Later Shu*

*Jianjielu* 鑑戒錄 (10 *juan*), by He Guangyuan 何光遠 (fl. 938–after 965)<sup>62</sup>

SOURCES: JDZ *houzhi* 2.9b–10a (209–210) XS; SCTSM p. 22 XS; WXTK 216.1761 XS; SS 206.5223 XS

COMMENTS: The SS lists the work as *Jianjie* 誠 *lu* with three *juan* only.

*Jinli qijiuzhuan* 錦里耆舊傳 (8 *juan*; comp. in 970), by Gou Yanqing 句延慶<sup>63</sup>

SOURCES: CWZM 2.112 ZJ; TZL *yiwentüe* 3, 606 *qiju* 耆舊; ZSJ 7.194 ZJ; WXTK 198.1663 ZJ; SS 203.5119 BA

COMMENTS: In 970 the original work carried the title *Chengdu liluan ji* 成都理亂記 under which it is listed in SS. It deals with the history of Sichuan from the late Tang and the end of the Later Shu. Zhang Xu 張緒 (also Zhang Jing 彰 in TZL or Zhang Yue 約 in WXTK) wrote a *Xu* 續 *qijiuzhuan* in ten *juan* by imperial order in 1009.<sup>64</sup>

*Shu taowu* 蜀耨杙 (10 *juan*; comp. between 1064–1067), by Zhang Tangying 張唐英 (1029–1071)<sup>65</sup>

60. Zhou Yuchong, *San Chu xinlu* (Xuehai leibian).

61. In this entry the work consists of 1 *juan* only, and no author is mentioned.

62. He Guangyuan, *Jianjielu* (Congshu jicheng).

63. Gou Yanqing, *Jinli jiqiuzhuan* (Congshu jicheng). See *A Sung Bibliography*, pp. 112–113.

64. The text today consists of eight *juan*, in the Siku quanshu and Congshu jicheng. The SQZ says that only the last four chapters survived. See SQZ 66.586–587. The entry on the work in *A Sung Bibliography*, pp. 112–113, repeats the SKZ information about the missing first four *juan* but does not explain the origins of the additional four *juan*.

65. Zhang Tangying, *Shu taowu* (Xuehai leibian).

SOURCES: *TZL yiwēnlüè* 3, 595 BA; *JDZ* 2B.2a–b (37) WS; *SCTSM* p. 7 WS; *ZSJ* 5.131 WS; *YH* 47.15a (279) ZA; *WXTK* 200.1671 WS; *SS* 204.5167 BS

COMMENTS: In *JDZ* as well as in *WXTK* the title of the work is given as *Waishi taowu* 外史橈杙. The *JDZ* states that this work provided information on the two Shu empires that had been omitted in the *Jiuguozhi*.

‡*Yeren xianhua* 野人閑話 (5 *juan*; comp. in 965), by Jing Huan 景煥<sup>66</sup>

SOURCES: *CWZM* 3.154 XS; *TZL yiwēnlüè* 6, 651 XS; *SCTSM* p. 23 XS; *ZSJ* 11.313 XS; *WXTK* 216.1761 XS; *SS* 206.5229 XS

COMMENTS: The author hailed from Chengdu and recorded events in the Later Shu. The *SS* gives Geng Huan 耿煥 as the name of the author.

### Southern Tang

*Jiang Huai yirenlu* 江淮異人錄 (3 *juan*), by Wu Shu 吳淑 (947–1002)<sup>67</sup>

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.119 ZJ; *TZL yiwēnlüè* 5, 629 *zhuan* 傳; *SCTSM* p. 7 *zazhuan* 雜傳; *ZSJ* 5. 129 WS; *WXTK* 200.1671 WS; *SS* 206.5230 XS

COMMENTS: In *SCTSM* the title is rendered as *Jiang Huai yiren zhuan* 傳.

*Jiangbiaozhi* 江表志 (3 *juan*; comp. in 1010), by Zheng Wenbao 鄭文寶 (953–1013)<sup>68</sup>

SOURCES: *TZL yiwēnlüè* 3, 595 BA; *SCTSM* p. 7 WS; *ZSJ* 5.130 WS; *WXTK* 200.1671 WS; *SS* 204.5167 BA

COMMENTS: The *SS* records only 2 *juan*. Zheng Wenbao was reportedly dissatisfied with the sloppy work of the *Jiangnanlu* and so he wrote down in his work what he knew about people and events during the Southern Tang.

*Jiangnan bielü* 江南別錄 (4 *juan*), by Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 (961–1017)<sup>69</sup>

SOURCES: *TZL yiwēnlüè* 3, 595 BA; *JDZ* 2B.1b (37) WS; *WXTK* 200.1671 WS; *SS* 204.5167 BA

66. Jing Huan, *Yeren xianhua* (*Wuchao xiaoshuo daguan* 五朝小說大觀).

67. Wu Shu, *Jiang Huai yirenlu* (*Zhibuzuzhai congshu*). This work, together with the *Jishenlu* 稽神錄 by Wu Shu's father-in-law Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (see below), entered the *Daozang*. See Judith M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1987), pp. 59–60.

68. Zheng Wenbao, *Jiangbiaozhi* (*Xuehai leibian*).

69. Chen Pengnian, *Jiangnan bielü* (*Xuehai leibian*). Chen also compiled a Tang history in 40 *juan*, the *Tangji* 唐紀. See *YH* 47.39a (291), *WXTK* 193.1632, and *SS* 203.5091.

*Jiangnan yeshi* 江南野史 (20 *juan*; comp. between 1011–1022), by Long Gun 龍袞<sup>70</sup>

SOURCES: *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 595 BA; *JDZ* 2B.2a (37) WS; *SCTSM* p. 7 WS; *WXTK* 200.1671 WS; *SS* 204.5167 BA

*Jiangnan yuzai* 江南餘載 (2 *juan*; comp. after 1010), attr. to Zheng Wenbao 鄭文寶<sup>71</sup>

SOURCES: *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 595 BA; *WXTK* 200.1671 WS; *SS* 204.5167 BA

COMMENTS: According to *TZL* the text was rediscovered in 1075 and found to be the work of Zheng Wenbao. The *WXTK* renders the title as *Jiangnan guan'ai* 江南館載.

*Jinhuazi zhibian* 金華子雜編 (3 *juan*), by Liu Chongyuan 劉崇遠<sup>72</sup>

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.117 ZJ; *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 597 ZA; *JDZ* 3B.4b (62) XS; *ZSJ* 11.312 XS; *WXTK* 216.1761 XS; *SS* 206.5221 XS

COMMENTS: The *ZSJ* address the work as *Jinhuazi xin bian* 新編, while the *JDZ* as well as *WXTK* call it *Jinhuazi*. The *TZL* renders the name of the author as Liu Rong 榮 yuan.

*Jishen lu* 稽神錄 (10 *juan*; comp. in 956), by Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916–991)<sup>73</sup>

SOURCES: *CWZM* 3.161 XS; *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 610 ZJ; *JDZ* 3B.6a–b (63) XS; *SCTSM* p. 23 XS; *ZSJ* 11.328 XS; *WXTK* 216.1761 XS; *SS* 1206.5227 XS

*Nan Tang jinshi* 南唐近事 (2 *juan*; comp. in 977), by Zheng Wenbao 鄭文寶<sup>74</sup>

SOURCES: *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 595 BA; *JDZ* 2B.2a (37) WS; *SCTSM* p. 7 WS and p. 22 XS; *ZSJ* 5.129–130 WS; *WXTK* 200.1671 WS; *SS* 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: The *SS* renders the title as *Nan Tang jinshiji* 南唐近事集 in 1 *juan*.

70. Long Gun, *Jiangnan yeshi* (Yuzhang congshu). See *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 113.

71. Zheng Wenbao (attr.), *Jiangnan yuzai* (Congshu jicheng).

72. Liu Chongyuan, *Jinhuazi zhibian* (Congshu jicheng).

73. See *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 341.

74. Zheng Wenbao, *Nan Tang jinshi* (Congshu jicheng). See *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 113. Note that Endymion Wilkinson lists the work under *zashi*, the one category it does not appear under in bibliographies of the Song dynasty. See Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual—Revised and Enlarged* (Cambridge, Mass./London: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 519.

*Nan Tang shu* 南唐書 (30 *juan*; comp. in 1105), by Ma Ling 馬令<sup>75</sup>

SOURCES: SCTSM p. 7 WS; ZSJ 5.130 WS; WXTK 200.1671 WS

COMMENTS: It is not clear if the entry in SCTSM is referring to Ma Ling's or Lu You's book.

*Nan Tang shu* 南唐書 (15 *juan*; comp. in 1184), by Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210)<sup>76</sup>

SOURCES: ZSJ 5.130 WS; WXTK 200.1671 WS; SS 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: The title is rendered as *Xinxiu* 新修 *Nan Tang shu* in ZSJ. The WXTK follows this. No author is given in SS.

#### LOST WORKS ON TANG HISTORY

*Guiyuan congtan* 桂苑叢談 (1 *juan*), by Feng Yi 馮翊 (fl. 10th cent.)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.120–121 ZJ; JDZ *houzhi* 1.18a (197) ZA; WXTK 196.1654 ZJ; SS 206.5222 XS

COMMENTS: This was a collection of miscellaneous notes on the reigns of Xizong 僖宗 (874–888) and Zhaozong 昭宗 (889–904). In the *Handan shumu* the family name of the author is Yan 嚴. The SS does not provide an author.

*Sanchao jianwenlu* 三朝見聞錄 (8 *juan*)

SOURCES: ZSJ 5.142 WS; WXTK 196.1654 ZJ

COMMENTS: The book dealt with Xizong and Zhaozong, as well as the Later Tang emperor Zhuangzong 莊宗 (923–926).

(*Da*) *Tang buji* (大)唐補記 (3 *juan*), by Cheng Kuangrou 程匡柔 (Southern Tang)

75. Ma Ling, *Nan Tang shu* (Congshu jicheng). See *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 114.

76. Lu You, *Nan Tang shu*, in *Lu Fangweng quanji* 陸放翁全集 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1986). For a discussion of the dating of the text see Chen Guangchong 陳光崇, "Lun Lu You *Nan Tang shu*" 論陸游南唐書, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 2 (1984): 153. The great bibliophile, publisher, and collector Mao Jin 毛晉 (1598–1659) reconstructed the work from something more than one hundred print blocks which he purchased in 1630 from Hu Zhenheng 胡震亨 (1569–1644/45). Hu's library was destroyed by fire in 1621 and the print blocks had been damaged. Since parts of the work were thus illegible Mao Jin consulted a manuscript copy in the possession of a certain Jian 簡 family in order to restore the original work. He mentions moreover that at the time Ma Ling's work was in far greater circulation than Lu You's book. See Mao Jin's colophon in Lu You, *Nan Tang shu* 18.77. Cf. also *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 114.

SOURCES: CWZM 2.67 ZA; ZSJ 5.142 WS; WXTK 196.1654 ZJ; SS 203.5088 BN

COMMENTS: Cheng supplemented a comprehensive Tang history that had ended with the reign of Tang Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 841–846) and continued it until the Huang Chao rebellion. In SS 203.5094 (BIE) the work is entitled *Tang bu zhu* 注 *ji*, and the author's name is given as Cheng Guangrong 光榮.

*Tanglu beique* 唐錄備闕 (15 *juan*), by Ouyang Bing 歐陽炳 (Shu)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.64 ZA; TZL *yiwentlie* 3, 597 ZA; SS 203.5094 BIE

COMMENTS: The work covered the period from 841–881. The SS lists the author as Ouyang Jiong 迥.

#### LOST WORKS ON THE FIVE DYNASTIES

*Bianshui taotianlu* 汴水滔天錄 (1 *juan*), by Wang Zhen 王振 (Later Tang)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.66 ZA; SCTSM p. 6 ZA; TZL *yiwentlie* 3, 598 ZA; ZSJ 5.141 WS; WXTK 196.1654 ZJ; SS 203.5112 ZJ

COMMENTS: Wang's work was a record of Zhu Wen's 朱溫 takeover of power.

*Bianzhouji* 汴州記 (1 *juan*)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.66 ZA; TZL *yiwentlie* 3, 598 ZA; ZSJ 5.147 WS; SS 203.5112 ZJ

COMMENTS: The SS gives Wang Quan 王權 of the Southern Song as the author of the work. In ZSJ the title is given as *Bian du* 都 *ji*.

*Beishi* 備史 (6 *juan*), by Jia Wei 賈緯 (Later Han)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.67 ZA; TZL *yiwentlie* 3, 598 ZA; ZSJ 5.142 WS; WXTK 196.1654 ZJ

COMMENTS: Jia reported on events surrounding the fall of the Later Jin. Each entry was accompanied by a poem. In WXTK the title is rendered as *Jiashi* 賈氏 *beishi*.

‡(*Liushi*) *Ermuji* (劉氏) 耳目記 (2 *juan*), by Liu 劉 (?)<sup>77</sup>

SOURCES: CWZM 3.153 XS; JDZ *houzhi* 1.18a ZA; ZSJ 11.312–313 XS; WXTK 196.1654 ZJ<sup>78</sup>; SS 206.5222 XS

77. The SCTSM lists an *Ermuzhi* 志 in its *xiaoshuo*-section on p. 23.

78. In WXTK 216.1761 another *Ermuji* is found in 1 *juan*, listed under XS.

COMMENTS: Quoting from the now lost *Handan shumu* 邯鄲書目 (10 *juan*) by Li Shu 李淑 (fl. 1st half 11th cent.), both the ZSJ and JDZ inform us that the work contained miscellaneous notes on events at the end of the Tang and the Five Dynasties.

*Hou Tang liezhuan* 後唐列傳 (30 *juan*), by Zhang Zhaoyuan 張昭遠 (898–972)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.66 ZA; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 598 ZA; SS 203.5086 ZS

*Houshibu* 後史補 (3 *juan*), by Gao Ruozhuo 高若拙 (fl. Later Zhou and early Northern Song)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.67 ZA; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 598 ZA; ZSJ 11.313 XS; SS 203.5118 ZJ

COMMENTS: This work contained miscellaneous historical notes on the Tang and Five Dynasties.

*Jin Taikang ping Wu ji* 晉太康平吳記 (2 *juan*), by Zhang Zhao(yuan) 張昭 (遠)

SOURCES: ZSJ 5.143 WS; WXTK 196.1654 ZJ; SS 203.5118 ZJ

COMMENTS: The SS omits the *Jin* in the title. The work dealt with emperor Shizong's attack against the Southern Tang in 956.

*Jinchao xianfanji* 晉朝陷蕃記 (4 *juan*), by Fan Zhi 范質 (911–964) et al.

SOURCES: CWZM 2.66 ZA; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 598 ZA; SCTSM p. 6 ZA; ZSJ 5.143 WS; WXTK 196.1654 ZJ; SS 203.5118 ZJ

COMMENTS: No author is given in SS and the work consists there of 1 *juan* only. In SCTSM the title is given as Fan Zhi *Shi Jin xianfanji*.

*(Wudai) kaihuangji* (五代)開皇紀 (30 *juan*; submitted in 1021), by Zheng Xiang 鄭向

SOURCES: CWZM 2.49 BN<sup>79</sup>; SCTSM, p. 6 BN; YH 47.13b (278) ZA; SS 203.5091 BN

COMMENTS: This book provided material that had been collected by Zheng

---

79. In the original CWZM the title was *Kaihuangji* 記. In the present reconstructed edition of the work (as found for instance in the *Congshu jicheng*) dating from the Qing, this has been changed to the correct 紀. The entry on the *Kaihuangji* there is taken in its entirety from the YH.

Xiang in order to make up for the loss of historical works during the Five Dynasties period.

*Liang liezhuan* 梁列傳 (15 *juan*), by Zhang Zhaoyuan 張昭遠

SOURCES: CWZM 2.66 ZA; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 598 ZA; SS 203.5086 ZS

COMMENTS: In SS the work is entitled *Zhu* 朱 *Liang liezhuan*.

*Liang Taizu bianyilu* 梁太祖編遺錄 (30 *juan*), by Jing Xiang 敬翔

SOURCES: CWZM 2.66 ZA; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 598 ZA

COMMENTS: In ZSJ the book is referred to as *Zhu Liang xingchuang yibian* 朱梁興創遺編. See entry on this title below.

*Luo zhong jiyi* 洛中紀異 (10 *juan*), by Qin Zaisi 秦再思

SOURCES: CWZM 3.161 XS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 610 ZJ; JDZ 3B.14a (67) XS; SCTSM p. 23 XS; WXTK 216.1762 XS; SS 206.5229 XS

COMMENTS: This book dealt with omens and various other matters from the Five Dynasties to the early Song. The SCTSM adds a *lu* 錄 to the title.<sup>80</sup>

*Ru Luo siji* 入洛私記 (10 *juan*), by Jiang Wenbing 江文秉 (fl. Later Zhou)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.67 ZA; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 598 ZA; SS 203.5112 ZJ

COMMENTS: Jiang recorded events occurring from the Later Tang to the Later Zhou. In TZL the book is listed as *Ru Luo sishu* 書, in SS as *Du Luo siji* 都洛私記.

*Tang zhi wudai jinianji* 唐至五代紀年記 (5 *juan*)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.52, BN; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 593 BN

COMMENTS: This work comprises only 2 *juan* in TZL.

*Tangmo fanwenlu* 唐末汎聞錄 (1 *juan*), by Yan Ziruo 閻自若

SOURCES: JDZ *houzhi* 1.18b (197) ZA; SCTSM p. 6 ZA; ZSJ 7.193 ZJ; WXTK 196.1654 ZJ; SS 203.5119 ZJ

COMMENTS: The entry in JDZ reads: "Compiled by Yan Ziruo of the present

---

80. Note that the *Zhongguo congshu zonglu* 中國叢書綜錄 lists this work (which survives only in fragments) in its *xiaoshuo*-section under the Northern Song. See the *Zhongguo congshu zonglu* vol. 2, ed. by Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 1054.

dynasty during the Qiande reign (963–967). After Wang Pu had finished his history of the Five Dynasties (*wudaishi* 五代史), Ziruo's father read through it. He said to Ziruo: 'I have seen and heard all the things that occurred at the end of the Tang, and they were very different from those [contained] in the history books.' Consequently he talked about what he had seen and heard and ordered Ziruo to compile it into a monograph." The book appears in SS as *Tang Song* 宋 *fanwenlu*.

*Tangmo jianwenlu* 唐末見聞錄 (8 *juan*), by Wang Renyu 王仁裕 (879–956)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.117 ZJ; TZL *yiwēnlüe* 3, 597 ZA; SS 206.5223 XS

COMMENTS: The TZL gives no author for the work, which it lists as *Tangmo jianwen*.

*Tangyulu* 唐餘錄 (60 *juan*; comp. in 1039), by Wang Hao 王皞

SOURCES: TZL *yiwēnlüe* 3, 593 BN; JDZ *houzhi* 1.18a–b (197) ZA; ZSJ 4.103 ZS; YH 47.12b (278) ZA and 58.32a–b (549) *lu* 錄; WXTK 196.1654 ZJ; SS 203.5095 BIE and 203.5120 ZJ

COMMENTS: Wang used literary sources to supplement the Old History of the Five Dynasties. In ZSJ the book is referred to as *Tangyulu shi* 史 and it consists of 30 *juan* only.

*Wuchao chunqiu* 五朝春秋 (25 *juan*; comp. in 1036), by Wang Zhen 王軫

SOURCES: YH 41.15a (138) *xu chunqiu* 續春秋 and 47.39a–39b (291) BN; SS 203.5095 BIE

COMMENTS: The work was presented to the throne on August 5, 1036.

*Wudai chunqiu* 五代春秋 (1 *juan*)

SOURCE: SS 203.5091 BN

*Wudai chunqiu* 五代春秋, by Liu Bin 劉昫 (1022–1088)

SOURCE: SS 203.5095 BIE

COMMENTS: SS does not specify the number of *juan*. Liu Bin had participated in the compilation of the *Zizhi tongjian*.

*Wudai dengkeji* 五代登科記 (1 *juan*)

SOURCES: TZL *yiwēnlüe* 3, 609 *keji* 科第; SCTSM p. 7 *gushi*; ZSJ 7.196 ZJ; WXTK 198.1663 ZJ; SS 203.5117 ZJ

COMMENTS: The SS lists a work of the same title (also in 1 *juan*) by Hong Gua 洪适 (1117–1184). He actually was the author of the *Tang dengkeji* 唐登科記 in

15 *juan*. The *ZSJ* says that the author was surnamed Cui 崔. The *TZL* refers to the author as Zhao Sanxiu 趙參修. The book ended its record of exams in the Xiande (954–960) reign of the Later Zhou.

*Wudai shilüe* 五代史略 (43 *juan*; comp. in 1028), by Hu Dan 胡旦 (fl. 2nd half 10 cent.–after 1028)

SOURCES: *YH* 47.13a (278) *zawen* 雜文; *SS* 203.5099 *shichao* 史鈔

COMMENTS: The *SS* lists the work with 42 *juan*.

†*Wudai tonglu* 五代通錄 (65 *juan*; comp. in 960–962), by Fan Zhi 范質 (911–964)

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.49 *BN*; *JDZ* 2A.10b–11b (29–30) *BN*; *ZSJ* 4.106 *BN*; *YH* 48.12a–b (306) *shilu* 實錄; *SS* 203.5091 *BN*

COMMENTS: According to Chao Gongwu and Wang Yinglin the basis for the *Wudai tonglu* was the *Wudai shilu* 五代實錄 (360 *juan*) which also had been compiled by Fan Zhi.

*Wudai yilu* 五代遺錄

SOURCE: *SCTSM* p. 6 *ZA*

*Wudaiji* 五代紀 (77 *juan*), by Sun Chong 孫沖

SOURCES: *YH* 47.13b (278) *ZA* and 47.39a (291) *BN*; *SS* 203.5095 *BIE*

COMMENTS: Sun submitted the work on August 8, 936, according to *YH*.

*Wudaishi chuyao* 五代史初要 (10 *juan*), by Ouyang Kai 歐陽顛

SOURCE: *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 598 *ZA*

*Wudaizhi* 五代志 (30 *juan*)

SOURCE: *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 591 *TS*

*Xianfanji* 陷蕃記 (4 *juan*), by Fan Zhi 范質 (911–964)

SOURCES: *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 598 *ZA*

COMMENTS: It is not clear if this work corresponds to the *Jinchao xianfanji* 晉朝陷蕃記; however it is listed as a separate title in *TZL*.

*Xianlufu* 陷虜記 (3 *juan*), by Hu Jiao 胡嶠 (Later Zhou)

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.66 *ZA*; *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 598 *ZA*; *SS* 203.5112 *ZJ*

COMMENTS: The *SS* renders the title as *Xian Liao* 遼 *ji*. It was a personal account of Hu's campaign against the Qidan.

*Zhou Gongdi rili* 周恭帝日歷 (3 *juan*), by Hu Meng 扈蒙 (915–986)

SOURCE: *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 593 BN

COMMENTS: This was a day-to-day account of the reign of the last emperor of the Later Zhou.

*Zhou Shizong zheng Huai lu* 周世宗征淮錄 (1 *juan*)

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.67 ZA; *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 598 ZA

COMMENTS: This was a record of Zhou Shizong's Huainan campaign of 956.

*Zhuangzong chaohuoji* 莊宗召禍記 (1 *juan*), by Huang Bin 黃彬 (Later Han)

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.66 ZA; *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 598 ZA; *SCTSM* p. 6 ZA; *ZSJ* 5.142 WS; *WXTK* 196.1654 ZJ; *SS* 203.5118 ZJ

COMMENTS: In *WXTK* the title is misprinted as *Zhuangzong tai tai huoji*.

*Zhu Liang xingchuang yibian* 朱梁興創遺編 (20 *juan*), by Jing Xiang 敬翔 (Later Liang)

SOURCES: *ZSJ* 5.142 WS; *WXTK* 196.1654 ZJ

COMMENTS: This was a record of Zhu Wen's usurpation of the Tang.

#### LOST WORKS ON SEVERAL STATES

*Shidai biannianji* 十代編年紀 (1 *juan*)

SOURCE: *SS* 203.5091 BN

†*Shiguo jinian* 十國紀年 (42 *juan*), by Liu Shu 劉恕 (1032–1078)<sup>81</sup>

SOURCES: *TZL yiwēnlüe* 3, 595 BA; *JDZ houzhi* 後志 1.19b–20a (198) WS; *SCTSM* p. 7 WS; *ZSJ* 5.133 WS; *YH* 47.46a (295) BN; *WXTK* 200.1672 WS; *SS* 203.5095 BIE

COMMENTS: During Wang Yinglin's time only 40 *juan* were still extant. The *SS* gives a total of 42 *juan*. The work appears again in *SS* 204.5167 with only 40 *juan*.

---

81. The preface to the work by Sima Guang is extant. See “Liu Daoyuan *Shiguo jinian xu*” 劉道原十國紀年序 in *Wenguo wenzheng gongwenji* 溫國文正公文集 (Sibu congkan), 65.484–486.

*Shiguo zaiji* 十國載記 (3 *juan*)

SOURCE: SCTSM, p. 7 WS; SS 204.5167 BA

*Shiguo zhi* 十國志 (51 *juan*; submitted in 1064), by Lu Lun 路綸

SOURCE: YH 47.15a (279) ZA

COMMENTS: Lu Lun increased the number of *juan* of the *Jiuguo zhi* by his grandfather Lu Zhen, by providing information on the state of Jingnan. Zhang Tangying 張唐英 (1029–1071) supplemented this with two *juan* on the Northern Chu. The existing twelve *juan* were collated in Qing times from the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典.<sup>82</sup>

†*Tianxia dading lu* 天下大定錄 (10 *juan*), by Wang Ju 王舉 (fl. 1022 – after 1053)

SOURCES: *TZL yiwentüe* 3, 595 BA; SCTSM p. 6 ZA and p. 7 WS; *ZSJ* 5.133 WS; *WXTK* 200.1672 WS; SS 204.5167 BA

COMMENTS: In *TZL* no author is given. The author is identified in *ZSJ* where the work comprises one *juan* only. This information entered the SS. Ma Duanlin records only one *juan* of the original work as well. The book started with the reign of Gao Jixing in Jingnan and ended with that of Liu Jiyuan 劉繼元 (968–979) of the Northern Han.

#### LOST WORKS ON SINGLE STATES

Wu

*Fei shang yingxiong xiaolu* 淝上英雄小錄 (2 *juan*), by Xindou Hao 信都鎬 (fl. 1st half 10th cent.)

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.71 WS; *TZL yiwentüe* 3, p. 595 BA; SCTSM, p. 7 WS; *ZSJ* 5.129 WS; *WXTK* 200.1671 WS; SS 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: The entry in *CWZM* 2.71 says that the SS lists the text with 3 *juan*. In the modern *Zhonghua shuju* edition, however, 2 *juan* are given for it. See SS 204.5166. I did not have access to any other edition of the SS to cross-check. The book dealt with forty distinguished officers and officials of Yang Xingmi's 楊行密 (852–905) retinue in the early days of his rule, and included a list of names of other noteworthy persons, among them Buddhist and Daoist priests.

---

82. Wilkinson treats the *Shiguo zhi* as the final version of the *Jiuguo zhi*, without noticing the additions by Lu Lun nor the new title. See Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, p. 822.

*Gao huangdi guojiang shishi* 高皇帝過江事實 (1 *juan*)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.71 WS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595, BA; SS 204.5167 BA

COMMENTS: Recorded the events of Li Bian's return to Jinling in 931, when he began planning for his usurpation.

*Han'gou yaolüe* 邗溝要略 (9 *juan*)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.71 WS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA

COMMENTS: This work described how Yang Xingmi conquered Huainan.

*Wu jiangzuolu* 吳將佐錄 (1 *juan*)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.71 WS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA

COMMENTS: Like the *Fei shang yingxiong xiaolu*, this work recorded the conduct of thirty-four military and civil officers during Yang Xingmi's reign, and gave the names of thirty-four more.

*Wu Tang shiyilu* 吳唐拾遺錄 (10 *juan*), by Xu 許 (?)

SOURCES: TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA; SS 203.5119 ZJ

COMMENTS: The SS gives Xu Zai 載 as the author. The title suggests that the book contained anecdotal material on Wu and Southern Tang.<sup>83</sup>

*Wu Yangshi benji* 吳楊氏本紀 (6 *juan*), by Chen Jun 陳濬 (fl. mid 10th cent.)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.72 WS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA

COMMENTS: The title given in CWZM is *Wei* 僞 *Wu Yangshi benji*. Wu Renchen attributes the *Wulu* to Chen Jun as well.<sup>84</sup> These were the annals of the ruling family of Wu, the Yang.

† *Wulu* 吳錄 (20 *juan*), by Xu Xuan (916–991), Gao Yuan 高遠, Qiao Shun 喬舜 and Pan You 潘佑

SOURCES: CWZM 2.71 WS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA; SS 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: Dealt with the history of Wu from the first ruler Yang Xingmi

83. Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202) refers to the author and the book in his treatment of Song Qiqiu 宋齊丘 (887–959). He mentions that the work was written during the Dazhong xiangfu 大中祥符 reign (1008–1016). See Hong Mai, *Rongzhai suibi* 容齋隨筆 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), *Rongzhai xubi* 容齋續筆, 16.409.

84. Wu Renchen, *Shiguo chunqiu* 11.154.

until the last emperor Yang Pu 楊溥 (r. 920–936). Ma Ling 馬令 states that the work was originally done by Chen Jun 陳澹 who had served the Wu state.<sup>85</sup> Wu Renchen says that Chen started writing a *Wushi* 吳史 but that he died without having completed it.<sup>86</sup>

*Wushu shilu* 吳書實錄 (3 *juan*), by Li Qingchen 李清臣 (1032–1102)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.59 ZA; SS 203.5096 BIE

COMMENTS: According to SS this book provided information on Yang Xingmi. However, its placement in CWZM suggests that it actually dealt with the Wu of the Three Kingdoms.

*Wu-Yue*

*Pishi jianwenlu* 皮氏見聞錄 (5 *juan*), by Pi Guangye 皮光業

SOURCES: CWZM 2.118 ZJ; TZL *yiwēnlüe* 3, 598 ZA; JDZ 3B.14a (67) XS; WXTK 216.1761 XS; SS 206.5223 XS

COMMENTS: The book recorded events from 877 to 937. Pi Guangye had been in the service of Qian Liu 錢鏐 (r. 893–932). The TZL lists 13 *juan*, the SS 15 *juan*.

*Qian Liu beishi* 錢鏐備史

SOURCE: SCTSM p. 7 WS

COMMENTS: This title probably refers to the *Wu-Yue beishi*.

†*Qianshi jiahua* 錢氏家話 (1 *juan*), by Qian Yi 錢易 (?–after 1023)

SOURCE: TZL *yiwēnlüe* 3, 595 BA

COMMENTS: Qian Yi was a cousin of the last Wu-Yue ruler and thus an insider on family matters.

*Qinwang gongfenglu* 秦王貢奉錄 (2 *juan*), by Qian Weiyan 錢惟演 (973–1034)

SOURCES: ZSJ 7.194 ZJ; WXTK 198.1662 ZJ; SS 203.5120 ZJ

COMMENTS: The SS lists this work as *Qian Chu* 錢俶 *gongfenglu*. Qian Weiyan gave a description of the tribute items his father sent to the Song court.

85. Ma Ling, *Nan Tang shu* (Congshu jicheng), 17.114.

86. Wu Renchen, *Shiguo chunqiu* 28.406.

†*Wu-Yue beishi yishi* 吳越備史遺事 (5 *juan*; comp. in 972), by Qian Yan 錢儼

SOURCES: ZSJ 5.131 WS; YH 47.15a–b (279) ZA; WXTK 200.1672 WS; SS 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: Qian Yan was a younger brother of the last ruler of Wu-Yue.

*Wu-Yue huicui* 吳越會粹

SOURCE: SCTSM p. 7 WS

†(*Qianshi*) *wushen yingzhenglu* (錢氏) 戊申英政錄 (1 *juan*), by Qian Yan 錢儼

SOURCES: CWZM 2.72 WS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA; ZSJ 7.195 ZJ; WXTK 198.1663 ZJ; SS 203.5119 ZJ

COMMENTS: This work was a record of the rule of Qian Chu 錢俶 (r. 948–978).

†*Zhongyi wang xunyezhi* 忠懿王勳業志 (3 *juan*), by Qian Yan 錢儼

SOURCE: TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA

COMMENTS: *Zhongyi wang* was the title of the last Wu-Yue ruler Qian Chu, thus the book probably was a record of the meritorious deeds of the latter.

*Former Shu*

*Qian Shu wangshi jishi* 前蜀王氏記事 (2 *juan*; comp. after 925), by Mao Wenxi 毛文錫 (fl. 1st half 10th cent.)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.70 WS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA; WXTK 200.1672 WS; SS 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: According to WXTK (which calls the work *Qian Shu jishi* 前蜀記事) the period covered in the book comprised 25 years from 920 to 944.

*Ru Luo ji* 入洛記 (1 *juan*), by Wang Renyu 王仁裕 (879–956)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.119 ZJ; TZL *yiwenlüe* 4, 616 *xingyi* 行役; JDZ 2A.21a (35) ZA; SCTSM p. 6 ZA; ZSJ 7.192 ZJ; WXTK 196.1654 ZJ; SS 203.5118 ZJ

COMMENTS: Recounted events happening on Wang Yan's 王衍 (901–926, r. 918–925) voyage to Luoyang, to surrender to the Later Tang, and included poetry by Wang Yan as well. The CWZM records 10 *juan* for the work.

(*Qian*) *Shushu* (前) 蜀書 (40 *juan*; comp. in 954), by Li Hao 李昊 (892–965)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.70 WS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA; SCTSM pp. 7–8 WS; SS 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: The SS entry lists 20 *juan* only.

†*Wangshi jianwenji* 王氏見聞集 (3 *juan*), by Wang Renyu 王仁裕

SOURCES: CWZM 2.117 ZJ; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 598 ZA; SS 206.5223 XS

COMMENTS: This work appears as *Jianwenlu* 見聞錄 in SS. It probably consisted of Wang Renyu's recollections.

*Wangshi shenxian zhuan* 王氏神仙傳, by Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933)<sup>87</sup>

SOURCES: JDZ 3B.35a (77) *shenxian* 神仙; ZSJ 12.335 *shenxian* 神仙

COMMENTS: Dealt with 55 remarkable persons during Wang Jian's 王建 reign (907–918). A Xu 續 *Wangshi shenxian zhuan* was written by a certain Wang Xuzhong 王虛中 containing information on thirty more persons.

### Min

†*Minwang shiji* 閩王事跡 (1 *juan*; comp. after 1023), by Yu Gongchuo 余公綽

SOURCES: “kaoyi” in ZZTJ 274.8997; ZSJ 5.132 WS; WXTK 200.1672 WS; SS 204.5167 BA

COMMENTS: ZSJ, WXTK and SS only provide the title of the work, but not the name of the author. The ZSJ says that the book covered 138 years from 886 to 1023.

†*Minwang Wang Shenzhi zhuan* 閩王王審知傳 (1 *juan*), by Chen Zhiyong 陳致雍 (fl. mid 10th cent.)

SOURCES: CWZM 2.71 WS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA; ZSJ 5.132 WS; WXTK 200.1672 WS

COMMENTS: The CWZM lists the work as *Min Wang Shenzhi zhuan*. The ZSJ as well as WXTK render the title as *Minwang liezhuan* 閩王列傳. The work dealt with seven rulers of Min during sixty years.

†*Minzhong shilu* 閩中實錄 (10 *juan*; comp. between 954–960), by Jiang Wenyi 蔣文懌

SOURCES: CWZM 2.71 WS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA; ZSJ 5.131–132 WS; WXTK 200.1672 WS; SS 204.5166 BA

†*Wangshi shaoyuntu* 王氏紹運圖 (3 *juan*), by Lin Renzhi 林仁志

SOURCE: SS 204.5166 BA

87. On this text see Franciscus Verellen, *Du Guangting (850–933): Taoïste de cour à la fin de la Chine médiévale* (Paris: Collège de France Institut des Hautes Écoles Chinoises, 1989), pp. 179–180.

*Southern Han*<sup>88</sup>

†*Liushi xingwanglu* 劉氏興亡錄 (1 *juan*), by Hu Binwang 胡賓王 (fl. 2nd half 10th cent.)<sup>89</sup>

SOURCES: CWZM 2.72 WS; TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA; SCTSM p. 7 WS; SS 204.5167 BA

COMMENTS: In TZL no author is given. The biography of Zhou Keming in SS states that there were historical records for each of the illegitimate states except Lingnan, i.e. the Southern Han. Even though Hu Binwang and Hu Yuanxing 胡元興 had compiled books on Lingnan, they did not publish them. See SS 461.13505. This statement contradicts the ZZTJ, where reference is made to the book by Hu Binwang. See ZZTJ 268.8741.

*Jingnan*

*Gaoshi shijia* 高氏世家 (10 *juan*)

SOURCE: SS 204.5167 BA

*Jingxiang jinshi* 荆湘近事 (10 *juan*), by Tao Yue 陶岳 (fl. 980–1026)

SOURCES: TZL *yiwenlüe* 3, 595 BA; SS 204.5167 BA

*Chu*

*Chulu* 楚錄 (5 *juan*), by Lu Zang 盧臧

SOURCES: SCTSM p. 7 WS; SS 204.5167 BA

*Chushu* 楚書 (5 *juan*), by Lu Zhen 路振

SOURCE: SS 204.5166 BA

*Hunan gushi* 湖南故事 (10 *juan*)

SOURCES: ZSJ 5.132 WS; WXTK 200.1672 WS; SS 204.5167 BA

88. The SS lists a *Guangwang shiji* 廣王事跡 (1 *juan*), but gives no clue as to what state it was dealing with. See SS 204.5167. The title, which is not found in any other work, suggests a history of the rulers of Guangzhou, but there is no evidence to support this assumption.

89. According to Liang Tingnan 梁廷柀 (1796–1861) Hu Binwang had written this work as the *Nan Han guoshi* 南漢國史. After the Southern Han surrender, Liu changed the title and presented it to the throne. See Liang Tingnan, *Nan Han shu* 南漢書 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp. 71–72. For more information on the *Nan Han shu* work see Steven B. Miles, “Rewriting the Southern Han (917–971): The Production of Local Culture in Nineteenth-Century Guangzhou,” in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 62.1 (June 2002): 39–75.

COMMENTS: The work recorded the history of Chu and Jingnan, and, according to the *Zhongxing guange shumu* 中興館閣書目 of the Southern Song (quoted in ZSJ), the literary style was very poor.<sup>90</sup> The SS lists 13 *juan* for the work.

†*Huxiang Mashi gushi* 湖湘馬氏故事 (20 *juan*), by Cao Yan 曹衍

SOURCES: CWZM 2.71 WS; ZZTJ 292.9542; TZL *yiwentüe* 3, 595 BA; SS 204.5167 BA

COMMENTS: The ZZTJ refers to the work as *Huxiang gushi*. Cao Yan also authored a *Hu Xiang shenxian xianyi* 湖湘神仙顯異 in 2 *juan* that is listed in CWZM 3.160 under XS.

†*Mashi xingshiji* 馬氏行事記, by Ding Shou 丁璠

SOURCE: ZZTJ 292.9542

[*Chu*] *yeshi* [楚] 野史 (30 *juan*), by Meng Yu 孟瑜 (fl. 980)

SOURCE: YH 47.15a (279) ZA

COMMENTS: Meng Yu was from Changsha and his work was recommended to the throne by a colleague.

*Later Shu*

*Guangzheng zaji* 廣政雜記 (15 *juan*), by Pu Renyu 浦仁裕

SOURCES: CWZM 2.72 WS; TZL *yiwentüe* 3, 595 BA; SS 206.5223 XS

COMMENTS: The title suggests that the text contained miscellaneous notes on the Guangzheng (938–965) reign.

*Guangzheng zalu* 廣政雜錄 (3 *juan*; after 965), by He Guangyuan 何光遠

SOURCES: CWZM 2.72 WS; TZL *yiwentüe* 3, 595 BA; SS 206.5223 XS

*Hou Shu Meng xianzhu shilu* 後蜀孟先主實錄 (30 *juan*; comp. in 934 (?)), by Li Hao 李昊

SOURCES: CWZM 2.70 WS; TZL *yiwentüe* 3, 595 BA; JDZ *houzhi* 1.16b–17a (196–197) *shilu* 實錄; WXTK 194.1643 *qijuzhu* 起居注; SS 203.5090 BN

COMMENTS: The CWZM gives the title as *Wei Shu Mengshi xianzhu shilu* 僞

90. This quote has entered the reconstructed *Zhongxing guange shumu*. See *Zhongxing guange shumu jikao* 中興館閣書目輯考, reconstr. by Zhao Shiwei 趙士煒 (*Guyi shulu congji* 古佚書錄叢輯), 3.31b.

蜀孟氏先主實錄. According to *TZL* the work dealt with the reign of Meng Zhixiang (874–934), the first emperor of the Later Shu (reg. 934). The *ZZTJ* “kaoyi” gives the title *Shu Gaozu shilu* 蜀高祖實錄. See *ZZTJ* 277.9050. This is the title under which it is found in *JDZ houzhi*. In *SS* the title is rendered as *Hou Shu Gaozu shilu* 後蜀高祖實錄.

*Hou Shu Mengshi jishi* 後蜀孟氏記事 (2 *juan*; comp. before 960 (?)), by Dong Chun 董淳 (?–after 978)

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.71 WS; *TZL yiwentlue* 3, 595 BA; *ZSJ* 5.131 WS; *WXTK* 200.1672 WS; *SS* 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: The *ZSJ* gives the title as *Hou Shu jishi* 後蜀記事. The book treated the reign of Meng Chang 孟昶 (919–965) only.

*Hou Shu zhu shilu* 後蜀主實錄 (40 *juan*; after 965), by Li Hao 李昊

SOURCE: *SS* 203.5090 BN

COMMENTS: According to Li Hao’s biography in *SS* 479.13892 this work consisted of the veritable records of Meng Chang’s (reg. 934–965) reign only.

†*Shu houzhu shilu* 蜀後主實錄 (80 *juan*), by Li Hao 李昊

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.70 WS; *ZZTJ* 282.9199; *TZL yiwentlue* 3, 595 BA

COMMENTS: The *TZL* refers to this work as *Hou Shu houzhu shilu* 後蜀後主實錄; the *CWZM* calls it *Hou Shu Mengshi* 孟氏 *houzhu shilu*.

*Shu guitang bianshi* 蜀桂堂編事 (20 *juan*; comp. after 965), by Yang Jiuling 楊九齡

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.72 WS; *TZL yiwentlue* 3, 609 *kedu* 科第; *JDZ* 2B.2a (37) WS; *WXTK* 200.1671 WS; *SS* 203.5116 ZJ and 208.5359 *bieji* 別集

COMMENTS: According to *JDZ* the work dealt with events during the examinations of the Guangzheng (938–965) reign. The *SS* renders the title as *Guitang bianshi*.

*Shuji* 蜀記 (1 *juan*), by Zhang Shouyue 張守約

SOURCES: *JDZ* 2B.10b (41) *dili* 地理; *SCTSM* p. 7 WS

COMMENTS: This was a biographical record of the last ruler Meng Chang from his surrender to the Song to his death in Kaifeng.

*Southern Tang*

*Guang zhiyan* 廣摭言 (15 *juan*; comp. in 973), by He Hui 何晦

SOURCES: *ZSJ* 11.312 XS; *WXTK* 216.1761 XS; *SS* 206.5227 XS

COMMENTS: In the *SS* entry He Hui is also credited with the *Zhiyan*. According to Wu Renchen the *Tang* (!) *zhiyan* by He Hui was as popular as the *Tang chunqiu* 唐春秋 (30 *juan*) by Guo Zhaoqing 郭昭慶, another Southern Tang official (*jinsi* of 943).<sup>91</sup>

*Jiangnan dengkeji* 江南登科記 (1 *juan*), by Yue Shi 樂史 (930–1007)

SOURCE: *CWZM* 2.115 ZJ; *TZL yiwentlue* 3, 609 *kedu* 科第

COMMENTS: In *TZL* the *Jiangnan dengkeji* is treated as the last of three works of Yue that deal with the examinations, the first being the *Songchao dengkeji* 宋朝登科記 (3 *juan*) and the second being the *Zhongxiu dengkeji* 重修登科記 (30 *juan*).

*Jiangnan Lishi shiji* 江南李氏事跡 (1 *juan*)

SOURCE: *TZL yiwentlue* 3, 595 BA

*Jiangnanlu* 江南錄 (10 *juan*; comp. in 979), by Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916–991) and Tang Yue 湯悅 (fl. 940–983)<sup>92</sup>

SOURCES: *CWZM* 2.71 WS; *TZL yiwentlue* 3, 595 BA; *JDZ* 2B.1a–1b (37) WS; *ZSJ* 5.129 WS; *YH* 47.15a (279) ZA; *WXTK* 200.1671 WS; *SS* 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: This was the official history of the Southern Tang, written on imperial order from Song Taizong by two former Southern Tang officials. Fragments of the work are found at the end of the biographies of the three Southern Tang rulers in Ma Ling's *Nan Tang shu* as well as in the *Zizhi tongjian*.

*Jiangnanzhi* 江南志 (20 *juan*)

SOURCE: *SS* 203.5095 BIE

COMMENTS: This is quite probably referring to the *Jiangnan yeshi*.

91. *SGCQ* 28.409. The *Tang chunqiu* is also mentioned in Ma Ling, *Nan Tang shu*, 14.97, as well as in Lu You, *Nan Tang shu*, 15.62. This work is not mentioned in *TZL* where three (!) other *Tang chunqiu* are listed. See *TZL yiwentlue* 3, 593.

92. Wang Yinglin mentions that a *Jiangbiao shiji* 江表事跡 was compiled in 979. The work was written by Xu Xuan and Tang Yue as well as two other former Southern Tang officials, Wang Kezheng 王克正 (also Kezhen 克貞; 929–989) and Zhang Ji 張洎 (937–997). See *YH* 15.37b (372) under *dili* 地理. This book is very probably the *Jiangnanlu*, even though the entry here is the only one that links Wang and Zhang with the work.

*Nan Tang Liezu kaijilu* 南唐烈祖開基錄 (10 *juan*; comp. before 958), by Wang Yan 王顏

SOURCES: CWZM 2.72 WS; TZL *yiwenlie* 3, 595 BA; ZSJ 5.129 WS; WXTK 200.1671 WS; SS 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: ZSJ as well as the WXTK give the title as *Nan Tang Liezu kaijizhi* 南唐烈祖開基誌. The SS lists the work as *Nan Tang Liezu kaijizhi* 南唐烈祖開基志. Wang Yan had been prefect of Chuzhou 滁州 in Huainan, which was incorporated into the Later Zhou empire in 958.

*Nan Tang Liezu shilu* 南唐烈祖實錄 (13 *juan*), by Gao Yuan 高遠 (?–968?)<sup>93</sup>

SOURCES: ZSJ 5.129 WS; WXTK 200.1671 WS; SS 203.5090 BN

COMMENTS: The copy mentioned in ZSJ lacked chapters eight and twelve. The SS records 20 *juan* for the work.

#### *Northern Han*

† *Jinyang jianwen yaolu* 晉陽見聞要錄 (1 *juan*), by Wang Baoheng 王保衡

SOURCE: SS 204.5166 BA

COMMENTS: This work is also referred to in Xu Wudang's 徐無黨 commentary on Ouyang Xiu's "Shiguo shijia nianpu" 十國世家年譜.<sup>94</sup>

93. According to Lu You, Gao had also written a draft version of the *Yuanzong shilu* 元宗實錄, dealing with the reign of the second emperor of the Southern Tang (r. 943–961). When the emperor died in the late 960's Gao burnt the drafts of the *shilu*. When the last ruler Li Yu 李煜 (r. 961–976) thought about the compilation of a national history (*guoshi* 國史) he had Gao's residence searched for surviving copies, but the search was unsuccessful. See Lu You, *Nan Tang shu* 南唐書 9.36, in *Lu Fangweng quanji* 陸放翁全集 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1986), vol. 1. The question of how the *Liezu shilu* made it into the works listed thus cannot be answered at present. Chen Zhensun quotes Xu Xuan and Zheng Wenbao, who said that Gao Yuan started to compile a historical record of the Southern Tang since 937 during the Kaibao (968–975) reign of Song Taizu. I have not been able to locate Xu Xuan's statement: Zheng Wenbao's is found in the preface to his *Jiangbiaozhi* (*Xuehai leibian*). Zheng does not mention the *shilu* explicitly.

94. See XWDS 71.882–883.