A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF BAO ZHAO*

(I)

Robert Shanmu Chen
University of British Columbia

ABSTRACT

Bao Zhao (409-466) is one of the three major poets of the Yuanjia Literature of the Liu Song Dynasty. His poetry has been well appreciated, and recently its popularity even tends to surpass that of the poetry of Xie Lingyun. However, few textual and critical research has been done on accounts of Bao Zhao’s life and official career. Ever since Zhong Rong and Liu Zhiji, literary and historical criticisms on Bao Zhao often resent with regret that Bao Zhao has fallen into oblivion, for the history books did not record his biography, due to his humble status, though he had extraordinary literary talents. And modern chronologists on Bao Zhao have often adopted traditional interpretations or drawn strained analogy, hence little original idea. In fact, substantial informations about Bao Zhao are available in history books and are sufficient to summarize an essential account of his life and to confirm his status as an important favorite courtier in the imperial court of Emperor Xiaowu.

Accordingly, this biographical study will first examine and clarify such controversial issues as Bao Zhao’s birth date, native place, social status and official posts and offices, namely, Princely Attendant, Subprefect, Erudite of the National University, Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, and military Secretary. It will then analyze the significance of Bao Zhao’s services at the long term concurrent post of Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat and in the provincial office of Military Secretary, and further confer that Bao Zhao had long been in the imperial decision-making center in the regin of Emperor Xiaowu and deeply involved in the Yijia Revolt; and finally it will explicate the implication of Shen Yue’s decision and arrangement to attach an account of Bao Zhao’s life to the Biography of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan, and confirm that Bao Zhao was highly-esteemed in the Song Shu.

*This article has been a part of my Ph.D. dissertation and I am indebted to Professor Florence Chia-ying Yeh and Professor Edwin Pulleyblank, who gave critical reading of my original draft and offered valuable criticism.

A. The Objective

Despite his reputation as one of the three major poets in the Yuanjia Literature 元嘉文学 in the Liu Song Dynasty 刘宋 (A.D.420-470), and despite the fact that his poetry won increasing admiration in subsequent ages and was held in high esteem particularly in recent years, Bao Zhao's 鲍照 biography has never been well presented. The extant biographical notes on Bao Zhao are scanty, compared with comments on his literary works. Accounts of his life can be found in the Song Shu 宋书 (History of the Song Dynasty), the Nan Shi 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties), the Nan Qi Shu 南齊書 (History of the Southern Qi Dynasty), Yu Yan’s 宇燕 preface to the Bao Zhao Ji 鲍照集 (Collected Works of Bao Zhao), and Bao Zhao's own statements and memorials, but they are brief and often at odds with one another. Moreover, due to such controversial interpretations or generalized accounts of his life, his social and political status became further obscured and ambiguous. Chronologists on Bao Zhao have tried unsuccessfully to present a more concrete and detailed outline of his life; even the most celebrated ones such as Wu Piji 吴丕绩 and Qian Zhonglian 钱仲联 have not been able to avoid the pitfalls of arbitrary or hasty presumptions.

Therefore, this biographical study will examine the extant notes on Bao Zhao's life, and clarify such controversial issues as Bao Zhao's birth date, native place, social status, and official posts and offices, in order to present a more substantial and factual outline of his life. After a reappraisal of his life in its social, financial, and political aspects, a re-evaluation will be made of the conventional account adopted by most literary critics and anthologists who accuse historians of discriminating against Bao Zhao as a man of low social status. Thus, this study attempts to delineate within a historical perspective Bao Zhao's identity as a member of a humble family from the Scholar-official Class, and as an important official and a favorite courtier in the court of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 of the Liu Song Dynasty.
B. The Extant Biographical Notes on Bao Zhao

The extant *Song Shu* was compiled and written by Shen Yue 沈约. He presented it to Emperor Wu of the Qi Dynasty 齊武帝 in the spring of 488. Before Shen Yue, there existed a version of the History of the Song Dynasty. It covered the period from 405 to 464 and was compiled or written by He Chengtian 何承天, Shan Qianzhi 山謙之, Pei Songzhi 裴松之, Su Baosheng 蘇寶生, Liu Jun 劉浚, and Xu Yuan 徐爰 respectively. Shen Yue revised this existing version and completed a supplement covering the period from 464 to 479, the end of the Song Dynasty.\(^1\)

The biographical account of Bao Zhao in the *Song Shu* was inserted in the "Biography of Liu Yiqing," which was attached to that of Liu Daogui, Prince Liewu (the Valiant Warrior) of Linchuan 臨川烈武王 劉道規. Since Liu Yiqing inherited his uncle's title as Prince of Linchuan and was a great vassal of the Yuanjia Period, his biography was most likely written by Su Baosheng, who was said to have composed biographies of most of the eminent officials of the period.\(^2\) Nevertheless, neither Su Baosheng nor Xu Yuan could have written the biographical sketch of Bao Zhao. Bao Zhao was killed in 466, while Su Baosheng was executed in 458 for knowing Gao Du's 高閔 treason without reporting it.\(^3\) And Xu Yuan, being accused of deceiving the throne with flattery and exiled to Jiaozhou 交州 in 467, was able to edit the imperial history only up to the year of 464.\(^4\) Therefore, in all respects it is reasonable to attribute to Shen Yue the composition of the biographical account of Bao Zhao and the inclusion of it in that of Liu Yiqing, Prince of Linchuan.

---

2. See "Zi Xu 自序" in Shen, *ibid.*, V.8, p.2467.
Shen Yue completed the *Song Shu* some 22 years after Bao Zhao’s death. He wrote an account of Bao Zhao’s life in 109 words and a quotation of Bao Zhao's "Ode to the Clarity of the Yellow River 河清頌" in its full length of 890 words.\(^5\) The brevity of this biographical account was traditionally taken as the result of either an intentional simplification due to Bao Zhao’s humble origin and social status, or a general negligence due to the social exclusiveness of the elite class against the commoners and the clans of low status and inferior esteem.\(^6\) But the mere existence of the biographical sketch with a lengthy quotation makes it unlikely that there was a direct effect of social discrimination upon the composition of the biography, and is sufficient to refute the possibility of prejudice against Bao Zhao on the part of the historian, though Shen Yue was known to be a stern guardian of the eminent class.\(^7\)

The best explanation for the abbreviated state of this biography was offered by Yu Yan 虞炎 in his preface to the *Bao Zhao Ji*.\(^8\) Yu Yan’s preface consists of a biographical account and an editorial note. The biographical account of Bao Zhao’s life provides information on Bao Zhao’s courtesy name, native place, social status, literary talent, official career, and approximate age in 131 words. It is much

---


   Also see "Zhang Pu Tici 張溥題辭" cited in Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, ed., *Bao Canjun Ji Zhu 鲍參軍集注* (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1980), p.vi.


8. The history books provided no biographical sketch of Yu Yan, except that the "Biography of Crown Prince Wenhui" in the *Nan Shi 南史* 文惠太子傳 recorded that he was once in the Prince’s Counsel, and the "Biography of Lu Huixiao" in the *Nan Shi 南史* 陸慧曉傳 recorded that he was a native of Kuaiji 會稽. It also noted that he and Shen Yue, with their literary talents, found favour with Crown Prince Wenhui, and that he had a title as high as that of Xiaoji-Jiangjun 鄭騎將軍.
   Also see the biographical note on Yu Yan 虞炎 in "Lu Huixiao Zhuan 陸慧曉傳" in Li, *ibid.*, V.4, p.1198.
more detailed and chronological than that by Shen Yue. In the editorial note Yu Yan attributed the initiation of the collection to Prince Changmiao of Nanjun 南郡王 長懋, who was raised to Heir Apparent 儲皇 in the summer of 482 but died in the first month of 493. Thus, Yu Yan’s search for and compilation of Bao Zhao’s works could have been done any time from 482 to 493, an interval of 16 to 27 years after the poet’s death.9 Supported by such a strong patron and working only

9. The biographies of Crown Prince Wenhui 文惠太子 in both the Nan Qi Shu and the Nan Shi record that Prince Changmiao of Nanjun 南郡王 長懋 was raised to Heir Apparent in the summer of 482. Before long he became the patron of military genius and literary talents, and among them Yu Yan, Fan Xiu 范岫, Zhou Yong 周颙, and Yuan Kuo 袁廓 soon became the Prince’s Counsels. Neither the Nan Qi Shu nor the Nan Shi recorded the official titles of these four men, but they did record that Zhou Yong held the post of Coachman of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-pu 太子僕), a fifth-rank officer in the principality in 485. Since Yu Yan sat on the same council with Zhou Yong, he presumably would have held an office of the same rank, such as Household Provisioner of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-jialing 太子家令), Director of the Watches of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-leigengling 太子率更令), Palace Cadet of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-zhongshuzi 太子中庶子), or Secretary of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-zhongsheren 太子中舍人).

Thus, the preface presents an apparent contradiction: Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, a fifth-rank officer in the Chancellery Department 門下省, was not an official title in the administration of the Heir Apparent, and the Prince Imperial did not have the jurisdiction to summon this officer to his service. A logical conjecture is that sometime later, but still during Emperor Wu’s reign, Yu Yan was transferred to the Department of Chancellery to serve as a Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, and at his new post he finished editing the collection of Bao Zhao’s works and prefaced it as he had been instructed in his former office.

The search for Bao Zhao’s works might have started as early as the summer of 482, immediately after Prince Changmiao became Heir Apparent. As for the compilation of the collection, though it could have been done in early 483, it was most likely done after the compilation of the Song Shu in 487, since Shen Yue’s "Biography of Bao Zhao" is obviously independent of that by Yu Yan.

Judging from the title “the Heir Apparent 儲皇,” Yu Yan applied to Prince Imperial Changmiao in his preface, it is certain that the compilation was done no later than the first month of 493. According to the Nan Qi Shu Prince Imperial Changmiao died in the first month of 493 and was given by Emperor Wu the posthumous title of "Wenhui Taizì" 文惠太子 (Wenhui Crown Prince) in the same month. By the ninth month of the same year he was venerated as Emperor Wen, Grand Patriarch 世宗文皇帝, by his son Prince Zhaoye of Yulin 鬱林王 昭業, who succeeded his grandfather Emperor Wu in the seventh month of the year. According to the proprieties of the time, to refer to Prince Imperial Changmiao, Yu Yan would have used the term “Wenhui Crown Prince,” had he composed the preface after the Prince’s death in the spring of 493. He would have used "Emperor Wen, the Grand Patriarch," had he completed the compilation of the collection after the death of Emperor Wu in the fall of that year. At any rate, Yu Yan used "the Heir Apparent" in the preface to refer to Prince Changmiao.
two or three decades after the poet's death, Yu Yan was only able to collect half of Bao Zhao's works. His expressed regret in the end of the preface would certainly justify the scantiness of the 'Biography of Bao Zhao' in the *Song Shu* by Shen Yue, who could hardly have had any access to Bao Zhao's letters, declarations, statements, and long and short memorials 简 , collected by Yu Yan.10

Textual study shows that it is doubtful that the extant 10-volume version of the *Bao Canjun Ji* 鲍参军集 (Collected Works of Military Consultant Bao) was the six-volume version recorded in the "Catalogue of Books and Records 經籍志" in the *Sui Shu* (History of the Sui Dynasty),11 for it does not contain the verse line "At high noon public places are crowded 昼市朝滿" quoted in the *Shi Pin* by Zhong Rong of the Liang Dynasty.12 The issue of whether or not the Liang version was the same as Yu Yan's original collection will remain a mystery. But the possibility that the *Bao Canjun Ji* was lost in the great fire that consumed the Palace and the Imperial Library of the Qi Dynasty in 500, or was not available in the library after the fire will remain in the background as a possible reason for the absence in the *Nan Shi* of any of Yu Yan's biographical notes on Bao Zhao.

10. It is recorded that along with the *Song Shu* there existed several versions of the History of the Song Dynasty, compiled by Shen Yue's contemporaries such as Sun Yan 孫嚴, Wang Zhishen 王智深, Pei Ziye 裴子野, Wang Yan 王琰, and Bao Hengqing 鮑衡卿. For example, Wang Zhishen edited in 493 a 30-volume history called the *Song Ji* 宋紀 (Chronicle of the Song Dynasty), while Pei Ziye compiled in 492 a 20-volume book called the *Song Lu* 宋略 (Outline of the History of the Song Dynasty). We do not know whether or not these history books contained any records of Bao Zhao, for none of these books exist today.

Some of them might have sunk into oblivion and been lost, while others might have failed to survive the great fire that consumed the Palace and the Imperial Library in 500, the second year of the reign of Marquis Donghun of the Qi Dynasty 齊東昏侯. The Imperial Library's loss in this fire was recorded in Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty's 梁武帝 "Edict to Collect Records and Books 集繹令." Drafted by Ren Fang 任昉, this edict was a response to a statement 表 sent to the throne by Wang Tai 王泰, Assistant to the Chief of the Imperial Library (Mishu-cheng 秘書丞), requesting permission to initiate remedial measures. The edict judged the loss in this fire to be heavier and much more severe than that in the infamous fire in the Qin Dynasty 秦, for silk book-cases 絹囊 and cloth book-covers 衣帛 had all been burned, and green bamboo slips and silk records 青編素簡 were reduced to ashes. Although the remedial measures to replace losses by editing remnants, mending fragments, and collecting extant versions according to a surviving library catalogue were issued, their outcome and the extent of the loss both are not known. Hence, the probability that some versions of the History of the Song Dynasty failed to survive the palace fire in 500 is nothing but conjecture.


The *Nan Shi*, approved for release in 659, was compiled by Li Yanshou 李延寿 in an attempt to present a more coherent history of the south. He adopted the separate histories of the southern dynasties but omitted many articles and memorials quoted in the original versions. He also adopted many unofficial records, anecdotes, and miscellaneous notes.\textsuperscript{13} Li Yanshou had a 211-word biography of Bao Zhao and also attached it to that of Prince Liewu of Linchuan. He adopted the whole biographical account of Bao Zhao written by Shen Yue, except the quotation of the "Ode to the Clarity of the Yellow River." In addition, he related a story of how Bao Zhao presented his poetry to the Prince of Linchuan, an anecdote known neither to Shen Yue nor to Yu Yan.\textsuperscript{14} Nevertheless, Li Yanshou's rough account and poor chronology of Bao Zhao's political career and official posts tend to lead not only to a strong inference that he did not (or was unable to) consult Yu Yan's preface, but also to a sound conjecture that somehow he did not have the access to Bao Zhao's letters, statements, and memorials which detailed the poet's public life. The lack of reference to previous works, if not due to inaccessibility of materials, may be attributed to the historian's ignorance or intentional negligence. Although the *Jin Lou Zi* 金樓子 and the *Shi Pin* contain criticism of Bao Zhao's poetry, and the *Nan Qi Shu* and the *Bei Shi* 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties) each have one reference to him, the *Song Shu*, the *Nan Shi*, Yu Yan's Preface, and Bao Zhao's statement and memorials remain the main sources for biographical accounts of Bao Zhao.

C. **A Study of Biographical Accounts of Bao Zhao**

i. Bao Zhao's Birth and Death

The *Song Shu* and the *Nan Shi* provided neither Bao Zhao's age nor his birth date, but noted he was killed by the rebels at Prince Zixu's 子顼 defeat. Yu Yan's

\textsuperscript{13} See the foreword to the publication of the *Nan Shi*, in Li, II, *op.cit.*, V.1, pp.vi-viii.
\textsuperscript{14} See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Li, II, *ibid.*, V.2, p.360.
preface did not record his birth date either, but it noted Bao Zhao was more than 50 years old when he was killed. Wu Piji in his *Bao Zhao Nianpu* (Chronicle of Bao Zhao) repeated Yu Yan's estimate and maintained that at his death Bao Zhao was 62 years old, and that the number "five 五" in Yu Yan's preface was a misprint of "six 六."

Wu's argument was based on Chen Hang's interpretation of Bao Zhao's poems titled "Imitating 'the Road of Adversity' 謙行路難." Chen Hang, in his *Shi Bi-xing Jian* (Notes and Commentaries on Allegories in Poetry), interpreted the seventh and eighth verses of the set as allegorical poems lamenting both the dethronement and regicide of Emperor Shao 少帝, and the deposition and subsequent murder of Prince Yizhen of Luling 盧陵王 義真 in 424. Chen Hang also noted that this set of poems was written by the poet at the age of 20, for he wrote in the last verse: "I am just at the capping age of twenty."

Wu Piji thereupon calculated that since Bao Zhao was 20 years old in 424, he would be 62 years of age when he was killed in 466, the second year of the Taishi Reign 泰始 of Emperor Ming 明帝 of the Song Dynasty. He would then have been born in 405, the first year of the Yixi Reign 義熙 of Emperor An 安帝 of the Jin Dynasty. But Wu's acceptance of the seventh poem of "Imitating 'the Road of Adversity'" as a political allegory was presumptuous, as was his note on Yu Yan's estimate as a misprint, for the poem reads:

```
"Sorrowful thoughts seized me all of a sudden,
So I mounted my horse and rode out of the north gate.
Then as I raise my head to look and gaze,
I see only a cemetery of cypress and conifers,
Which is luxuriant with the thorn and the bramble.
There amidst them a bird by the name of cuckoo dwells,
Which is said to have transformed from the King of Shu's soul.
In endless dirge of sorrow it mourns and wails,
Its plumage moults baldly like the shaven head of a convict.
```

Also see the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Shen, *op. cit.*, V.5, pp.1477-1480.
Also see "Yu Yan Xu 戲炎序" in Qian, *op. cit.*, p.v.
17. See Chen Hang's interpretation of the 18th verse of "Imitating the Road of Adversity" in his "Notes and Commentaries on Allegories in Poetry (詩比興箋)," cited by Qian, *op. cit.*, p.244.
It flies and hops among trees to feed on worm and insect,  
And cannot at all remember its past dignity as the Son of Heaven.  
Struck by the vicissitudes of life and death,  
My heart is in an anguish of sorrow beyond description.\textsuperscript{a}

飛走樹間啄蟲蟻,  
憶昔往日天子尊.  
念此死生變化非常理,  
中心痛悔不能言.

In this poem the cuckoo bird as a metaphor of an abdicated king is explicitly denoted by the allusion of the transformation of the King of Shu's soul.\textsuperscript{19} The image of a cuckoo bird forgetting its past dignity as the Son of Heaven and hopping among trees to feed on worms and insects in a cemetery of cypress and conifers implicitly connotes a metaphor of a dethroned and exiled king. Nevertheless, this is just the poet's device to convey his concept of the vicissitudes of things. It does not justify application to a specific historical incident in Song history. It is applicable to the depositions of both Emperor Gong of the Jin Dynasty and the Former-deposed Emperor 前廢帝 of the Song Dynasty, both of which the poet witnessed in his life. It may also be applicable to King Jian of the State of Tian Qi 田齊王建, who was exiled and starved to death among cypress and pines after the downfall of his kingdom.\textsuperscript{20}

However, Zhu Jutang 朱桓堂 maintained that this poem was a lament over Emperor Gong 恭帝 of the Jin Dynasty, who was forced to abdicate his throne to Liu Yu 劉裕, and was eventually murdered in 421.\textsuperscript{21} This interpretation is acceptable, for Zhu Jutang did not proclaim the poem was written immediately after the incident in 421 when the poet was 13 years old at the most. Chen Hang further advocated that the poem was a lament over the dethronement and murder of Emperor Shao. He understood the last phrase of the seventh poem in the context of that of the fourth poem, which ends with the couplet:

\textsuperscript{19} See notes on the King of Shu 蜀帝 from Huayang Guo Zhi 華陽國志 and Chengdu Ji 成都記, cited by Qian, \textit{op.cit.}, p.233, n.2.
\textsuperscript{20} See note on King Jian of the State of Tian Qi 田齊王建 from "Qi Shijia 齊世家" in \textit{Shi Ji} 史記, cited by Qian, \textit{ibid.}, p.234.
\textsuperscript{21} See Zhu Jutang's 朱桓堂 interpretation, cited by Qian, \textit{ibid.}, p.233.
"How can my heart made of no stone or wood be indifferent?  心非木石豈無感？
But silently I wander around and dare not speak out." 吞聲憤踊不敢言。

Chen Hang interpreted "bu neng yan 不能言" as "unable to talk about it" and "bu gan yan 不敢言" as "dare not speak of it." He subsequently inferred that the poet was writing about the dethronement and regicide of Emperor Shao in 424, for if the poet could not or dared not talk about it openly, he had to be writing about a current political event.22 Since the abdication of Emperor Gong of the Jin Dynasty took place when Bao Zhao was very young and the dethronement of the Former-deposed Emperor took place at the end of the poet's life, it was logical for Chen Hang to take the deposal of Emperor Shao as a current incident. Nevertheless, this interpretation presupposes that firstly, the poem was not written after the regicide of the Former-deposed Emperor in 465, and secondly, the poet was restricted to writing only about what he had witnessed. In this respect, Chen Hang fell victim to the danger of interpreting poetry only as historical record. In addition, Chen Hang's readings of "bu neng yan" and "bu gan yan" are disputable, for the above two couplets seem to have defined the poet's anxiety about the adversity of life as too strong for description, rather than his indignation over a certain political incident that he dared not talk about. Chen Hang further maintained that the eighth poem was written in lament of Prince Yizhen of Luling, who prior to the dethronement of Emperor Shao was deposed and murdered in 424. The poem reads:

"There are five peach trees growing in the courtyard center,  中庭五株桃，
One of them blossoms before the others start to flower.  一株先作花。
In the genial and charming spring light of March and April,  陽春妖冶二三月，
Into a house to the west its windblown petals fall.  從風簸落舊西家。
It provokes the pensive wife in the house a woeful lament,  西家思婦見悲惋，
And as she beats her breast tears fall on her garment:  零淚霧衣撫心嘆；
At first when I bid farewell to my lord at the door,  初送君出戶時，
I did not expect he would be detained until the seasons turned.  何言淹留節遂換。
My clear mirror becomes dirty and my mattress is dusty,  席生塵明鏡垢，

My slim waist becomes skinny and my hair is untidy.
Life does not allow us to be always contented and happy,
At midnight I am still lingering around in melancholy."

Chen's advocacy depended entirely on his interpretation of the image of "five peach trees growing in the courtyard center" as a metaphor of the five princes of Emperor Wu. Couplet by couplet he related the poem chronologically to the historical incident. Thus, the image of one peach tree blossoming before the others is taken as a metaphor for Prince Yizhen of Luling, the eldest of the five and the first to be deposed and murdered; the falling of peach blossoms in the spring light of March and April is paralleled by the murder of Prince Yizhen in the second month of the lunar calendar, the pensive wife's woeful lament over the fallen blossoms coincides with the sorrow at the subsequent return of the Prince's hearse to the capital. Finally, the wife's regret and resentment of her husband's detention and her own solitude are correlated with the lament over the deposal and death of Prince Yizhen. Nevertheless, neither on thematic nor on metaphorical levels can one find any apparent analogy between the windblown peach blossom and that of a deposed prince. Furthermore, as Qian Zhonglian argued, Chinese poetic tradition does not suggest any convention to take peach blossom as the symbol of a deposed prince. In this respect, Chen Hang seems to be providing strained interpretations and drawing far-fetched analogies which limit the effectiveness of his commentary. Another essential key in Chen Hang's interpretation or to Wu Piji's calculation lies in the 18th poem which reads:

```
"Do not lament over your destitution or poverty, my lords,
For wealth and honor are not man's to command;
Some gentlemen may fill an office in prime forties,
While others will do at the capping age of twenty.
Do not say that plants and trees withered in the winter snow,
Will certainly come back to life by springtime;
But drink wine and write poems with your friends,

諸君莫嘆貧，
富貴不由人；
丈夫四十彊而仕，
餘當二十弱冠辰，
莫言草木委冬雪，
會應蘇息遇陽春；
對酒敘長篇，
```

And entrust to great Heaven your destitution and destination. 窮途運命委皇天。
Just wish that the vintage of nine fermentations fills your goblet, 但願樽中九酝滿,
And grudge not the hundred coppers in your bedside cabinet; 莫惜床頭百個銭;
For one should rather live but one year in carefree leisure, 直須優游卒一歲,
Than endure a long life of hardship and toilsome labor." 何勞辛苦事百年.

The above reading is adopted according to the Song edition 宋本, while Chen Hang took the word "yu 餘 (others)" as "yu 余 (I)", according to the Ming edition collected in the Han, Wei, Liuchao Bai San Jia Ji 漢魏六朝百三家集 (Anthology of One Hundred and Three Authors from the Han, the Wei, and the Six Dynasties) compiled by Zhang Pu 張溥, and read the second couplet as:

"Men enter an official career in their prime forties, 丈夫四十彌而仕,
While I am at the capping age of twenty." 余當二十弱冠辰.

He thereupon maintained that this set of poems was written by the poet at the age of 20, and that it should have been written sometime before the poet took his first official post as attendant to Prince Yiqing of Linchuan and after the deposition and murder of Emperor Shao and Prince Yizhen of Luling. He strongly believed that it was written in 424, right after the incident about which the poet was not able to overcome certain misgivings expressed in the last couplets of the fourth and the seventh poems.25 Structurally speaking, the Ming edition and Chen Hang’s reading of the couplet present an awkward sense of discontinuity in tone and meaning within the total context of the poem. The poem consists of three quatrains, each containing one negative imperative and a subsequent explicatory clause or positive imperative. Commands or advice are given in 11 interrogative sentences beginning with "don’t you see...君不見... ." Even if limited to adopt "yu 余" as "I," the couplet can still be read in a more coherent mood:

"Men usually enter an official career in their prime forties, 丈夫四十彌而仕,
But I should do that at the capping age of twenty." 余當二十弱冠辰.

25. See Chen Hang’s 陳沆 interpretation, cited by Qian, ibid., p.244.
In this case, the couplet can hardly be taken as a statement of the poet's current age. Besides, the preference for the Song edition's reading of "yu 余" as "others 餘" is substantially supported by statistics of Bao Zhao's poetic diction. Within 204 poems extant today, Bao Zhao used the word "wo 我" 20 times as nominative case, 17 times as possessive case, and three times as objective case. He used "wu 吾 " once as nominative case and once as possessive case, and he used "nong 僚" twice as nominative case. Although he used "yu 余" twice in the nominative case in the preface of his "Ballad of the Pine and the Cypress," he did not use it in his poems at all. And in "Imitating 'the Road of Adversity'" he used "wo 我" seven times in nominative case and eight times in possessive case. Thus, his preference for using "wo 我 " as "I, my, and me" and the lack of the use of "yu 余 " as "I" in his poetic diction confirm that the Song edition's reading is more appropriate than the Ming edition's reading and thus the indication of the poet's age at the time when the poem was written is less certain than Chen Hang presumed. In summary, Chen Hang's correlation of this set of poems to the dethronement of Emperor Shao, the deposition of Prince Yizhen and the poet’s age appears to be based on arbitrary analogies and interpretations. In adopting all of these unproven presumptions as concrete premises for his inferences, Wu Piji inevitably fell into the pitfall of begging the question. His conclusions on Bao Zhao's birth date and age remain wild conjectures.

On the other hand, in "Bao Zhao Nianbiao 鲍照年表 (the Chronological Chart of Bao Zhao)," Qian Zhonglian accepted Zhu Jutang's interpretation of the seventh poem as a lament over the abdication of the last emperor of the Jin Dynasty and Chen Hang's view that it was a poem of resentment over the dethronement of Emperor Shao. Nevertheless, he refuted Chen Hang's interpretation of the eighth poem as a lament over the deposition of Prince Yizhen. He maintained that poems in "Imitating 'the Road of Adversity'" were not written at the same time or as a set originally. Qian was perfectly correct in this respect since the poet wrote in the sixth poem:
"I will abandon the official life and give up my post,  
And return home alone to take a rest."

棄罷官去，
還家自休息。

It is obvious that the poet could not have written it before 438, the year he first embarked upon an official career, and it is doubtful that this poem was written 15 years earlier in 424, the year when the seventh poem was supposed to have been written. Thus it becomes clear that the last poem of the set could have been written in a year other than 424. Even if we were to grant that it was written by the poet at the age of 20, it is still presumptuous to correlate his age with the year of 424, since the dates of the composition of these two poems could vary widely. Therefore, the last poem loses its significance as an essential key to the issue of Bao Zhao's age.

Qian Zhonglian again adopted Qian Zhenlun's 錢振倫 initial interpretation of the poem "Lamenting for the Year and Grieving over Old Age in Jiangling 在江陵歎年傷老" and argued that since Bao Zhao came into Prince Zixu of Linhai's service in the autumn of 462, when the Prince was appointed Governor of Jingzhou 荊州 with administration center in Jiangling, he could not have written this poem earlier than 463, for he was lamenting old age in contrast to the beautiful spring scenery. Qian Zhonglian adopted Qian Zhenlun's assertion that "50" was the age when one became "old," and calculated that since Bao Zhao was 50 in 463, he was born in 414, and died at the age of 53 in 466. Qian Zhonglian's inference is also quite arbitrary, for there is no threshold age for being called "old," and poetic license traditionally permits it to be applied to a man in his 30s. Furthermore, he is too exclusive in restricting the writing of the poem to 463, for the poet could have written it at any time after he arrived in Jiangling and before he was killed in the eighth month of 466. In this respect Qian Zhonglian committed the fallacy of begging the question. Further study on Bao Zhao's service as a Military Secretary

27. Ibid., pp.438-439, n.s.
in Prince Zixu's Van Generalship shows that Bao Zhao was transferred to the post of Acting Military Consultant in the prince's Van General's office in the fifth month of 464. Thus, the earliest possible time for him to write "Lamenting for the Year and Grieving over Old Age in Jiangling" is the spring of 465.

In fact, the history books have provided unique information on this matter, and it is more reliable and objective to base inferences on them rather than on poetic intuition. The biographical notes on Bao Zhao in the Nan Shi recorded that Bao Zhao once called on Prince Yiqing but did not find the prince appreciative of his talent. He then wanted to present his poetry to express his aspirations, but the people who dissuaded him from doing so said to him: "Your rank is still petty and low, and you should not rashly irritate His Imperial Highness." He nevertheless approached Prince Yiqing and was "soon promoted to be a Princely Attendant (Wangguo-shilang 王國侍郎)."²⁸ The Song Shu did not record this episode but instead provided the fact that Prince Yiqing "raised" Bao Zhao to a subordinate officer of his principality.²⁹ This speculation is justified by Bao Zhao's "Statement of Resignation Sent to the Eldest Son of the Prince 通世子自解啓," in which he explained that he had been in attendance on Prince Yiqing for six years. The resignation was presumably submitted after the three-month mourning for Prince Yiqing, who died in the first month of 444.³⁰ This indicates that Bao Zhao entered Prince Yiqing's service either in 438 under an actual-amount calculation or in 439 under the nominal-number measurement. And as shown in his "Memorial of Entering Officialdom as an Attendant 解褐謝侍郎表" this was the first time he assumed a public office.³¹

²⁸. See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Li, II, op.cit., V.2, p.360.
³⁰. Qian, op.cit., p.78.
³¹. Ibid., p.55.
The *Song Shu* also provides essential information on this issue. It records in the "Biography of Xie Zhuang 謝莊傳" that in the Yuanjia Reign of Emperor Wen, the earliest age to enter an official career was 30.\textsuperscript{32} Such specification is found in the Chronicle of Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty. It records: "the Eminent Class can enter the official career at the age of 20, and the lesser family can try to fill an office only by the age of 30."\textsuperscript{33} This message may serve as a footnote to the above regulation in Emperor Wen's reign or as a specification for exceptions, such as that of Wang Sengda, who was appointed as a Military Consultant of the General of the Rear Army (Houjun-canjun 後軍參軍) before the age of 20.\textsuperscript{34} Thus one may speculate that when Bao Zhao first took a public office in 438 he could have been 20 years of age if he was considered a member of an eminent family, or 30 if he came from a humble family. Firstly, it is certain that he should have been older than 22 or 23, since Yu Yan estimated that he died at an age over "fifty" and since his public service spanned 27 or 28 years from 438 or 439 to 466. Secondly, since Bao Zhao called himself "a poor man from a humble family 孤門賤生" in his "Memorial of Entering Officialdom as an Attendant," he should have been 30 years old when he first entered the public service. Thus it is logical to assume that Bao Zhao was born sometime between 408 to 409 and that he died in 466 at an age between 58 and 59.

Fortunately, the history books provide enough information to allow a refinement of these general approximations. The "Biography of Ruan Changzhi 阮長之傳" in the *Song Shu* records that the claim to the harvest of prefectural emolument land depended on the date of office transition. The land emolument 田祿 would belong to the former official if the office transition took place before the ninth solar term, Mangzhong 芒種 (Grain in Ear), that is about June 6 or 7; otherwise, his successor had the right to it. Before the end of the Yuanjia Reign this guiding

\textsuperscript{32} See "Xic Zhuang Zhuan 謝莊傳" in Li, II, \textit{op.cit.}, V.2, pp.555-556.

\textsuperscript{33} See "Wu Di Ji 武帝紀" in Yao, \textit{op.cit.}, V.1, p.23.

Also "Wu Di Ji 武帝紀" in "Liang Ben Ji 梁本紀" in Li, II, \textit{op.cit.}, V.1, p.188.

\textsuperscript{34} See "Wang Sengda Zhuan 王僧達傳" in Shen, \textit{op.cit.}, V.7, p.1951.
date line, according to Han Guopan's 韓國磐 study, was originally the summer solstice, that is about June 21 or 22.\textsuperscript{35} The existence of this specific regulation strongly suggests that the actual-amount calculation was adopted for official term measurement in the Song Dynasty, though the nominal-number measurement was used to calculate one's age. It therefore becomes favorable to adopt the actual-amount calculation in dating 438 as the year Bao Zhao took his first six-year term official post. Thus, the following chronology seems inarguable through its accordance with extant records: he was born in 409; he witnessed the abdication of Emperor Gong of the Jin Dynasty at the age of 12 in 420, and the depositions of Emperor Shao and Prince Yizhen at the age of 16 in 424. He was 30 years of age when he first entered upon an official career in 438. He was 57 in 465, the earliest possible time for him to write the poem lamenting old age in Jiangling. And he was 58 years old when he died in 466.

ii. Bao Zhao's Birthplace and Native Area

The biographical account of Bao Zhao in the Song Shu does not record his background or his birthplace, but the "Biography of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan" mentions that "He Changyu 何長瑜 and Bao Zhao of Donghai 東海, both with literary excellence, were appointed subordinate officers of the principality."\textsuperscript{36} This is the extant earliest record of Bao Zhao being identified with the place Donghai. Later in the preface to "Xingchen Zhuan 僚臣傳 (the Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers)" in the Nan Qi Shu, he was again referred to as Bao Zhao of Donghai.\textsuperscript{37} Then, in his biography in the Nan Shi, he was referred to as "a Donghaiian" or "a native of Donghai 東海人,"\textsuperscript{38} while Yu Yan stated in his preface to

\textsuperscript{35}See "Ruan Changzhi Zhuan 阮長之傳" in Li, II, \textit{op.cit.}, V.6, p.1703.
Also see "Ruan Changzhi Zhuan 阮長之傳" in Shen, \textit{op.cit.}, V.8, p.2269.
Also see Han Guopan 韓國磐, \textit{Nanchao Jingji Shitan 南朝經紀事探} (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1963), pp.57-59.
\textsuperscript{36}See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, \textit{op.cit.}, V.5, p.1477.
\textsuperscript{37}See the preface to the Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers (僚臣傳) in Xiao, \textit{op.cit.}, V.3, p.972.
\textsuperscript{38}See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Li, II, \textit{op.cit.}, V.2, p.360.
the *Bao Zhao Ji* (Collected Works of Bao Zhao) that the poet was "a native of Shangdang" or "originally came from Shangdang 本上黨人."\(^{39}\) Wu Piji and Qian Zhonglian adopted and compromised these conflicting opinions by proclaiming that Bao Zhao "was originally a native of Shangdang but moved to Donghai, hence a Donghaiian."\(^{40}\) They both agreed that Shangdang should be a refugee subprefecture (僑縣) established in the Prefecture of Huaiyang of Xuzhou 徐州淮陽及 and Donghai should be the one established in the Prefecture of Donghai of the refugee Province of Qingzhou 僑青州 settled near Ganyu Subprefecture 澳榆縣.\(^{41}\) Nevertheless, their theory appears to be sheer conjecture, for neither of them provided any substantial argument or historical evidence.

To shed some light on the controversies and discrepancies of this issue, it is imperative to trace the emigration histories of Shangdang and Donghai Subprefectures, or more specifically, the people from these two subprefectures. According to the *Song Shu*, in the Qin Dynasty Donghai was originally the Prefecture of Tan 鄭 (which was located southwest of the present Tancheng of Shandong 山東郯城). Later, the founding Emperor of the Han Dynasty changed its name to the Prefecture of Donghai.\(^{42}\) After the Jin Court moved south of the Huai River, Emperor Yuan of the Jin 晉元帝 in the beginning of his reign (317-323) established refugee Prefecture of Donghai in the northern part of the Haiyu Subprefecture of the Prefecture of Wu 吳郡海虞縣, and stationed the prefectural administration in Jingkou 京口. Later, in the Yonghe Reign 永和 (345-356) of Emperor Mu 穆帝 of the Jin, its administrative center was moved to Jiankang, the capital.\(^{43}\) One essential distinction to be made here is that after the Liu Song Dynasty reclaimed the territory

---

    Also see Wu, *op.cit.*, pp.1-3.
41. Wu, *ibid.*, p.3.
42. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, *op.cit.*, V.4, p.1049.
north of the Huai River, this refugee Prefecture of Donghai, south of the river, was
called Nan Donghai (the Southern Donghai) to distinguish it from the original Pref-
cecture of Donghai north of the river.\textsuperscript{44} By 431, the eighth year of the Yuanjia
Reign, when Emperor Wen of the Song divided part of Yangzhou to establish Nan
Xuzhou 南徐州 (the Southern Xuzhou) with its administrative station in Jingkou,
he included the refugee Prefecture of Donghai in this refugee Province in the south
of the Yangzi River and allotted to its prefectural jurisdiction the Dantu Subpre-
fecture 丹徒縣 (which was southeast of the present Zhenjiang of Jiangsu 江蘇鎮
江).\textsuperscript{45} Finally in 471, the seventh year of the Taishi Reign, after he lost the territo-
ry north of the Huai River, Emperor Ming of the Song established the Donghai
Subprefecture (north to the present Lianshui of Jiangsu 江蘇涟水) and placed it
under the jurisdiction of the Prefecture of Donghai attached to the refugee Province
of Qingzhou established in 466 in the Ganyu Subprefecture (which was north of the
present Donghai of Jiangsu 江蘇東海).\textsuperscript{46}

As to Shangdang, it was originally a Prefecture of Bingzhou 并州 in the Qin
Dynasty. It was located north of the Yellow River (in the vicinity of the present
Luan of Shanxi 山西潞安).\textsuperscript{47} According to the Song Shu, in 311 in the Yongjia
Upheaval 永嘉之亂 at the end of the Western Jin Dynasty, the refugees from
Bingzhou (as well as from Qingzhou, Jizhou 非州, and Youzhou 羿州) moved
southward across the Yellow River, the Huai River, or even the Yangzi River. By
329, the fourth year of the Xianhe Reign 咸和, Emperor Cheng 成帝 of the Eastern
Jin Dynasty established various refugee subprefectures and prefectures for them
both south and north of the Yangzi River.\textsuperscript{48} The emigrants or refugees from the
Prefecture of Shangdang basically formed two groups traveling by two different

\textsuperscript{44. Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{45. Ibid., V.4, p.1039.}

\textsuperscript{46. Ibid., V.4, p.1049.}

\textsuperscript{47. See Shu Xincheng 舒新城, ed., Ci Hai 辭海 (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1948), p.830.}

\textsuperscript{48. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, p.1038.}
routes. One group moved southwest of the present Huaiyang of Henan 河南淮陽, and by 329 a refugee Shangdang Subprefecture was erected and stationed there. In 411, the seventh year of the Yixi Reign, Emperor An of the Eastern Jin Dynasty established the Prefecture of Huaiyang in this place under the policy of "Re-registering Households According to Place of Residence 土斷" and allotted the Shangdang Subprefecture to its jurisdiction.49 By 466, after the territory north of the Huai River fell into the Tuoba’s hands, the Shangdang Subprefecture was re-established. When Emperor Ming established the refugee Prefecture of Bei Jiying 北濟陰 (the Northern Jiying) in Nan Yanzhou 南兗州 (the Southern Yanzhou), 50 with its administration stationed in Guangling 廣陵, the Shangdang Subprefecture was attached to it. The other group of refugees or emigrants from the Prefecture of Shangdang first moved to the Prefecture of Huainan 南的 Huai River, then crossed the Yangzi River. Around 329, a refugee prefecture should have been established and attached to the Wuhu Subprefecture 無湖. In 411, it was reduced from a prefecture to a subprefecture and was put under the jurisdiction of the refugee Prefecture of Huainan, established in 411 in the Yuhu Subprefecture 于湖縣 of Danyang 丹陽, the metropolitan prefecture stationed in Jiankang 建康, the capital. By 432, the ninth year of the Yuanjia Reign of Emperor Wen of the Liu Song Dynasty, it was merged into the Xiangyuan Subprefecture 襄垣縣 of the Xiangyuan Prefecture.51 This rather confusing history of the refugee Shangdang and Donghai Prefectures or Subprefectures is best illustrated in the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>秦漢時代</th>
<th>建武元年</th>
<th>成和四年</th>
<th>義熙五年</th>
<th>義熙七年</th>
<th>元嘉八年</th>
<th>元嘉九年</th>
<th>泰始二年</th>
<th>泰始七年</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>317</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>471</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>秦上黨郡 (今山西雁安縣)</td>
<td>上黨民過河</td>
<td>儘立上黨郡于徐州淮陽 (今河南省淮陽縣西南)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>省上黨郡為縣, 屬徐州淮陽郡 (土斷立淮陽郡屬徐州)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>宋失淮北, 儘立上黨縣于南兗州北始徐州, 儘治廣陵.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>上黨民過河</td>
<td>徙淮南流民于晉陵 (本丹徒) 諸縣附近, 並立賢臣郡縣以司牧之.</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>分揚州為南徐州, 併丹徒入南東海郡屬南徐州</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>上黨民過江</td>
<td>儫立上黨郡于揚州貢湖 (今安徽省當塗縣)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>省上黨郡為縣, 屬淮南僑郡 (土斷立淮南僑郡于揚州丹陽于湖縣境, 本丹楊縣)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>併上黨縣于襄垣縣 (薊湖), 屬揚州淮南僑郡</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>秦諤郡 (今山東省郯成縣西南)</td>
<td>暞失淮北</td>
<td>東海民過江, 儼立 (南) 東海郡于揚州 并割呂郡海虞縣北為境, 寄治京口.</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>分揚州為南徐州, 治京口, 以南東海郡為之, 治丹徒 (今江蘇省鎮江縣東南之丹徒鎮)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>暞失淮北</td>
<td>儼立東海郡于江平, 收復東海郡 (今山東省郯成縣西南)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>宋失淮北</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF BAO ZHAO (I) 145
It is noticeable in the above chart that from 409 to 466 the Prefecture of Donghai, north of the Huai River, co-existed with the refugee Prefecture of Donghai or the Southern Prefecture of Donghai, south of the Yangzi River; after 471 the latter co-existed with the newly-established refugee Prefecture of Donghai south of the Huai River. Similarly, before 432, there co-existed the Shangdang Subprefecture in the Prefecture of Huaiyang north of the Huai River and that in the refugee Prefecture of Huainan south of the Yangzi River; from 432 to 466, there was only the Shangdang Subprefecture in the Prefecture of Huaiyang, and after 466 there was only the one newly-established in the refugee Prefecture of Northern Jiyn north of the Yangzi River. It is in this respect that Qian Zhonglian and Wu Piji's supposition of Bao Zhao's emigration, from the refugee Shangdang Subprefecture in the Prefecture of Huaiyang to the Donghai Subprefecture in the Southern Prefecture of Donghai in the refugee Province of Qingzhou, turns out to be an arbitrary combination of co-existent Shangdang and Donghai Subprefectures. Upon closer examination, their supposition proves to be false. Firstly, it was not possible for Bao Zhao to emigrate from the former after 466, because the territories north of the Huai River had fallen into the Tuoba's hands; secondly, it was impossible for him to immigrate to the latter during his lifetime because it was not established before 471, five years after his death. As a consequence, Qian and Wu erred in their attempt to correlate the two discrete records of Bao Zhao's birth place by the theory of emigration.

In fact, the extant records do offer a certain correlation and resolution to the problem of Bao Zhao's original residence. Bao Zhao, in his "Memorial to Accept the Appointment of Attendant 拜侍郎上疏," called himself "a declining, feeble vagrant from a northern region 北州衰論." Geographically speaking, the Prefecture of Donghai was very much an eastern region, and Shangdang would more appropriately be a northern region. In addition, as shown on the above chart, in 411, three years after Bao Zhao was born, both refugee prefectures of Shangdang

52. Qian, op.cit., p.60.
were reduced to subprefectures and were merged into the jurisdiction of the prefectures they were originally attached to. Therefore, when Yu Yan claimed that Bao Zhao "originally came from Shangdong," he was apparently referring to the Shangdang Prefecture north of the Yellow River and referred to it as Bao Zhao's ancestral homeland, since the two refugee prefectures of Shangdang ceased to exist after 411. Besides, had Bao Zhao remained resident of either of the two places he would have been referred to as "Bao Zhao of Huaiyang 淮陽鮑照" or "Bao Zhao of Huainan 淮南鮑照," for one of the conventions of personal reference was to identify a person with the prefecture of his ancestral homeland or his native place. Examples such as Jiang Kui of Jiyang 濟陽江敟, Wang Xinshi of Hedong 河東王歙之, Gu Mai of Wujun 吳郡顧邁, and Cai You of Jiyang 濟陽蔡祐 in the "Biography of Liu Muzhi 劉穆之傳" are easily found in the Song Shu.53 In a similar fashion Bao Zhao is referred to as "Bao Zhao of Donghai" in both the "Biography of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan" of the Song Shu and the "Biographies of Favorite Courtiers" of the Nan Qi Shu.54 Since both references relate to Bao Zhao's official life, it is proper to presume that "Donghai" most likely referred to his birthplace instead of his ancestral homeland. Although it is not clear when Bao Zhao or his parents moved to this place, but as he resigned his office and returned to his home village at the end of the three-month mourning for Prince Yiqing of Linchuan who died in the first month of 444,55 he stated in his poem "Returning to the Home Village After Mourning Ends for the Prince of Linchuan 臨川王服竟還田里": "For almost a decade I abandoned my garden, now I have returned to attend the bean plants. 捨樗將十齡, 還得守場藿." Therefore it is certain that Bao Zhao's family had been living there at least since 434. Nevertheless, as shown in the previous chart, throughout Bao Zhao's life from 409 to 466 there co-existed the prefecture of Donghai north of the Huai River and the refugee prefecture of Donghai.

54. Ibid., V.5, p.1477.
   Also see the preface to the Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers (侍臣傳) in Xiao, op.cit., V.3, p.972.
55. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.5, p.1480.
   Also see "Wen Di Ji 文帝紀" in Shen, ibid., V.1, p.91.
or the Southern Prefecture of Donghai, south of the Yangzi River. Either one could be Bao Zhao's birthplace except that the poet indicates clearly that the latter was his native place. In "Dreaming of Returning Home 夢還鄉," the poet writes:

"In dream the long way home has become much shorter,  夢中長路近，
In awakening I find myself still separated by the great river."^{56}  覺後大江遠.

Since "the great river" traditionally refers to the Yangzi River, his place of birth naturally should be in the refugee Prefecture of Donghai, south of the great river. According to the Song Shu, in 431, the eighth year of the Yuanjia Reign, under the policy of "Re-registering Households According to Place of Residence," the refugee Prefecture of Donghai (the Southern Donghai) was reallocated to the newly-established Province of Southern Xuzhou, and its administrative center was moved from Jiankang to Dantu Subprefecture.^{57} Therefore, Bao Zhao's birthplace should be the Dantu Subprefecture of the Southern Prefecture of Donghai.

Qian Zhongliang proclaimed that, as revealed in the "Second Memorial to the Eldest Son of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan," Bao Zhao's family dwelled in Jiankang, the capital.^{58} In the memorial, Bao Zhao firmly requested discharge from duty and declined the kindness of the Prince's son, who wished to detain him in the capital without specific duty in order to let him recuperate his health near the princely palace, whereat his "service in the office 居職 and staying at home 還私 were of no difference."^{59} Qian Zhongliang proclaimed that the fact is further confirmed in the poem "On my Way Returning to the Capital, I Arrived at Three Mounts and Gazed Into the Stone City 還都至三山望石頭城":

\[\text{56. See "Returning to the Home Village After Mourning Ends for the Prince of Linchuan (臨川王服竟還田里)," and "Dreaming of Returning Home (夢還鄉)" in Qian, op.cit., p.370, 384.} \]
\[\text{57. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, p.1038.} \]
\[\text{58. Qian, op.cit., p.80, n.5; p.316, n.9.} \]
\[\text{59. Ibid., p.79.} \]
"I am delighted to visit the capital as a soldier,
But hesitate to go home as a sojourner."  

Nevertheless, the prepositional clause in the above memorial can also be read as: "Which made my service in the office no different from staying at home." The poet's hesitation to go home as a sojourner also applies to the Dantu Subprefecture, a little farther from the capital. Thus, Jiankang was less than certain to be Bao Zhao's birthplace. In fact, it could only be the poet's temporary residence at best, for the poet clearly called the Dantu Subprefecture and its vicinity his "native place 舊邦." And in his poem "Ascending the Capital Hills After Following His Majesty to Worship at the Imperial Mausoleum 從拜陵登京崗" Bao Zhao wrote:

"Humble and decrepit, I resign any far-reaching wishes;
Feeble and weary, I have returned to my native place."  

According to the Yuanhe Gazetteer 元和志 and the Song Shu, most of the imperial mausoleums of the Song were in the vicinity of the Dantu Subprefecture. Furthermore, Du Shi Fangyu Jiyou 讀史方輿紀要 (Notes on Geography While Reading History) noted that Mount Jingxian 京岘山 (the Capital Hill) was located five lǐs east of the Dantu Subprefecture and was also called the Dantu Hill 丹徒嘯. 62

The crucial question here is how Bao Zhao, who called himself a declining, feeble person from "a northern region," the Prefecture of Shangdang, came to call the Dantu Subprefecture of the Southern Prefecture of Donghai his native place. The extant historical records provide no direct evidence of how and when Bao Zhao's grandparents or parents moved from the Prefecture of Shangdang to the Southern Prefecture of Donghai; but the "Gazetteer of Prefectures and Provinces 州郡志" of the Song Shu suggests two possibilities for this transition. It can be seen in the

60. Ibid., p.314.
61. Ibid., p.257.
62. Ibid., p.258.
above chart that from 411 to 431 the Shangdang Subprefecture in the refugee Prefecture of Huainan and the Southern Prefecture of Donghai were both originally within the boundary of Danyang 丹陽, the metropolitan prefecture. The former, stationed in the Yuhu Subprefecture, was separated from Danyang Subprefecture 丹楊縣 in 281 and allotted to the jurisdiction of the refugee Prefecture of Huainan in 411. The latter was stationed in the Jiankang Subprefecture. However, by 431 the Southern Prefecture of Donghai was reallocated to the refugee Southern Province of Xuzhou newly-established in Jingkou, and was re-stationed in the Dantu Subprefecture, while by 432 the Shangdang Subprefecture was merged into the Xiangyuan Subprefecture of the same refugee prefecture.

These facts suggest a possible transition due to voluntary or involuntary emigration or immigration of the people of Shangdang from the Yuhu Subprefecture to the Dantu Subprefecture, newly-allotted to the Southern Prefecture of Donghai. Examples of voluntary or involuntary emigration and immigration were not unusual under the policy of "Re-registering Households by Place of Residence" reinforced in both 411 and 431. One good example is that late in 449, the 26th year of the Yuanjia Reign, Emperor Wen of the Song, after visiting the Dantu Subprefecture to pay homage at the Imperial mausoleum, issued an imperial edict to solicit voluntary immigrants from various Provinces for the Jingkou Subprefecture (adjoining the Dantu Subprefecture) by means of tax exemption and house allotment. In addition, the striking decline of Shangdang from a refugee prefecture to a diminished

63. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, p.1034.
64. Ibid., V.4, pp.1029-1030.
68. See "Wen Di Ji 文帝紀" in Shen, op.cit., V.1, p.97.
subprefecture, and its eventual annihilation under annexation, spurs various thoughts. This decline might explain how and when Bao Zhao's family emigrated from the Prefecture of Shangdang to the southern Prefecture of Donghai and would thereby be called "Donghaiians."

It is equally apparent that during the Yongjia Upheaval in the Jin Dynasty in 311, the refugees from provinces of You 幽, Ji 冀, Bing 并, Yan 兖, and Xu 徐 moved southward across the Huai River, some even crossing the Yangzi River to the boundary of the Prefecture of Jinling 晉陵郡. By 329 Grand Minister of Works 司空 Chi Jian 楚建 again moved vagrants or refugees from the Prefecture of Huainan to the Prefecture of Jinling and established various refugee prefectures or subprefectures there.67 The Prefecture of Jinling was originally under the jurisdiction of Yangzhou 揚州, it stationed in the Dantu Subprefecture for 85 years from 329 to 413.68 This involuntary immigration suggests a second possible transition: Bao Zhao's great-grandparents or grandparents could have been among the immigrants to the Dantu Subprefecture of the Prefecture of Jinling 102 years before it was allotted to the jurisdiction of the Southern Prefecture of Donghai in 431.

Thus, when Bao Zhao called himself "a declining feeble vagrant from a northern region," he was most logically referring to the Prefecture of Shangdang (in the vicinity of the present Luan of Shanxi 山西潞安), his ancestral homeland north of the Yellow River. In the Yongjia Upheaval his grandparents probably fled with the refugees southward across the Yangzi River. Then, through a course of either voluntary or involuntary emigration, his parents eventually settled in the Dantu Subprefecture, which was allotted to the jurisdiction of the South Prefecture of Donghai in 431. Hence, Bao Zhao was called a Donghaiian, and throughout his life he referred to the Dantu Subprefecture as his hometown or native place, though he might have dwelled in Jiankang or other cities temporarily.

67. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, ibid., V.4, p.1038.
68. Ibid., V.4, pp.1039-1040.
iii. Bao Zhao's Family and His Social Status

Although among extant documents there are no records of Bao Zhao's parents, information gathered from his literary works and official memorials indicates that he himself was married with children, and that his mother and sister Linghui 令晖 lived with them. He also had a cousin called Daoxiu 道秀. His sister and wife died before him, and he was survived by his mother and children. Later, as indicated in the poem "Imitating the Old Style Verse", he probably had two young concubines from Luoyang. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we must presume that his father, grandfather, and great grandfather never obtained any public office or post higher than seventh rank. They most likely were not of the upper class at all.

Wu Piji suspected Bao Zhao was a descendant of the Silifa Tribe 俟力伒 of the Xianbei 鮮卑, which dwelt in the Shangdang and Donghai areas and was given the surname "Bao." Nevertheless, Wu Piji neglected known chronology, for though the Silifa Tribe, as well as the other 67 groups or tribes, moved southward into Chinese territory as early as the reign of Emperor Shenyuan 神元皇帝, Tuoba Liwei 托跋力微, it was not given the Chinese surname "Bao" till 495, the 18th year of the Taihe Reign 太和, under the sinification policy of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝 of the Northern Wei Dynasty. Therefore, Bao Zhao could not be a descendant of the Silifa Tribe.

In fact, in various memorials Bao Zhao stated that he was not of "the Xie Clan's class 質非謝品," the eminent clans, but "a declining and feeble vagrant from a northern region 北州衰淪," "a poor man from a humble family 孤門貧生," or "a humble farmer with a spade on shoulder 負鋤下農." And he described his

70. Qian, op.cit., p.75.
71. Ibid., p.60.
72. Ibid., p.56.
73. Ibid., p.53.
trade and duty as "to tend the path and weed the field 墳耘臥茅, as well as to feed the chicken and rear the hog 牧雞家豕 so as to provide levies and taxes 以給征賦." Despite such a background, "Young and restless, perverse and reckless 幼性猖狂, 因頽暴勇," he "let down his shoulder load to study the classics 釋擔受書 and put aside his plow to learn literary composition 廢耕學文,"74 and was eventually able to "make it to the official list 得汗官牒" and become "a humble groom or a petty lictor 執罰末皁."75 From 438, or perhaps earlier, to 466, in his official career of 28 years (interrupted only by two resignations and two suspensions), he held eight different offices or posts, though none of them were higher than the sixth rank and none of them belonged to the so-called "the pure and the honored category 清官." As immigrants, Bao's family may not have been wealthy. His "Request for Leave of Absence 請假啓" revealed that for lacking resources, he had to fix the leaking roof and drain the floor dry all by himself.76 However, they were far from impoverished, or else the family would not have been able to afford to let Bao Zhao quit farming to study the classics and, against the customs of the time, to educate Bao Zhao's sister, Linghui 令暉 (who became so renowned a poetess in her own right that on one occasion Emperor Xiaowen asked Bao Zhao about her in comparison with Zuo Fen 左芬, the talented poetess in the Jin Dynasty).77

Generally speaking, the Liu Song society consisted of seven classes: the Imperial Clans 皇族, the Scholar-official Class 士族, the Humble Family and the Commoners 寒門庶族, the Buddhist Clergy 沙門, the Sheltered and Attached Households 蔭附戶, the Miscellaneous Bonded Households 雜隸戶, and the Slaves 奴婢;78 the

74. Ibid., p.62.
75. Ibid., p.53.
76. Ibid., p.80.
78. The Sheltered and the Attached Households included all the legal and illegal Tenants 佃客, Retainers or Clients 鬥客家客, Disciples 鬥生, Private Soldiers 部曲, Righteous Followers 義從, Servitors 僕僕, the Sheltered Families 蔭戶, Buddha Households 佛圖戶, Sangka Households 僧祇戶, and the Attached Temple Households 寺附戶. The Miscellaneous Bonded Households included Government Servitors 東, the Military Households 軍戶, the Barrack Households 营戶, and the Government Craftsmen 官府工匠. The Slaves included captives of war 生口. See Han, op. cit., pp.1-41.
Also cf. "Nanchao Hanren De Xingga 南朝寒人的興起" in Tang Changru 唐長孺, Wei Jin Nanbei Chao Shi Lun Cong 魏晉南北朝史論叢 (Beijing: Sanlian Shuju, 1959), pp.93-123.
Also see Pulleyblank, E.G., "The Origins and Nature of Chattel Slavery in China" in Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, 1, 2(1958) pp.185-220.
Also see Johnson, op.cit., pp.32-43.
first three classes were the major ones. The Imperial Clans included the emperor's maternal and marital relatives. The Scholar-official Class was sanctioned by a commonly-accepted notion of social prestige and pedigree which was much defined by one's ancestral official rank, and cultural refinement. They were the social elite and were often referred to as the great or the powerful families, the eminent families, the upper class, and the elite clans. The Wangs and the Xies 王謝 were the most powerful and prestigious of them all. The Humble Families and the Commoners included the Families-in-decline 後門, the Meritorious Families 勤門, and the Corvée-enlisted Families 役門 or the Three-five Families 三五門, which consisted of most of the independent farmers, artisans, and merchants of the kingdom. The Families-in-decline were actually in the lowest stratum of the Scholar-official Class, but due to their degraded social pedigree and political prestige, they were considered by the social elite as commoners, and together with the commoners were often referred to as the Humble Families 寒門, the Humble and Poor 寒素, or the Humble Multitude 寒人.

With their ownership of farm and land, financial independence, the freedom to choose a trade, and cultural refinement and literary skill, the Baos fell into the category of "the Families-in-decline," the lowest stratum of the Scholar-official Class, which Bao Zhao often described as "the humble families" or as "the low-base families 下第." This is proven by a statement in the preface to the "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers" in the Nan Qi Shu. In tracing the shift of central power from the hands of Director of the Imperial Secretariat (Zhongshu-ling中書令) to those of Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat (Zhongshu-sheren 中書舍人), and the rise of the humble families to de facto power by dominating the position of Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, the preface makes an observation on this official post:
"In the Reign of Emperor Wen, Qiu Dang and Zhou Jiu both rose from the Humble Family and the Commoner Class. And since the reign of Emperor Xiaowu, a mixture of members of the Scholar-official and the Commoner Classes were selected, for instance, Bao Zhao of Donghai, who was known to the world for his talent and learning; also appointed was Chao Shangzhi of Lujun... By the reign of Emperor Ming it was totally dominated by imperial favorite courtiers and sycophants such as Hu Wu Hao and Ruan Dianfu. As for Bao Zhao, he was a scholar from the River Region, gaining fame through his talents; later, he served in the Imperial Secretary and the official class, completing the transition from scholar to official."

According to the *Song Shu*, the establishment of this official post had a staff of four drafters and a number of aides and clerks. In the reign of Emperor Wen the four Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat were known to be Qiu Dang, Zhou Jiu, Xu Yuan 徐爰, and a fourth figure whose name remained a subject of controversy. The *Song Shu* and the *Nan Shi* both record anecdotes about the hostile attitude of the social elite toward these imperial favorite courtiers, who came from the Commoner Class. As Emperor Xiaowu was enthroned, he appointed Dai Faxing 戴法興, Dai Mingbao 戴明寶, Cai Xian 蔡閔, Chao Shangzhi 巢尚之, and Bao Zhao respectively as Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat. According to their individual biographical data, Dai Faxing was originally a hemp trader before he entered the public service, while Dai Mingbao and Cai Xian's origins and initial posts were unknown, but they formerly served as "Warrant Keepers", which was such a petty and lowly position that members of the Scholar-official Class would take the appointment as a serious humiliation. Therefore, it is proper to put them in the Commoners' Class. As for Chao Shangzhi, it is certain that he belonged to that lowest stratum of the Scholar-official Class called "the Families-in-decline," for the *Song Shu* described him as standing "at the rear of the gentlefolks."
Therefore, in referring to the composition of Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat in the reign of Emperor Xiaowu as a "mixed selection from the Scholar-official Class and the Commoners," in contrast to that in the reign of Emperor Wen as a pure selection of mere commoners, the preface to the "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers" of the Nan Qi Shu singles out Bao Zhao and Chao Shangzhi as the Scholar-official Class component.

To sum up, Bao Zhao was definitely not a descendant of the Silifa Tribe 俟力伐氏 of the Xianbei. As immigrants in the Dantu Subprefecture, his family might have declined to petty landlord or independent farmer status and hence they were considered by the elite as commoners or a humble family, but they still had the freedom to choose a trade, enjoyed cultural refinement and literary skill, and were distinct from commoners or considered by them to be members of the social elite, though in a "fallen" state or the lowest stratum.

iv. Bao Zhao's Service in Prince Yiqing's Principality

The Song Shu, the Nan Shi, and Yu Yan's preface all agree that Bao Zhao started his official career in the Principality of Linchuan. The "Biography of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan" in the Song Shu notes that Bao Zhao was appointed a subordinate officer of the principality.\(^{84}\) Yu Yan's preface specifies it to be the post of Shilang 侍郎 (Princely Attendant).\(^{85}\) The Nan Shi provides details with an anecdote relating that as his first visit to Prince Yiqing did not win the Prince's appreciation of his talent, Bao Zhao decided to present his poetry to express his aspirations, but was dissuaded and told that his position was still petty and lowly and he should not recklessly irritate the Imperial Prince. Bao Zhao angrily replied:

84. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, ibid., V.5, p.1477.
85. See "Yu Yan Xu 廬炎序" in Qian, op.cit., p.v.
"Over the past one thousand years innumerable men of extraordinary talents and outstanding abilities have been buried in oblivion or unheard of. Therefore, how can a true man suppress his intelligence and ability so as to make an orchid look like a mugwort, and keep himself busy all day long with the swallows and sparrows in miscellaneous chores? 千載上有英才異士沉沒而不聞者，安可數哉! 大丈夫豈可遂蔽智能，使蘭艾不辨，終日碌碌，與燕雀相隨乎？" 86

He thereupon presented his poetry and Prince Yiqing was amazed and bestowed upon him 20 bolts of cloth as reward. He was soon promoted to the post of Prince-ly Attendant and was very much in Yiqing's favour.

Chinese scholars have conventionally maintained that Bao Zhao was made Princely Attendant in 439 when Prince Yiqing was in Jiangzhou 江州，for it was noted in the "Biography of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan":

Defender-in-chief (Taiwei) Yuan Shu was the literary champion of the time and Prince Yiqing in his administration in Jiangzhou invited him to be the Administrative Adviser (Ziyi-canjun) in the administration of General of the Guards (Weijun-jiangjun); in addition, Lu Zhan of Wujun, He Changyu and Bao Zhao of Donghai, all with literary excellence, were appointed subordinate officers of the principality. 太尉袁淑，文冠當時，義慶在江州，請為衛軍諮議參軍；其餘吳郡陸續，東海何長瑜，鮑照等，並為辭章之美，引為佐史國臣。" 87

It should be noted that Yuan Shu's title of "Defender-in-chief" (Taiwei 太尉) was in fact a posthumous honor conferred by Emperor Xiaowu. 88 As well, the "Biography of Xie Lingyun 謝靈運傳" in the Song Shu records that before He Changyu was demoted to become Subprefect of the Zengcheng Subprefecture in Guangzhou, 89 he served first as Princely Attendant and later as Military Secretary (Jishi-canjun 記室參軍) in Prince Yiqing's administration of General Quelling the West (Pingxijiangjun 平西將軍). This indicates that He Changyu had obviously entered the service in the Principality of Linchuan earlier than 439, and that it could be as early as 432, when Prince Yiqing was promoted to the post of General Quelling-the-west.

86. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Li, op.cit., V.2, p.360.
87. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.5, p.1477.
88. See "Yuan Shu Zhuan 袁淑傳" in Shen, ibid., V.6, p.1840.
89. See "Xie Lingyun Zhuan 謝靈運傳" in Shen, ibid., V.6, p.1775.
Thus, conventional reading of the above quotation by Chinese scholars is disputable, and the time of Yuan Shu's appointment in the above reference does not necessarily precede the appointment of Lu Zhan, He Changyu, and Bao Zhao. Accordingly, the above quotation can not justifiably serve as proof of the time of Bao Zhao's entering service in the Principality of Linchuan.

In fact, the most reliable source for inferring the date of his first appointment lies hidden in the "Memorial of Resignation Sent to the Eldest Son of the Prince通世子自辭啓," in which Bao Zhao wrote:

"... Now I am requesting to be discharged from my office and duty and I wish to have your approval with compassion. It has been six years since I entered service in this lofty principality. The times past are gone forever, but the favor and grace remain in my heart. Holding this sheet with my statement, I am choked with sobs and cannot express myself well with words. 今請解所職,顧蒙矜許. 自奉清塵, 於兹六祀. 墜辰永往, 遺恩在心. 執筆哽咽, 言不自宣." 90

Bao Zhao served three princes during his official career, namely Prince Yiqing of Linchuan, Prince Jun of Shixing, and Prince Zixu of Linhai. Prince Zixu was ordered to commit suicide at the defeat of the Yijia Rebellion 義嘉 against Emperor Ming. He was only 11 years old and obviously did not have any children.91 Prince Jun and his sons were beheaded, and exposed in the market place as a warning to the public for the high treason of murdering Emperor Wen.92 Therefore, the memorial could only have been addressed to Prince Yiqing's eldest son, Prince Ye of Ai 哀王 烈, who inherited the principality after Prince Yiqing died in 444. It was most likely presented to Prince Ye in the fourth month of 444 after Bao Zhao had observed a three-month mourning for Prince Yiqing. Accordingly, Bao Zhao's six-year official service with Prince Yiqing should have started in 438 under the actual-amount calculation. As his "Memorial of Entering Officialdom as

90. Qian, op.cit., p.78.
92. See "Er Xiong Zhuan 二凶傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, p.2439.
an Attendant 解褐谢侍郎表" indicated, it was the first public office of his official
career. Nevertheless, in the anecdote in the Nan Shi, before he was "promoted" or
"raised 擢 " to be Princely Attendant, he was urged not to present his poetry
because his position was still too petty and lowly; therefore, he might have entered
the principality earlier as a clerical apprentice. In fact, he might have entered this
apprenticeship as early as 434, for in his poem "Returning to the Home Village
After Mourning Ends for the Prince of Linchuan" written in 444, he claimed that he
had abandoned his garden for a decade.93

At any rate, from 438 on he attended upon Prince Yiqing through various gov-
ernor posts and military commanding offices. In 438 in Jiangling he served the
Prince at his posts as Governor of Jingzhou 荆州刺史, and Military Governor of
the seven Provinces of Jingzhou, Yongzhou, Yizhou, Ningzhou, Lingzhou, and the
Southern and the Northern Qinzhou (都督荆、雍、益、荆州、梁、南北秦七州諸
軍事). In 439 he went with the Prince to Xunyang 尋陽, to his posts as Governor
of Jiangzhou 江州刺史 and Military Governor of Jiangzhou and Prefectures of
Xiyang, Jinxi, and Xincai in Yuzhou (都督江州及 豫州之西陽、晉熙和新蔡三
郡諸軍事). In 440 he accompanied the Prince to Guangling 廣陵, to his posts as
Governor of the Southern Yanzhou 南兗州刺史, and Military Governor of the six
Provinces of Nan Yanzhou, Xuzhou, Yanzhou, Qingzhou, Jizhou, and Youzhou (都
督南兗、徐、兗、青、兗、幽六州 諸軍事). In the spring of 444, upon imperi-
al approval of the Prince’s request for release from his commander and the duties
of governor, Bao Zhao accompanied the Prince on his return to the capital.94

93. Qian, op.cit., p.370.
94. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.5, pp.1475-1480.
According to the "Records of the Hundred Officials 百官志" in the Song Shu, after the Rebellion of Seven Princes, Emperor Jing 景帝 of the Han Dynasty ordered that "princes should not rule over their principalities 諸王不得治國." The "Records of Rites and Rituals 禮志" also noted that "since the Western Jin Dynasty, princes and marquises did not rule over their domains 江左王侯不之國." Instead, the princedom was administered by the Princely Administrator (Neishi 内史) with a prefectural staff instead of the princely staff. It becomes apparent that from 432 to 443 Prince Yiqing had at the same time three different teams of administrative staff for his Principality, Governorship, and Military-Governorship. Nevertheless, throughout his six-year service in the principality, Bao Zhao remained in the princely staff and won Prince Yiqing's appreciation of his talents and abilities. Although the history books do not note any of Bao Zhao's official transitions in the Principality of Linchuan, his memorials and statements have provided information to suggest that he served first as Principely Attendant, later as Princely Attendant and concurrently as Princely Chamberlain for Attendants (Langzhongling 郎中 令), and eventually as Left Principely Attendant-in-ordinary (Zuo-changshi 左常侍).

In his "Memorial to Congratulate the Birth of the Imperial Grandson 皇孫誕育上表" to the Heir Apparent in the East Palace 東儲, Bao Zhao officially signed under the title of "the Principely Attendant and concurrently the Princely Chamberlain for Attendants." This memorial could only have been written either in his service in the Principality of Linchuan from 438 to 444, or in his service in the Principality of Shixing from 445 to 451. According to the "Chronicle of Emperor Wen 文帝紀," Heir Apparent Prince Shao married Yin Chun's 殷淳 daughter in 438. It is most likely that he had his first son within the following six years. This likelihood makes it preferable to date the above memorial between 438 and 444, and hence

95. See the Appendixes for the list of the staff in various administrations of the time.
96. See "Li Zhi 禮志" in Shen, op.cit., V.2, p.345.
97. See "Wen Di Ji 文帝紀" in Shen, ibid., V.1, p.85.
    Also see "Er Xiong Zhuan 二凶傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, p.2423.
relates his assignment to the concurrent post as Princely Chamberlain for Attendants to his official term in the Principality of Linchuan. The alternative will be rejected later, as Bao Zhao can be proved to have received no transfer or promotion in the Principality of Shixing.

Bao Zhao also wrote a memorial to accept a transfer to the post of Princely Attendant-in-ordinary. He indicated clearly in the memorial that he was to be transferred to the office of Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary. Nevertheless, most chronologists on Bao Zhao have neglected or disregarded this biographical data, some of them confusing its short form "changshi 常侍 (Princely Attendant-in-ordinary)" with that of "Sanji-changshi 散騎常侍 (Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary)." mistaking it for an imperial post.98 The confirmation of this error is that, as indicated in the Song Shu, the Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary was in the prince’s staff, and it was likely for Bao Zhao to be transferred to this post; although its position was higher than that of the Princely Attendant, both posts belonged to the seventh-ranked class. Without great merit or favor, it was most unlikely for Bao Zhao to be promoted to Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, an honorable third-ranked post, from Erudite of the National University, a sixth-ranked post, or from Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, a seventh-ranked post, the two verifiable positions he held in the imperial administration. Besides, the highest post Emperor Xiaowu ever bestowed upon Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat, even powerful and favorite courtiers such as Dai Faxing and Dai Mingbao, was the Surplus Gentleman Cavalier Attendant (Yuanwai Sanji-shilang 員外散騎侍郎). It is only a fifth-ranked post on the surplus staff.99

The assertion that Bao Zhao held the post of Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary in Prince Yiqing's Principality is also based on undeniable facts in the "Memorial of Resignation from the Princely Cabinet at the End of Official Term for the Attendant 侍郎報滿辭閣疏." If one compares this memorial with the "Statement of Resignation Sent to the Eldest Son of the Prince 通世子自解啓" and the "Statement in Reply to the Eldest Son of the Prince 重與世子啓," one will first notice that the former contains a prevailing sense of reluctance to leave office, while the latter is marked by a striking insistence to resign office. Hence, they could not have been drafted for the same purpose or occasion. Since it had been proved that the two statements were sent to the eldest son of Prince Yiqing, the memorial could only have been sent to the other of the two principalities Bao Zhao served, that is, Prince Jun's principality. Secondly, one will notice that in the former document Bao Zhao called himself "chen 臣" meaning "your humble subject or official," for he was officially and properly addressing the memorial to Prince Jun. In the latter documents he called himself "pu 僕 " meaning "your humble servant," for he was addressing Prince Yiqing's eldest son, who had not yet officially inherited the title and princedom. In this respect, this memorial of resignation again could only be addressed to Prince Jun, for Bao Zhao's resignation from the Principality of Linchuan was directed, as proved before, to the Prince's eldest son, to whom Bao Zhao would not call himself a humble official or subject. The inference derived from these thoughts is that Bao Zhao was not transferred or promoted in Prince Jun's principality, since in his resignation memorial he still held the position of Princely Attendant. In the final analysis, then, it is only proper to assume, as the two extant documents suggest, that Bao Zhao was concurrently Princely Chamberlain for Attendant soon after he entered Prince Yiqing's service as Princely Attendant, and eventually was transferred to the post of Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary.
In 443, Prince Yiqing requested to be released from his duties as Governor and Military Governor on account of failing health. After this was approved by the emperor, Bao Zhao accompanied the Prince on his return to the capital. The Prince died in the first month of 444. In his *Chronicle of Bao Zhao*, Wu Piji cited Wu Zhifu 吳振父 in arguing that Bao Zhao observed a three-year mourning for Prince Yiqing, but Miao Yue 繆鏞 in his "Bao Mingyuan Nianpu 鮑明遠年譜 (Chronicle of Bao Mingyuan)" refuted the theory and insisted the mourning period was three months. According to the "Records of Rite and Ritual" in the *Song Shu*, Miao Yue's argument is correct, for it is recorded that in the Wei Dynasty the mourning period for one's deceased prince was originally three years, but in 268 Emperor Wu of the Jin Dynasty 晉武帝 decreed that, in compliance with ancient observation, the mourning for one's deceased prince should be three months. Most ritual observations in the Liu Song Dynasty were inherited from, and identical to, those of the Jin Dynasty. Therefore, Bao Zhao's mourning for Prince Yiqing should have ended in the fourth month of 444. He then sent to the eldest son of Prince Yiqing his statement of resignation and subsequently returned to his home village in the autumn.

In summary, Bao Zhao rejected farming and entered a clerical apprenticeship as early as 434. Later, he entered Prince Yiqing's Principality. By the fourth month of 438, after he presented his poetry which expressed his aspirations to the prince, he was raised from the petty and lowly post of apprentice to that of Princely Attendant. Before long he was concurrently Princely Chamberlain for Attendants, and eventually he was transferred to Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary. He remained in Prince Yiqing's principality for six years, but resigned his office and returned to his home village in the autumn of 444, after a three-month mourning for Prince Yiqing, who died in the first month of that year.

---

100. See "Wen Di Ji 文帝紀" in Shen, *ibid.*, V.1, p.91.
v. Refutation of the Theory that Bao Zhao Served in Prince Yiji's Principality

Qian Zhenlun was the first of a group of scholars to proclaim that Bao Zhao entered and remained in Prince Yiji of Hengyang's principality 衡陽王 義季 from 445 until the Prince's death in 447. He maintained that Bao Zhao had roamed about the basin of River Luo and the regions of the Liang and the Zheng, since the poet mentioned "Mount Shangluo 莊雒" in the poem "Returning to My Home Village After Mourning Ends for the Prince of Linchuan 臨川王服竟還田里," referred to "the travelers from the Liang and the Zheng regions 梁鄭客" in the poem "Digging Sealworts When Passing by Mount Tong 遇銅山掘黃精," and spoke of "Entering the Hanyuan Pass from the Luo River 從洛入函轅" in the poem "I Saw a Jade Dealer 見賣玉器者." Qian Zhenlun then argued that since Bao Zhao stated in his "Memorial on the Establishment of the Principality 論國制啓" that he had seen several volumes of records on the old establishment of the Principality of Pengcheng 彭城, he must have been in Pengcheng and therefore in the staff of Prince Yiji, who was Governor of Xuzhou 徐州 with its administrative center in Pengcheng from 445 to 447. Here Qian Zhenlun implied that only as a staffer in Prince Yiji's principality could Bao Zhao rove about the basin of River Luo and the Liang Prefecture, and read documents of the old establishment of the Principality of Pengcheng. Qian Zhenlun further maintained that since Bao Zhao wrote a "Memorial of Congratulation on the Birth of the Eldest Son of the Prince, Expeditionary General to the North 征北世子誕育表," and since Prince Yiji served as Grand Expeditionary General to the North from 444 till his death in 447, Bao Zhao was apparently writing this memorial on behalf of the staff to congratulate Prince Yiji on this occasion.103

Huang Jie 黃節 modified Qian Zhenlun's theory by adopting the observation of three-year mourning for one's deceased prince and moved Bao Zhao's entry into Prince Yiji's principality from 445 to 447. He quoted a couplet from the poem "Sojourning in Spring 春簪":

103. Qian, op.cit., p.58.
"I am a horse neighing for reputation in frontier defences, Not just the poems written on papers in my book case."

Huang Jie maintained that this couplet alluded to the deposal of Heir Apparent Prince Minhuai 懸懷太子 in the Jin Dynasty. According to the "Biography of the Heir Apparent Prince Minhuai" in the Jin Shu 晉書, before the deposal of the prince there was a children's folk rhyme, which goes like this:

"You, Colt of the Crown Prince Palace, don't be deaf and vain, For by the twelfth month of the year, you'll entangle your mane." 前至臘月纔汝鬚。

And before long, Queen Dowager Jia 賈后 ordered Palace Attendant (Huangmen-shilang 黃門侍郞) Pan Yue 潘岳 to draft a memorial in cursive hand to make it difficult for a child to read. She made the Prince copy and present it in a hurry, then accused him of its content and deposed him. Huang Jie believed that the allusion implied Bao Zhao's lament for Prince Yikang's deposal in 445. He thereupon inferred that this poem was written in or after 445. He further maintained that according to the "Biography of Dai Yong 戴順傳" in the Song Shu, when Prince Yiji was stationed in Jingkou, Dai Yong often played the zither and composed new melodies or variations for the Prince.104 In the poem "Sojourns in Spring," when Bao Zhao wrote: "I am writing to entertain your zither, and the new song reminds me of an understanding friend," Huang Jie inferred that Bao Zhao was writing to Dai Yong and would therefore be among Prince Yiji's staff.105 Qian Zhonglian adopted Qian Zhenlun's theory and discarded Huang Jie's theory of the observation of three-year mourning for one's deceased prince. Thus, his "Chronological Chart of Bao Zhao" also dated the poet's entry into Prince Yiji's principality back to 445.106

104. See "Dai Yong Zhuan 戴順傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.8, pp.2276-2278.
105. Qian, op.cit., pp.386-388.
106. Ibid., p.433.
However, by examining these theories individually, it can be seen that each must be rejected as contradictory and arbitrary. Huang Jie's testimony, for instance, relied on a very ambiguous allusion in "Sojourning in Spring" to date the composition of the poem. He assumed that any couplet or stanza on the zither written in this period of time alluded to nothing else but the musical assemblies between Dai Yong and Prince Yiji. Even if the above assumptions were acceptable, Huang Jie's efforts must still be rejected, for he failed to see that according to the "Chronicle of Emperor Wen," it was not between 445 and 447, but between 432 and 438 (the ninth and 15th years of the Yuanjia Reign) that Prince Yiji was Governor of Nan Xuzhou. It was in those years that Prince Yiji was stationed in Jingkou and Dai Yong played the zither for him.

Qian Zhenlun's theory is similarly negligent and arbitrary. His first argument was, that Bao Zhao had roved about the basin of River Luo and the Liang and Zheng regions, because he mentioned all these places in his poems. This is a very broad assumption. Generally speaking, when Bao Zhao wrote: "To retire from the world just for this is not only limited to Mount Shangluo's sages," he was identifying himself with the recluses of Mount Shangluo, who renounced the world for the serene beauty of the mountain. He was saying that though he had not yet fulfilled his aspiration, he would not give up his Confucian ideas and would never seek for guidance from occult or Taoist sages such as Lie Zi 列子 of Zheng and Zhuang Zi 莊子 of Meng of the Liang region. Qian Zhenlun's second argument was that Bao Zhao had to be in Prince Yiji's staff since Bao Zhao wrote the "Memorial of Congratulation on the Birth of the Eldest Son to Prince Yiji, Expeditionary General to the North," and since from 445 to 447, among the princes, only Prince Yiji was appointed Grand Expeditionary General to the North. This argument also contains an arbitrary premise. The memorial was in no way dated. It could well have been drafted in or after 449, when Prince Jun was Expeditionary General to the North and Bao Zhao was, as is proved later, in his princely staff.

107. Ibid., p.370.
Qian Zhenlun's third argument was that Bao Zhao had to have been in Pengcheng since he stated in the "Memorial on the Establishment of the Principality" that he had seen records on the old establishment of the Principality of Pengcheng. This argument logically does not enjoy an exclusive premise. The memorial does not read as if addressed to a prince, but to the emperor. Bao Zhao suggested that Archivists (Zhanggu 掌 故) of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials (Taichang 太 常) be ordered to compile and record materials about the old establishments of the Principality of Pengcheng, in order to illustrate the institution of the principality in the imperial code and to estimate the appropriateness of the elaboration of the princely regulations.\textsuperscript{108} The Archivist in charge of historical records was a subordinate officer of the Grand Astrologer (Taishi 太 史) of the Chamberlain for Ceremonies and naturally would not directly receive orders from a prince. Thus the memorial was obviously not addressed to Prince Yiji. Again, Bao Zhao took it to be his responsibility as an "officer on duty 直 員" to present this memorial. Among the offices Bao Zhao held, the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat seemed to be the proper office from which to present the memorial, for the Drafter though under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Secretariat was on duty in the council chamber in the palace.\textsuperscript{109}

In addition, when Bao Zhao wrote: "It's been more than ten years since Your Majesty presided over this holy land 息躬聖壤十有餘載," he was referring to Pengcheng as the imperial native place, which was usually manned by the Governor of Xuchou. According to the Song Shu, Prince Yiqing of Linchuan was Military-governor of Xuzhou from 440 to 444, Prince Yiji of Hengyang was Governor of Xuzhou from 445 to 447, and Prince Jun of Shixing and Prince Zixu of Linhai were never stationed in this holy city. While Prince Yelong (later known as Emperor

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., p.71.
\textsuperscript{109} See "Bai Guan Zhi 百 官 志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, pp.1245-1246.
Wen) was granted the title of Duke of the Pengcheng County 彭城 縣 公 in 415, Prince Jun of Wuling (later known as Emperor Xiaowu) was appointed Governor of Xuzhou from 448 to 450. Among the princes who had been Governor or Military-governor of Xuzhou, Prince Yiqing and Prince Yiji did not live longer than 10 years after being stationed in Pengcheng. And 10 years after Emperor Wen became Duke of Pengcheng, Bao Zhao was no older than 18 and had not yet entered public service. In this respect, Emperor Xiaowu would be a logical recipient of this memorial, for 10 years after he stationed in Pengcheng, Bao Zhao was, in between 458-460, concurrently a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, serving in the council chamber in the palace.

In short, since the memorial cannot be proved to have been drafted between 445 and 447, nor proved to be addressed to Prince Yiji while he was stationed in Pengcheng, it would not be justifiable to say that Bao Zhao had to be in Prince Yiji's staff to read records about the establishment of the Principality of Pengcheng. He could have read them in his service to Prince Yiqing, who was Military-governor of Xuzhou from 440 to 444, or in the archives when he was an Erudite of the National University. Furthermore, the regulation of the six-year office term in Emperor Wen's reign also suggests the impossibility for Bao Zhao to serve in Prince Yiji's principality. Had Bao Zhao been in Prince Yiji's staff, he would have observed the mourning ritual for the Prince, who died in 447, and later would have presented a statement of resignation. It goes without saying that had Bao Zhao left Prince Yiji's staff before the Prince's death in 447, he would have also sent in a statement of resignation. Nevertheless, the extant documents and records provide no such evidence. On the contrary, the existing "Memorial of Resignation from the Princely Cabinet at the End of the Official Term for the Attendant" and "Statement

110. See "Wen Di Ji 文帝紀" in Shen, ibid., V.1, p.71.
Also see "Xiaowu Di Ji 孝武帝紀" in Shen, ibid., V.1, p.109.
Also see "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, ibid., V.5, p.1477.
Also see "Yiji Zhuan 義季傳" in Shen, ibid., V.6, p.1654.
of Resignation Sent to the Eldest Son of the Prince" both clearly note the expiration of a six-year term of office. Secondly, had Bao Zhao been in Prince Yiji's staff from 445 to 447, he would not have been able thereafter to serve Prince Jun for a full six-year term of office, for had he completed the whole tenure of office, he would have been executed for high treason together with Prince Jun at his defeat in 453. In summary, it is clear from these contradictions and improbabilities that Bao Zhao never served in Prince Yiji's principality.

vi. Bao Zhao's Service in Prince Jun of Shixing's Principality

The "Biography of Bao Zhao" in the Song Shu briefly notes that after his service in Prince Yiqing's principality and before he was killed by the rebels in Jingzhou at his post as a Military Consultant (Canjun 参军) in the administration of Van General 前将軍 Prince Zixu of Linhai 臨海王子頡, Bao Zhao was appointed to the post of Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat by Emperor Xiaowu.111 The Nan Shi, on the other hand, records that in due time he was first promoted to the office of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture 折陵令 and then was made a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat by Emperor Wen.112 While both of the above history books fail to record details of Bao Zhao's political life, Yu Yan in his preface succeeded in providing a sketch of Bao Zhao's career in public service during this period. He proclaimed that after Prince Yiqing died, Bao Zhao was invited to be Princely Attendant by Prince Jun of Shixing, and that "at the beginning" of Emperor Xiaowu's reign, he was first appointed to the post of Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture 海虞令, then promoted to the post of Erudite of the National University and concurrently Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, then sent to be Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture, and then transferred to be Subprefect of the Yongjia Subprefecture.113

111. See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Shen, ibid., V.5, pp.1477-1480.
112. See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Li, II, op.cit., V.2, p.360.
113. See "Yu Yan Xu 儀炎序" in Qian, op.cit., p.v.
Among these three sources there are immediate disagreements as to whether Bao Zhao first became Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture or Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, and whether he was appointed as an Imperial Secretariat Drafter by Emperor Wen or Emperor Xiaowu. Fortunately, in his "Memorial of Accepting the Appointment of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture 謝秣陵令表, " Bao Zhao expressed his reluctance to leave the council chamber of the Department of the Imperial Secretariat. Besides, this memorial in the Song version 宋本 of the Bao Canjun Ji contains a footnote indicating that Bao Zhao was "then a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat 時為中書舍人."\(^{114}\) This confirms that Bao Zhao was an Imperial Secretariat Drafter before he was appointed Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture.

Huang Jie's theory that Bao Zhao was appointed an Imperial Secretariat Drafter in 448 and a Princely Attendant in Prince Jun of Shixing's Principality in 449 appears to be a supposition without supporting evidence. The Nan Shi's record that Emperor Wen made Bao Zhao an Imperial Secretariat Drafter from Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture seems to contain an obvious reversal of historical events. The Nan Shi and scholars of similar opinion also neglect the fact that an office term in the reign of Emperor Wen was six years, but there were only nine years between Bao Zhao's resignation from the Principality of Linchuan in the fourth month of 444 and the death of Emperor Wen in the second month of 453. It is difficult to accept any hypothesis that during this time Bao Zhao served more than one public office, especially when it is certain that he served a full term in Prince Jun's staff, which, as explained earlier, would have expired no later than 451. Yu Yan's biographical sketch of Bao Zhao in this respect is quite precise and accurate. His claim that Bao Zhao served as Princely Attendant in Prince Jun's principality finds evidence in the fact that he wrote "Poem Composed at Prince Shixing's Command on Mount Suan 蒜山被始興王命作," and "Imitating the Ballad of the White Linen at Prince Jun of Shixing's Command 代白紗舞歌辭,"\(^{115}\) and, as explained

\(^{114}\) Qian, ibid., p.53.
\(^{115}\) Qian, ibid., pp.216, 260.
previously, the "Memorial of Congratulation on the Birth of the Eldest Son to the Prince, Expeditionary General of the North" as well.

While most chronologists of Bao Zhao adopt the theory that Bao Zhao served in the Principality of Shixing, they disagree with one another on the date of his entering Prince Jun's service. Qian Zhenlun and Qian Zhonglian maintained it to be in 447, after a three-year service in Prince Yiji's principality.\(^{116}\) Huang Jie maintained it to be in 449, after one year of service in Prince Yiji of Hengyang's staff and one year's service as an Imperial Secretariat Drafter in Emperor Wen's court.\(^{117}\) Wu Piji maintained it to be in 446, after a three-year mourning for Prince Yiqing.\(^{118}\) As discussed above, the mourning period for one's deceased Prince was actually three months, and the theory of Bao Zhao's service in the Principality of Hengyang was an arbitrary supposition. As we will see later, the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat was most unlikely to be an independent post.

Therefore, the above three hypotheses on the date of Bao Zhao's entry into Prince Jun of Shixing's service lack substantial support.

More to the point, Bao Zhao's "Memorial of Resignation from the Princely Cabinet at the End of the Official Term for the Attendant" confirms the fact that he served in the Principality of Shixing for six years, since between the two princes Bao Zhao had served as Princely Attendant, Prince Jun of Shixing was the only logical recipient of this memorial, for Bao Zhao wrote another resignation statement to the eldest son of Prince Yiqing when he resigned from the Principality of Linchuan. According to the Song Shu, Prince Jun of Shixing was summoned back to the capital for a new appointment in the first month of 453, the 30th year of the Yuanjia Reign. By the end of the second month, however, he was accused of practicing witchcraft in the palace and was told by his mother, Concubine Pan 潘妃,

\(^{116}\) Qian, *ibid.*, p.433.
\(^{117}\) See Huang Jie's 黃節 interpretation in Qian, *op.cit.*, p.388.
\(^{118}\) See Wu, *op.cit.*, p.24.
that he would soon be ordered to commit suicide. He then joined Heir Apparent Prince Shao's parricidal and regicidal revolt. They were defeated and executed in the fifth month of 453.119 Their staffs and officers were either eliminated for opposing the conspiracy, killed in the battle, or executed at the final defeat. Since Bao Zhao lived after the revolt, he was obviously not on the staff of the Principality of Shixing in 453.

In the "Inscription on the Wooden Post on Mount Guabu 瓜步山楊文" Bao Zhao wrote: "The year resides at the dragon division, the month cruises with soaring bird 處龍紀, 月巡鳥張. I, Bao Zhao, having left the Wu district and having been sojourning in the Chu region, am heading towards Yanzhou to return to Yangzhou 調吳客楚, 指兗歸揚."120

In the correspondence of the 12 zodiac animals 十二生相 with the 12 earthly branches 十二地支, the cock matches with the "you 西" branch. And the "you" branch corresponds to the eighth month of the year in the Yuanjia Calendar, which set the "yin" branch as the beginning of a year 以建寅為歲首. Since the cock belongs to the fowl family 雞為鳥屬, "yue xun niao zhang 月巡鳥張" can be interpreted as "the month cruises to the bird division of the yearly cycle"; that is to say, it is the eighth month of the year.121 Nevertheless, as the substitution of the bird (the fowl) with the cock seems an arbitrary imposition, a preferable interpretation is found in the "Book of Astronomy 天官書" in Shi Ji 史記 (Records of the Historian). In enumerating the celestial symbols of the five palaces (parts) of the heavenly body, it says that "the south palace is a red bird (a fire bird) 南宮朱鳥."122 The "Book of Music Tones and Pitches 律書" in Shi Ji records that: "It (the solar breath 節氣) goes westwards to 'zhang 張,' which means that a myriad of things flourish and thrive. It goes westwards to 'zhu 注,' which means that as the myriad things

119. See "Er Xiong Zahuang 二刑傳" in Shcn, op.cit., V.8, pp.2423-2439.
120. Qian, op.cit., p.131.
121. Ibid., p.133, n.2.
122. Ibid., p.134, n.7.
decline, the yang (positive 陽) breath pours downwards and is thus called 'zhu.' It is the fifth month." The "Commentaries 索隠" to Shi Ji commented: "'zhu' is the bird's beak 喂. The 'Book of Astronomy' says that 'Liu 柳 (Hydra)' is (resembles) the bird's beak. 'Zhu' is therefore the Liu Star."\(^{123}\) In this respect, the phrase "yue xun niao zhang" can be well interpreted as "the fifth month of the year."

In the correspondence of the 12 zodiac animals and the 12 earthly branches or divisions, the dragon division matches with the 'chen 辰' branch. In his life Bao Zhao (409-466) encountered five years of the chen branch 辰年: namely, 416, the year of Bing-chen 丙辰; 428, the year of Wu-chen 戊辰; 440, the year of Geng-chen 庚辰; 452, the year of Ren-chen 壬辰; and 464, the year of Jia-chen 甲辰.\(^{124}\) Bao Zhao was only eight years old in 416, and 20 in 428. He was too young to have written this inscription. He entered service in the Principality of Linchuan (or rather was raised to the post of Princely Attendant from an apprentice in the fourth month of 438 in Jiangling of Jingzhou 荊州江陵), then followed Prince Yiqing to Xunyang of Jiangzhou 江州尋陽 in 439, and then to Guangling of Nan Yanzhou 南兗州 廣陵 in the 10th month of 440.\(^{125}\) Thus, in the fifth month of 440 he should still have been in Xunyang and could not possibly have written the inscription. Similarly, he could not have written it in 464 either for, as to be proved later, he was then a newly-appointed Military Consultant to Prince Zixu of Linhai's administration of the Van General in Jiangling of Jingzhou and would not possibly have been sojourning in the Guabu area on his way home. Thus, the inscription could only be written in the fifth month of 452, the 29th year of the Yuanjia Regin 元嘉二十九年.

---

According to the Song Shu, in 449 Prince Jun of Shixing 始興王濬 was appointed Military-governor of the Provinces of Nan Xuzhou and Yanzhou, Governor of Nan Xuzhou and Yanzhou, and Expeditionary General of the North, with his administrative center in Jingkou. In the 12th month of 450 the Tuoba invaded Guabu, a strategic fort in the transportation routes between the south and the north, and brought such a serious threat to the capital that Emperor Wen proclaimed martial law. By the first month of 451, the Tuoba withdrew and Prince Jun was ordered to fortify Guabu. The imperial procession arrived in Guabu in the second month. By the third month Prince Jun was dismissed from the duty of Governor of Nan Yanzhou and returned to his post in Jingkou as Governor of Nan Xuzhou. Later in 452 he was summoned to the imperial court, and by the seventh month of the year he was sent back to Jingkou to wait for a new appointment. But his involvement with witchcraft was soon discovered, and Emperor Wen in great rage forbade him to return to the capital. It was not until the second month of 453 that he was permitted to return, and shortly thereafter he joined in Heir Apparent Prince Shao’s parricide and regicide.126

In this respect, it seems clear that in the fifth month of 452, when Bao Zhao wrote the inscription, he had already left his office. And the most logical time for him to resign was in the third month of 451, when Prince Jun was dismissed from his duty as Governor of Nan Yanzhou and his mission to fortify Guabu. Bao Zhao resigned at the expiration of the six-year official term as Princely Attendant and sojourned in Guabu. By the fifth month of 452, on his way to Guangling and return to Dantu, he wrote the inscription. This inference is also in accordance with the geographical note in the beginning of the inscription. The administrative center of the Governor of Nan Xuzhou was located in Jingkou (in the present Province of Jiangsu), which in ancient times was of the Wu of the Three Kingdoms.

Guabu 瓜步 (in the west of the present Province of Jiangsu), was identified historically as the Eastern Chu 東楚.\textsuperscript{127} Guangling 廣陵 was the administrative center of Nan Yanzhou, while Dantu Subprefecture 丹徒 of the refugee Southern Donghai Prefecture was actually established in the Province of Yangzhou 揚州.\textsuperscript{128} Thus, when Bao Zhao wrote: "having left the Wu district and having been sojourning in the Chu region, I am now heading towards Yanzhou to return to Yangzhou," he was saying: "having left Jingkou in the Wu district and having been sojourning in Guabu of the Eastern Chu, I am now heading toward Guangling of Nan Yanzhou to return to Dantu in Yangzhou." This coincides exactly with Bao Zhao's activities from the first month of 451 when he accompanied Prince Jun to Guabu, through the third month when he resigned his office and sojourned in Guabu, to the fifth month of 452 when he headed for Guangling to return home in Dantu.

In conclusion, Bao Zhao's six-year term of office as Princely Attendant in the Principality of Prince Jun of Shixing, Governor of Yangzhou, should have therefore started in the third month of 445, the 22nd year of the Yuanjia Reign of Emperor Wen. By 449, as Prince Jun was promoted to the post of Expeditionary General to the North, Military-governor of the Provinces of Nan Xuzhou and Nan Yanzhou, and Governor of the Provinces of Nan Xuzhou and Yanzhou, Bao Zhao accompanied the Prince to the administrative station in Jingkou. In the first month of 451, as the Tuoba withdrew from Guabu, he attended upon Prince Jun to fortify this strategic fort. By the third month of the year, as the Prince was dismissed from his duty as Governor of Nan Yanzhou and returned to his governor post in Jingkou of Nan Xuzhou, Bao Zhao resigned from the principality of Shixing at the expiration of his six-year office term. He sojourned in Guabu until he returned home in the fifth month of 452. Thus he barely escaped the treacherous fate of being eliminated as an opponent to the Prince's conspiracy or executed as an accomplice to the Prince's treason.

\textsuperscript{127} See the Entry on Sanchu 三楚 in Shu Xincheng 舒新城, \textit{op.cit.}, p.16.
\textsuperscript{128} See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, \textit{op.cit.}, V.4, pp.1038, 1053.
vii. Bao Zhao's Service as Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture

According to the *Song Shu*, the Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture was under the jurisdiction of the Prefect of the Wu Prefecture 吳郡, which in turn was under the Governor of Yangzhou. It was a subprefecture with a population of 4,000 households and 35,400 persons on average.\(^{129}\) The *Song Shu* notes that Danyang 丹陽, Wu 吳, Kuaiji 會稽, and Wuxing 武興 were all large prefectures.\(^{130}\) The Haiyu Subprefecture presumably was a large subprefecture and its subprefect would be an official of the sixth rank with a yearly salary of 1,000 piculs of grain.\(^{131}\) The *Song Shu* and the *Nan Shi* do not mention Bao Zhao's service as Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture 海虞令, but Yu Yan's preface states clearly that "at the beginning of Emperor Xiaowu," Bao Zhao was appointed Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture.\(^{132}\) Wu Piji and Qian Zhongliang assumed the appointment to be in 454, the first year of the Xiaojian Reign of Emperor Xiaowu.\(^{133}\)

The *Song Shu* records that when Heir Apparent Prince Shao committed parricide and regicide in the end of the second month of 453, Prince Jun of Wuling 武陵王 駿, Governor of Jiangzhou, and Military-governor of Jiangzhou, Jiangxia Prefecture of Jingzhou, and Xiyang, Jingxi and Xincail Prefectures of Yuzhou (都督江州, 荆州之江夏, 豫州之西陽, 晉熙、新蔡諸軍事), was engaged in a punitive expedition to the Xiyang Tribes 西陽蠻. He immediately marched the expedition army back to the capital as a punitive force against Prince Shao. By the fourth month he was crowned by the Army of Righteousness in Xin Ting 新亭 (New Pavilion), which was then renamed "Zhongxing Ting 中興亭" (Restoration Pavilion). By the fifth month he defeated the rebel force, restored the capital, and executed Prince Shao 勳, Prince Jun 濤, and their accomplices. Then in the first month of 454, he changed the year-title of the dynasty into the first year of the Xiaojian

\(^{130}\) See "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Shen, *ibid.*, V.4, p.1258.
\(^{132}\) See "Yu Yan Xu 虞炎序" in Qian, *op.cit.*, p.v.

Also see Wu, *op.cit.*, V.4, pp.34-35.
Reign 孝建元年. Accordingly, there is a nine-month difference between the time Emperor Xiaowu was crowned and the first year of the Xiaojian Reign. Thus, it is proper to assume that the expression "the beginning of Emperor Xiaowu" implies a time different from the first year of the Xiaojian Reign, or most appropriately a time after he was enthroned and before he changed the dynasty's year-title. The Song Shu provides the best example of a precise way of recording these chronological differences. It usually refers to the period from the fourth month of 453 to the first month of 454 as "the beginning of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武初" or as "after Emperor Xiaowu was enthroned 孝武即位." After the Emperor changed the year-title of the dynasty in 454, it specifies the year or refers to it as "the beginning of the Xiaojian Reign 孝建初." In this respect, Bao Zhao's appointment to Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture indeed could well have occurred sometime after the fifth month of 453, after he composed the "Song of the Restoration 中興歌" in praise of the resurgence of the country and restoration of the capital from the malefic princes.

Qian Zhenlun and Qian Zhongliao both maintained that the "Song of the Restoration" and the "Ode to the Clarity of the Yellow River" was written at the same time in 447, and that both poems were written to praise the virtuous reign of Emperor Wen. However, they provided no substantial evidence to prove that the former was written at that time. In fact, the ninth quatrain of the poem provides a clear statement that it was written in praise of the order and harmony brought by Emperor Xiaowu's victory over Prince Shao:

"Xiangyang is a small humble place,
Shouyang is not an imperial city.
Today amidst its joy of celebrating the restoration,
You fascinate the capital city with charm and elegance." 楚陽是小地,
壽陽非帝城.
今日中興樂,
逼冶在上京.

135. See "Dai Faxing Zhan 戴法興傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, p.2303.
Also see "Xie Zhuang Zhuo 楚莊傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, pp.2168-2169.
Also see "Xue An Du Zhuo 薛安都傳" in Shen, ibid., pp.2216-2217.
Also see "Yixuan Zhuo 義宣傳" in Shen, ibid., V.6, p.1799
136. Qian, op.cit., p.98, n.1; p.213, n.1.
137. Ibid., p.215.
The *Song Shu* records that before he came to the throne, Prince Jun of Wuling was Governor of Nan Yuzhou with an administrative center in Shouyang 壽陽 from 440 to 444, though for most of this time he was in charge of Shitou Garrison 石頭戍. From 444 to 447 he was Governor of Yongzhou and Military-governor of the four Provinces of Yongzhou, Liangzhou, Nan Qinzhou and Bei Qinzhou, and the six Prefectures of Xiangyang, Jingling, Nanyang, Shunyang, Xinye, and Sui of Jingzhou (都督雍、梁、南北秦四州，及荆州之襄陽、竟陵、南陽、順陽、新野、隨六郡諸軍事), with his administrative center in Xiangyang.\(^{138}\) The ninth quatrain obviously celebrates the rejoicing over the fulfilment of a prophecy that Prince Jun of Wuling was destined to be not merely a governor stationed in either Xiangyang or Shouyang, but the one to restore the dynasty from a regicidal prince and subsequently become a righteous emperor. The poet starts the song with a quatrain expressing that his anguish and anxiety give way to expectant joy for the restoration:

"One thousand winters wait just for the spring,  
While a myriad nights anticipate the dawning,  
I am fortunate to witness the imperial restoration,  
And my many anxieties give way to joy." \(^{139}\)

Indeed, it is most likely that Bao Zhao was appointed Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture after he wrote the "Song of Restoration" in the fifth month of 453. One should note that by the reign of Emperor Xiaowu, according to the *Song Shu*, the official term had been changed from six years to three years.\(^{140}\) Consequently, Bao Zhao's office term as Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture should have ended around or after the fifth month of 456, but under closer examination it does not appear to have been so. In listing the public offices Bao Zhao held in this period, Yu Yan wrote:

---

\(^{139}\) Qian, *op.cit.*, p.213.  
\(^{140}\) See "Xie Zhuang Zhuan 謝莊傳" in Li, *op.cit.*, V.2, pp.555-556.
Yu Yan provided a lot of useful information here, but he erred in taking the year 461 as the date Bao Zhao was appointed Acting Military Consultant (Xing-canjun 行參軍). According to the Song Shu Prince Zixu of Linhai was promoted to the post of Van General in 464. Later, the Former-deposed Emperor 前廢帝 appointed him Military-governor of the eight Provinces of Jingzhou, Xiangzhou, Yongzhou, Yizhou, Liangzhou, Ningzhou, Nan Qinzhou, and Bei Qinzhou under the same generalship (以本號都督荆州、湘州、雍州、益州、梁州、寧州、南北秦八州). This implies that it was Emperor Xiaowu who promoted him, hence this promotion had to be done sometime before the fifth month of 464, before Emperor Xiaowu died.

It is obvious that had Bao Zhao served a full term in the Haiyu Subprefecture, it would be impossible for him to hold another three full terms of office before the fifth month of 464, for from 453 to 464 though there are only 11 years, Bao Zhao held four offices. While the extant documents do not suggest any of these official terms were incomplete, the wording of Yu Yan's preface sheds some light on the truth of this matter. From 464 to 466 the longest time Bao Zhao could have remained at the first post in the administration of the Van General would be two years. Yu Yan uses the word "xun qian 尋遷" to describe the transition. The word "xun 尋" serves as an adverb here with the meaning of "subsequently," but it also

141. See "Yu Yan Xu 虞炎序" in Qian, op.cit., p.v.
connotes "soon" or "before long." While the word "qian" means "to move" or "to be removed," in this case it meant a removal from one office to the other before the office term was completed. Thus, when Yu Yan used "qian" to note Bao Zhao's official transition from Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture to Erudite of the National University, he might have used it to denote a similar removal prior to the expiration of office term, that is to say, a removal before 456. Nevertheless, the most decisive factor is that Bao Zhao was removed to not only an Erudite of the National University but also concurrently a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. While the office of Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat had a full allotment of four persons, and Chao Shangzhi 巢尚之 was appointed the fourth Imperial Secretariat Drafter in 454, Bao Zhao naturally could not have been removed to his new post in this year. Consequently, we must infer that it was in 455, the second year of the Xiaojian Reign, that Bao Zhao was removed to be an Erudite of the National University and concurrently a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat from the Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture.

viii. Bao Zhao's Service as Erudite of the National University and Concurrently as Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat

As stated above, Yu Yan's preface maintained that Bao Zhao was removed from the Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture to the Erudite of the National University, and concurrently the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. The Song Shu noted that Shizu 世祖 (the Third Patriarch or Emperor Xiaowu) appointed him an Imperial Secretariat Drafter, but the Nan Shi maintained that Emperor Wen removed him from the Princely Attendant in the Principality of Linchuan to the Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture and then appointed him an Imperial Secretariat Drafter. Wu Piji and Qian Zhonglian both maintained that it was in 456 that Bao Zhao was first removed to the Erudite of the National University and concurrently the Imperial Secretariat Drafter and thereafter sent out to be the Subprefect of Moling Subprefecture, but they provided no supporting evidence. As previously established, there were only eight years from the time Bao Zhao resigned from the Principality of
Linchuan in 445 to the time Emperor Wen was murdered in 453. And it was virtually impossible for Bao Zhao to have served more than one full six-year term of office. Furthermore, Bao Zhao's "Memorial of Accepting the Appointment of the Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture" clearly indicated that when he accepted this appointment he was an Imperial Secretariat Drafter. In addition, the Imperial Secretariat Drafter was not an independent regular post. It was usually a concurrent office. In this respect, the Nan Shi's statement is too disputable to be accepted. Yu Yan's sketch remains logically and chronologically true.

In the Liu Song Dynasty, the Erudite of the National University under the jurisdiction of Chamberlain for Ceremonials was a sixth-rank official,\textsuperscript{143} while the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Secretariat, was a ninth-rank official in the Jin Dynasty, though by the Liu Song Dynasty it might have been raised to the seventh rank.\textsuperscript{144} The official duty of this office was to serve the Emperor in the council chamber in drafting imperial edicts, mandates, and proclamations, and to present briefings of various memorial and to sign leaves or to write rescripts for them 爲帝省讀書可.\textsuperscript{145} On the other hand, though Bao Zhao was appointed an Erudite of the National University, he did not seem to have performed his duty, for his name was never mentioned in several important national debates recorded in the Song Shu.\textsuperscript{146} Furthermore, in the "Memorial on the Establishment of the Principality," he clearly indicated that he was on duty in the Emperor's council chamber by 458. In this respect, Bao Zhao seems to have served more as an Imperial Secretariat Drafter than an Erudite of the National University.

\textsuperscript{143} See "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Shen, \textit{op.cit.}, V.4, p.1288.
\textsuperscript{144} Tang, \textit{op.cit.}, p.108.
\textsuperscript{145} Also see "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Shen, \textit{op.cit.}, V.4, pp.1245-1246.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.

See records of the national debates on various observations on rituals and rites from 455 to 458 in "Li Zhi 禮志" in Shen, \textit{Ibid.}, V.2, pp.410, 427, 464, 470, 521, 522, 543.
The Song Shu notes that the post of Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat had an establishment of four persons. This was basically true in the reign of Emperor Xiaowu.\textsuperscript{147} It records that before Prince Jun of Wuling 武陵王 駿 was crowned, Dong Yuansi 董元嗣, Dai Faxing 戴法興, Dai Mingbao 戴明寶, and Cai Xian 蔡闕 served as Warrant Keepers in his principality and generalship of Commandant of Court Gentlemen of the South (Nan-zhonglangjiang 南中郎將) respectively. As Prince Jun of Wuling was raising a righteous army against the regicidal Prince Shao in 453, Dong Yuansi was killed by the evil Prince Shao; while Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, and Cai Xian were appointed Adjutant Protectors (Canjun-duhu 參軍督護). When Prince Jun of Wuling was enthroned, he appointed them Attendant Censors (Shiyushi 侍御史) and concurrently Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat. By 454, Dai Faxing left the post of the Imperial Secretariat Drafter to attend upon the Heir Apparent in the East Palace. Chao Shangzhi 巢尚之 was then appointed a Princely Attendant of the Principality of Donghai and concurrently a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. By 458, Emperor Xiaowu conferred the noble rank of "Nan男" (Baron) upon Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, and Cai Xian to reward their assistance in his enthronement. Cai Xian did not have any further appointment since he was deceased by this time,\textsuperscript{148} but Dai Faxing and Dai Mingbao were also promoted to various positions besides their concurrent post in the imperial council chamber. Although neither the Song Shu nor Nan Shi record the date of Cai Xian’s death, but the facts that there were already four Imperial Secretariat Drafters in 454, that Bao Zhao’s transfer to the above concurrent post had to be some time before his office term in the Haiyu Subprefecture expired in 456, and that he was already in duty in the imperial council chamber in 458, suggest that Bao Zhao was most likely transferred to this concurrent post in 455. And since there could only have been

\textsuperscript{147} See "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Shen, \textit{ibid.}, V.4, p.1245.

\textsuperscript{148} \textit{Ibid.}, V.8, p.2303.
four Imperial Drafters at any given time, it seems proper to infer that Bao Zhao was transferred to this post to fill the vacancy left by Cai Xian's death. So before 455, the four Imperial Secretariat Drafters were Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, Cai Xian, and Chao Shangzhi; after 455, they were Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, Chao Shangzhi, and Bao Zhao. Similarly, By 464 when Bao Zhao was sent out to be a Military Consultant in the Van General's staff, Xi Xiandu 奚顯度 seems to have filled the vacancy left by Bao Zhao.149

The "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers" records that Chao Shangzhi served as a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat throughout Emperor Xiaowu's reign. He was removed from this duty by the Former-deposed Emperor in 465. In the respect, the concurrent post of the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat seems to have been a long-term appointment.150 The "Biography of Dai Faxing" notes that Emperor Xiaowu administered the imperial affairs himself and relied not on high officials but on favorite courtiers and trustworthy agents. Dai Faxing was an imperial favorite courtier, and the imperial grace and trust in him increased even after he was removed to wait upon the Heir Apparent in the East Palace. Emperor Xiaowu consulted with Dai Faxing and Chao Shangzhi about major decisions on official selection, appointment, removal, transfer, punishment, and reward, while he trusted Dai Mingbao with miscellaneous royal affairs. The Emperor accepted and carried out whatever they recommended. Consequently, they became more popular and powerful through such social and institutional affiliations.151 Thus, although later on they were promoted to official posts such as Prefect, Palace Steward, and Surplus Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, they essentially performed the duty of Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat. They dominated the imperial council chamber up until

149. The chronological data suggested that the vacancy of the post of the Imperial Drafter left by Cai Xian's death was most likely filled by Bao Zhao in 455. It also suggested that later when Bao Zhao was transferred to the post of Military Consultant in Prince Zixu's administration of the Van General in 464, Xi Xiandu might have subsequently filled this vacancy, for his biography noted that in the Daming Reign of Emperor Xiaowu he was promoted to be a Surplus Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, an honorary title as well as a salary increase conventionally bestowed upon a favorite courtier or a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat by Emperor Xiaowu.
150. Ibid., V:8, pp.2302-2305.
151. Ibid.
464, when Prince Ziye 子業 (later known as the Former-deposed Emperor) was enthroned and started to eliminate his father's favorite courtiers from the court. Thereupon, Xi Xiandu was executed for committing all manner of cruelty upon the people. Chao Shangzhi was removed from the imperial council chamber. And Dai Faxing was ordered to commit suicide after being removed from office as a result of imperial rage over the roadside rumour that "Dai Faxing was the actual emperor and the Emperor was but a puppet." This adds up to a supposition that although the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat was a concurrent post in Emperor Xiaowu's reign and Bao Zhao was transferred from the Erudite of the National University to the Subprefects of the Moling Subprefecture and the Yongan Subprefecture respectively, he had actually served in the concurrent post in the imperial council chamber from 455 to 464.

The above inference is also based upon the following observations. Firstly, Bao Zhao was actually serving more at his concurrent post in the imperial council chamber than at the regular post of Erudite of the National University. Secondly, though Bao Zhao indicated that he had to leave the imperial council chamber upon his new appointment to the post of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture in 458, he was not released from and had no difficulty to carry on the duty of the concurrent post, since the subprefecture's administrative office was actually in the capital. This practice was proved to be true in the following year in 459, when the whole Province of Yangzhou was designated as Imperial Domains 王畿, and Attendant Censors of the Imperial Censorate were assigned to regulate its various prefectures. Thirdly, Bao Zhao's appointment to the Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture was more an official rank and salary compensation than an actual administrative assignment, for it was a refugee subprefecture under the jurisdiction of the Southern Hedong Prefecture 南河東郡, a refugee prefecture attached to Jingzhou.

152. Ibid., p.2340.
153. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, ibid., V.4, p.1209.
And Bao Zhao as its Subprefect might not have had to undertake any actual administration. The suppositions that in Emperor Xiaowu's reign many appointments or promotions to Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat were but rank and salary compensation or rewards, and the Drafters did not attend those posts at all, find proof in Chao Shangzhi's case. Chao Shangzhi was appointed a Princely Attendant of the Principality of Donghai and concurrently a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, but his biography indicates clearly that he served in the imperial council chamber from 454 to 464 and had never attended his princely post at all.

Moreover, Bao Zhao wrote the "Memorial of Accepting the Appointment of Grand Cavalry General (Piaoji-jiangjun) 請驃騎表" for Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State (Shangshu-ling 尚書令) Liu Yuanjing 柳元景. Liu Yuanjing, though a military genius, was not a man of letters at all. As Emperor Xiaowu once ordered Bao Zhao to compose verses for Liu Yuanjing at an imperial banquet, it was indeed natural for Liu Yuanjing to ask Bao Zhao to write this memorial to accept the new appointment. Wu Piji and Qian Zhonglian both maintained that this memorial was written in 456, for Liu Yuanjing was promoted to the post of Cavalry General and Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of

154. It was originally called the Zhi Subprefecture 羲縣 in the Western Han Dynasty, but changed into the Yongan Subprefecture in 133 in the Eastern Han Dynasty, and was under the jurisdiction of the Pingyang Prefecture平陽郡 (it was located in the present Huo Xian of Shanxi 山西霍縣). Later, in the Shu of the Three Kingdoms 三國蜀 the Yufu Subprefecture魚復縣 (which was located in the present Feng Xian of Sichuan 四川奉縣) was changed into the Yongan Subprefecture. While the Hedong Prefecture河東郡 was originally established in the Qin Dynasty (in the southwest of Shanxi 山西西南隅). By the Western Jin Dynasty its administrative center was in Pucheng 蒲城 (southeast to the present Yongji Xian of Shanxi 山西永濟縣東南). As the Eastern Jin Dynasty lost the territory north of the Huai River, a refugee Southern Hedong Prefecture was established in 337 in Jingzhou 荊州 for the immigrants from Sizhou 司州. Thus, the Yongan Subprefecture was basically a refugee subprefecture. See the entry of "Zhi 羲" in Shu, op.cit., p.507. See the entry of "Yufu 魚復" in Shu, ibid., p.1524. See the entry of "Hedong 河東" in Shu, ibid., p.774. Also see "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, p.1122.

155. See the biographical notes on Chao Shangzhi 巢尚之 in "Dai Faxing Zhuan戴法興傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, pp.2303-2304.

156. Qian, op.cit., p.255.
State in this year. Nevertheless, in quoting the Song Shu, both Wu and Qian erred. The "Chronicle of Emperor Xiaowu" in the Song Shu recorded in the entry of 456, the third year of the Xiaojian Reign:

```
丁未領軍將軍柳元景加驃騎將軍尚書令建平王 宏加中書監衛將軍撫軍將軍
江州刺史東海王 禧進號平南將軍.
```

Wu and Qian read the quotation as:

```
丁未，領軍將軍柳元景加驃騎將軍、尚書令。建平王宏加中書監……
```

While the correct reading should be:

```
丁未，領軍將軍柳元景加驃騎將軍。尚書令建平王 宏加中書監、衛將軍，撫
軍將軍、江州刺史東海王 禧進號平南將軍．
```

Wu and Qian’s misreading can be proved by checking Prince Hong of Jianping's appointment to the post of Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State.

According to the Song Shu, General of the Capital Army (Zhongjun-jiangjun中軍將軍), Prince Hong of Jianping 建平王 宏, was promoted from the Chief of the Imperial Secretariat (Zhongshu-jian 中書監) and the Left Chief of the Department of Affairs of State (Shangshu-zuopuye 尚書左僕射) to the Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State in the 10th month of 455, the second year of the Xiaojian Reign of Emperor Xiaowu. Hence, the record in 456 was clearly a promotion, adding his former office of the Chief of the Imperial Secretariat to his

    Also see Wu, op.cit., p.36.
158. Ibid.
    Also see Qian, op.cit., p.51.
159. See "Xiaowu Di Ji 孝武帝紀" in Shen, op.cit., V.1, p.117.
    Also cf. official transitions of Liu Yuanjing in Appendix 6.
control and raising his military rank to General of the Guards (Weijun-jiangjun 衛軍將軍). The entry of this record should thereby read: "尚書令建平王宏加中書監、衛軍將軍." The entry of this record should thereby read: "尚書令建平王宏加中書監、衛將軍." And it is obvious that General of the Palace Guard (Lingjun-jiangjun 領軍將軍), Liu Yuanjing, was honored with an additional title, the Cavalry General. According to the "Chronicle of Emperor Xiaowu," it was not until 459 that he was promoted to the Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State to succeed Prince Hong, who died in this office in the third month of 458. And by the first month of 463, the seventh year of the Daming Reign of Emperor Xiaowu, Liu Yuanjing was raised to the Grand Cavalry General (Piaoji-dajiangjun 襲騎大將軍), while his former office was taken over by Great Steward (Taizai 太宰) Prince Yigong of Jiangxia 江夏王 義恭. However, by the intercalary fifth month 閏五月 of 464, after the enthronement of Crown Prince Ziye, the office of the Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State was returned to Liu Yuanjing again. Then, in the eighth month of 465, Liu Yuanjing was executed for high treason.\(^{160}\) Consequently, it should be in the first month of 463, the seventh year of the Daming Reign, that Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State Liu Yuanjing asked Bao Zhao to help him write "the Memorial of Accepting the Appointment of Grand Cavalry General." The significance of this discovery is that it proves that as late as 463 Bao Zhao had been stationing in the capital, instead of administering the Yongan Subprefecture of the Southern Hedong Prefecture in Jingzhou. The Yongan Subprefecture was 3,500 lǐs away from the capital by water, and had\(^{161}\) Bao Zhao actually attended the subprefecture administration, he could not possibly have written this memorial for Liu Yuanjing.

\(^{161}\) Also see "Xiaowu Di Ji 孝武帝紀" in Shen, *ibid.,* V.1, pp.119, 121, 123.  
\(^{144}\) Also see "Qian Fei Di Ji 前廢帝紀" in Shen, *ibid.,* V.1, p.141, 143, 144.  
\(^{161}\) See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, *ibid.,* V.4, p.1122.
Furthermore, the "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers 侍臣傳" of the 
*Nan Qi Shu* states in the introduction that the appointment of Bao Zhao to the 
post of Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat in Emperor Xiaowu’s reign was the 
begning of a mixture of candidates from both the Commoner and the Scholar-
official Classes 士庶雜選. Had Bao Zhao served in this office less than one year, 
as Qian and Wu suggested, it would not be justifiable to call him an imperial 
favorite courtier. Finally, the strongest evidence is provided by Bao Zhao in the 
penultimate quatrain of his poem "In Attendance on Prince of Linhai Setting Out 
for Jingzhou From Xinzhu 從臨海王上荊初發新渚":

"To leave the capital suburbs the fleet retrieves the hawser, 收繫辭帝郊，
To depart from the imperial city the fleet pulls the oars. 揚棹發皇京.
My mind is like that of a hare or a fox longing for the old den, 狐兔憐舊志,
My heart is like that of a hound or a horse attached to the lord." 犬馬戀主情.

This quatrain clearly indicates that when Bao Zhao was appointed the Military Sec-
retary in Van General Prince Zixu’s administration and was ordered to accompany 
this nine-year-old prince to Jingzhou, he was in the imperial capital city, instead of 
the Yongan Subprefecture. His strong longing for his post in the imperial city and 
his deep attachment to His Imperial Majesty in the two similes of the quatrain 
strongly suggest that Bao Zhao was still serving as Drafter of the Imperial Secre-
tariat at the time. To sum up, it seems proper to infer that Bao Zhao served as 
Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat in Emperor Xiaowu’s council chamber from 455 
to 464, until he was sent out to be the Military Secretary of Van General Prince 
Zixu.
ix. Bao Zhao’s Service as Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture

As stated previously, Yu Yan’s preface is logically and chronologically true in maintaining that Bao Zhao was transferred from the post of Erudite of the National University to that of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture 彪陵令. While Qian Zhonglian and Wu Pij I provided no sustaining evidence but insisted that Bao Zhao was transferred to the former and then to the latter posts within a single year in 456. It would be safer to assume that Bao Zhao served full term in both offices and was transferred to the latter post in 458.

The Moling Subprefecture, under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Prefect of Danyang of Yangzhou 揚州丹陽尹, was the central subprefecture in the capital. It had approximately 5,100 households and a population of 29,000. It was a large subprefecture and its subprefect was therefore a sixth-rank official with a yearly salary of 1,000 piculs of grain.\(^{162}\)

Compared to the yearly salary of 600 piculs for the Erudite of the National University this transfer was actually a promotion. It might have been carried out as part of the imperial reward of 458, in which Emperor Xiaowu conferred noble ranks and honored posts upon the Imperial Drafters who assisted him to the throne.\(^{163}\) It might have been the first step of the centralization policy of 459, in which Emperor Xiaowu designated the whole Province of Yangzhou as the Imperial Domains and assigned Attendant Censors of the Imperial Censorate to administer its various Prefectures.\(^{164}\) Nevertheless, since the Moling Subprefecture was a capital district and since the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat was a long-term concurrent post in Emperor Xiaowen’s court, Bao Zhao apparently was still serving in the imperial council chamber, though he had to attend the actual subprefecture administration.

\(^{162}\) See “Bai Guan Zhi 百官志” in Shen, *ibid.*, V.4, p.1258.
\(^{164}\) See “Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志” in Shen, *ibid.*, V.4, p.1029.
x. Bao Zhao's Service as Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture

Yu Yan's preface maintains that Bao Zhao was transferred from Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture to that of the Yongjia Subprefecture 永嘉令. Bao Zhao's "Memorial of Accepting Appointment of the Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture After the Reinstatement 謝永安令解禁表" indicates that he was transferred from the Moling Subprefecture to the Yongan Subprefecture. Some chronologists on Bao Zhao, therefore, suspected that he served successively in both offices, for he had written a joint couplet in Jingzhou. This supposition is seemingly true at first glance, but turns out to be quite impossible upon closer examination. In the "Joint Stanzas with Emissary Zhang and Recluse Li in Jingzhou 荊州與張使君李居士聯句," Bao Zhao wrote:

"The stone bridge resists the carriage wheel, 橋畔支吾轅, 
While roadside bamboos brush the light saddle. 簣路拂輕鞍, 
Though three times a Subprefect I have found no joy, 三尹無喜色, 
The only pleasure is to hold a fishing pole." 一適或垂竿.

Since this poem was written in Jingzhou, it could have been written only when Bao Zhao was in the principalities of Prince Yiqing, or as the Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture, or in the military staff of Prince Zixu. Bao Zhao was only an apprentice when Prince Yiqing was stationed in Jingzhou before 439 and could not possibly have written the poem. The poem was not written in the Yongan Subprefecture either, for Bao Zhao presumably did not attend the subprefecture administration. Even if he did he would have specified the rendezvous as Yongan instead of Jingzhou. The poem could therefore have been written only when Bao Zhao was in Prince Zixu's military office. Besides, the presumption that Bao Zhao served successively in both of the Yongjia and Yongan offices does not correspond to the total number of three Subprefectural offices he served and cited in his personal statement in the last two lines of this quatraine.

165. Qian, op.cit., p.435, n.37.
Also cf. Wu, op.cit., p.38.
Secondly, without any further evidence it would be arbitrary not to designate to
Bao Zhao a full three-year term of office in the Moling Subprefecture from 458 to
461. But if Bao Zhao's Moling Subprefecture office was terminated in 461, he
would have had barely enough time for a full term of office before he was appoint-
ed a Military Consultant to Prince Zixu's Generalship in 464. It was therefore
impossible for Bao Zhao to have served in both the Yongjia and Yongan Subpref-
fectorates from 461 to 464. In addition, according to the Song Shu, the Yongjia
Prefecture under the jurisdiction of Yangzhou (or Dong Yangzhou 東揚州 before 459)
included no subprefecture bearing the same name. The Song Shu usually listed the
subprefecture sharing the same name with its prefecture, such as the Linhai Subpre-
fecture of the Linhai Prefecture, or the Pengcheng Subprefecture of the Pengcheng
Prefecture. "The Subprefect of the Yongjia Subprefecture 永嘉令" has to be a mis-
print, or a mistake for either "the Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture 永安令"
or "the Prefect of the Yongjia Prefecture 永嘉太守." However, there are no extant
documents suggesting that Bao Zhao ever served as a Prefect. And Bao Zhao's
own statement of having served three subprefectual offices reinforces the preference
for Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture.

Furthermore, the "Memorial of Accepting the Appointment of the Subprefect of
the Yongan Subprefecture after the Reinstatement" suggests a demotion after a cer-
tain dismissal from the office. Perhaps the former office term was completely or
almost fully served, and the reinstatement in fact became a reappointment or a
transfer. According to the Song Shu, the Yongjia Prefecture under the jurisdiction
of Yangzhou had 6,200 households and a population of 36,000. It was one of the
small prefectures in Yangzhou, but was still quite a large one in comparison to the
average prefecture in the kingdom. A transfer to this prefecture would not appear
to be a demotion at all. On the other hand, the Yongan Subprefecture in the
Southern Hedong Prefecture of Jingzhou was a rather small subprefecture, with an
average of 600 households and a population of 2,600. Therefore, the transfer to the
Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture corresponded more truthfully to a dem-
ton. Finally, since Bao Zhao wrote "Memorial of Accepting the Appointment
of Cavalry General" for Liu Yuanjing in 463, and since Bao Zhao expressed deep attachment to Emperor Xiaowu and strong reluctance to leave the capital city upon the imperial order to accompany Prince Zixu to Jingzhou in 464, he was obviously still serving in the imperial council chamber at the concurrent post of the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, instead of administering the subprefecture affairs in the Yongan Subprefecture of Jingzhou.

xi. Bao Zhao's Service as the Military Secretary in Prince Zixu's Generalship

The biographical accounts of Bao Zhao in both the Song Shu and the Nan Shi state that "when Prince Zixu of Linhai was the Governor of Jingzhou, Bao Zhao served as a Military Consultant in his Van General administration 前軍參軍, and was in charge of secretarial duties." Yu Yan's preface notes that "in the fifth year of the Daming Reign (461), Bao Zhao was first appointed as an Acting Military Consultant of the Van General 前軍行參軍 to attend on Prince Zixu to guard Jingzhou and to superintend or administer the imperial orders to the province, and then transferred to be the Judicial Administrator of the Van Generalship 前軍刑獄參軍." The "Biography of Deng Wan 鄧琬傳" in the Song Shu, in recording the fall of Jingzhou, refers to Bao Zhao as the Military Secretary (Jishi-canjun 記室參軍). These notes evoke controversial issues as to when Bao Zhao was appointed the Military Secretary, when he was transferred to the post of Judicial Administrator, and whether he died at the post of Military Secretary or Judicial Administrator. The "Chronicle of Emperor Xiaowu" in the Song Shu records that in the seventh month of 462, the sixth year of the Daming Reign, "the Governor of Guangzhou, Prince Zixu of Linhai, was appointed the Governor of Jingzhou." Thereupon, most of the leading chronologists on Bao Zhao, including Wu Piji and Qian Zhongliang, maintain that it was in 462 that Bao Zhao was appointed a Military Consultant and accompanied Prince Zixu to Jingzhou. In this respect, they err on the date of Bao Zhao's entering the military service. They also neglect that the

166. See "Deng Wan Zhuan 鄧琬傳" in Shen, ibid., V.7, p.2144.
167. See "Xiaowu Di Ji 孝武帝紀" in Shen, op.cit., V.1, p.129.
importance of the post of the Military Secretary is both the essential reason why Bao Zhao expressed no sense of banishment upon leaving the Capital, and the basic factor for his transfer to the post of Judicial Administrator and for his inevitable death in Jingzhou.

It should be noted that Prince Zixu of Linhai was only seven years old in 462, and Jingzhou was by all means under the administration of the Chief Administrator (Zhangshi 長史) and the Warrant Keepers (Dianqian 典籙), who were appointed directly by the Emperor. That is to say, Prince Zixu might not have gone to Jingzhou upon the new appointment, just as he had not gone to his governor’s office in Guangzhou in 461.168 The "Chronicle of Emperor Xiaowu" in the Song Shu records that Emperor Xiaowu died in the intercalary fifth month of 464. And the "Biography of Prince Zixu of Linhai 臨海王子煕傳" in the Song Shu, recorded that Prince Zixu was promoted to Van General in 464, the eighth year of the Daming Reign.169 It also notes that upon the enthronement of the Former-deposed Emperor, Van General and Governor of Jingzhou Prince Zixu was appointed to an additional post as the Military Governor of the eight provinces of Jing, Xiang, Yong, Yi, Liang, Ning, Nan Qin, and Bei Qin 都督荆、湘、雍、益、梁、寧、南北秦八州.170 In addition, Bao Zhao’s longing and attachment to His Imperial Majesty expressed in the poem "In Attendance on Prince of Linhai Setting Out for Jingzhou From Xingzhu" suggests that he was bidding farewell to Emperor Xiaowu whom he had served for nine years. These records confirm that Prince Zixu was promoted to the Van General post before Emperor Xiaowu died in the intercalary fifth month of 464 and that at the same time Bao Zhao was appointed an Acting Military Consultant to accompany Prince Zixu to Jingzhou.

169. Ibid.
170. Ibid.
The name "Canjun 參軍" is a general suffix in the titles of 18 military consultants in charge of various sections of aides and clerks in the ducal or the military administrations. It indicates the rank but not the individual office and its specific duty. In this respect, the biographical accounts of Bao Zhao in the Song Shu, the Nan Shi, and Yu Yan's preface all fail to identify Bao Zhao's initial office in Jingzhou. However, since Bao Zhao's secretarial duty, as specified by Yu Yan, was to administer the Imperial orders to Jingzhou, and since the post of Military Secretary, as defined by the "Biography of Kong Ji 孔業傳" in the Song Shu, was "a very honorable and important office, of which one should not be in charge if one's writing is not refined and keen with insight 記室之局, 實惟華要, 自非文行秀敏, 莫或居之"; it seems proper to infer that this was the office Emperor Xiaowu assigned to Bao Zhao to assist Prince Zixu in Jingzhou. This inference also helps to explain a unique situation in the final days of Bao Zhao's life. As Bao Zhao was sent to Jingzhou after nine years of service as a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, he should have experienced the kind of anguish and anxiety an exiled official would usually express. However, the sense of banishment was never present in his poems. This was most likely due to the fact that Bao Zhao was still trusted with authority and responsibility, as suggested by the nature and prestige of the post of Military Secretary. And as suggested by the connotation of the word "Acting" (xing 行), Bao Zhao's mission to Jingzhou was originally a temporary one and he was probably to return to the imperial court soon. Hence he felt no sense of estrangement over his transfer from the Imperial council chamber to the post of Military Secretary.

In fact, this explains not only how Bao Zhao escaped the Former-deposed Emperor's prosecution of Emperor Xiaowu's favorite courtiers, but also why his subsequent transfer to Judicial Administrator was a demotion. There are three possible dates for this transfer. It could have been in or before the fifth month of 464 when Emperor Xiaowu died; in or after the eighth month of 465 when the

171. See "Kong Ji Zhuan 孔業傳" in Shen, ibid., V.7, p.2153.
Former-deposed Emperor started to concentrate his power; or in or after the 12th month of 465 when Emperor Ming was enthroned. However, had this transfer been ordered by Emperor Xiaowu, it would have been a terrible disgrace and Bao Zhao would have written poems expressing his anguish and anxiety about it. Similarly it could not have been ordered by Emperor Ming, for Jingzhou had joined the rebellion against him upon his enthronement. Thus, the Former-deposed Emperor was logically the one to have demoted Bao Zhao. In 465, one year after his enthronement, the Former-deposed Emperor initiated the process to concentrate his power by eliminating the regent-like Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat from his father's court. He executed Dai Faxing and Xi Xiandu, demoted Dai Mingbao to the post of Prefect of the Southern Dongwan Prefecture 南東莞太守, and removed Chao Shangzhi to the posts of Prefect of the Huailing Prefecture 淮陵太守 and Administrative Adviser (Ziyi-canjun 諮議參軍) to Prince Ziluan of Xinan 新安王 子鸛.\textsuperscript{172} Since Bao Zhao had already been sent out to Jingzhou, he received no other reprimand but was demoted to Judicial Administrator. This new appointment moved Bao Zhao from a special assignment to an ordinary office and from an acting to a substantial post in the generalship. It was indeed a denial of his chance to return to the imperial court, and a deprivation of his power and prestige in the Province. Three months later, the Former-deposed Emperor was murdered by his uncle, Prince Yu of Xiangdong, who ascended the throne and was later known as Emperor Ming. This regicide immediately encountered a nationwide revolt by his nephews, who established the Yijia Regime in Xunyang. It is noticeable that in their rejection of Emperor Ming's appointments, most of the princes, officers, and officials in the Yijia Regime had either restored their official titles and offices appointed by Emperor Xiaowu or accepted new ones from the regime. Thus, it is proper to infer that and after Jingzhou joined the revolt against Emperor Ming, Bao Zhao resumed his title and office of the Military Secretary originally appointed by Emperor Xiaowu. It was with this title and in this office that he died and was referred to

\textsuperscript{172} See "En Xing Zhuan 恩偉傳" in Shen, \textit{ibid.}, V.8, pp.2301-2306.
in the "Biography of Deng Wan" in the Song Shu. And, as will be explained later, it was perhaps due to the prestige and power of this office that his death in the mutiny was inevitable.

xii. Bao Zhao's Death

As Emperor Xiaowu died in the intercalary fifth month of 464, Heir Apparent Prince Ziyi came to the throne at the age of 15 and was later known as the Former-deposed Emperor. He had such a great sense of insecurity that from the eighth month to the 11th month of 465 he ordered five princes to commit suicide and executed six great vassals, namely Great Steward Prince Yigong of Jiangxia 江夏王義恭, Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State Liu Yuanjing, Left Chief of the Department of Affairs of State Yen Shibo 顏師伯, Chamberlain for Law Enforcement 廷尉 Liu Deyuan 劉德願, and Imperial Secretariat Drafters Dai Faxing and Xi Xiandu. This young emperor was also haunted by a prophecy that "the House of the Liu was to be ruled by the third son." Seeing that it had been fulfilled in Emperor Wen and Emperor Xiaowu, he was determined to eliminate his third brother, Prince Zixun of Jinan 晉安王子勲. It happened that he was infatuated by his aunt, Princess of Xincai 新蔡公主, who was married to General Pacifying-the-northern-region (Ningshuo-Jiangjun 寧朔將軍) He Mai 何邁. The Emperor took her into his harem and, in order to conceal his wrong-doing, announced her death by producing a dead concubine's corpse. He Mai was so furious over this announced incestuous conduct that he conspired to overthrow the Emperor and to support Prince Zixun to the throne. However, by the 11th month of 465 the conspiracy was discovered. He Mai was executed, while Prince Zixun was accused of being an accomplice and ordered to commit suicide. As the emissary arrived at Xunyang 尋陽 with the poison, Chief Administrator Deng Wan 鄧琬 and most of the military staffers, who were entrusted with Prince Zixun by Emperor Xiaowu, realized that the sentence, based on a false accusation, was actually a vicious attempt to eliminate Prince Zixun. They refused to comply with the imperial order, and on the 19th day of the 11th month they declared martial law and issued
a proclamation to raise an army of justice "to depose the despot and support a sagacious prince to the throne 廢昏立明." Meanwhile, the Emperor was very much haunted by the rumour that "an emperor is to rise from the Xiang Province 湘中出天子." He decided to take an imperial inspection tour of Jingzhou and Xiangzhou, but his suspicious nature led him to decide that before he set out on the journey he had to eliminate his uncles. Among them, Prince Yu of Xiangdong 湘東王 或, General of the Guards, being detained in the capital, would naturally be the first one to encounter that miserable fate. Therefore, Prince Yu and his attendants conspired with the Emperor's attendants. They murdered the Emperor on the 29th day of the 11th month and had the Grand Empress-Dowager 太皇太后 issue an edict which deposed the Emperor and crowned Prince Yu of Xiangdong.

Prince Yu was enthroned in the 12th month of 465 and was later known as Emperor Ming 明帝. He promoted Prince Zixun from General Stabilizing-the-army to General of Chariots; and Prince Zixu from Van General to General Stabilizing-the-army and then to General Quelling-the-west. However, Deng Wan strongly believed all these incidents were parts of the fulfillment of the prophecy that the one to be enthroned should be the third prince, in this case Prince Zixun of Jinan. Therefore, in the same month and on behalf of Prince Zixun, Deng Wan raised the army in revolt against Emperor Ming. The rebel forces were immediately joined by three other prince-brothers, four prefects, and seven governors. Just as the revolts of Prince Zixun 子勛 and Prince Zifang 子房 were initiated by Chief Administrators Deng Wan and Kong Ji 孔觊 respectively, so was Prince Zixu's rebellion decided by Chief Administrator Kong Daocun 孔道存. Later, when Kong Daocun became Chancellor 侍中 of the Chancellery Department in the Yijia Regime, the Governorship in Jingzhou and the Generalship of Prince Zixu were under the control of newly-appointed Chief Administrator Liu Daoxian 劉道憲, Warrant Keepers Ruan Daoyu 阮道預 and Shao Zai 邵宰, and Military Secretary Bao Zhao. The revolt soon became a nationwide upheaval. By the first month of
466, Prince Zixun was crowned in Xunyang with the year-title of Yijia. This regime was well-accepted in all directions, known far and wide for its military prowess, and tribute-bearers arrived at Xunyang from all over the kingdom that year. As soon as the revolt started, Emperor Ming appointed four of his prince-brothers to be commanders of the east, south, west, and north routes of the punitive expedition. After a series of military defeats the five rebelling Provinces were subjugated. According to the *Song Shu*, when news of the defeat of Xunyang reached Jingzhou in the end of the eighth month of 466, public support and military morale diminished, and deserters were found among soldiers and officers. Meanwhile, Emperor Ming offered a special pardon to remit punishment and restore original noble rank to any rebel prince or governor who would give up and pledge allegiance. Therefore, disregarding the proposal to escort Prince Zixu to Yizhou Province to join forces with Governor Xiao Huikai, Liu Daoxian, Ruan Daoyu, and Shao Zai dismissed the militiamen, and sent an emissary to Emperor Ming to beg his pardon. However, before the emissary returned, a mutiny broke out. Zong Jing, the Chief Retainer (Zhizhong-congshishi) in charge of the province's resources, rations and records, and Yao Jian, a native of Jingzhou, led the imperial soldiers into the city. They killed Liu Daoxian, Ruan Daoyu, and Bao Zhao, plundered the government repository, and took Prince Zixu to surrender to the imperial army. As for the defeated princes, Prince Zixun, Prince Zixu, Prince Zisui, and Prince Ziyuan were ordered to commit suicide in the eighth month of 466; and by the 10th month the same fate befell upon the last 10 brothers of Prince Zixun. Indeed, the upheaval had turned into a power struggle between the uncle and the nephew generations. With the execution of 16 princes, Emperor Ming had pruned off all the branches of the imperial tree and deprived the imperial house of an essential sustaining power.


Also see "Xiaowu Shisi Wang Zhuan 孝武十四王傳" in Shen, *ibid.*, V.7, pp.2059-2063.
Also see "Deng Wan Zhan 鄧琬傳" in Shen, *ibid.*, V.7, pp.2129-2131.
It is noticeable that Zong Jing was on the staff of Prince Zixu's Governor administration, while Liu Daoxian, Ruan Daoyu, and Bao Zhao were on that of Prince Zixu's military administration. In this aspect, the mutiny seems to suggest a struggle between the two groups to gain custody of Prince Zixu. Although so much is unknown about this tragic episode in Jingzhou, the death of the above three people confirmed that they were in the power core of Jingzhou and were the driving force of the revolt. The *Song Shu* clearly records the detailed involvements of many people in the revolt, but it records nothing about Bao Zhao's participation in the rebellion. However, the *Song Shu* seems to suggest that Bao Zhao did not oppose the revolt, for if he did, his name would have been included in the list of officials who opposed the revolt and were executed by the Yijia Regime. In fact, being a favorite courtier in Emperor Xiaowu's court and being trusted with the mission to administer the imperial orders to Jingzhou, Bao Zhao had no other standing but on Prince Zixu's side. As well, since Bao Zhao did not leave Prince Zixu's military administration after the 12th month in 465, and since the power and prestige of the office of Military Secretary made Bao Zhao one of the decision-makers in provincial affairs, it was inevitable for him to become involved in the event. Thus, though the history books contain scant information about Bao Zhao's role in the revolt, it is proper to infer that he was not a reluctant participant, and his death in the mutiny was no accident.

---

鲍照生平研究

陈山木

英属哥伦比亚大学

摘要

鲍照（409-466）乃宋王朝元嘉文学三大家之一。其诗赋历来甚受赏识，晚年更有凌驾谢诗之势；然其生平，服官年月，考论鲜据。自锺嵘、刘知幾以降，文史评论每因鲍氏『才秀人微，史不立传，故取湮没』，而感慨不平。近代有关鲍照年谱之著作，每因袭旧论，而所附会，惜少创见。实际上，史籍所载相关资料，虽不详尽，然已足以概括鲍照生平，且肯定其为宋孝武帝朝重要文臣之身分。

本文据此，首先重新考订鲍照生卒年岁、籍里门第，及其仕历临川、始兴二王国，及卒、枋陵、永安三县令，太学博士、中书通事舍人与记室参军之始末；然后分析鲍照长兼中书通事舍人与出仕荆州前军记室之重要性，并推论鲍照久处孝武朝政治决策中枢，与深涉义嘉政事之事实，最后进一步重估沈约与列鲍照略传於临川王义庆传之意义及其对鲍氏之尊崇。