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# Legal Education and the Circulation of Legal Texts in Ming and Early-Qing Gansu

Joseph Dennis\*

Abstract:

This article explores legal knowledge and legal education in northwest China during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Relatively little is known about how students, practitioners, and common people learned about the law, and what they knew about it, especially in border regions. Based on limited sources, Zhang Weiren argued that legal education was largely confined to legal secretaries, and Confucian schools were unimportant sites for legal education. Using materials culled from Gansu local gazetteers, however, shows that Gansu Confucian schools in fact had books on law and that legal texts circulated among common people in Xining Prefecture. Thus, Zhang's argument is overly broad and requires qualification.

Key Words: Law, legal education, library, Gansu.

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\* 美國 Wisconsin 大學 Madison 分校歷史系助理教授。

Joseph Dennis

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## Introduction

Our image of late imperial China is heavily influenced by the perceived dominance of Confucian learning in society, culture, and government. However, China had other important systems of knowledge—legal, military, religious, and medical—that co-existed with Confucianism. Examining the transmission of knowledge in these other fields is critical to developing a more accurate understanding of Chinese history. This article focuses on legal knowledge. Previous studies of late imperial law explored the content of codified and customary law, procedure, and punishment, but little work has been done on legal education. As a result, how students, practitioners, and common people learned about the law, and what they knew about it in the Ming and early-Qing, are not well understood in the core areas of the empire. Even less is known about the transmission of legal knowledge in border regions.

Scarcity of sources is the primary reason scholars have neglected legal education. Studies have been done on the civil service examinations' judicial terminology questions, and legal secretaries' memoirs from the mid and late-Qing, but few other relevant sources have been found. This article presents information gleaned from gazetteers, a rich but infrequently used source for legal history. My main sources are the Gansu gazetteers collected by Paul Pelliot in 1908, which are now kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. I have drawn on additional gazetteers from the *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng Gansu fu xian zhi ji* 中國地方志集成甘肅府縣志輯 (hereafter cited as ZGDFZ).<sup>1</sup> Over the years

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<sup>1</sup> ZGDFZ (Nanjing: Fenghuang Chubanshe, 2008).

I had come across scattered bits of information in local gazetteers that reveal something about the circulation of legal texts. By focusing on many gazetteers from one region with a high concentration of people who were not culturally Chinese, this article creates a better picture of legal education and the circulation of legal texts in Ming-Qing borderlands.

The article has two parts. First is a case study of the promotion of law and education in Xining 西寧, a prefecture previously located in Gansu (now in Qinghai) that had large Mongol, Tibetan, and Hui Muslim populations in the Ming and Qing. Second is an analysis of legal texts in Gansu school library book collections.

## Contrasting Views on Legal Education in the Ming and Early Qing

If we think of the civil service examination as the dominant institution shaping education, then the place of law in the exams is critical to our understanding of legal education. Scholars who have written about Ming and early-Qing legal education have different views of the exams' significance in promoting legal studies. Benjamin Elman argues that in the early Ming, Zhu Yuanzhang stressed practical learning (*shi xue* 實學) and ordered all students to study the laws (*liling* 律令). He wanted to find men who could deal with practical affairs and as a result sought to limit the examinations' literary focus. From 1384 to 1756 the civil service examinations had a section on judicial terminology (*panyu* 判語), which required candidates to identify and briefly explain five terms selected from the law code. Later emperors maintained this practice, but in 1756, this section was dropped and a metrical poetry section revived.<sup>2</sup> For Elman, the inclusion of legal questions and policy essays on the examinations shows that the Learning of the Way (*Dao xue* 道學) did not occupy the entire field of late imperial examinations.

In contrast to Elman, Zhang Weiren argued that the *panyu* questions required no substantive legal knowledge and the Qing government did not care how much law students knew. Careful reading of surviving *panyu* answers shows, he argues, that students only

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<sup>2</sup> Elman, Benjamin, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 42-45.

needed to make general moralizing statements in their responses.<sup>3</sup> Thus, they had no incentive to study law in Confucian schools, and the schools were unimportant institutions for legal education.

Having denied the role of the examination and school system in promoting legal education, Zhang further argued that “the legal education of the Ch’ing was largely limited to legal secretaries…” and people working in the legal system must have learned the law informally by reading the code and other books, and through experience.<sup>4</sup> Legal secretaries were increasingly hired by local magistrates and prefects after the *tuiguan* 推官 (prefectural judge) post was eliminated in 1667. Having been cut off from regular access to experienced judicial officials, they turned instead to people such as Wang Huizu 汪輝祖 (1731-1807) and Chen Tianxi 陳天錫 (1885-1975) who learned the law by serving as legal secretary apprentices. As apprentices, they learned by reading and through practical training.<sup>5</sup> Wang Huizu wrote that apprentice legal secretaries should read the Qing Code, especially the sections on terms and principles, and the dynastic histories.<sup>6</sup> Chen, writing after the Qing collapse in the twentieth century, gave more detailed information on late-Qing apprentices’ training. He said that they studied the Qing Code for a few months then worked on cases and documents. In his memoir, Chen listed eight books for apprentices: 1) *Da Qing lü li* 大清律例 (Great Qing code and statutes), 2) *Xing an hui lan* 刑案匯覽 (conspectus of penal cases), 3) *Xi yuan lu* 洗冤錄 (coroner’s handbook), 4) *Da Qing huidian* 大清會典 (collected statutes of the great Qing) and *Da Qing huidian shi li* 大清會典事例 (collected statutes of the great Qing with supplementary regulations and statutes), 5) *Liu bu ze li* 六部則例 (regulations of the six boards), 6) *Liu bu chu fen ze li* 六部處分則例 (disciplinary regulations of the six boards), 7) *Zuo zhi yao yan* 佐治藥言 (advice to private secretaries), 8) *Fu hui quan shu* 福惠全書 (complete book of good government, by Huang Liuhong, 17<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Chang, Wejen (Zhang Weiren) 張偉仁, “Legal Education in Ch’ing China,” in *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, eds. Elman, Benjamin, and Alexander Woodside (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 295.

<sup>4</sup> Chang, Wejen (Zhang Weiren) 張偉仁, “Legal Education in Ch’ing China,” p. 319.

<sup>5</sup> Chang, Wejen (Zhang Weiren) 張偉仁, “Legal Education in Ch’ing China,” pp. 302-304.

<sup>6</sup> Chang, Wejen (Zhang Weiren) 張偉仁, “Legal Education in Ch’ing China,” p. 307.

<sup>7</sup> Chen Tianxi 陳天錫, *Chi zhuang hui yi lu* 遲莊回憶錄 (Taipei: Sheng jing yin shu guan, 1970), pp. 34-35.

Zhang also rejected the significance of other institutions that could have promoted legal knowledge among the populace. For example, a Ming and Qing statute gave commoners a one-time exemption from punishment in negligence cases if they knew the law, which could have provided an incentive to learn the law.<sup>8</sup> He also noted a statute requiring every village to have a lecture hall, (*jiang yu chu* 講約處) in which on the first and fifteenth of each month there were to be readings of the *Shengyu guang xun* 聖諭廣訓 (amplified instructions on the Sacred Edict) and lectures on law. Zhang, however, argued that the lecture hall requirement was probably ignored and few commoners would have learned the law based on a weak incentive of future exemption from punishment. Thus, he ultimately concluded that legal education was largely confined to legal secretaries and Confucian schools were unimportant sites for legal education.

Both Elman and Zhang's arguments about legal education were based on sources that were relatively narrow in terms of scope or period. Elman was primarily interested in the examination system and Zhang's sources came primarily from the late Qing and should not be applied retroactively. Neither scholar supported his argument with an in-depth study of particular Confucian schools' books or curricula. Because of this, their arguments need to be tested with a greater range of sources in terms of both period and type.

My initial research suggests Zhang's arguments, that Confucian schools were unimportant sites for legal education and commoners knew little about law, are overly broad. There is evidence that individual officials wanted government students and common people in their jurisdictions to know about the law and took steps to enable them to acquire legal knowledge. Some encouraged local students to study a variety of subjects that were not on the examinations and not central to *Dao xue*. This was true in areas with large minority populations, and in fact, minorities in Gansu were the explicit targets of attempts to spread legal knowledge. I will begin with a case study of Xining Prefecture, and then proceed to survey Gansu in general.

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<sup>8</sup> The section title is *jiang du lu ling* 講讀律令 (teaching and reading the code and commands), which can be found in the *Da Ming lu ji jie fu li* 大明律集解附例 (Great Ming statutes, substatutes, and annotations) (1610; rpt. Taipei: Chengwen, 1969), 2, pp. 469-473; and Kun Gang 昆岡, *Da Qing huidian shi li* (rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), *ce* 9, *j.* 749, p. 269.

## Attempts at Legal Education in Xining in the 1730s-1740s

Xining 西寧, which was a prefectural seat located in Gansu during the Qing and is now in Qinghai, is an area with a large non-Han population, including Mongols, Tibetans, Hui, Tu, and others. According to the 1747 *Xining fu xin zhi* 西寧府新志 (new gazetteer of Xining Prefecture), Xining was the ancient home of the “Western Qiang” (*Xi Qiang* 西羌), and the Han Dynasty established “Destroy the Qiang County” (Po Qiang xian 破羌縣). In 762 the Tang lost control of the region, and in the Song it was contested territory. It was part of the Xi Xia 西夏 Kingdom, then “Tubo” 吐蕃, the name for the old Tibetan kingdom of the Qinghai-Tibetan plateau. The Song and Xi Xia fought for control of Xining, and the Yuan established Xining Department 西寧州. In the early Ming it became Xining Wei 西寧衛 and was a garrison town in Shaanxi Province. In the early Qing, it became part of the newly-created Gansu Province. In 1725 a Grand Minister Superintendent (*banshi dachen* 辦事大臣) was installed at Xining and it was promoted to prefectural status with two subordinate counties, Xining 西寧 and Nianbo 碾伯, and Datong Wei 大通衛 (which became a county in 1761). In 1738 Guide Suo 貴德所 was added, and it eventually had four *ting* 廳.<sup>9</sup>

The population of Xining Prefecture was probably more than one-quarter million people when the gazetteer was compiled in 1747. That year the government investigated and found 70,470 people (*kou* 口) in Xining County, 58,720 in Nianbo County, 11,803 labor-tax units (*rending* 人丁) in Datong Wei, and 9835 in Guide Suo, or a total of 150,828 people if we count each *rending* as one person. If each *rending* represented more than one person the figure would have to be increased. The gazetteer contains a separate listing for the non-Chinese population, *fanmin hukou* 番民戶口. These figures are based on a 1725 count of newly-surrendered *fanmin* who paid taxes. 97,738 *fanmin* were counted. The figure included, “men, women, boys, and girls” (*nan fu zi nü* 男婦子女) and the unit was “named individuals” (*ming kou* 名口).<sup>10</sup> Presumably, there were also unregistered people, such as nomads and itinerant merchants.

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<sup>9</sup> Yang Yingju 楊應瑀, *Xining fu xin zhi* (1747, supplemented 1762) (hereafter cited as cited as XNFXZ) (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot B 726), 3, pp. 1a-6b. This title has been reprinted in *Zhongguo bianjiang congshu di er ji* 中國邊疆叢書第二輯 (Taipei: Wenhai Chubanshe, 1966).

<sup>10</sup> XNFXZ, 16, pp. 15a-18a.

The areas surrounding Xining were unstable in the late Ming and early Qing. At the Qing founding the *fanzu* 番族 of Xining resisted and when the resistance was suppressed, over 700 people were decapitated. Datong, to the north of the prefectural seat, had many Mongols who did not accept Qing rule. Zungar troops of Tsewang Araptan 策旺阿拉布坦 attacked Hami in 1715, seized Lhasa in 1717, and the fighting spread into Gansu in 1718. He planned to attack Xining to take the Dalai Lama back to Tibet, but the attack never materialized. After the Kangxi Emperor's death in December, 1722, Khoshote Mongol leader Lobdzan Dandzin 羅卜藏丹津 finally attacked Xining, but the Qing quickly counterattacked and re-established Qing rule.<sup>11</sup>

From their base in Xining the Qing took various steps to solidify their control. One step was promotion of knowledge of Qing law among the Mongols and other local people. A 1733 edict explains Qing attempts to educate Xining's minority population about Qing law:

In accordance with the practice in Sichuan, give each headman a native office succession document so that he can restrain [his people]. Also, translate the *Code and Substatutes* using Tangut script and give it to each headman in a set with the Mongolian-language *Code and Substatutes*. Order Grand Minister Assistant Commander Da-Nai to arrange their distribution to the borderlands people. [Then] they will understand the imperial instructions in advance, and if there are offenders they will be punished in accordance with the *Code and Substatutes*.<sup>12</sup>

照依四川之例給與各頭目號紙以資管束，併將律例依唐古特字跡譯出同蒙古字律例一併各給一套。令散秩大臣達鼎處將番子等傳至，預先明白傳諭。如有犯罪者再照律例治罪等因。

Many of the individual headman (*toumu* 頭目) who would have received the Tangut and Mongol editions of the *Code and Substatutes* (*li li* 律例) are named in *juan* 19 of the 1747 gazetteer. The chapter titled "foreign tribes" (*fan zu* 番族) consists of thirty folios, and is part of the treatise on military preparations (*wu bei zhi* 武備志). There are approximately 100 different "tribes" (*zu* 族) listed, along with their area of residence, populations, and in

<sup>11</sup> Peter Perdue, *China Marches West: the Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 241.

<sup>12</sup> XNFXZ, 16, p. 14a.

some cases, additional information on their histories. The section on the tribes of Nianbo County lists thirty-two headmen by name. A typical entry is: “Gu-die Tribe. Southeast of the county town 135 *li*. They are next to the Ye-er-ji Tribe. They have 33 households. The installed headman is Ba-ma-zha-shi.” (*Gudie zu. Xian cheng dongnan yi bai sanshiwu li. Xianglian Yeerji zu. Gong sanshisan hu. She you toumu Bamazhashi* 古迭族 . 縣城東南一百三十五里 . 相連冶爾吉族 . 共三十三戶 . 設有頭目巴麻扎什 ).<sup>13</sup>

The section on Bayanrongfu Fanting 巴燕戎撫番廳 names Hundreds Chiefs (*bai zhang* 百長 ) rather than headmen and says that they set up community compacts (*xiang yue* 鄉約 ). For example, “Si-na-jia Tribe. Southeast of the prefectural town 220 *li*. They are next to the Ke-za-gong-ao Tribe. They have 136 households. Hundreds Chief is Sang Ji. A community compact has been established.” (*Sinajia zu. Jun cheng dongnan er bai er shi li. Xianglian Kezagong'ao zu. Gong yi bai san shi liu hu. Baizhang Sang Ji. She you xiangyue.* 思那加族 . 郡城東南二百二十里 . 相連喀咱工凹族 . 共一百三十六戶 . 百長桑吉 . 設有鄉約 ).<sup>14</sup> Presumably, the 1733 edict on distributing Tangut and Mongol editions of the Code and Substatutes would have applied to this group as well, even though the terminology used is different.

In addition to direct distribution of legal materials to headmen, the Xining officials also sought to transform the population through schooling. In the decades after Lobdzan Dandzin’s rebellion, Xining schools expanded to include a prefectural Confucian school, two county Confucian schools, community schools, and charity schools. With the creation of Xining Prefecture 西寧府 in 1725, the former guard unit school (*wei xue* 衛學 ) became the prefectural school and had a quota of eighty students. The Xining County Confucian school had just been built after Yang Yingju took office in 1746, and Nianbo County Confucian school 碾伯縣學 , was built in 1744. Each had a quota of forty students.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the prefecture school and county schools, in 1746 a community school for Hui Muslims (*Hui min she xue* 回民社學 ) was built north of Dongguan Boulevard (*Dongguan da jie* 東關大街 ), an area in which Hui people “were very numerous” (*Hui min shen zhong* 回民甚眾 ). Yang Yingju wrote that “most memorize the Koran and do not read books” (*duo*

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<sup>13</sup> XNFXZ, 19, p. 17b.

<sup>14</sup> XNFXZ, 19, p. 12a.

<sup>15</sup> XNFXZ, 11, p. 1a



*xi Hui jing er bu du shu* 多習回經而不讀書). Thus, he, the prefect, and magistrate of Xining County built the school and hired a teacher to teach “reading” (*yan shi jiao du* 延師教讀), which in context means reading Chinese-language texts.<sup>16</sup>

In the same year, Yang also built one more Chinese community school, to make a total of four in Xining County. It was located in Dan-ge-er Town 丹葛爾城, about sixty kilometers west of the prefectural seat. Of the three pre-existing community schools, one was located in the Xining County seat, the second in Yong’an Town 永安城, about 120 kilometers north of Xining in what is now Menyuan Hui Autonomous County (門源回族自治縣), and the third in Zhenhai Town 鎮海城, 20 kilometers west of Xining.<sup>17</sup>

Nianbo County had four community schools: one founded in 1728 in the county seat, two founded in 1745 in Laoya Fort 老鴉堡司 and Shuigou Fort 水溝堡, and one founded in 1746 in Shangchuankou Fort 上川口堡. It also had one charity school (*yi xue* 義學) built in the county seat in 1759. This school had nine rooms and a teacher hired by the magistrate He Zezhu 何澤著. He also created an endowment of eighty *mu* of land to support the school.<sup>18</sup>

Datong Guard 大通衛 was a newly-opened military post with assorted minorities (*Fan Hui cuo za* 番回厝雜). In 1737, Yang Yingju and other officials donated money to build two charity schools there; one in the guard-unit town, and another in Xiangyang Fort 向陽堡. They hired Zhou Zhaobai 周兆白, a Zhejiang scholar, to teach at the schools and ordered sons of commoner and military families to “enroll in school and read books.” At first, there was no Confucian school in Datong because “civilization was not yet widespread” (*ren wen wei guang* 人文未廣), but local students could go to the prefectural school.<sup>19</sup> In 1761 Datong became a county composed of eighteen settlements cut from Xining County, with more than 1190 households. The number of students accepted into the schools was to be in accordance with the “Gansu Province elementary school regulations” (*Gan sheng xiao xue zhi li* 甘省小學之例).<sup>20</sup>

Guide Suo 貴德所 in the southwest corner of Xining Prefecture was an isolated place.

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<sup>16</sup> XNFXZ, 11, pp. 3b-4a.

<sup>17</sup> XNFXZ, 11, p. 3b.

<sup>18</sup> XNFXZ, 11, pp. 4a-4b.

<sup>19</sup> XNFXZ, 11, p. 5b.

<sup>20</sup> XNFXZ, 11, p. 6a.

According to the gazetteer, it was “beyond the border” (*jing wai* 境外) and the “various Qiang lived all around” (*zhu Qiang huan ju* 諸羌環居). People did not read and there were not yet any schools. In 1747 Yang Yingju and other officials founded a charity school and hired Xining government student Yan Dalun 嚴大倫 to teach there. He selected several tens of students who “finally learned the glory of reading” (*shi zhi du shu zhi rong yi* 始知讀書之榮矣).<sup>21</sup> Yang commented that from this, “civilization gradually flourished” (*ren wen jian sheng* 人文漸盛). He concluded his gazetteer section on local schools with a general discussion of the importance of schools in building the state and making gentlemen (*jian guo jun min* 建國君民) and compared his efforts in Xining to those of Wen Weng 文翁 in the Han Dynasty, whose building of a school in Chengdu is credited with stimulating the expansion of Chinese civilization.

Little is known about the curriculum in these schools, except we do have a list of books held by the prefectural and county schools. Each had the same forty-seven titles, primarily the classics, commentaries, and histories. But one was the *Da Qing lu* 大清律 (Great Qing Code) bound in twenty volumes.<sup>22</sup> Although having a book in a library does not necessarily mean the students read it, considering the relatively small number of books held and that they were the same, it seems likely that each one was chosen because it was important for the curriculum. The materials presented above suggest that the Qing government made an effort to spread knowledge of law in Xining Prefecture in the 1720s-1740s as part of consolidating its control of the region.

## Survey of Law Books in Gansu School Libraries in the Ming and Early Qing

If we wish to understand what Confucian school students were reading, and whether this included law books, we first need to find out what kinds of books were available in schools. Like the *Xinning fu xin zhi* discussed above, many local gazetteers contain school book lists and some even have records of how and where they were acquired. Through

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<sup>21</sup> XNFXZ, 11, p. 6b.

<sup>22</sup> XNFXZ, 11, pp. 2a-3a.

such records we can reconstruct some of what students could access and begin to use print culture studies to inform legal history. Most previous studies of Chinese print culture have focused on Jiangnan and Fujian, while the Northwest has been largely ignored. An exception is Dunhuang studies, but those focus on earlier periods than the subject of this study. In this section I will examine book lists and records of book collecting in Gansu to begin an exploration of the circulation of legal texts outside of the Ming-Qing core regions.

Most Gansu gazetteers list schools built during the Hongwu period of the Ming, and some document school origins in the Yuan Dynasty. The majority of gazetteer school records state that the school had a library, but they often do not contain a list of books in the library. For example, the 1680 *Anding xian zhi* 安定縣志 states that a school library was built in 1670, but it does not list any books nor explain why there is no book list.<sup>23</sup> The 1678 *Ningzhou zhi* 寧州志 states that the books in the old school had been destroyed, but when the school was rebuilt in 1658, instructor Li Guojin 李國瑾 had two cabinets made for the new books, but no book titles were recorded.<sup>24</sup> In other cases, gazetteer compilers only listed imperially-issued editions. The compilers of the 1775 *Xihe xian xin zhi* 西和縣新志 wrote that the “the school has a separate register of books issued to the school, ritual implements, musical instruments, etc. and thus are not recorded here” (*xue gong ban fa shuji ji ji qi deng xiang ru xue ling you jiao dai ce ji yibu ju lu* 學宮頒發書籍及祭器樂器等項儒學另有交代冊籍亦不具錄).<sup>25</sup> In light of the incomplete records of school books found in local gazetteers, we should not assume that most Gansu school libraries had no books. In fact, several substantial school collections illustrate the range of books in Ming and early to mid-Qing Gansu school libraries. In thinking about the collections’ sizes, it is also important to keep in mind that one title could have numerous volumes, for example, the *Twenty-one Histories* owned by the Lintao Prefecture School was listed as one title in the 1687 gazetteer, but it consisted of 600 volumes (*ershiji shi yi bu ji liubai ben* 二十一史壹部計陸百本).<sup>26</sup>

In the Ming Dynasty, Gansu was part of Shaanxi Province. Although the provincial capital was in distant Xi’an 西安, more direct governance was carried out by the Regional

<sup>23</sup> *Anding xian zhi* (ZGDFZ, vol. 7), p. 309.

<sup>24</sup> *Ningzhou zhi* (ZGDFZ, vol. 24), pp. 157-159.

<sup>25</sup> 1775 *Xihe xian xin zhi* 西和縣新志 (Bibliothèque nationale de France), 2, pp. 35a-35b.

<sup>26</sup> 1687 *Lintao fu zhi* 臨洮府志 (ZGDFZ, vol. 2), p. 80.

Military Commission Branch (*Shaanxi xing du si* 陝西行都司) headquartered at Ganzhou 甘州. The town, also known as Gansu Garrison 甘肅鎮, was located at the site of modern Zhangye 張掖, about 500 kilometers northwest of Lanzhou 蘭州.

Although Ganzhou and other smaller towns of the Hexi Corridor were remote from the Chinese heartland, officials tried to stimulate Chinese-style education, culture, and governance by building schools and libraries, some of which contained legal texts. The richest source that I have found on a Ming Dynasty Gansu school library is the Wanli era (circa 1608) *Ganzhen zhi* 甘鎮志 (gazetteer of Gansu Garrison), which contains a record of the school library's construction and book collection.<sup>27</sup>

According to the *Ganzhen zhi* school section, the Regional Military Commission Branch School had a multi-century history.<sup>28</sup> An old school was destroyed in war during the Yuan and reopened in 1395 at a different site. It was renovated in the Zhengtong 正統 (1436-1450) era by Censor Ma Ang 馬昂. Ma noted that Ganzhou was established to govern the “barbarians” (*manyi* 蠻夷) and building schools was part of this effort. The Ganzhou school was renovated again in the Tianshun 天順 (1457-1465), and Chenghua 成化 (1465-1488) eras. In Tianshun it was endowed with five *qing* of cultivated fields, and in the Hongzhi 弘治 era (1488-1506), the school received musical instruments so students could learn to play music and dance. In 1517, the school's status was changed to that of a prefectural-level school and officials began an expansion that was continued in 1531 and 1538. The school had a library (*zunjingge* 尊經閣, “pavilion for venerating the classics”), but it is not clear when it was first built.

In 1551 the library was renovated, and a few years later stocked with books. The books kept therein are documented in an appendix to the “Record of Storing Books in the Shaanxi Regional Military Commission Branch School Library” (*Shaanxi xingdusi ru xue zunjingge zhu shu ji* 陝西行都司儒學尊經閣貯書記) by Grand Coordinator Chen Fei 陳斐.<sup>29</sup> Chen noted that in the past, the library had no books or cabinets for storing them. Because a provincial examination was going to be held the year after he took office, 1558, Chen

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<sup>27</sup> *Ganzhen zhi* 甘鎮志. Author unknown. Handwritten copy of 1657 reprint of circa 1608 gazetteer (ZGDFZ, vol. 48).

<sup>28</sup> *Ganzhen zhi* (ZGDFZ, vol. 48), pp. 38-40.

<sup>29</sup> *Ganzhen zhi* (ZGDFZ, vol. 48), pp. 39-41.

assembled all of the Ganzhou, Shandan 山丹, and Gaotai 高台 Confucian School students in a hall next to the library, announced a study and writing competition, and ordered three officials who had passed a civil service exam to teach them. However, according to Chen, the students only had damaged copies of the classics and had never even heard of many of the books of history, collected writings, and essays. To fix this problem, Surveillance Circuit Vice Commissioner Wang Jiluo 王繼洛 provided circuit funds from the redemption of crimes and from the paper budget to collect books for the library. Chen dispatched someone to buy books in the Shaanxi provincial capital, Xi'an 西安, approximately 1000 kilometers southeast of Ganzhou, and to make imprints from each prefecture's woodblocks. Through this trip, 147 new titles were added to the pre-existing 31 titles, for a total of 188 titles held by the school. Although some books were cut and printed locally in Gansu, from this we can see that Gansu officials in distant posts such as Ganzhou looked elsewhere for books. In the early 1700s an official from Suzhou 肅州, Gansu, even farther west than Ganzhou, planned to send someone all the way to Jiangnan to buy books for the school.<sup>30</sup>

The types of books Chen wanted for the Ganzhou school in 1558 were those of "each school of poetry and prose, collected works, astronomy, medicine and divination, and law" (*fan ge jia shiwen zhuan ji tian wen yi zhan fa lü zhi shu* 凡各家詩文, 撰集, 天文, 醫占, 法律之書).<sup>31</sup> In fact, from the list of books in the school library reproduced below as Appendix One, we can see that the categories went even further than this statement indicates; there also were local gazetteers, administration and policy books, provincial civil service examination registers, a work on borderlands peoples, *Xi yi bei lu shi ji* 西夷北虜事跡 (traces of matters of the western Yi and northern Lu), military texts such as *Bai jiang zhuan* 百將傳 (biographies of 100 generals), *Wu jing qi shu* 武經七書 (seven military classics), *Wu jing jie yao* 武經節要 (essentials of the military classics), and *Bai zhan qi fa* 百戰奇法 (amazing strategies of 100 battles).

From the book list and Chen Fei's statements about collecting we can see that he did not want the student's education to be limited to the standard sets of Confucian classics and commentaries on them. Instead, he acquired a wider range of books, including many

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<sup>30</sup> *Chong xiu Suzhou xin zhi* 重修肅州新志 (1737, supp. 1762, Bibliothèque nationale de France) ce 13, supplemental p. 24a.

<sup>31</sup> *Ganzhen zhi* (ZGDFZ, vol. 48), p.39.

on topics not covered directly in the civil service exams. Prior to Chen Fei's purchases, the school had the *Da Ming lü* 大明律 (Ming Code) and *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (collected statutes of the Great Ming). On the book-buying trip, the school acquired an additional copy of the *Da Ming lü*, two books on prison inspection cases, the *Shaanxi xu xing shu gao* 陝西恤刑疏稿 (Shaanxi prison inspection memorials) and *Guanzhong yu wai bian yuan lu* 關中獄外辯冤錄 (record of identifying wrongs from outside Guanzhong region jails), and a magistrate's handbook, *Guan zhen ji yao* 官箴集要. *Guan zhen ji yao*, by Wang Tianxi 汪天錫, was first published in 1535, and contains much about judicial administration.

Although the *Shaanxi xu xing shu gao* and *Guanzhong yu wai bian yuan lu* are no longer extant and their precise contents are unclear, from their titles they appear to be collections of memorials by prison inspecting officials, who served during the Ming and in the Qing until 1666. They were sent by the Ministry of Punishments (*Xing bu* 刑部) and Court of Judicial Review (*Dalisi* 大理寺) to inspect local jails once every five years and examine cases for possible reduction in sentences.<sup>32</sup> There also were administrative works such as *Quan Shan zheng yao* 全陝政要 by Gong Hui 龔輝 (1523 *jinshi*), which contained law-related materials. The purchase of these books suggests that Chen wanted Gansu students to read about legal and administrative issues during the course of their education. Although legal and administrative books make up a small percentage of the total, they are nevertheless significant in illustrating what a particular official in the mid-1500s thought was worth studying in the main Confucian school.

Chen took multiple steps to catalog and protect the purchased books from loss and theft. He ordered the construction of four large cabinets to hold them, and the stamping of notices in each book's front and back stating that the book had been recorded by his office. The circuit office was to maintain a record of each book. Chen also ordered the Confucian School to cut a wooden plaque to be mounted behind the Hall for Elucidating Morality (*Minglun tang* 明倫堂), and a stone tablet to be placed in the bottom floor of the library, with the name of each book cut into them. In addition, Chen wrote the record that was later incorporated into the gazetteer, thereby creating an external, circulating record of the books. He further ordered that titles of books acquired in the future should be added to the records.

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<sup>32</sup> Akagi Mieko 赤城美恵子. “清朝初期における「恤刑」(五年審録)について.” *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 152 (2007, vol.12) pp.1-58.

Chen's commemorative record discusses his collection proudly.<sup>33</sup> He stated that Hexi 河西 finally has a store of books and responded to those who asked him why would he collect books in a military land. Chen said others could understand amassing grain, money, armor, and weapons, but why books? (*Huo yue, Hexi yong wu zhi di, qian gu ke duo ji zhe, jia bing ke duo ji zhe, duo ji shu he wei ye?* 或曰，河西用武之地，錢穀可多積者，甲兵可多積者，多積書何爲也?). Chen responded by arguing that expanding education to bring Chinese culture to Gansu was important. He noted that in the distant past, the area was considered outside the realm of Chinese civilization, but that Confucian culture had been slowly spreading to it. Books, he argued, strengthened the culture, and already in 1556 Xining 西寧 had already produced one *jinshi*, and in the latest exam, Yongchang 永昌 produced another.

The Regional Military Commission Branch School was not the only school in Ming Dynasty Gansu. In fact, there were numerous Confucian schools, academies, and community schools, and many of the Confucian schools and academies had libraries. In 1547, the grand coordinator, Yang Bo 楊博, argued for expanded school construction in Gansu citing several reasons, one of which was, "When the various barbarians who live all around become accustomed to hearing the sounds of teaching and learning we can subtly transform their wild and unrestrained nature."<sup>34</sup> The Shandan Wei 山丹衛 school, about 50 kilometers east of Ganzhou, was built in 1440, renovated in 1448, and expanded in the Hongzhi era (1488-1506). The Gaotai Suo 高台所 school was established in 1544, first on the site of the community school, and shortly thereafter on a separate site. It was built because the local students who were poor and had to travel to Ganzhou, about 70 kilometers to the east, often dropped out due to the distance. The new school also took students from Zhenyi Suo 鎮夷所, the administrative seat beyond Gaotai to the west.<sup>35</sup> Zhenyi finally got a school in 1586 after a central government official made a similar argument, saying that having to cross the Black River 黑河 was inconvenient for Zhenyi students sent to Gaotai, which was causing them to drop out.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> *Ganzhen zhi* (ZGDFZ, vol. 48), pp.39-40.

<sup>34</sup> *Ganzhen zhi* (ZGDFZ, vol. 48), pp.38-39.

<sup>35</sup> *Ganzhen zhi* (ZGDFZ, vol. 48), p.38.

<sup>36</sup> *Zhenyi ru xue ji* 鎮夷儒學記 (Zhenyi Confucian school record), in 1925 *Xin zuan Gaotai xian zhi* 新纂高臺縣志 (ZGDFZ, vol. 47), p. 273.

Ganzhou was not the only Gansu town with a substantial book collection in the Ming. In 1593, Lintao 臨洮 Prefect Liu Yingping 劉應聘 bought more than 300 titles for Lintao government students.<sup>37</sup> Many of these books appear to have been lost over the next century because the 1687 *Lintao fu zhi* 臨洮府志 lists only fourteen titles.

After the Qing founding, many schools and libraries were reconstructed and more records of book collections are extant. Gaolan 皋蘭 was the urban county of Lanzhou Prefecture 蘭州府, the headquarters of the Gansu *xunfu* 巡撫 beginning in 1648, and the provincial administration commission beginning in 1668. Its 1774 gazetteer contains lists of books in the provincial academy library and the Gaolan county school library.<sup>38</sup> Gaolan students may also have had access to books at the separate Lanzhou prefectural school library, which is mentioned in the 1686 Lanzhou and 1774 Gaolan gazetteers.<sup>39</sup>

The provincial academy, Lanshan Academy 蘭山書院, was built in 1735 pursuant to a 1733 imperial edict that required an academy in each provincial capital.<sup>40</sup> The academies were endowed with a thousand taels of silver and Lanshan Academy acquired a substantial book collection. As of 1774, it consisted of 205 titles plus two sets of cut woodblocks from two additional works (see complete list in Appendix Two). The titles were recorded in two printed registers, one which was kept by the *zonglidao* 總理道, while the other was kept by the academy's inspector of instruction (*jian yuan jiao guan* 監院教官). The list was also printed in the 1774 gazetteer. Legal books in the collection were the *Da Qing huidian* 大清會典 (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing), and *Xing zheng da guan* 刑政大觀 (overview of judicial administration), a work that appears to be lost. The collection also held twenty-one Gansu and Shaanxi gazetteers, and Chen Hongmou's 陳宏謀 (1696-1771) works on morality in office, *Zai guan fa jie lu* 在官法戒錄 and *Cong zheng yi gui* 從政遺規. As in the Ganzhou school in the sixteenth century, Lanshan Academy in the eighteenth century had a wide range of titles that addressed topics outside of the examinations, such as medicine, astronomy, inscriptions, and collected works.

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<sup>37</sup> 1832 *Lanzhou fu zhi* 蘭州府志 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot B 354), 8, p. 42a.

<sup>38</sup> Wu Dingxin 吳鼎新. *Gao lan xian zhi*. 皋蘭縣志. (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot A 277), 7, pp. 2b-4a.

<sup>39</sup> 1686 *Lanzhou zhi* 蘭州志. Chen Ruji 陳如稷. (ZGDFZ, vol. 1), p. 60.

<sup>40</sup> 1774 *Gaolan xian zhi* 皋蘭縣志 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot A277), 7, pp. 5b-16b. *Qinding Da Qing huidian shi li* 欽定大清會典事例, j. 395, p. 411.



The Gaolan County School was built after the status of Lanzhou was raised from a department (*zhou* 州) to a prefecture (*fu* 府) in 1740. The 1774 library book catalog (*xian xue cun zhu shu mu* 縣學存貯書目) lists forty-two titles, including two sets of the *Da Qing lü* 大清律 (Great Qing Code).<sup>41</sup> (See Appendix Three for complete list). In this collection, the two sets of the Qing Code are the only books that are primarily about law.

Not every substantial Gansu school book collection had one or more law books. In the 1730s a new Gansu provincial education commissioner arranged for the purchase of eighty-four titles for the school in Suzhou 肅州 in the far northwest of the province. None of them, however, were law books.

Below is a list of legal and administrative titles found in Gansu school libraries.

Years refer to the publication date of the gazetteer that contains the school book list except in cases where more specific information on the book's date of acquisition is known.

List of legal and administrative texts in Gansu school libraries, 1558-1774:

*Da gao* 大誥 (*Yu zhi da gao* 御製大誥) (Imperial Grand Pronouncements):

1563. Hui Department School (徽州學 [鞏昌府]).<sup>42</sup>

1688. Weiyuan County School (渭源縣學).<sup>43</sup>

*Da Ming lü* 大明律 (Ming Code):

1558. Shaanxi *xingdusi* school (陝西行都司儒學) (Ganzhou Garrison School) had one copy, until in that year a second was purchased for it. Both copies were still in the school circa 1608.

*Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (Collected Statutes of the Great Ming):

1558. Shaanxi *xingdusi* School (陝西行都司儒學 [Ganzhou Garrison School]). This was still in the school circa 1608.

1736. Longxi County school 隴西縣學 had the "*Ming chao huidian* 明朝會典" at an unknown date prior to 1736, but by that year it was lost.

*Da Qing lü* 大清律 (Qing Code):

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<sup>41</sup> *Gaolan xian zhi*, 7, pp. 2a-4b.

<sup>42</sup> *Hui jun zhi* 徽郡志. Handwritten copy of 1563 edition. Meng Pengnian 孟鵬年, Guo Congdao 郭從道. (ZGDFZ, vol. 36), p. 26.

<sup>43</sup> 1687 *Lintao fu zhi* 臨洮府志 (ZGDFZ, vol. 2), p. 80.

1709. Ningyuan County School (寧遠縣學).<sup>44</sup>  
1736. Tongwei County School (通渭縣學). It had the 1736 imperially-issued edition.<sup>45</sup>  
1736. Longxi County School (隴西縣學).  
1754. Huan County School (環縣學).<sup>46</sup>  
1754. Jing Department School (涇州學).<sup>47</sup>  
1759. Qingshui County School (清水縣學).<sup>48</sup>  
1761. Qingyang Prefecture School (慶陽府學).<sup>49</sup>  
1762. Nianbo County School (碾伯縣學).<sup>50</sup>  
1762. Xining Prefecture School (西寧府學).<sup>51</sup>  
1762. Xining County School (西寧縣學).<sup>52</sup>  
1770. Fuqiang County School (伏羌縣學).<sup>53</sup>  
1774. Gaolan County School (皋蘭縣學).<sup>54</sup>

*Da Qing huidian* 大清會典 (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing):

1774. Lanshan Academy 蘭山書院 (Gaolan/Lanzhou).<sup>55</sup>

*Guan zhen ji yao* 官箴集要 (Essentials rules for officials):

1558. Purchased in that year for the Shaanxi *xingdusi* School (陝西行都司儒學) (Ganzhou Garrison School).

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<sup>44</sup> 1709 *Ningyuan xian zhi* 寧遠縣志 . Li Zhang 李樟 . (ZGDFZ, vol. 34), p. 16.

<sup>45</sup> 1893 *Tong wei xian xin zhi* 通渭縣新志 . (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot B 1177), *buyi* 補遺 , pp.104b-105a.

<sup>46</sup> 1754 *Huan xian zhi* 環縣志 . Gao Guanli 高觀鯉 . (Bibliothèque nationale de France , Pelliot A 228), 3, pp.5a-6b.

<sup>47</sup> 1754 *Jing zhou zhi* 涇州志 . Zhang Yanfu 張延福 . (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot B 215), *j. xia* 卷下 , p. 9a.

<sup>48</sup> Books were issued to the school in 1652, 1662, and 1740, but it is not clear on which date the school received its copy of the Code. *Qingshui xian zhi* 清水縣志 . Zhu Chao 朱超 . Handwritten copy of 1759 edition. (ZGDFZ vol. 33), p. 112.

<sup>49</sup> 1761 *Xin xiu Qingyang fu zhi* 新修慶陽府志 . Zhao Benzhi 趙本植 . (ZGDFZ vol. 22), p. 300.

<sup>50</sup> XNFXZ, 11, p. 4a.

<sup>51</sup> XNFXZ, 11, pp. 2a-3a.

<sup>52</sup> XNFXZ, 11, pp. 2a-3a.

<sup>53</sup> 1770, supplement circa 1774. *Fuqiang xian zhi* 伏羌縣志 . Ye Zhi 葉芝 . (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot A 121) , 3, p. 3b.

<sup>54</sup> 1774 *Gao lan xian zhi*, 7, p. 2b.

<sup>55</sup> 1774 *Gao lan xian zhi*, 7, p.7b.

*Guanzhong yu wai bian yuan lu* 關中獄外辯冤錄 (record of identifying wrongs from outside Guanzhong [region] jails).

1558. Purchased in that year for the Shaanxi *xingdusi* school ( 陝西行都司儒學 ) (Ganzhou Garrison School).

*Shaanxi xu xing shu gao* 陝西恤刑疏稿 (Shaanxi prison inspection memorials).

1558. Purchased in that year for the Shaanxi *xingdusi* school ( 陝西行都司儒學 ) (Ganzhou Garrison School).

*Xing zheng da guan* 刑政大觀 (overview of judicial administration)

1774. Lanshan Academy 蘭山書院 (Gaolan/Lanzhou).<sup>56</sup>

*Zhu si zhi zhang* 諸司職掌 (1393 handbook for the various offices)

1687. Hezhou Department School ( 河州學 ).<sup>57</sup>

From this list it appears that the only legal title that was common in Gansu Confucian schools was the *Da Qing li* 大清律 (Qing Code). This may, however, be somewhat misleading. There are relatively few extant Ming gazetteers from Gansu and many libraries were destroyed by fighting at the Qing founding, in the early Qing, and in later rebellions, and their book lists were not reprinted in Qing gazetteers. Thus, in most cases it is not possible to know which books school libraries had in the Ming. What we do know is that many Gansu towns had school libraries and it is safe to assume that most had books of some kind. The library book records in the *Ganzhen zhi* are especially valuable because they show that at least one official thought it was important enough to have a variety of books for students, including law books, that he was willing to dispatch someone to buy books in distant Xi'an.

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<sup>56</sup> 1774 *Gao lan xian zhi*, 7, p.7b.

<sup>57</sup> 1687 *Lintao fu zhi*, pp. 80-81.

## Conclusion

This article is the first step in a larger study of legal knowledge and legal education in Chinese borderlands. Additional research needs to be done on private education, teachers, students, and curricula before larger conclusions can be drawn. But by examining many gazetteers from Gansu it is apparent that frontier regions in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries were not without books, including law books. The Qing government went so far as to provide Tangut and Mongol versions of Qing laws to tribal headmen in Xining. Some officials wanted students in their jurisdictions to have access to a wide-range of books, not just the classics and commentaries. Law books do appear on some library book lists. The evidence presented above shows that attempts were made in Gansu to circulate legal information among common people and to make it possible for Confucian school students to study law. More detailed studies of particular locales, schools, libraries, and records of individual readings and courses of study are needed before we can determine the extent to which Confucian schools served as significant sites for legal education, but at the very least, Zhang Weiren's conclusion that "legal education of the Ch'ing was largely limited to legal secretaries" requires qualification.<sup>58</sup>

(本文於 2012 年 12 月 20 日由歷史語言研究所編輯委員會通過刊登)

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<sup>58</sup> Chang, Wejen, "Legal Education in Ch'ing China," p. 319.

## Appendix One.

### Ganzhou Garrison School 甘州鎮學, 1558.

#### 舊貯書 (Previously collected books)

易經大全一部	大明律一本	花落集一部
書經大全一部	尚書說要一部	少華文集一部
詩經大全一部	今思錄一部	雍夫記一部
春秋大全一部	晦菴文鈔一部	陝西通志一部
禮記大全一部	博物策會二部	延安府志一部
四書大全一部	文章規範一部	寧夏新志一部
五倫書一部	儀禮一部	馬政志一部
爲善陰鷲一本	小學集註一部	百將傳一部
孝順事實一本	徐幹中論一部	太乙成局一部
御製文集一部	程文類鈔一部	
大明會典一部	後山先生集一部	

#### 新貯書 (Newly collected books)

易經一部	後漢書一部	宋史一部
書經一部	三國志一部	金史一部
詩經一部	魏書一部	遼史一部
春秋一部	晉書一部	元史一部
禮記一部	宋書一部	通志一部
易經大旨一部	南齊一部	司馬公資治通鑑一部
四書大全一部	北齊一部	少微通鑑一部
四書集註一部	梁書一部	元經薛氏傳一部
六子書一部	南史一部	宋名臣言行錄一部
中說考一部	北史一部	讀史愚見一部
國語二部	陳書一部	漢唐通鑑品藻一部
左傳一部	隋書一部	性理大全一部
戰國策一部	唐書一部	性理全解一部
史記一部	五代史一部	天原發微一部
前漢書一部	周書一部	晦菴文抄一部

Joseph Dennis

- |          |         |            |
|----------|---------|------------|
| 文獻通考一部   | 苑洛志樂一部  | 黃庭內景經一部    |
| 事文類聚一部   | 苑洛集一部   | 易占經緯一部     |
| 山堂考索一部   | 唐漁石集一部  | 選擇奇書一部     |
| 大學衍義補一部  | 野亭遺稿一部  | 奇門五總龜一部    |
| 大學衍義一部   | 海岳集一部   | 大明律一部      |
| 文章正宗一部   | 台有章疏一部  | 大明一統志一部    |
| 古文選要一部   | 怡椿軒集一部  | 河南通志一部     |
| 文章軌範一部   | 蘇門集一部   | 陝西通志一部     |
| 金石古文一部   | 劉西坡集一部  | 三輔黃圖一部     |
| 論選一部     | 少華文集一部  | 長安志一部      |
| 赤牘清裁一部   | 杜研岡集一部  | 雍錄一部       |
| 絕妙古今一部   | 王氏存筭稿一部 | 雍大記一部      |
| 選詩一部     | 胡蒙谿集一部  | 全陝政要一部     |
| 漢詩記一部    | 野談集一部   | 博物策會一部     |
| 曹子建詩一部   | 真珠船一部   | 行都司志一部     |
| 唐十子詩一部   | 邵東溪集    | 西夷北虜事跡一部   |
| 全唐詩話一部   | 張太微詩集一部 | 兩淮鹽塩法志一部   |
| 草堂詩餘一部   | 韻部群玉一部  | 河南試錄一本     |
| 稼軒長短句一部  | 韻會一部    | 山西試錄一本     |
| 淮海集一部    | 百將傳一部   | 陝西試錄二本     |
| 魯齊書一部    | 武經七書一部  | 敏公奏議一部     |
| 薛文清公全集一部 | 武經節要一部  | 經略公牘一部     |
| 士翼一部     | 百戰奇法一部  | 總制奏議一部     |
| 陽明文錄一部   | 玉機微義一部  | 鹿野雲中奏議一部   |
| 陽明先生文粹一部 | 醫方選要一部  | 小學一部       |
| 康對山集一部   | 醫說一部    | 義勇武安王集一部   |
| 漢陂集一部    | 體仁彙編一部  | 楓山章文懿公年譜一部 |
| 涇野經說一部   | 丹溪纂要一部  | 官箴集要一部     |
| 涇野四書因問一部 | 活人心一部   | 蓬萊觀海亭集一部   |
| 涇野文集一部   | 廣嗣要語一部  | 觀本錄一部      |
| 涇野別集一部   | 群書鈔方一本  | 同觀錄一部      |

Legal Education and the Circulation of Legal Texts in Ming and Early-Qing Gansu

再觀錄一部	陝西恤刑疏稿一部	題考雲中疏二本
四書雅義一部	大明集禮射儀一部	榮恩錄一本
山西 (sic) 乙卯五魁墨卷 一部	禮垣六事疏二部	貞壽集一本
	關中獄外辯冤錄二本	恩編三錫一本

## Appendix 2, books in the Sushan Academy

### 肅山書院

#### 書院存貯書目 (catalog of books held by the academy)

欽定易經	大學衍義補	陳評史記
御纂周易折衷	大學衍義補輯要	前漢書
欽定書經	五經類編	漢書評林
欽定詩經	五經大全	後漢書
欽定春秋	松陽四書講義	後漢書評林
欽定周官義疏	孝經註解	三國志二部
欽定儀禮	汪氏四書大全	晉書
欽定禮記義疏	陸氏四書大全	宋書
欽頒四書解	四書要達	南齊書
御批通鑑	四書輯要	梁書
大清會典	四書集成	陳書
欽定數理精蘊	四書正解	北魏書二部
欽定重鐫淳化閣帖	四書反身錄	北齊書
佩文韻府	四書筆記	北周書二部
淵鑑類函	性理四書解	南北史
易經大全	四書人物考	隨書
增刪卜易	四書匯叅	新唐書
書經彙編	爾雅	五代史三部
詩經體註	家語	宋史
春秋大全	經史辨體	遼史
汲古閣左傳	王氏玉海	金史
左繡	韻府羣玉	元史
閩板公羊傳	金玉字彙	明史
閩板穀梁傳	國語	明史綱目
周禮刪義	戰國策	通鑑綱目
宋周安儀禮	史記	通鑑記事本末
大學衍義二部	史記評林	二十一史文鈔



事說新語	李義山詩集	古文選釋
杜氏通典	全唐詩	古文折義
馬氏文獻通考	唐百家詩	斯文規範
帝畿景物	唐詩品彙	受祺堂詩
西湖志	三體唐詩	彭衙編
五經三子	唐人絕句	存古編
諸子品節	唐詩叩彈集	實踐錄
楚辭三部	唐文歸	榕檀問業
秘書廿一種	葛板二十名家	講習錄
漢魏叢書	茅選唐宋八家古文	古事苑
津逮秘書	儲選唐宋十家古文	廣治平略
張子全書	蘇文中集	刑政大觀
邵子皇極經世書	三蘇文集二部	從政遺規
朱子全書	蘇黃尺牘	仕學集
文公家禮	王梅溪集	在官法戒錄
朱子大全文集	宋金元集	讀書作文譜讀書樂趣
朱子古文	近光集	石墨鐫華
五子近思錄	草堂詩餘	啓後墨譜
呂子節錄	詞綜	天文大成
呂子節錄補遺	詞學全書	歷象考成
性理精義	說郭	黃帝內經
漢魏百名家	宋潛溪集	證治準繩
諸葛武侯集	王陽明集	醫方集群
昭明文選	楊椒山集	本草備要
庚開府集	陳其中集	本草原始
漢魏六朝詩	李石□集	御纂通鑑綱目
張曲江集	薛敬軒集	欽定唐宋文醇
李太白集	文安公策	御纂性理精義
舊註杜詩	可儀堂古文	康熙字典
仇註杜詩	文章規範	四書困勉錄
陸宣公奏議	才子必讀古文	四書大全精言

Joseph Dennis

四書匯叅	鞏昌府志	涇州志
東萊博議	平涼府志	靖遠縣志
通鑑綱目	慶陽府志	平涼縣志
平閩紀	西寧府志	莊浪縣志
古文雅正	秦州志	安定縣志
國朝詩鈔	階州志	文縣志
烏鼠山人集	肅州志	重刊甘鎮志
朱圉山人集	狄道州志	朔方志
甘肅通志	河州志	崆峒志
蘭州府志	靜寧州志	

**書院藏板 (blocks held by the academy)**

欽定四書文板一千三百六十六塊

皋蘭課業十三經板七百零二塊

以上巡撫元公展成刻

Appendix Three, Gaolan County School (1774).

皋蘭縣學存貯書目 (catalog of books held by the Gaolan County School)

諭旨錄十本	欽頒續增磨勘簡明條例	陳書一套
上諭二十四本	一本	北魏書二套
上諭十六條一套	日講四書解義六部	北齊書一套
上諭龍摺一本	書經六部	北周書一套
大清律二套	詩經六部	南北史五套
御製明通鑑綱目一部	春秋六部	隨書二部
御製樂善堂全集定本四部	十三經十二套	新唐書四套
御製詩初集四套	史記二套	五代史一套
御製詩二集八套	漢書二套	宋史十套
御製文初集一套	後漢書二套	遼史一套
欽頒祭圖一本	三國志一套	金史二套
欽頒刺錢名世詩二本	晉書四套	元史五套
欽頒科場條例四部	宋書二套	明史十二套
欽頒續增科場條例一本	南齊書一套	
欽頒磨勘簡明條例一本	梁書一套	