Chapter Five

Methodological Innovators and the Expansion of Philology (I): Textual Criticism

With the careers of the three classicists treated in the following succession of three chapters, I reach the stage in which classical philology began its march toward maturation, characterized by the expansion of both textual techniques available for use and targets of research to address. These new techniques include the disciplines of textual criticism, bibliography, lexicography, and exegesis. Later on, new critical methodologies were added to the textual critic's arsenal, but the foundational approaches were developed due to the merit of the three giants included here: Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BC), Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 58–ca. 147), and Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127– 200). Lesser lights will make their appearance, but the framework of analysis revolves around this trio of giants.

Humanistic scholarship in the West has always been grounded in the field of philology. A recent survey of the enormous debt owed to this field over the centuries reveals the pervasiveness of this presence, even on the unconscious level of unacknowledged assumptions. In *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities*, author James Turner explains that "it meant far more than the study of *old texts*. *Philology* referred to *all* studies of language, of specific languages, and (to be sure) of texts. Its explorations ranged from the religion of ancient Israel through the lays of medieval troubadours to the tongues of American Indians—and to rampant theorizing about the origin of language itself."[1] At its acme of achievement during the nineteenth century, it included three modes of research: textual philology, theories of the origins and nature of language, and the comparative study of the structures and historical evolution of languages and of language families. Furthermore, all of these modes of research set their subjects firmly within their wider historical contexts.[2] While examining the intellectual backdrop of the reception of the knowledge about China brought to Europe, the present author has reason to encapsulate the essence of philology on two levels:

> Philology is the critical handling of texts, relying on such subfields for implementation as textual criticism, bibliography, grammar, translation, and interpretation. Philology is also a mindset, preoccupied with facts in

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[1] James Turner, *Philology: The Origins of the Modern Humanities* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), x.

[2] Turner, *Philology*, x.

concrete historical and material contexts rather than ideas and theoretical systems in the abstract. Philological research was the glory of ancient Alexandrian scholars during the Hellenistic Age (roughly 323–30 BC),[3] but it eventually died out as a research agenda with the decline of the Roman empire and the intellectual somnolence of the Holy Roman Empire; as a method of research its place was eventually taken by dialectic and debate; as a mindset, it was replaced by the speculative theology of scholasticism.[4]

The story of philology does not stop during the early medieval period. The renaissance and refinement of philology at the hands of humanists in Italy during the fourteenth century, in France during the fifteenth century, and in Holland during the sixteenth century, is an unfolding drama that need not detain me here. To sum up the conclusions of the author's short study cited above, Western philology is a set of critical methodologies employed to handle texts and exploit their riches, impelled by an historical mindset to uncover the origins of not just languages but of civilizations and institutions. It is with this additional concern for concrete facts, historical contexts, and ultimate origins that Chinese classical philology intersects most closely with its counterpart in the West, an approach characterized by the phrase "names, things, institutions, and regulations" (*mingwu dianzhang* 名物典章). And it is just at this juncture of time, the end of the Western Han through the Eastern Han, that Chinese philology added its most essential methodological techniques: the toolset was not complete, and some implements would require further shaping, but it formed the foundation for immediate use.

The main impetus for the development of Chinese philology during the Western Han was the policies of Emperor Wu 武帝 (141–87 BC); their effect on the preservation and scholarly treatment of classical texts, commentaries, masters' literature, and other types of serious writing is detailed in Ban Gu's 班 固 (32–92) "Monograph on Literature." In fact, Emperor Wu's initiative in 136 BC to establish the five regius chairs for the Five Classics should be considered the first of three landmark measures in the development of classical scholarship during this period. It eventually reoriented imperial ideology from Huang-Lao Daoism

[3] The development of the philological techniques involved in the authentication and editing of classical texts is treated in great depth by Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

[4] David B. Honey, "Philology, Philosophy, and Science: Intellectual Background of the Reception of the Knowledge of China in 16th–18th Century Europe" ("語文學, 哲學和科學: 16–18 世紀歐洲接受中國知識的背景") in *The Sixth Fu Jen University International Sinological Symposium: "Early European (1552–1814) Acquisition and Research on Chinese Languages" Symposium Papers* 輔仁大學第六屆漢學國研討會：《西方早期（1552–1814）漢語學習和研究論文集》, ed. Zbigniew Wesolowski (Taibei: Fu Jen University Press, 2011), pp. 435–62; (Chinese version, pp. 463–88); p. 435.

to Confucianism; his sponsorship of the collection and editing of ancient texts unfortunately did not take hold, but this first move grounded imperial ideology in textual scholarship. The second landmark event was the convention of the Stone Channel conference on the classics under the aegis of Emperor 宣 帝 (r. 74 to 49 BC) in 51 BC that completed the integration of classical learning with political advisement. The third was the calling of Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–8 BC) and his son Xin 歆 (46 BC–AD 23) by Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 33–7 BC) in 26 BC to head up the collation team that was working to make sense out of the mass of manuscript remains preserved in the imperial holdings and to edit and preserve newly acquired works that were collected at imperial command: "Liu Xiang, the Grand Master for Splendid Happiness, collated the books in the Imperial Holdings. Receptionist Cheng Nong was sent to seek lost books throughout the realm" 光祿大夫劉向校中祕書。謁者陳農使，使求遺書於天下。[5]

The end result of Emperor Wu's polices, or rather his successors' failure to continue them, was the start of the careers of Liu Xiang and son as imperial collators. The following passage provided more details than the short snippet just quoted:

> With the age of Emperor Wu books were defective and bamboo slips missing, the rites destroyed, and music deteriorated. His Sagely Highness sighed and proclaimed, "We are wholly concerned!" Thereupon he established a stratagem for collecting books and instituted officers to copy them; all were deposited in the royal archives. Reaching the time of Emperor Cheng, due to the books being rather scattered or lost, the emperor dispatched the Receptionist Cheng Nong to seek lost works throughout the realm and summoned Liu Xiang, the Grand Master for Splendid Happiness, to collate the classics, commentaries, various masters, poetry, and rhapsodies. It happened that when Xiang died, Emperor Ai again made an appointment, Xiang's son Xin, the Palace Attendant and Commandment-in-Chief of Chariots, to complete his father's work.
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> 迄孝武世，書缺簡脫，禮壞樂崩，聖上喟然而稱曰：朕甚閔焉！於是建藏書之策， 置寫書之官，下及諸子傳說，皆充祕府。至成帝時，以書頗散亡，使謁者陳農求遺書於天下。詔光祿大夫劉向校經傳諸子詩賦。……會向卒，哀帝復使向子侍中奉車都尉歆卒父業。[6]

The details of Liu's pioneering work in establishing the procedures of collating manuscripts and in designing the formats of critical editions will be addressed further on in this chapter. Here we introduce his life and work in his office at court in preparation for his ultimate calling.

[5] *Hanshu* 10.310.

[6] *Hanshu* 30.1701.

5.1. Liu Xiang and the Development of Textual Criticism and Bibliography

5.1.1. The Stone Channel Conference

Liu Xiang was a blood member of the royal house of Han because his great-grandfather was the younger brother of the founding figure, Liu Bang 劉邦 (c. 256– 195 BC).[7] A precocious child in matters of scholarship and literary composition, Xiang was appointed at age 12 to the post of Gentleman with the privilege of responding to questions posed by the throne. In an almost deadly setback, he was ransomed from execution at the hand of Emperor Xuan 宣帝 after the alchemical experiment he proposed had failed. By 51 BC he was invited to participate in the conference that was convened at the Stone Channel Pavilion 石渠閣, situated north of the Weiyang Palace 未央宮 complex in Chang'an, to deliberate over differences in the classics. Apparently, this conference was the natural outgrowth of debates that had been ongoing since 53 BC between adherents of the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* exegetical camps.[8] In the "Basic Annals" of Emperor Xuan in the *History of Han*, Ban Gu sketches the conference:

> He summoned all the various Confucians to discuss the similarities and differences among the Five Classics. The Royal Tutor of the Heir Apparent Xiao Wangzhi and others evaluated the proceedings and sent up memorials on the deliberations to the throne. His Highness personally presided and decided the issues. He then established erudites for Liang Qiu's text of the *Changes*, Greater and Lesser Xiahou's texts of the *Esteemed Documents*, and Guliang's text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.
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> 詔諸儒講五經同異，太子太傅蕭望之等平奏其議，上親稱制臨決焉。乃立梁丘易、大小夏侯尚書、穀梁春秋博士。[9]

Four "memorials on deliberations" (*yizou* 議 奏) from the conference are preserved in Ban Gu's bibliography: one concerning the *Esteemed Documents* comprising forty-two scrolls, one devoted to the *Rites* in thirty-eight scrolls, one on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* in 39 scrolls, and a set of *Miscellaneous*

[7] For the life of Liu Xiang, see *Hanshu* 36.1928–66; Qian, "Liu Xiang Xin fuzi nianpu" 劉向歆父子年譜, *Yanjing xuebao* 7 (1930): 1189–1318; Xu Guangwu 徐光无, *Liu Xiang pingzhuan* 刘向评传 (Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue Chubanshe, 2005); Michael Loewe, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods*, 372–75.

[8] See Tjan, *Po Hu T'ung*, 91; Homer S. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938–1944), 2:27–74.

[9] *Hanshu* 8.272.

Deliberations on the Five Classics 五經雜議論 in 18 scrolls.[10] In a recent review of fourteen extant quotes from the conference minutes, Ding Linghua suggests that the two chief purposes of this conference were the promotion of the Lu school of learning in order to eventually establish the *Guliang Commentary* as an official text in the royal academy and the clarification of the ritual details of mourning regalia.[11] According to Liu Xiang's biography, he was assigned to specialize in the *Guliang* text and to defend it at the conference.[12] The loss of Liu Xiang's "memorials on deliberations" on this classic from the conference, retroactively titled *Explanations of the Guliang Commentary on the Spring Autumn Annals* 春秋穀梁傳說, led to the historical neglect of Liu's dedication to this text, which ran concurrent with his interest in *Gongyang's Commentary*.[13] This neglect of an important aspect of Liu's scholarship existed despite Ban Gu's clear statement that, when debating with his son Liu Xin over the meaning of the *Spring and Autumn Annals,* who based his interpretations on *Zuo's Commentary*, Liu Xiang "adhered to his own interpretations according to *Guliang's Commentary*" 自持其

[10] *Hanshu* 30.1705, 1710, 1714, 1718. Only vestiges of one work associated with the conference have survived in sufficient quantity to warrant recompilation by Qing classicists. Seven short reconstructed versions of the *Shiqu Lilun* 石渠禮論 of Dai Sheng 戴聖, purported editor of the *Records of Ritualists*, are noted in Sun and Chen, eds., *Zhongguo guyishu jiben mulu jieti*, 50. The *Yuhan shanfang jiyishu* 3:110–13 includes fifteen passages of questions with answers and separate statements on ritual matters, all translated by Tjan, *Po Hu T'ung* 128–36.

[11] Ding Linghua 丁凌华 reproduces these quotes; see his "Xi-Han Shiqu yiwen jiedu jiqi zai fazhishishang de yiyi" 西汉石渠遗文解读及其在法制史上的意义, http://fashi.ecupl.edu.cn/Article_Print.asp?ArticleID=396, accessed on 31 October 2014. Consult also Tjan, *Po Hu T'ung*, 91–94, 128, 136.

[12] *Hanshu* 36.1929.

[13] *Yuhan Shanfang jiyishu* 3:255–57 gathers sixteen fragments of this lost work by Liu Xiang, a *Chunqiu Guliangzhuan shuo* 春秋穀梁傳說, which were part of the "memorials on deliberations" concerning this classic. Two more fragments are preserved under title of *Chunqiu Guliang Liu Gengsheng yi* 春秋穀梁劉更生義 by Wang Renjie 王仁俊 (1866–1913), *Yuhanshanfang jiyishu xubian sanzhong* 玉函山房輯佚書續 編 三 種 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1989), 53. Liu's work was not noted by either the bibliographical monograph of the *Hanshu* or the corresponding monograph of the *Suishu* 隨 書 , but it appears in an annotation to the "Monograph on the Five Phases" of the *Jinshu* 晉書. See the discussion by Sun Qizhi and Chen Jianhua, eds., *Zhongguo guyishu jiben mulu jieti*, 63; and Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗(1842–1906), "*Hanshu* 'Yiwenzhi' shibu" 漢書藝文志拾補, in *Ershiwushi bubian* 二十五史補編, 6 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1980), 2:1435–524, pp. 1455c–56a. Yao notes that the work seems oriented towards strange anomalies associated with the Five Phases that occur in the *Chunqiu*.

谷梁傳之義.[14] At the conference, erudites were represented in abundance, but the presence of Liu Xiang and other Gentlemen of the Court bespeaks another path for the transmission of classical learning, outside of erudite-disciple connections. Xu Xingwu explains that an internal avenue for the transmission of classical learning existed among the Gentlemen of the Court, for Liu Xiang apparently built on his already impressive learning via his connections as a Gentleman.[15]

In the time period between the conference and the commencement of his calling as collator, Liu Xiang made a name for himself in the political arena. Dismissed from office and imprisoned in 47 or 46 BC for opposing a powerful faction at court, Liu tried to regain attention and favor by submitting a series of memorials to the throne. In all, he composed some eight chapters of memorials. The motivation for composing his famous *Connected Biographies of Women* 列女傳, which contrasts the nefast behavior of imperial consorts with model women of the past, was also irenic political melioration. His comeback was complete with the accession of Emperor Cheng in 33 BC. He was appointed a Gentleman of the Palace and then a Counselor of the Palace. His other notable collections of moral exempla and historical sketches, the *New Arrangements* 新序 (the title alluding to the fact that this compilation is a congeries of older materials), and *Garden of Tales* 說苑 should also be viewed in the light of this hortatory purpose.[16]

5.1.2. Textual Criticism

Liu Xiang was fifty-nine years old when he was appointed to head up the collation committee; he served continuously for eighteen years until his death in 8 BC. He worked mainly at the Heavenly Blessings Pavilion 天祿閣, the Stone Channel Pavilion, and possibly the Unicorn Pavilion 麒麟閣. Ban Gu's account continues with more details of the labor division among collators:

> He summoned Liu Xiang, the Grand Master for Splendid Happiness, to collate the classics, commentaries, various masters, poetry, and rhapsodies; Ren Hong, the Infantry Commandant, to collate military works; Yin Xian, the Grand Astrologer, to collate numerological and technical works; and Li Guiguo, the Attendant Physician, to collate works on medicine and magical arts. When each work was completed, Xiang would itemize its chapters, summarize its general purport, write it up, and submit it.
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> 詔光祿大夫劉向校經傳諸子詩賦，步兵校尉任宏校兵書，太史令尹咸校數術，侍醫李柱國校方技。每一書已，向輒條其篇目，撮其指意，錄而奏之。[17]

Neither Liu Xiang nor the three other subeditors were erudites in title, just in scholarly attainments; they were part of the network of learned Gentlemen of the Palace.[18]

The case of the *Master Guan* 管子 indicates the complexity of the collation project. The version preserved in the palace was the base text, as was common. It was collated against another edition housed in a government office and three privately held editions. In all, some 564 fascicles were examined. Sorting them out, collating them against the base text, and eliminating 484 duplicate fascicles must have required an enormous expenditure of effort. The end result was a definitive edition of 86 fascicles. The example of the *Intrigues of the Warring States* 戰國策 points to an even greater difficulty: the problem of interpreting each graph to determine the correct reading before being able to emend the text. The difficulty of interpreting abbreviated or incomplete orthographies was specifically cited in such instances as taking *zhao* 趙 as *xiao* 肖, or *qi* 齊 as *li* 立.

Chen Guoqing provides a simple summary of the editorial work undertaken by Liu Xiang and his team. He breaks down the five steps for collation, emendation, and evaluation as follows: (1) collecting all editions; (2) comparing editions to fill in all gaps; (3) revising each chapter—called fascicles (*pian* 篇) in the case of bamboo manuscripts or scrolls (*juan* 卷) in the case of silk manuscripts—or each section or paragraph, termed pericopes (*zhang* 章); (4) comparing and correcting textual variants; and (5) determining a name for the work.[19] This last need was often acute, since various versions of a work often

[14] *Hanshu* 36.1967. On this issue and the presence of *Guliangzhuan* concepts in Liu's scholarship on the *Chunqiu*, see Bao Youwei 鮑有為, "Liu Xiang 'Zichi qi *Guliangzhuan* zhi yi' kaolun" 劉向自持其穀梁傳之義考論, *Zhongguo jingxue* 23 (2019): 111–30.

[15] Xu, *Liu Xiang pingzhuan*, 94–100.

[16] The word *xu* 序 ("arrangement") also covers other works that he edited; see *Hanshu* 30.1727. Fellow collator Yang Xiong's 揚雄 works are also termed "arrangements" by Ban Gu in the same citation.

[17] *Hanshu* 30.1701.

[18] Xu, *Liu Xiang pingzhuan*, 199.

[19] Chen Guoqing 陳國慶, *Hanshu Yiwenzhi zhushi huibian* 漢書藝文志注釋彙編 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1983), "Preface," 1–2. Zhou Shaochuan 周少川, *Guji muluxue* 古籍目錄學 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Guji Chubanshe, 1996), presents his own five-step process that has the advantage of being illustrated with examples: (1) Collect all available recensions; (2) supplement missing chapters, paragraphs, or passages from the base text with parallel material; (3) decide on an order for the sometimes scattered chapters and paragraphs; (4) determine names for books and their chapters; and (5) transcribe the collated definitive edition into a fair copy. Xu, *Liu Xiang pingzhuan*, 186–282 devotes two chapters to the textual criticism of father and son. It is strong on background, theory, and significance but short on actual procedures. For the latter, see Deng Junjie 邓骏捷, *Liu Xiang jiaoshu kaolun* 刘向校书考论(Beijing: Renmin Daxue Chubanshe, 2012) which includes the former but emphasizes the latter.

circulated under different titles. The most excessive example of this is the *Intrigues of the Warring States*. In Liu Xiang's descriptive bibliographic record of this book, he mentions some half a dozen names of the work until he determines the definitive name used today: "The designation of the palace edition is variously called the *Intrigues of the States*, or *Affairs of the States*, or *Short and Long Plans*, or the *Tales of Affairs*, or the *Long Book*, or the *Book of Cultivation*. Your servant Xiang feels that during Warring States times, wandering knights assisted the states, which employed them by creating intrigues and plots; it is suitable therefore to call it *Intrigues of the Warring States*" 中書本號或曰國策，或曰國事，或曰短長，或曰事語，或曰長書，或曰修書。臣向以為戰國時，遊士輔所用之國，為之策謀，宜為戰國策。[20]

Liu Xiang termed each record of his collation work a "Book Register" 書錄, "Introductory Register" 敘錄, or "Memorialized Register" 奏錄. Eight of Liu Xiang's "Registers of Books" are preserved in the historical record, along with one by Liu Xin and a spurious one. They are reproduced most accessibly in Yan Kejun's *Complete Prose Works of Upper Antiquity, Three Dynasties, Qin-Han, Three Kingdoms and Six Dynasties* and elsewhere,[21] and the records are usually reprinted as part of the prefatory matter of modern critical editions. 22 It is the surviving registers to the *Master Guan* and *The Intrigues of the Warring States* that supplied the data cited concerning the difficulty in editing such a welter of manuscripts and difficult readings. In terms of Liu Xiang's procedures for collation work, these registers are important for the details they preserve, as just demonstrated. The following register to the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Yan* 晏子春秋 is representative, although among the shortest ones extant:

> Protecting Commissioner of the Waterways of the Left and Grand Master for Splendid Happiness, Servant Xiang spoke: "Your servant Xiang reverently collated the *Master Yan* from the 11 fascicles that I had collated from the imperial holdings and the 5 fascicles from the Grand Astrologer's work alongside your servant [Du] Can, the Commandant of Changshe. Your servant Xiang collated a work of that owned in 1 fascicle. We consulted 13 fascicles of other works, in all 30 fascicles of works from the imperial holdings and those held privately. In all, we collated 838 sections, eliminated[22] fascicles and some 638 pericopes of duplications, and established a redaction in 8 fascicles and 215 pericopes. The privately held edition lacked 36 pericopes, and the palace edition lacked 71 pericopes; both editions shared common readings that

[20] Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762–1843), in Vol. 1 of *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin-Han Sanguo Liuchaowen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1987), 33. Henceforth this title is elided to *Quan Hanwen* 全漢文.

[21] Six other recompilations are noted in Sun and Chen, eds., *Zhongguo guyishu jiben mulu jieti*, 203.

[22] *Quan Hanwen*, 1:331–35.

> confirmed each other. The palace edition wrote *yao* as *fang*, *you* as *bei*, *xian* as *niu*, and *zhang* as *chang*. Variations of this type are numerous. I reverently present a few examples, but they have all been determined and finalized on green bamboo,[23] and the work is ready to be transcribed.
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> Master Yan's name was Ying, his posthumous title Pingzhong, a man of Lai. Lai is the modern region of Donglai in Shandong. Master Yan was broadly versed, retentive of memory, and had mastered both ancient and modern learning. He served Duke Ling of Qi, Duke Zhuang, and Duke Jing, and he guided the state of Qi with his frugal policies and assiduous actions, his utter loyalty and uncurbed remonstrations. His lord's conduct was thereby amenable to correction, and the populace was thereby able to be close to their parents. When out of office, he retired to cultivate his fields; when in office, he acted with unbending probity. He could not be threatened by the wicked, nor ever be coerced by the likes of Cui Zhu despite being coerced with naked blades pointed at his chest. To remonstrate with the lord of Qi, he would come even though distant, would not mince words even though meek. When dispatched on missions to the various feudal lords, none were able to withstand his rhetoric, such was the breadth of his erudition. It seems that he was second only to Guan Zhong. Within his clan, he was able to cherish his relatives; outside of it, he was able to treat the worthy with generosity. In his position as prime minister, he received the emolument of ten thousand bushels; hence, his relatives depended on his income, and he was able to clothe and feed more than five hundred households. Unemployed officials who depended on him for their livelihoods were also numerous. Master Yan wore coarse hempen garments and deer hide cloaks, and he rode in a dilapidated cart with a worn-down nag. All of his income was given to his relatives and friends. Because of this, the entire population of Qi esteemed him. Master Yan it seems was short. . . .
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> The six chapters of this book all consist of loyal admonitions to his lord; the essays are readable and the meaning and principle should be imitated. They all match the meaning of the Six Classics. In addition are reduplications that have wording that is rather different; but I do not dare

[23] Zhou, *Guji muluxue*, 107 explains that using green bamboo, literally "carving on green" (*shaqing* 殺青), refers to the use of new, moist bamboo that makes for an easy job of cutting characters, but its water content attracts insects and hence does not last long. After a definitive edition is recorded, it must be transferred to bamboo slips that have been hardened with fire. An opposing view is that the term refers to "killing off the green"; that is, to treat green bamboo with fire so that the moisture is eliminated, thus making a medium much more durable for preserving texts. See Bian Chunguang 边春光, et al. eds., *Chuban cidian* 出版词典 (Shanghai: Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe, 1989), 164. Given the context in which the term appears here, I accept the former explanation.

let them be lost, so I have arranged them into an additional chapter. Additionally, there are some sections that do not mesh with classical learning; these do not seem to be the words of Master Yan. I suspect that they were composed by debaters of later generations; hence, while I equally do not dare to dispense with them, I again form them into an additional chapter."

護左都水使者光祿大夫臣向言，所校中書晏子十一篇，臣向謹與長社尉臣[杜]參　校讎，太史書五篇，臣向書一篇，參書十三篇，凡中外書三十篇，為八百三十八章，　除復重二十二篇，六百三十八章，定著八篇二百一十五章，外書無有三十六章，中　書無有七十一章，中外皆有以相定。中書以“夭”為“芳”，“又”為“備”，　“先”為“牛”，“章”為“長”，如此類者多，謹頗略檃，皆已定，以殺青，　書可繕寫。

晏子名嬰，謚平仲，萊人。萊者今東萊地也。晏子博聞強記，通於古今，事齊靈公、莊公、景公，以節儉力行，盡忠極諫道齊國，君得以正行，百姓得以附親，不用則　退耕於野，用則必不詘義，不可脅以邪，白刃雖交胸，終不受崔杼之劫，諫齊君，　懸而至，順而刻。及使諸侯，莫能詘其辭，其博通如此。蓋次管仲，內能親親，外 能厚賢，居相國之位，受萬 鐘之祿，故親戚待其祿而衣食五百餘家，處士待而舉　火者亦甚眾。晏子衣苴布之衣，麋鹿之裘，駕敝車疲馬，盡以祿給親戚朋友，齊人以此重之。晏子蓋短。……

其書六篇，皆忠諫其君，文章可觀，義理可法，皆合六經之義。又有復重文辭頗異，　不敢遺失，復列以為一篇，又有頗不合經術，似非晏子言，疑後世辯士所為者，故　亦不敢失，復以為一篇。[24]

Yuan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479–536) describes the intent of Liu Xiang's registers as centered on two main considerations: a description of the purport of the work and an analysis of its textual errors.[25] Delving into considerably more detail, Chen Guoqing outlines the general structure of registers as follows: (1) a record of the book and chapter titles; (2) summary of the work of collation; (3) life of the author; (4) explanation of the title; (5) analysis of authenticity; (6) critique of philosophy expressed; (7) narration of scholastic origins; and (8) evaluation of the value of the work.[26]

[24] Zhang Chunyi 張純一 (1871–1955), "Yanzi chunqiu zongmu 宴子春秋總目," in *Yanzi chunqiu jiaozhu* 宴子春秋校注 (ZZJC ed.), 2; *Quan Hanwen*, 332. A quote from the lost bibliography of Liu Xin, the *Qilüe* 七略, apropos the *Yanzi*, is preserved in the *Zhengyiz* 正義 commentary of Zhang Shoujie 張守 節 (fl. 725–735) from the biography of Yanzi in the *Shiji*. It indicates that the original *Yanzi* was in seven chapters. Obviously after Liu Xiang edited the *Yanzi*, he combined two chapters of materials that he extracted from the text into one, for an edition of eight chapters was noted by Ban Gu. The modern received version in eight chapters includes the suspected posthumous sections as chapter 7 and those not meshing with classical learning in chapter 8. See *History of Chinese Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1, section 3.1, "Bamboo Books and Editorial Freedom" for this translation of the last paragraph and a discussion of a newly discovered bamboo version of the *Yanzi*.

5.1.3. The Beginnings of Bibliography

The close connection between the sciences of textual criticism and bibliography is easily seen in the regular perusal of library holdings. A patron desires to consult a particular work and asks the advice of a librarian. In a situation where multiple editions are available, a librarian would naturally be led to a closer examination of the merits of each edition in order to make an informed recommendation. Of course, a scholarly minded librarian would have already perceived the need to make a comparative examination and prepare an accessible edition. The fact that the first textual collators in the West were concurrently librarians at the great library of Alexandria lends credence to this theoretical scenario. In fact, it was the first librarian at Alexandria, Zenodotus (ca. 325–269 BC), who pioneered the first procedures and technical terminology for collating and emending texts.[27] It was his younger contemporary, Callimachus (310/305–240 BC), who compiled the first annotated library catalog, his *Pinakes* or "Lists," which included information on the author, a title or incipit in lieu of a title, and sometimes contents. The rival library at Pergamum also produced its own *Pinakes* under an unknown author. This innovation was made some two hundred years before the advent of Liu Xiang. The prerequisite for these scholarly enterprises, in both the East and West, was the broad collection of written manuscripts stored in a central location.

Ban Gu finishes his description of Liu Xiang's work as textural critic with the contribution of Liu's son:

> It happened that when Xiang died, Emperor Ai again appointed a collator, Xiang's son Xin, the Palace Attendant and Commandment-in-Chief of Chariots, to complete his father's work. Thereupon, Xin summarized the collective works and submitted his *Seven Epitomes*. Therefore what resulted were the "Editorial Epitome," the "Six Classics Epitome," the "Various Masters Epitome," the "Poetry and Prose-Poem Epitome," the "Military Works Epitome," the "Arts and Numerology Works Epitome," and the "Medicine and Magical Arts Epitome."

[25] Ren Lili 任莉莉, ed., *Qilu jizheng* 七錄輯證 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2011), 3.

[26] Chen Guoqing, *Hanshu Yiwenzhi zhushi huibian*, 2.

[27] On this point, consult Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, 105–18.

會向卒，哀帝復使向子侍中奉車都尉歆卒父業。歆於是總群書而奏其七略，故有輯略，有六藝略，有諸子略，有詩賦略，有兵書略，有術數略，有方技略。[28]

Not mentioned is the pioneering bibliography of Liu Xiang that was naturally formed by a master compilation of all of his individual registers. Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479–536) describes the situation as follows: "Subsequently he ultimately presented them to the throne, and each was contained in its relevant book. At the time, the corpus of registers was also separately collected and called *Separately Compiled Registers*— that is, the work known today as the *Separately Compiled Registers*" 隨竟奏上，皆載在本書。時又別集眾錄，謂之別錄，即今之別錄。[29]

The *Separately Compiled Registers* of Liu Xiang constitutes the first formalized library catalog in China. Technically, it is described as the first comprehensive bibliography, as opposed to Liu Xin's *Seven Epitomes*, which is aptly if awkwardly termed the first "categorized and comprehensive bibliography" 分類綜合目錄.[30] The latter was also more strictly organized and ordered. Both works disappeared in the chaos attendant to the fall of the Tang dynasty. The most comprehensive recompilation of these works was conducted by Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗 (1842–1906).[31] He termed Liu Xiang's first bibliography as *Qilue Bielu* 七略別錄, or *The Separately Compiled Registers Underlying the Seven Epitomes*, a title that was current beginning with the Sui and reappeared in the Tang catalogs. Yao Zhenzong explains this expanded title: "What *Seven Epitomes and Separately Compiled Registers* means is that this separate set of registers exists in addition to the *Seven Epitomes*" 其曰七略別錄者，謂七略之外別有此一錄。[32]

Zhou Shaochuan evaluates the significance of these pioneering bibliographies as follows. First, the bibliographers determined the set of procedures to be followed for the compilation of bibliographies; second, they determined the format of bibliographies; third, the experience gained by these sets of procedures was absorbed and utilized by later bibliographers, especially in learning how to identify the cause of errors; and fourth, later bibliographers

[28] *Hanshu* 30.1701. Deng, *Liu Xiang jiaoshu kaolun*, 285–301 acknowledges this pioneering classification system created by Liu Xin with his seven divisions but records many later voices of dissatisfaction with some of Liu's arbitrary and unscientific features.

[29] Ren, ed., *Qilu jizheng*, 3.

[30] Zhou, *Guji muluxue*, 107.

[31] Yao Zhenzong, *Qilü Bielu yiwen, Qilüe yiwen* 七略別錄佚文，七略佚文, ed. Deng Junjie 登駿捷 (Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2008), 8.

[32] Yao, *Qilü Bielu yiwen*, 8.

adopted the scholastic viewpoints and conclusions of Liu Xiang and Liu Xin.[33] Two examples from famous bibliographers who followed in their footsteps are presented next.

Xun Xu 荀勗 (d. 289) was the chief editor of the great bibliographic project that lasted from 274 to 286 and was sponsored by the Western Jin court; it was called the *New Catalogue of the Classics from the Central Archives* 中經新簿. It was for this massive project, in some 29,945 scrolls, that Xun devised his famous and definitive four-part classification system of classics, histories, masters, and belles lettres. The editorial work was described as having been accomplished according to the model of the *Separately Compiled Registers* of Liu Xiang.[34] We can properly assume that the editorial work he later performed on the newly discovered cache of bamboo manuscripts from Jizhong 汲塚 was carried out along the same lines.[35]

In 557 AD, almost three hundred years later, Fan Xun 樊遜 (d. 565) was appointed to supervise ten other scholars to catalog and emend the imperial holdings to benefit the education of the heir to the throne. Fan Xun recommended that the precedent of Liu Xiang be followed by gathering all publicly and privately held books to provide a wide range of editions. More than three thousand alternate editions from private sources were so utilized. Fan also recommended that the same procedures pioneered by Liu Xiang be followed, described as his "precedent setting procedures" (*gushi* 故事).[36] Wang Chongmin explains that Fan is proposing "a catalog of historical literature be edited by specialists according to the experience, methods, and theory of Liu Xiang" 專輯劉向在目錄實踐中所創造出來的經驗、方法和理論上的文獻紀錄.[37] Ban Gu compiled his own bibliographical monograph on the basis of Liu Xin's *Seven Epitomes* by "redacting down to the essential in order to supply information on written works" 刪其要，以備篇籍.[38] It is in this form—much reduced and reformatted—that the works of father and son have come down to us and continue to guide our

[33] Zhou, *Guji muluxue*, 110–11. Deng, *Liu Xiang jiaoshu kaolun*, 257–354 provides a comprehensive evaluation of the manifold ways Liu Xiang's collation work and *Separately Compiled Registers* impacted the development of textual criticism and the study of editions, bibliography and authentication, and related scholastic issues, such as the reordering of the Six Classics and the precedent of bibliographical summaries that later evolved into the so-called item entries (*tiaomu* 條目) utilized throughout the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*.

[34] *Jinshu* 晉書 39.1154. A short description of this massive project is by Zhou, *Guji muluxue*, 121–22.

[35] For this later project that commenced in 281, consult Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (Albany: The State University Press, 2006), 131–84.

[36] *Bei-Qi shu* 北齊書, 45.614.

[37] Wang Chongmin 王重民, *Zhongguo muluxueshi luncong* 中國目錄學史論叢 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1984), 29.

[38] *Hanshu* 30.1701.

understanding of early classical scholarship in the Zhou, Qin, and Western Han eras.[39]

5.2. Liu Xin and the Old Text Movement

When Liu Xin inherited his father's responsibilities, he added two new ideological elements into the mix: the problem of Wang Mang's 王莽 (46 BC–AD 23) growing influence and the sponsorship of Old Text classics.

Liu Xin (46 BC–AD 23) was the youngest and most accomplished of Liu Xiang's three sons, although Xiang's eldest son, Liu Ji 伋, did teach the *Changes*, which apparently was a family specialty.[40] Xin impressed Emperor Cheng with his literary prowess and poetry recitation, and Xin was appointed a Gentleman of the Yellow Gates. In this office, he was assigned to assist his father in his bibliographical endeavors. Upon the death of his father, Xin was appointed to the office of Colonel, Central Ramparts, an office once held by his father. It was during the reign of Emperor Ai (7–1 BC) that Xin composed the *Seven Epitomes* on the basis of his father's *Separately Compiled Registers*.

The change in scholarly orientation from father to son that was to prefigure a similar change from Western Han to Eastern Han is first noted in Xin's biography:

> Xin and Xiang at first both studied the *Changes*. During the time of Emperor Xuan, Xiang was summoned to receive training in *Guliang on the Spring and Autumn Annals*. After ten-plus years, he became expert in its meaning and application. When Xin began to collate the books in the central archives, he saw the Old Text *Mr. Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* and developed a great liking for it. At the time, Yin Xian, the Clerk to the Chancellor, worked with Xin on collating the classics and commentaries on the basis of his expertise in *Zuo's Commentary*. Xin somewhat followed the lead of Xian and Chancellor Zhai Fangjin and inquired about the overall meaning from them. Originally, *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* contained many ancient characters and pronunciations, so scholars only transmitted word glosses. But when Xin began to study *Mr. Zuo*, he cited the text of this commentary to explain the classic, and he used the language of both to illuminate each other. From this, the meaning and principles of paragraphs and lines were replete.
>
> Xin was also deep and astute, and both father and son were avid antiquarians. They were knowledgeable, experienced and tenacious of memory far beyond most scholars. Xin felt that Zuo Qiuming's likes and dislikes were the same as the sage's and had personally met the master. But both Gongyang and Guliang came after the seventy disciples. The degree of detail between what had been transmitted and what had been witnessed was somewhat different. Xin often challenged Xiang with *Mr. Zuo*; although Xiang was unable to refute him, he still persisted in following the interpretations of Guliang. When Xin had gained imperial favor, he desired to gain official status for certain texts: *Mr. Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* and *Mao on the Poems*, the *Lost Rites*, and the *Old Text Esteemed Documents* were all arrayed in the imperial academies. Emperor Ai commanded Xin to debate the meaning of these texts with the Erudites of the Five Classics. But some of them were not willing to face him, so Xin sent a letter to the erudites associated with the Superintendent of Ceremonials to censure them, saying:
>
> 歆及向始皆治易，宣帝時，詔向受穀梁春秋，十餘年，大明習。及歆校秘書，見古文春秋左氏傳，歆大好之。時丞相史尹咸以能治左氏，與歆共校經傳。歆略從咸及丞相翟方進受，質問大義。初左氏傳多古字古言，學者傳訓故而已，及歆治左氏，　引傳文以解經，轉相發明，由是章句義理備焉。歆亦湛靖有謀，父子俱好古，博見彊志，過絕於人。歆以為左丘明好惡與聖人同，親見夫子，而公羊、穀梁在七十子後，傳聞之與親見之，其詳略不同。歆數以難向，向不能非間也，然猶自持其穀梁　義。及歆親近，欲建立左氏春秋及毛詩、逸禮、古文尚書皆列於學官。哀帝令歆與五經博士講論其義，諸博士或不肯置對，歆因移書太常博士，責讓之曰：[41]

At this point in the narrative, Ban Gu includes the text of Xin's famous letter of rebuke to the entrenched erudites at court, some of whom refused to debate him, and others of whom refused to accede to his request. The letter is entitled "Sending a letter to rebuke the Erudites of the Superintendent of Ceremonials" 移責讓太常博士書. According to Eva Chung, the phrase "sent letter" (*yishu* 移書) is the name of an epistolary genre used to conduct official communication between equals, and this letter formed the prototype of this genre.[42] It was a mark

[39] The relationship between the *Qilüe* of Liu Yin, based on the *Bielu*, and Ban Gu's monograph, may be compared to the relationship between the following two sister works. The *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, first completed in 1781, was supplemented and published between 1790 and 1794 in two hundred scrolls, treating 10,289 works. Its officially sponsored reduction was limited to the works actually reproduced in the imperial library, the *Siku quanshu jianming mulu* 四庫全書簡明目錄 of 1782 in twenty scrolls, treating 3,470 works. This comparison has become almost commonplace in the literature on historical bibliography.

[40] For biographical information on Xin, see *Hanshu* 36.1967–72; Qian, "Liu Xiang Xin fuzi nianpu;" Xu, *Liu Xiang pingzhuan*, 432–78; Loewe, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods*, 383–86.

[41] *Hanshu* 36.1967.

[42] Eva Yuen-wah Chung, "A Study of the 'Shu' (Letters) of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220)," (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1982), 288. She translates and annotates the entire letter at pp. 482–95.

of Liu Xin's confidence in both his standing and erudition to employ this technical title.

The argumentation of Liu Xin's letter is analyzed by Evan Chung as follows: First, the reconstructed New Text classics were not complete works. Second, the divergence between Old Text and New Text classics proves the unreliability of the latter works. Third, the Old Text classics are the best versions with which to collate the New Text classics, work that Xin had participated in both with his father and on his own. Fourth, the Old Text classics agree with the texts orally transmitted among the people.[43] Xin's three objects, according to Eva Chung, were "(1) to preserve the declining and lost learning, (2) to cooperate with the erudites in the office of the Superintendent of Ceremonials in expounding the lost meaning of the classics, and (3) to carry out the imperial decree."[44] Chung's analysis is right on point, but it ignores the argumentation of Xin's historical introduction, which contains the overall context within which Xin argues for the inclusion of the Old Texts within the curriculum: that of the necessity to preserve and apply the complete ritual and musical systems that undergird the "governing way" (*zhidao* 治道) of sage kings. In other words, the way of governing can only flourish when the classics are preserved in their pristine forms and accessible for study and consultation, something only facilitated through the imperial sponsorship of textual scholarship.

This concern for Rites and Music was one hallmark of the approach of scholars who focused on Old Text Classics. If these scholars did not form a formal school at this time, at least they shared this concern along with a focus on Old Text versions. We must pause here to examine Wang Baoxuan's sensitive analysis of the fundamental makeup of Old Text and New Text camps, as often distinguished more by regional schools of learning than textual loyalties.

Wang Baoxuan commences by distinguishing between the foundations of the two regional schools within the New Text camp, the Lu and Qi schools, and their development in the Western Han. The Lu school emphasized *Guliang's Commentary*, while the Qi school focused on *Gongyang's Commentary*. The Lu school, based in Confucius's homeland and serving as keeper of the Sage's heritage and sacred ritual paraphernalia, centered their scholarship on the study of ritual texts and ritual performance. The Qi school was more focused on the *Poems* and *Documents*, and on extracting and applying the political teachings enshrined within; this was the legacy of the Jixia Academy. By the time of Xunzi, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* was featured prominently by the Qi school. Entering the Han era, the core curriculum for this school revolved around the *Poems*, *Documents*, *Changes*, and *Spring and Autumn Annals*; the Lu school emphasized rather the

[43] Chung, "A Study of the 'Shu' (Letters) of the Han Dynasty," 293–95.

[44] Chung, "A Study of the 'Shu' (Letters) of the Han Dynasty," 295. Another similar analysis of this letter is offered by Zhang, "Liu Xin de 'Rang taichang boshishu' yu jingjingu wenxue de diyici lunzheng" 劉歆的讓太常博士書與經今古文學的第一次論爭, in *Liang Han jingxueshi*, 204–209.

Poems, *Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Changes*, and *Rites*, with the most important text of each school listed last. As for interpretive frameworks and thought processes, the Qi school was characterized by its concern for the intersection between Heaven and Man, *Yin Yang* alternation, the Five Phases, and empiricism with logic despite a heavy dose of mysticism. On the other hand, the Lu school stressed drawing moral and ethical lessons, made few contributions to political thought, focused on the rites, and seemed to interpret them with more intuitive apprehension than empirical analysis.

By the mid–Western Han period, some scholars had blended Lu and Qi learning, mixed with what was called the ritual school of Mr. Hou 后 氏 (i.e., *Hou Cang* 后 倉), all making selective use of the Old Texts versions.[45] Mr. Hou's most distinguished students were Dai De 戴 德 (fl. 43–33 BC), the compiler of *Greater Dai's Records of Ritualists*, and his nephew Dai Sheng 戴聖 (fl. 43–33 BC), the compiler of the *Records of Ritualists* 禮記—both of whom had collected their anthologies based on the macaronic mixture of Old Text ritual-text remains. Another student of Hou Cang was Kuang Heng 匡衡, the guiding force behind the religious reforms of 31 BC; these reforms may be viewed as the concrete manifestation of the ritual learning of Mr. Hou.[46] Although *Guliang's Commentary* and *Gongyang's Commentary* maintained their rival stances, *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* was added to the mix when it provided some of the justification for Kuang Heng's reforms. Another manifestation of this blend of Lu and Qi learning, with Mr. Hou's ritual school plus Old Text textual admixtures, was Xu Shen's *Differing Interpretations of the Five Classics* 五經異義 . Remaining fragments indicate that this work incorporated citations from *Gongyang's Commentary*, *Guliang's Commentary*, *Mr. Zuo's Commentary*, *Records of Ritualists of Greater Dai*, *Rites of Zhou*, and Ouyang and Xiahou on the *Esteemed Documents*. It is at this point that Wang Baoxuan makes the distinction between Old Texts themselves (and, I might add, casual readers and users) and the later developing movement of Old Text classical scholarship, which threatened the monopoly of New Text Classics over the official curriculum. Before Liu Xin, Old Text Classics and commentaries did not constitute such a threat because they circulated privately and merely provided the curious with textual evidence for comparison. With this background, it is easy to accommodate Michael Nylan's assertions that classicists of both camps made free use of each other's texts, which she interprets as proof that there was no clear demarcation

[45] For details on Hou Cang and his ritual learning, consult Wang Baoxuan 王葆玹, *Jinguwen jingxue xinlun* 今古文经学新论 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1997), 99–107.

[46] See Michael Loewe, ed., "Kuang Heng and the Reform of Religious Practices—31 BC," in *Crisis and Conflict in Han China* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974), 154–92; and Wang Baoxuan 王葆玹, *Xi-Han jingxue yuanliu* 西漢經學源流 (Taibei: Dongda Tushu Gongsi, 1994), 244–50.

between Old Text and New Text camps.[47] We may rather read this free accommodation of textual data as evidence for the blended New Text classicism of the time with its admixture of Old Text learning, and for the usefulness of Old Text evidence for exegesis that occurred outside the struggle for textual recognition. At any rate, it was because of Liu Xin and his sponsorship of Old Texts, especially of *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* and Wang Mang's adoption of the *Offices of Zhou* 周 官 under its renamed title *Rites of Zhou* 周 禮 , that an Old Text school can be said to have appeared. And it was the initial blending of Lu and Qi learning, Mr. Hou's ritual school, and Old Text works that made it possible for the latter appearance of Zheng Xuan's 鄭 玄 (127–200) "Comprehensive Erudition" (*tongxue* 通學), which encompassed all schools.[48]

The nature of both Old Text and New Text learning transformed because of the rising influence of apocryphal texts. In an edict issued in AD 79 by Emperor Zhang 章 帝 (r. 75–88) as a lead-up to the White Tiger Hall Conference (to be translated in full further on), the good monarch announced, "I desire that the various Confucian classicists should jointly correct the meaning of the Classics, and in this way somewhat aide learners" 欲使諸儒共 正經義，頗令學者得以自助.[49] Wang Baoxuan adduces much evidence to demonstrate that the standard by which the classics should be "corrected" was the apocryphal texts and that this trend ran parallel to the movement to streamline the popular but sprawling genre of section and line commentaries.[50] The influence of apocryphal texts is clearly seen in the records of the conference sponsored by Emperor Zhang.[51]

[47] Michael Nylan, "The Chin Wen/Ku Wen Controversy in Han Times," *T'oung Pao* 80 (1994): 83–145. Her article is part of a recent effort to view the struggle between Old Text and New Text camps during the Han as a late Qing fabrication in order to support contemporary factional loyalties. Wang Baouan's distinction between Old Text Classics, available to any classicist for scholarly purposes, and Old Text classical scholarship, which was competing for imperial patronage, is a welcome way to mediate between the conflicting data. Other entrees into this controversy who could profit from Wang Baoxuan's balanced perspective include Li Xueqin 李学勤, "'Jingu xuekao' yu 'Wujing yiyi'" 今古学考与五经异义, in *Guwenxian conglun* 古文献丛论 (Shanghai: Yuandong chubanshe, 1996), 318–28; and Hans Van Ness, "The Old Text/New Text Controversy: Has the 20th Century Got it Wrong?", *T'oung Pao* 80 (1994): 147–70.

[48] Wang, *Xi-Han jingxue yuanliu*, 33–101, 383–400.

[49] A paraphrase of *Lunyu* 8.3, as is the translation of Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:195.

[50] Consult Wang, *Xi-Han jingxue yuanliu*, 392–400.

[51] For specialized studies, see Huang Fushan 黃復山, "*Baihutong* yu Dong-Han tuchen zhi guanxi" 白虎通與東漢圖讖之關係, in Huang Fushan, ed. *Dong-Han chenweixue xintan* 東漢讖緯學新探 (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju, 2000), 11–20; and Zhou Deliang 周德良, "*Baihutongyi* chenwei sixiang zhi lishi yanjiu" 白虎通義讖緯思想之歷史研究, MA thesis, Tamkang University, 1997.

5.2.1. Liu Xin and Wang Mang

Wang Mang 王 莽 (46 BC–AD 23), the usurper who founded a short-lived dynasty called the New 新 dynasty (9 BC–AD 23), was oriented toward the rites in his initial studies of the classics.[52] His biography in the *History of Han* merely records, "He received instruction in the ritual classics when he took as his master Chen Can from Pei Commandery, was assiduous in his efforts and erudite in his learning, and wore the clothing of a student of Confucianism" 受禮經，師事沛郡陳參，勤身博學，被服如儒生.[53] It seems that he was destined for a scholarly career as specialist in the rites along the lines of the Old Text orientation. But a broader context of the previous quote reveals something different. The ritual text that he studied was the *Ceremonials and Rituals*, not a specifically Old Text classic. In addition, he studied the *Changes* and *Mr. Zuo's Commentary*; only the latter was an exclusively Old Text work. The attribution of pious Confucian leanings due to his dress was probably nothing more than an attempt to contrast his humble habiliments with that of his more affluent and ennobled cousins, who affected the sartorial splendor of young court dandies. His allegiance to Old Text values was apparently inspired by practical, non-scholarly concerns. With the support of the powerful Wang clan, Mang eventually rose to the office of Marshall of State; then in AD 1 Mang accepted the titles of Duke Who Stabilizes the Han and Senior Tutor. The next year, the Grand Empress Dowager removed herself from the regency of the young Emperor Ping and married off Emperor Ping to Wang Mang's daughter. After the death of the emperor in AD 6, Wang Mang took the post of regent for the nominal child emperor, acting on the precedent of the Duke of Zhou. Reacting to the irresistible persuasive force of conveniently discovered portents, in AD 9 Mang divested himself of the title of regent and took the reins of power directly under the title of emperor of the Xin dynasty.

A curious justification for the change in emperors from the Liu line to a member of an unrelated clan was the earlier precedent of the sage-king Shun, who had received the throne from Yao, the latter traditionally touted as the tutelary founder in antiquity of the house of Liu. And yet, Wang's reliable supporter and advisor in ritual matters in his rise to power had been Liu Xin. For instance, Liu had advised on the proper rites to be observed in the wedding of Wang Mang's daughter to the young Emperor Ping, and Liu had served as one of the bride's escorts. Liu also helped manufacture public support with his propaganda work and positive interpretations of conveniently appearing portents. Here we delve into the reasons for this surprising allegiance, especially as it ran counter to his father Liu Xiang's strong support for the house of Han.

[52] For background to this interregnal dynasty, see Han Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han and Later Han," in Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 1: The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 223–90.

[53] *Hanshu* 99a.4039.

Michael Loewe explains the symbiotic relationship between Liu Xin and Wang Mang as follows:

> There were a number of reasons why the interests of Liu Xin should coincide with those of Wang Mang. Both men had been out of favour during the reign of Aidi; both supported the ideas of the Reformists, the one by reason of sincere intellectual conviction, the other perhaps because he could exploit those ideas to gain political support; and the accession of the infant, known later as Pingdi, in the year before AD 1 afforded opportunity to both men to pursue their ambitions. Thus Liu Xin could hope that a new dispensation, in which Wang Mang was the dominant influence, would allow him to introduce certain books such as the *Zuozhuan* into the canon, and to prescribe forms of worship and ceremonies which he believed to be in the true tradition of the king of Zhou. Liu Xin had become familiar with ancient writings and traditional forms of protocol, which could now be put to political use,largely in the course of the work which he and his father had put in at the collation of literary texts and the arrangement of the imperial library.
>
> Wang Mang would particularly welcome the support of Liu Xin, both in so far as he was a well-known intellectual, and also because he was a member of the Han imperial family. He could hope that the new books and written authority which Liu Xin sponsored would rally to his cause the solid support of the intellectual world and demonstrate to the court that his own exercise of temporal authority was legitimate and just.[54]

Xu Xingwu's thinking is similar; he posits that Wang Mang's recommendations for religious and ceremonial reforms were inherently attractive to backward-looking Confucians like Liu Xin, for these reforms were justified on the basis of theories derived from the classics in conjunction with the appearance of numerology, talismans, and portentous omens. The possibility of reforming the regime based on precedents from hoary antiquity was a powerful inducement to Liu. Lastly, alignment with the powers that be fulfilled Liu's private desire for personal stability and enrichment, and participating in the contemporary reform movement conformed to Liu's cultural ideals.[55]

Ban Gu's biography of Wang Mang details some ritual and academic measures supported by Wang that would have attracted Liu Xin:

> During this year [AD 4], Mang memorialized the throne, recommending to build the Hall of Light, its Circular Moat, and the Spirit Tower, to construct ten thousand halls of dormitories for academy students, and to make a market and Ever-Filled Granary, with accompanying regulations and institutions. In the grand academy he instituted the text of the *Classic of Music* and increased the number of erudites, five for each classic. He summoned all in the empire who were specialists in one classic and who had taught more than eleven pupils, and he deposited in libraries the lost *Rites*, *Old Text [Esteemed] Documents*, *Mao Poems*, *Offices of Zhou*, the *Close to Elegance* onomasticon, texts on astronomy, divination handbooks, manuals for tuning bells and pitches, the *Monthly Ordinances*, military works, and the writings of historical chapters. All who had mastered the meaning of these works visited the Bureau of Court Carriages.[56] Gathering marvel-working knights from the empire, around a thousand showed up, and all were ordered to record their theories in the palace archives to be used to correct perverse errors, unify diverse theories, and the like.
>
> 是 歲，莽奏起明堂、辟雍、靈臺，為學者築舍萬區，作市、常滿倉，制度甚盛。立樂經，益博士員，經各五人。徵天下通一藝教授十一人以上，及有逸禮、古書、毛詩、周官、爾雅、天文、圖讖、鍾律、月令、兵法、史篇文字，通知其意者，皆詣公車。網羅天下異能之士，至者前後千數，皆令記說廷中，將令正乖繆，壹異說云。[57]

[54] Michael Loewe, ed., "The Support for Wang Mang," in *Crisis and Conflict in Han China*, 303–304.

[55] Xu, *Liu Xiang pingzhuan*, 436.

Wang Mang's interest in the *Offices of Zhou* can be ascribed to his carefully orchestrated attempt to link himself with the most famous regent in history, the Duke of Zhou. As the purported author of this classic, the revered Duke was an effective endorsement and cover for Mang's own effort to become the power behind the throne. But it was at this point that Liu Xin's intellectual interests bifurcated from those of Mang, since Xin was devoted to a real ritual text: the *Rites*—not the *Offices of Zhou*, a text only loosely connected with ritual.[58]

Liu Xin personally allied himself with Wang Mang through family ties of allegiance when his daughter married one of Wang Mang's sons, Wang Lin 王臨 . When Wang Mang officially assumed the throne in his own name, he appointed Xin the Master of the State, a signal honor. Xin also compiled a new calendrical system, the *Three Sequences* 三統, which replaced the *Grand*

[56] The Bureau of Court Carriages is short for Gate Traffic Control Office 公車司馬門 which included among its duties the flow of memorials from all over the empire into the palace.

[57] *Hanshu* 99a.4069. For Wang Mang's sponsorship of Old Text Classics, an orientation that attracted Liu Xin, consult Huang Zhangjian 黃彰健, *Jing jinguwenxue wenti xinlun* 經今古文學問題信論 (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo, 1992), 87–127.

[58] On this point, see Wang, *Jinguwen jingxue xinlun*, 144–49. For Wang Mang and his sponsorship of the *Zhouguan/Zhouli*, consult Michael Puett, "Centering the Realm: Wang Mang, the *Zhouli*, and Early Chinese Statecraft," in *Statecraft and Classical Learning: The* Rituals of Zhou *in East Asian History*, Benjamin A. Elman and Martin Kern, eds. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 129–54.

Beginning 太初 system used during the Western Han. But Xin's support may have been lukewarm all along and a matter more of self-promotion and preservation than of heartfelt intellectual allegiance. He apparently felt guilty at the inexplicable death of Emperor Ping, which put him in the awkward psychological position of going along with the political tide that was at odds with his personal values.[59] We can also posit that he must not have felt free to follow his classical scholarship where it led, fearing that if it led away from lending Wang Mang support, it would lead him to untenable political positions. But he ultimately turned from Mang and in AD 23 became involved in a plot against him, favoring a restoration of the house of Liu. He committed suicide after the conspiracy was uncovered. His change of name late in life from Xin to Xiu 修 was due only in part to avoiding an imperial taboo; it most likely was designed to fulfill a prophecy from an apocryphal source to aid him in his attempt to overthrow Wang Mang.[60]

5.3. Yang Xiong

Yang Xiong 揚 雄 (53 BC–AD 18) is historically appreciated as an original thinker, a poet of rhapsodies (*fu* 賦) of rich and rare diction, and a lexicographer. His profile as a classicist is not usually remarked upon, but a welcome and expected exception is a biographical entry by Michael Nylan: "Master Yang Xiong [is] the first Confucian classicist and greatest of the pre-Song metaphysicians."[61] With the career of Yang Xiong, this scholar of many parts, we reach the end of the five-part filiation of the greatest Confucian classical commentators originally identified by Ban Gu. The original passage is worth quoting, despite its earlier appearance in chapter 2:

> The appraisal says, "Confucius claimed that 'it is difficult to obtain talented men; isn't this statement true indeed!'[62] After Confucius, those gentlemen who composed texts were legion, but really only the several masters Mencius, Xunzi, Dong Zhongshu, Sima Qian, Liu Xiang, and Yang Xiong were broadly versed and widely learned, and who penetrated the ancient and understood the modern. Their words benefit the ages."
>
> 贊曰：仲尼稱「材難不其然與！」自孔子後，綴文之士眾矣，唯孟軻、孫況，董仲舒、司馬遷、劉向、揚雄。此數公者，皆博物洽聞，通達古今，其言有補於世。[63]

Yang's role as classicist is also worthwhile to explore, given his close connection with Liu Xin and the work of collation in the palace, and his other research endeavors in such subfields of classical scholarship as lexicography and exegesis.

Yang Xiong was born in Shu, and, most appropriately, imitated his earlier countryman Sima Xiangru 司 馬 相 如 (179–127 BC) in the style and structure of Sima's earliest and best loved literary genre, the rhapsody.[64] He also appreciated Qu Yuan's *sao* 騷 style poems, although he disagreed with Qu's choice of suicide to exit the political scene. The literary form of the rhapsody, despite the verbal virtuosity it required, was more designed to delight possible patrons and to gain a literary reputation than to display solid learning, and it contrasts somewhat with Yang's serious personality. His biography by Ban Gu touches on these conflicting qualities of his personal profile:

> When Xiong was young he was fond of study, but he did not adopt the genre of the section and line commentary. Instead, he mastered the classics through studying word glosses. He read widely, not missing anything. He was easygoing and uninhibited, but given his stutter, he was unable to communicate effectively. He often stayed silent, loving to engage in profound contemplation, and he practiced quietism and non-purposeful action, reducing his outside interests and desires. He was not concerned over wealth or fame and not worried over poverty or lowly position, nor did he affect superior behavior to gain a name among his contemporaries. He was not fond of any writings that were not from the sages or the wise. He was naturally of lofty character, and would not engage in anything that would bring him fame or fortune if it did not conform to his ideals. But he once was fond of composing rhapsodies.
>
> 雄少而好學，不為章句，訓詁通而已，博覽無所不見。為人簡易佚蕩，口吃不能劇談，默而好深湛之思，清靜亡為，少耆欲，不汲汲於富貴，不戚戚於貧賤，不修廉隅以徼名當世。自有大度，非其意，雖富貴不事也。顧嘗好辭賦。[65]

He seems to have been among the earliest generation of classicists to favor the Old Text learning without having to convert from a background in the New

[59] See the discussion in Xu, *Liu Xiang pingzhuan*, 448.
[60] Wang, *Xi-Han jingxue yuanliu*, 398.
[61] Michael Nylan, in Xinzhong Yao, ed., *RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, 1:741.
[62] *Analects* 8.20.
[63] *Hanshu* 87.3514.

[64] Loewe, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods*, 638, claims that this imitation is illusory; but it is explicitly noted by Ban Gu, himself a composer of *fu*, in Yang's *Hanshu* biography, 87a.3515.
[65] *Hanshu* 87a.3514. Yang's biography spans the two parts of *Hanshu* 87, 87a.3513–56, and 87b.3557– 85, being artificially expanded by the inclusion of seven of his *fu* compositions; it has been translated and copiously annotated by David Knechtges, *The* Hanshu *Biography of Yang Xiong (53 B.C.–A.D. 18)* (Tempe, AZ: Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1982). Other early biographical accounts are analyzed by Michal Nylan, *Yang Xiong and the Pleasures of Reading and Classical Learning in China* (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 2011), 24–31. A modern critical biography is Wang Qing 王青, *Yang Xiong pingzhuan* 揚雄評傳 (Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue Chubanshe, 2000).

Text tradition. However, this assessment is based mostly on Yang's negative view of the section and line commentary. In a close examination of Yang's use of quotes from the classics, Wang Qing demonstrates that Yang utilized mainly New Text editions, but avoided indulging in theories of "disasters and omens" from apocryphal sources in his exegesis.[66] Such conflicting evidence reminds us that the issue of Old Text versus New Text partisanship is a complex one, transcending the matter of selecting school editions for the exegetical task at hand.

Yang's flair for the rhapsody is mentioned here, seemingly as a defect in his character. But it was his fame as a composer in this genre that gained him his initial notoriety, and eventually it was what brought him to the attention of Emperor Cheng upon Yang's appearance on the literary scene in Chang'an after he was forty years of age (some say thirty). Seven examples of his rhapsodies are preserved in his biography, pieces which were often inspired by his inclusion in the imperial retinue on the emperor's travels or ritual ceremonies. He later gave up this pastime, claiming that the intent of the genre was to criticize excessive or amoral behavior, yet it was rarely effective in its purpose; besides, contemporary rhapsodies neither preserved the regulations and institutions of the kingly way nor conformed to the orthodox poetry and rhapsodies of worthies and gentlemen.[67]

After gaining the favor of the emperor, who received the dedication of several of Yang's rhapsodies, Yang was installed as a Gentleman of the Yellow Gates and became part of the same network of classicists-*cum*-advisors as Liu Xin and Wang Mang that worked outside of the system of erudites. One instance of his service was in 5 BC when a loud bell-like sound was heard throughout the palace. He and another Gentleman of the Yellow Gates both interpreted the anomaly as a "drum prodigy" (*guyao* 鼓夭), which appears in sound but not in form when the emperor is deceived by the masses and promotes the unworthy. Incidentally, they only arrived at this conclusion from the exegetical tradition of the "methods of a master" (*shifa* 師法) concerning the "Great Plan" 洪範 chapter of the *Esteemed Documents*.[68] Yang later was advanced to the high rank of Counselor, but he never profited by his service in any office during the course of his career, which spanned the reigns of three emperors. It was while at court as Counselor that he composed

[66] Wang, *Yang Xiong pingzhuan*, 74–86. For the traditional view of Yang as Old Text advocate, see Xie Lixia 解麗霞, "'Jingu zhuanxing' zhong de Yang Xiong jingxueguan" 今古轉型的揚雄經學觀. *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中華文化論壇 2007, 3:130–35; more comprehensively, consult Frank Melvin Doeringer, "Yang Hsiung and His Formulation of a Classicism," (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1971).

[67] *Hanshu* 87b.3575. David R. Knecht's study is the most thorough treatment of his *fu* in English, *The Han Rhapsody: A Study of the* Fu *of Yang Xiong (53 B.C.–A.S. 18)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). Also consult Gong Kechang 龔克昌, *Studies on the Han Fu*, David R. Knechtges, et al. trans. (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1997), 183–226, which is a translation of the relevant chapter of his *Han fu yanjiu* 漢賦研究 (Jinan: Wenyi Chubanshe, 1990).

[68] *Hanshu* 27b.b.1429 (*juan* 27, middle chapter of three, part two.)

his works on classical scholarship, among them books on lexicography and exegesis. The former category includes the *Glosses Complied on the Cangjie Dictionary* 蒼頡訓纂, in one fascicle, and his great dictionary of dialect words, *Regional Expressions* 方言, in thirteen fascicles.[69]

The relationship between poetic artistry and interest in lexicography during the Han is seemingly a natural one, a catenary connection linking the contemporary outlook for categorization with an interest in words and poetic production. In ancient Alexandria, compiling word lists for the use of poetic composition was often a necessary concomitant to composition, as seen in the example of Callimachus. One special *pinax* appended to his famous *Pinakes* ("lists," a library catalog) was a listing of glosses, something we may surmise was designed to aid his production of verses of exceptional "subtlety," his standard of poetic excellence.[70] Earlier poets such as Philatas (late fourth century BC) and Zenodotus (fl. 280 BC) were also glossologists. Rudolph Pfeiffer explains:

> The work of Philatas the poet was inseparably allied to the work of Philatas the scholar, the κριτικός. For the new poetical technique could not be successfully practiced without the constant help of the old masters. Glossaries invaluable in the first place for the choice of words, helped also to give an understanding of the great poetry of the past. The Greek interest in rare words was very old: we have seen how occasional collections were made and how Aristotle paid particular attention to glosses. But it was a new thing for a leading poet to write an extensive work on the subject.[71]

Yang Xiong was not the first poet-lexicographer in China, for he was following the earlier precedent of Sima Xiangru, who also had compiled a similar work, entitled *Fanjiang* 凡將, in one fascicle.[72] But we cannot attribute Yang's motivation solely to a belletrist's inherent fascination with words. Granted, as with all writers of rhapsodies, he was by definition a worder and a wordmonger, with a delight in manipulating the inherent richness of word phonology and meaning, and a playful interest in paronomasia and other verbal legerdemain. It seems that he joyfully exploited the complete diapason of linguistic difficulties.[73] Besides, the genre of the rhapsody required an inherent cataloging mentality and the employment of recondite diction and rare words. But Yang's immediate motivation behind compiling his first dictionary was external: the throne's general call for more lexicographical work. I translate the relevant background here,

[69] *Hanshu* 30.1720 records a *Xunzuan* 訓纂 in one fascicle and a *Yang Xiong Cangjie xunzuan* 揚雄倉頡篇訓纂 in one fascicle.

[70] Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 132.

[71] Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 90.

[72] *Hanshu* 30.1720.

[73] For a delightful exposition of Yang's verbal virtuosity, see Nylan, *Yang Xiong and the Pleasures of Reading*, 62–98.

already partially presented before in chapter 1, not only to reveal Yang's work in this area but also as a necessary lead up to Xu Shen's own work in lexicography, which forms the focus of the next chapter.

> The *Fascicle from Historian Zhou* was a book used from the historian's office to instruct the young; it was in a different style than the works in old script from the walls of Confucius' domicile. The *Cangjie* in 7 pericopes was composed by Prime Minister Li Si of the Qin. The *Yuanli* in 6 pericopes was composed by the Director of the Livery Office Zhao Gao. The *Broaden Learning* in 7 pericopes was composed by Prefect Grand Historian Huwu Jing. The written characters mostly adopted those of the *Fascicle from Historian Zhou*, yet the seal style was somewhat different, being the so-called Qin seal style. At this time, the clerical style was innovated, which originated from overworked prison officials, who abbreviated characters out of carelessness or simplified them due to being rushed; it was used to manage corvée labor prisoners. After the Han arose, the teachers of calligraphy among the lanes and hamlets combined the three fascicles of the *Cangjie*, *Yuanli*, and *Broaden Learning*, and limited each pericope to 60 graphs, in all 55 pericopes; these works were combined and called *Cangjie*. During Emperor Wu's reign, Sima Xiangru composed the *Fanjiang Fascile*, with no duplicate graphs. During Emperor Yuan's reign, the Prefect of the Yellow Gate Shi You composed the *Jijiu Fascicle*, and during Emperor Cheng's reign, the Court Architect Li Chang composed the *Yuanshang Fascicle*, both of which included regular form characters from the *Cangjie Fascicle*. But those in the *Fanjiang* displayed many differences. By the middle of the Yuanshi period (AD 1–5), one hundred experts on elementary learning in the empire were summoned, and each were ordered to record graphs in the palace. Yang Xiong selected those which were useful and composed his *Fascicles of Glosses Compiled*, which naturally was a continuation of the *Cangjie*. He further eliminated the graphs that were duplicated from the *Cangjie*, 89 pericopes in all. I [Ban Bu] also continued Yang Xiong's work in 12 pericopes; the work then reached 102 pericopes, with no duplications. The graphs found in the body of work in the Six Arts was mostly contained therein. The *Cangjie* included many ancient graphs, but common teachers did not know how to read them, so during the reign of Emperor Xuan, he summoned a man of Qi who was able to read them in the correct pronunciation, and Zhang Chang was taught by him. He transmitted his learning to his great-grandson Du Lin, who provided glosses and notes, all of which works are listed previously.
>
> 史籀篇者，周時史官教學童書也，與孔氏壁中古文異體。蒼頡七章者，秦丞相李斯所作也；爰歷六章者，車府令趙高所作也；博學七章者，太史令胡母敬所作也：文字多取史籀篇，而篆體復頗異，所謂秦篆者也。是時始造隸書矣，起於官獄多事， 苟趨省易， 施之於徒隸也。漢書[=興]，閭里書師合蒼頡、爰歷、博學三篇，斷六十字以為一章，凡五十五章，并為蒼頡篇。武帝時司馬相如作凡將篇，無復字。元帝時黃門令史游作急就篇，成帝時將作大匠李長作元尚篇，皆蒼頡中正字也。凡將則頗有出矣。至元始中，徵天下通小學者以百數，各令記字於庭中。揚雄取其有用者以作訓纂篇，順續蒼頡，又易蒼頡中重復之字，凡八十九章。臣復續揚雄作十二章，凡一百二章，無復字，六藝群書所載略備矣。蒼頡多古字，俗師失其讀， 宣帝時徵齊人能正讀者，張敞從受之，傳至外孫之子杜林，為作訓故，并列焉。[74]

Fragments of several of these works are collected by Ma Guohan, including the *Fanjiang Fascicle* of Sima Xiangru, *Glosses Compiled Fascicle* by Yang Xiong, and *Glosses Compiled on the Cangjie* by Du Lin.[75] This very fragmentary evidence displays simple word lists of one or more characters in the format of the *Close to Elegant* 爾 雅 onomasticon, defined by synonyms in simpler graphic forms.[76] Of incidental interest, Ma Guohan explains that the obscure titles of the *Fanjiang Fascicle* and the *Jijiu Fascicle* derive their titles from nothing more than their first entries, the old incipit-as-title gambit.[77]

Roger Greatrex adds a few words of clarification on the course of development of these interrelated synonymicons: the *Cangjie*, the *Yuanli*, and the *Boxue* that came to form the *Cangjie Fascicle*.

> At the beginning of the Han dynasty, these three works, amounting to twenty sections, were combined together into one work, which was given the name of *Cangjiepian* [*Cangjie Fascicle*]. The material in this new work was divided into fifty-five new sections, each of which included

[74] *Hanshu* 30.1721.

[75] Ma, *Yuhan Shanfang jiyishu*, 6:1–5.

[76] For good entrees in these early dictionaries, see Françoise Bottéro, "Les 'Manuels de charactères' à l'époque des Han occidentaux," in *Éducation et instruction en Chine*, vol. 1, *L'éducation élémentaire*, ed. Christine Nguyen Tri and Catherine Despeux (Paris: Éditions Peeters, 2003), 99–120; Xing Yitian 邢 义 田, "Handai Cangjie, Jijiu, Bati he shishu wenti: Zailun Qin-Han guanli ruhe xuexi wenzi" 漢代倉頡，急就，八體和史書問題：再論秦漢官吏如何學習文字, in *Paleography and Early Chinese History* 古文字與古代史, no. 2., ed, Li Zong-kun 李宗焜 (Taipei: Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 2009), 429–70; and Su Shangyao 蘇尚耀, *Zhongguo wenzixue congtan* 中國文字學叢談 (Taipei: Wen Shi Zhe Chubanshe, 1976), 41–65.

[77] Ma, *Yuhan Shanfang jiyishu*, 6:1. In a detailed survey of the field, He Mingyong and Jing Peng note that tradition includes the number of graphs treated in the main character primers or word books: *Shizhoupian*, over 9,000; *Cangjiepian*, 3,300; *Xunzuanpian*, 5,340. See their *Chinese Lexicography: A History from 1046 BC to AD 1911* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 47.

> sixty characters, i.e. a total of 3,300 characters, an unknown number of which were repetitions. This unadorned synonymicon served as an abecedarium, or elementary manual, for the instruction of children. It is a fragmentary copy of this earliest stage of the *Cangjiepian* that has been discovered in the Fuyang tomb. Throughout the Western Han dynasty, revisions and additions were made to the *Cangjiepian*. . . . This period of academic activity eventually culminated in the *Cangjie xunzuan* 倉頡訓纂 by Yang Xiong . . . , which was the product of a conference, convened in AD 5 by Wang Mang in the Weiyang Hall 未央廷, that was attended by over a hundred scholars. In his work, Yang Xiong removed the repetitions from the *Cangjiepian* and added a further thirty-four sections, derived from the discussions in the conference, so that the *Xunzuanpian* 訓纂篇, as it is known, amounted to eighty-nine sections, containing 5,340 characters.[78]

Yang's work on dialect words was on a much larger scale and remained incomplete at his death. It is not recorded in Ban Gu's bibliographical treatise except perhaps in a severely abbreviated and therefore almost anonymous form, the *Graphs from Different States* 別字.[79] Chen Guoqing cites Qian Daxi 錢大昕 (1728–1804) to the effect that the *Bielu* was a severely abbreviated form of *Youxian shizhe juedai yushi bieguo fangyan* 輶軒史[=使]者絕代語釋別國方言, or *Linguistic Explanations on Regional Expressions from Different States by the Nonpareil of the Age, the Light Carriage Emissary*.[80] Ying Shao 應 劭 (140–206) explains the allusion behind the more expansive title as referring to an ancient custom that persisted up through the Qin: "The Zhou and Qin dynasties always dispatched an emissary in a light carriage to seek out regional expressions from different ages during the eighth month of each year. They would return and report via a written record and store them in the imperial archives." 周、秦常以歲八月遣輶軒之使，求異代方言，還奏籍之，藏於秘室.[81] Ying goes on to identify various figures who had either assembled or worked on such texts. It seems valid, therefore, to conclude that Yang Xiong worked on archival material already at hand and lent the material a consistent editorial gloss. This accommodates Serruys's assertion that the contents represent the work of a single

[78] Roger Greatrex, "An Early Western Han Synonymicon: The Fuyang Copy of the Cang Jie Pian," in *Outstretched Leaves on His Bamboo Staff: Studies in Honour of Göran Malmqvist on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Joakim Enwall (Stockholm: Association of Oriental Studies, 1994), 97–113; pp. 101–2.

[79] *Hanshu* 30.1720.

[80] See Chen Guoqing, *Hanshu Yiwenzhi zhushi huibian*, 89–90. In the title, both Chao Gongwu, *Junzhai dushuzhi jiaozheng*, 1:149–50, and Chen Zhensun, *Chihzhai shulu jieti*, 87, write *shi* 使 for 史; the latter records the edition in fourteen scrolls.

[81] Ying Shao 應劭, *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義效注, 2 vols., Wang Liqi 王立器 ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1981), "Preface," 1:1.

author but not his contention that "its plan and consistency show that it is not a mere compilation of philological glosses of various origin, but a synchronic word list verified by one man."[82] Unfortunately, Serruys offers these assertions in the summary conclusion of an unpublished work, and hence their foundation on ancient evidence is unavailable for scrutiny.

The final title of *Regional Expressions* does appear in the bibliographic monograph of the *History of Sui*, the two Tang monographs, or the major privately compiled bibliographies of the Song, which all attribute the work to Yang Xiong. The vexing question of authorship is crystallized by the more probing inquiry of the Qianlong bibliographers:

> *Regional Expressions*, in 13 scrolls. An old edition attributes the authorship to Yang Xiong of the Han, but evidence in antiquity is lacking. Xu Shen's *Shuowen* does cite Xiong's explanations, but none of them appear in *Regional Expressions*, and when Xu's glosses on definitions make use of *Regional Expressions*, he does not mention Xiong. It was only with Ying Shao of the Later Han that scholars started to claim it as Xiong's work; we suspect that it is only an attribution.
>
> 方言十三卷。舊本題漢楊雄，然於古無徵。許慎說文引雄說，皆不見於方言，其義訓用方言者，又不言楊雄。至後漢應劭始稱雄作，疑依託也。[83]

In an exchange of letters between Liu Xin and Yang Xiong, Xin requested a copy of this work, which Xiong gently deflected in his reply. Assuming that these letters are authentic, which is by no means the modern consensus except in western sinological circles, the authorship of Xiong is seemingly demonstrated:

> You mention an *Expressions from Distinguished States* in 15 scrolls; how did you, sir, learn of it . . . ? Now the Secretariat was ordered to bequeath me brushes, paper, and money to the extent of 60,000 cash and permits me to peruse the books in the Stone Channel Pavilion. Therefore, when the Filial and Upright and security forces from commanderies around the empire assemble to hand in their yearly reports, I always grasp my three-inch brushes and tote my four-foot writing silk sheets and interview them about different linguistic expressions. I then return and immediately categorize and record them with my pen on wooden tablets. It has been twenty-seven years now, but some of the material is out of order or contradictory, so now I am repeatedly reviewing and reflecting on it in detail, and re-editing and resolving doubtful parts.

[82] Paul L-M Serruys, C.I.C.M., *The Chinese Dialects of Han Time According to Fang Yen* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), x.

[83] *Siku quanshu jianming mulu*, 157. For the wordy original entry, see *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Taipei: Hanjing Wenhua Shiye Yuxian Gongsi, 81), 1:227 (*juan* 40).

又敕以殊言十五卷，君何由知之。…… 令尚書賜筆墨錢六萬，得觀書於石渠。……故天下上計孝廉及內郡衛卒會者，雄常把三寸弱翰，齎油素四尺，以問其異語。歸即以鉛摘次之於槧，二十七年矣。而語言或交錯相反，方覆論思詳悉集之，燕其疑。[84]

The name of Yang's work-in-progress, *Differentiated Expressions* 殊言, is close in structure and semantics to the title of *Graphs from Different States* 別字, which itself is a reduction of part of an original title that included the phrasing *Regional Expressions from Different States* 別國方言. These similarities allow us to conclude that Yang is referring to the same great dictionary on dialect or regional expressions. The title of *Differentiated Expressions* is also reacting to the phraseology in Liu Xin's original letter, referring to Yang's research in the following terms: "I have heard that you are collecting and assembling lost expressions from earlier ages and differentiated language from strange states on your own in a work of 15 scrolls. . . . I have heard about this now, so I greatly praise you for it" 聞子雲獨採集先代絕言，異國殊語以為十五卷。……今聞此甚為子雲嘉之。[85]

Regional Expressions contains 669 entries, which include more than 11,900 words. The received version is fortified by a commentary by Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324) and includes words added by other Eastern Han and Wei period scholars. Qian Yi 錢繹, nephew of Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728–1804), composed an extensive set of critical notes that is commonly taken as the point of departure for Qing scholarship: *Fangyan jianshu* 方言箋疏. The first entry in *Regional Expressions* may be taken as typical:

> *Dang*, *xiao*, *zhe* mean to "realize." In Chu they say *dang*. (Commentary: *Dang* means to understand, the appearance of being enlightened). Some say that *zhe* is used for *xiao* in the area between Qi and Song.
>
> 黨曉哲知也。楚謂黨。(注：黨明也解悟貌)。或曰曉齊宋之閒謂之哲。[86]

It is at this point that Qian Yi appends an appallingly detailed exposition, useful for the specialist but soporific for the casual consulter.

We now turn to Yang's two famous works, the *Classic on the Grandest Mystery* 太玄經 and *Model Expressions* 法言, which are habitually characterized as profound works on philosophical matters; I disagree with this characterization.

[84] Zhang Pu 張溥, in Vol. 1 *Han-Wei Liuchao baisan mingjiaji* 漢魏六朝百三名家集, 6 vols. (Taipei: Wenjin Chubanshe, 1979), 331 (9a). See David R. Knechtges, "The Liu Hsin/Yang Xiong Correspondence on the Fang yen," *Monumenta Serica 33* (1977–78): 309–25; and Nylan, *Yang Xiong and the Pleasures of Reading*, 20–24.

[85] *Han-Wei Liuchao mingjiaji*, 1:369 (4a).

[86] *Han xiaoxue sizhong* 漢小學四種, 2 vols. (Chengdu: Ba Shu Shushe, 2001), 2:1233 (*juan* 1.1b).

Of course, in content, one is profoundly metaphysical and the other more ethically oriented, two worthy branches of philosophy. But the intent of each work was something other than metaphysical theorizing or musings on morality. I argue that, as with much of Yang's works on linguistics and literature, they function as commentaries, the former on the earlier classic the *Changes* and the latter on the earlier commentary *primus inter pares*, the *Analects*.

The *Classic on the Grandest Mystery*, rendered by its recent English translator Michael Nylan as *The Elemental Changes*, is introduced by Nylan as follows:

> For millennia Chinese readers have seen the *Taixuanjing* . . . as a true guide for those seeking the Way of the ages. Today, in the West, readers will find the *Mystery* an essential tool for understanding the Tao as it operates in the cosmos, in the psyche, or in the sacred texts like the *Yijing*. Written in 2 BC, the *Mystery* represents the first grand synthesis of the dominant strands of Chinese thought, as it weaves together elements of Confucianism, Daoism, Yin/yang Five Phases theory, alchemy, and astrology into a systematic, organized whole; all the fundamental components of early Chinese belief appear within its pages.
>
> As a book of divination, the *Mystery* provides a method for weighing alternative courses of action. As a book of philosophy, it conveys a sense of the elemental changes in life. Intricately structured in eighty-one tetragrams (four-line graphs), the *Mystery* accounts for the movements of the sun, moon, and stars, the shifting rhythms of the seasons, the alternations of night and day, and the ebb and flow of cosmic energy—in short, all the dynamic relations of the realms of Heaven, Earth, and Man.[87]

Its nature as an imitative work of, and indeed commentary to, the *Changes* is not only self-admitted by Yang but self-apparent.

It is commonly granted that *Model Expressions* was intended to be a second *Analects*.[88] It is capped by an initial chapter on learning, in obvious imitation of the opening chapters of both the *Analects* and *Xunzi*. This structural unity points out the unity of content shared by these three works. The opening passage, pericope 1.1, may be taken as a program statement for the typical classicist: "To practice what one has learned is best; to articulate it is second best; and to teach it to others, a distant third. Those who fail in all of these are but ordinary men" 學行之上，言之次也。教人又其次也。咸無焉為眾人.[89] These three methods of learning encapsulate the traditional burden of classicists: to practice the moral

[87] Michael Nylan, trans., *The Elemental Changes: The Ancient Chinese Companion to the I Ching* (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1994), 1.

[88] Li Yinghua 李英华, "Di erbu *Lunyu—Fayan shuping*" 第二部論語—法言述評, *Kongzi yanjiu* 1997, 2:8491.

[89] *Yangzi Fayan* (ZZJC ed.), 1.1; Nylan trans., *Exemplary Figures Fa Yan* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2013), 2.

lessons learned from the classics, to comment in word and writing on these lessons and the textual methods of learning them, and to teach both methods and messages to the next generation. The essence of this learning and praxis, exegesis, and teaching, is to follow in the footsteps of Confucius and to assume his heaven-mandated mission, as explained in pericope 1.3:

> The Way of Heaven—was it not invested in Kongzi? But the reins of his carriage were set down [at his death]. Is the Way then not invested in these classicists? If one were to try to take up again the reins that were laid down, then the best way of doing this would be to cause all the classicists to make their voices ring out loud and clear, like wooden tongues giving voice to bells of bronze.
>
> 天之道，不在仲尼乎？仲尼駕說者也，不在茲儒乎？如將復駕其說，則莫若使諸儒金口而木舌。[90]

This commentarial outlook and purport hold true even for Yang Xiong's compositions of rhapsodies, as explained by Gong Kechang, though employing a different term than "commentary": "Unlike them [earlier writers of rhapsodies], Yang Xiong wrote his rhapsodies as reactions to the scenes [and, I might add, the events] around him. He wrote them spontaneously and completed them quickly. He only thought of solving a few concrete problems or of fulfilling a certain concrete task. Thus, his rhapsodies are usually quite short.[91]

Yang admitted his intention to imitate classical works as models for his own compositions in the appraisal that appends his biography, which was based on his own "account of himself" (*zixu* 自序): "Regarding that, of the classics, none was greater than the *Changes*, he hence composed the *Grandest Mystery*; of commentaries, none were greater than the *Analects*, so he composed the *Model Expressions* . . ." 以為經莫大於易，故作太玄；傳莫大於論語，作法言. And so it went for the model compositions for each genre he treated.[92] This was, of course, part of his lifelong commitment to gain fame as a master of literary composition (*wenzang* 文章). Still, in striving to imitate the Sage in commenting on the classics, Yang Xiong was in good company with all historical classicists, as noted previously; he was an early exemplar of this. But Yang seems to exceed the proper limits of this golden mean of pious discipleship by entering into the realm of hubris by turning too much attention toward himself; Michael Nylan explains this behavior as "displac[ing] the figure of the ruler as protagonist with a portrait of himself as a rhetorical master steeped in classical learning who has successfully emulated the legendary figures from antiquity."[93] To some, Yang moved too eagerly from emulating the sages to seeking sagehood for himself, given the exalted title of "classic" that he arrogated to his commentarial work on

[90] *Yangzi Fayan*, 1.1; Nylan, *Exemplary Figures*, 5.
[91] Gong Kechang, *Studies on the Han Fu*, 224–25.
[92] *Hanshu* 87b.3583.
[93] Nylan, *Exemplary Figures*, xiii.

the *Changes*. His biography records the reaction this overreach caused: "Some of the various Confucians castigated him, feeling that Xiong composing a classic without being a sage is like the lords of Wu and Chu during the Warring States period usurping the title of king, most likely a crime worthy of personal execution and extermination of his clan" 諸儒或譏以為雄非聖人而作經，猶春秋吳楚之君僭號稱王，蓋誅絕之罪也.[94] His long association with Wang Mang and his service in a low office during Wang's interregnal reign could not but detract from his reputation among Eastern Han Confucians.

Yang Xiong must have realized the outrage that would be incited by his daring to contribute to the pool of classics with his own works, and he included some irenic rhetorical overtures in *Model Expressions* to defend himself. The first passage focuses on the act of writing:

> Someone asked me, "Given the model of 'transmitting and not creating,' how is it that you came to create the *Mystery*?" I responded, saying, "The traditions have been transmitted through the ages, though the writing is newly done."
>
> 或曰：述而不作，玄何以作？曰：其事則述，其書則作。[95]

The conclusion is that the author is merely the means of recording truths that have been transmitted from antiquity, with no thought of exerting authorial authority. The second passage centers on the nature of the classics themselves as the tangible embodiment of the Way:

> Someone asked me, "May one add to or subtract from the classics?" "The *Changes* began with the Eight Trigrams, from which King Wen produced the sixty-four Hexagrams. This is proof that the classics can be added to. As for the *Odes*, *Documents*, *Rites*, and *Annals*, in some places they were transmitted writings, without additions, and in some cases new compositions. That they were completed by Kongzi is proof that they could be added to. Thus we see that the Way is not 'spontaneously created'! Rather, it is fashioned in response to the times, which means that it can be added to or subtracted from."
>
> 或曰：經可損益與？曰：易始八卦，而文王六十四，其益可知也。詩、書、禮、春秋，或因或作而成於仲尼，其益可知也。故夫道非天然，應時而造者，損益可知也。[96]

His biography ends with the fate of these two "philosophical" treatises: the transpicuous commentary on ethics circulated widely but the obscure "classic" on metaphysics was preserved but little noticed forty-plus years after his death.[97] Ban Gu's concluding comments based on Yang's own biographical notes thus may be

[94] *Hanshu* 87b.3585.
[95] *Yangzi Fayan*, 5.14; Nylan, *Exemplary Figures*, 79.
[96] *Yangzi Fayan*, 5.13; Nylan, *Exemplary Figures*, 73.
[97] *Hanshu* 87b.3585.

read as a subtle but effective endorsement of Yang's role as commentator but ultimate negation of his self-claimed role as sage.

5.4. Jia Kui and the White Tiger Hall Debates

Liu Xin's letter of reprimand was sent in 6 BC; leaving aside Wang Mang's later sponsorship of Old Text Classics, three more official petitions to the throne were offered up before the Old Text classics were granted official status. In AD 26, Han Xin 韓 歆 petitioned for the insertion of *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* within the official curriculum; the official debate that occurred in AD 28 led to the sanctioning of the text and an erudite to teach it, one Li Feng 李封, which position unfortunately only lasted as long as his short-lived good health. In AD 76, Old Text scholar Jia Kui 賈逵 (30–101), a ninth-generation descendant of Jia Yi, petitioned the throne to gain official sponsorship for *Mr. Zuo's Commentary,* which ultimately led to the White Tiger Hall conference in AD 79. The final example is the ongoing if unofficial debates between New Text advocate He Xiu 何 修 (129–182) and champion of Old Text learning Zheng Xuan over the relative values of the *Gongyang* and *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* some time during the mid and late second century.[98] Here I examine Jia Kui and the White Tiger Hall debates and reserve treatment of Zheng Xuan until a later chapter.

5.4.1. White Tiger Hall Debates

The opening section of Jia Kui's 賈 逵 (30–101) biography reveals a connection with Liu Xin through Kui's father Hui 徽 and introduces a new type of scholar: "His father, Hui, learned *Mr. Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* from Liu Xin and concurrently studied the *Tales of the States* and *Offices of Zhou*, and he furthermore learned the *Old Text Esteemed Documents* from Tu Yun, studied the *Mao Poems* with Xie Manqing, and composed a *Conventions and Examples from Mr. Zuo* in 21 fascicles" 父徽，從劉歆受左氏春秋，兼習國語、周官，又受古文尚書於塗惲，學毛詩於謝曼卿，作左氏條例二十一篇.[99] The new type of scholar was one who was exclusively devoted to Old Text learning. This was in contrast to some who were late converts, such as Zheng Xing 鄭興, who started with *Gongyang's Commentary* but was redirected to *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* through his studies with Liu Xin.[100]

[98] Eva Chung, "A Study of the 'Shu' (Letters) of the Han Dynasty," 290–92.
[99] *Hou-Hanshu* 36.1234. His biography encompasses pp. 1234–41; see also Rafe De Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23–220 AD)* (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2007), 366–69.
[100] *Hou-Hanshu* 36.1217. Zheng Xing disseminated Liu Xin's learning on *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* and, at imperial command, composed several works on this classic, including section and line commentary and glosses, and he also corrected Xin's *Three Sequences Calendar*.

When Emperor Zhang 章帝 (r. 75–88) assumed the thrown, his interest in Old Text classics led him to invite Jia Kui to lecture in both the White Tiger Hall in the northern section of the palace and in the Cloudy Terrace 雲臺 in the southern section. This lecture, presumably on *Mr. Zuo's Commentary*, pleased the emperor so much that His Highness commissioned a formal memorial on the merits of this commentary in comparison to *Gongyang's Commentary* and *Guliang's Commentary*. This memorial, included in his biography, preserves more of his thinking on this classic than any of the scattered quotes of his lost works gathered by Qing-period textual critics.[101] Unfortunately, an annotated translation of this memorial would take up too much space at this juncture in this chapter.

Jia's biographer offers further details concerning Jia's contributions to classical scholarship:

> Kui inherited his father's learning, and by the time he came of age he was able to recite both *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* as well as the texts of the Five Classics. He taught *Greater Xiahou on the Esteemed Documents*; although it was all Old Text learning, he concurrently mastered the five lineages of the *Guliang*. . . . He was particularly well versed in *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* and *Tales of the States*, and he composed *Explanations and Glosses* on these works in 51 fascicles. During the Yongping reign [58–76], he offered them to the throne by memorial; Emperor Ming 明帝 valued these works, and he had copies placed in the imperial holdings.
>
> 逵悉傳父業，弱冠能誦左氏傳及五經本文，以大夏侯尚書教授，雖為古學，兼通五家穀梁之說。……尤明左氏傳、國語，為之解詁五十一篇，永平中，上疏獻之。顯宗重其書，寫藏祕館。[102]

Since Jia's learning spanned both Old Text and New Text classics, he was a suitable viaduct to bridge the intellectual gap between the two camps. Once, he was commanded to recruit twenty talented students of the *Gongyang* tradition and train them in *Mr. Zuo's Commentary*; interestingly enough, he secured bamboo strips and paper sufficient for each student to transcribe his own copy of the text.[103] We may assume that this was an important turning point in making this text more widely available to the scholarly community. This trend towards ecumenical inclusiveness through Kui's research agenda was encouraged by the emperor in numerous assignments. For instance, he was ordered to compile a comparison between the three New Text specialists on the *Esteemed Documents*—Ouyang 歐陽生, Greater Xiahou 大夏侯, and Lesser Xiahou 小夏侯—and the Old Text version. Also, at imperial insistence, he made a similar compilation comparing the three New Text schools on the *Poems* and the Old Text

[101] *Hou-Hanshu* 36.1236–38.
[102] *Hou-Hanshu* 36.1235.
[103] *Hou-Hanshu* 36.1239.

Mao version. Other textual studies were mandated that did not impact the contemporary dispute between Old Text and New Text camps (such as his study of the correspondence between the glosses on the classics and commentaries in the *Close to Elegance* onomasticon and the *Old Text Esteemed Documents*), but he certainly spanned the spectrum as a master of both textual traditions.[104] Such catholicity of textual targets was an important precedent for Zheng Xuan's later renown as polymath or master of "Comprehensive Erudition" (*tongxue* 通學), who elucidated texts without regard for the provenance of relevant glosses or essential explanations; in other words, Kui's goal was textual explication, not the defense of the official status of a text. In fact, in Kui's biography, Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445/446) calls him by a similarly laudatory epithet, a "Comprehensive Confucian" (*tongru* 通儒), one of only a handful of men so honored in his history, including such exalted company as Ban Biao 班彪 (3–54), father of Ban Gu.[105]

Jia Kui's learning, which was similar to that of Zheng Xing based on *Mr. Zuo's Commentary*, was popular for the next few hundred years, and hence they both became regarded as the "progenitors of Confucians" (*zongru* 宗 儒) when Zheng Xuan came on the scene.[106] One reason for the popularity of Jia's interpretation of *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* was its usefulness to the throne in undergirding the top- heavy structure of the emperor above all; it also supported the apocryphal texts in tracing the house of Liu back to the storied sage Yao. Jia wrote in a memorial:

> Now *Mr. Zuo* esteems lords and fathers, abases ministers and sons, strengthens the roots and weakens the branches, encourages good and warns against evil. . . . Furthermore, none of the specialists on the Five Classics verify that the apocryphal charts and text clarify that the Liu clan descends from Yao, but *Mr. Zuo* alone has clear textual proof of this.
>
> 今左氏崇君父卑臣子，疆幹弱枝，勸善戒惡。又五經家皆無以證圖讖明劉氏為堯後者，而左氏獨有明文。[107]

None of Jia's works are noted in the *History of Sui* bibliography; presumably they could not withstand the new standard set by Zheng Xuan's even more "comprehensive erudition."

In the edict issued by Emperor Zhang in the eleventh month of the year AD 79, previously cited in part, His Highness explained the reason for convening a conference on classical scholarship in the White Tiger Hall:

[104] All of these imperially sponsored compilations are detailed in *Hou-Hanshu* 36.1239.
[105] *Hou-Hanshu* 36.1240. Ban Biao's designation as "Comprehensive Confucian" is made at *Hou-Hanshu* 40a.1329.
[106] *Hou-Hanshu* 36.1240.
[107] *Hou-Hanshu* 12.1234.

> It seems that during the three dynasties, the foundation for guiding the people was education. When Han succeeded violent Qin, it extolled and promoted Confucian scholarship, established the Five Classics, and installed erudites for them. Afterwards, scholars made great strides. Although claiming that they had inherited their learning from their masters, they actually formed separate lineages. Emperor Xuan the Filial [74–49 BC], considering that it had been a long time since the age of the sages, and that learning should not shirk from being expansive, subsequently established the texts of *Greater and Lesser Xiahou on the Esteemed Documents*. Afterwards, he also established *Mr. Jing on the Changes*. In the midst of the Jianwu reign period [25–56], once again erudites were installed for *Mr. Yan Anle* and *Mr. Yan Pengzu on the Spring and Autumn Annals* and *Greater and Lesser Dai on the Rites*. These were all moves to support and advance subtle learning, and honor and expand the classical arts of the Way.
>
> During the first year of the Zhongyuan period [AD 56], an imperial edict complained that the section and line commentaries on the Five Classics were too prolix and numerous, and proposed to reduce and streamline them. By the first year of the Yongping period [AD 58], Fan Chou, the Changshui Colonel, memorialized the throne, stating: "The grand enterprise of the previous Emperor should be implemented in a timely fashion. I desire that the various Confucian classicists should jointly correct the meaning of the classics and in this way somewhat aide learners. Confucius said, 'Not thoroughly discussing what is learned . . . is something which occasions me solicitude.'[108] It was further said [by Zixia], 'They are learning extensively and having a firm and sincere aim, inquiring with earnestness, and reflecting with self-application— virtue is in such a course.'[109] Oh, alas! Let us strive toward this!" Thereupon His Highness directed the Superintendent of Ceremonials to lead the Grandees, Erudites, Gentlemen Consultants, Gentlemen Officials, and various masters and classicists to assemble in the White Tiger Hall to discuss and deliberate over the similarities and differences in the meaning of the classics, and Wei Ying, the Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, to convey questions from His Highness, and Chunyu Gong, a Palace Attendant, to memorialize; the Emperor personally appeared to decide the questions. This was all similar to the former precedent of the Filial Emperor Xuan at the Stone Channel. The *Comprehensive Memorials from the White Tiger Deliberations* was composed.
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> 蓋三代導人，教學為本。漢承暴秦，褒顯儒術，建立五經，為置博士。其後學者精進，雖曰承師，亦別名家。孝宣皇帝以為去聖

[108] A paraphrase of *Lunyu* 8.3, as is the translation of Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:195.
[109] Quoting *Lunyu* 19.6; trans. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:341.

> 久遠，學不厭博，故遂立大、小夏侯尚書，後又立京氏易。至建武中，復置顏氏、嚴氏春秋，大、小戴禮博士。此皆所以扶進微學，尊廣道藝也。
>
> 中元元年詔書，五經章句煩多，議欲減省。至永平元年，長水校尉鯈奏言，先帝大業，當以時施行。欲使諸儒共正經義，頗令學者得以自助。孔子曰：學之不講，是吾憂也。又曰：博學而篤志，切問而近思，仁在其中矣。於戲，其勉之哉！於是下太常，將大夫、博士、議郎、郎官及諸生、諸儒會白虎觀，講議五經同異，使五官中郎將魏應承制問，侍中淳于恭奏，帝親稱制臨決，如孝宣甘露石渠故事，作白虎議奏。[110]

Eleven major classicists led out in the conference, which lasted for several months; a detailed report, defined as the "comprehensive significance" (*tongyi* 通義) of the conference, was compiled.[111] Elsewhere, Fan Ye identifies the compiler of the conference minutes as Ban Gu and assigns a different name to the official record of the proceedings: "The Son of Heaven assembled the various Confucians to explain and discuss the Five Classics; they produced *Discourses on Virtue from the White Tiger Notices* and ordered Gu to select and compile the minutes" 天子會諸儒講論五經，作白虎通德論，令固撰集其事.[112] Cai Yong also compares the conference with the earlier one sponsored by Emperor Xuan and declares that the conference record "comprehensively summarized the Classics and elucidated their meaning" 通 經 釋義 .[113] Tjan reads this comment as supporting the assertion of Liu Shipei 劉 師 培(1884–1919) that in this work, as paraphrased by Som, "only one opinion is recorded, for it is the final form of the results of the discussions, after the Imperial decisions had been pronounced. The *zouyi* 奏議 and *tongyi* 通議 continue to exist side by side; the former is the detailed report with all the deviating opinions; the latter is the summing-up of the Imperial decisions, composed by the historiographers."[114] This hypothesis makes an elegant division of labor but lacks supporting documentary evidence.

Historical bibliographies from the Sui and Tang dynasties initially call the work *Notices from the White Tiger Hall* 白虎通 in six scrolls.[115] The Song bibliography *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 by Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (ca. 1217–ca. 1224) preserves this title but augments the number of scrolls to ten. But two other Song bibliographies render the title reminiscent of the Eastern Han title associated with Ban Gu, the *Discourses on Virtue from the White Tiger Notices* 白虎通德論 in ten scrolls.[116] The best traditional Chinese version with exhaustive commentary was edited by Chen Li 陳立 (1809–1869): *Notices from the White Tiger Hall, Explicated and Verified* 白虎通疏證.[117] *A Concordance to the Baihutong* 白虎通逐字索 is the most authoritative modern critical edition.[118] Zhang Quancai interprets the use of the term "comprehensive" (*tung* 通) in the title in three multivalent ways: as alluding to the "comprehensiveness" of the way of the sages, to the "interpenetration" of all the different classics and their unified message, and to the "connections" that link up present and future.[119]

The purposes of the work have always been taken to be defining technical vocabulary, deciding the most appropriate forms of ritual, and elucidating obscure or key passages from the classics. Michael Loewe characterizes the text and range of themes as follows:

> The received text is described as being faulty, prone to the inclusion of incomplete quotations and by no means always clear. Much of the text takes the form of questions directed to the meaning or authority of a passage from the classical works, followed by an answer that is itself backed by a further citation. Usually the New Text versions are quoted. . . . The text concerns human relationships (e.g., the correct use of ranks, names and titles; a king's treatments of his subjects; marriage); religious and philosophical topics (e.g., deities to be worshipped; divination; sacrifices; the Five Phases; the significance of calamities; the idea of destiny); features of the natural worlds (e.g., the four seasons; sun and moon; the relation of heaven to earth); matters of imperial or state ceremony (e.g., archery; ploughing; inspections; ritual presents; conduct of the rites and of music); and imperial government (e.g., the capital city; punishments; admonitions; education).[120]

This is all true and important to know, but of course, more can be drawn from the text than just themes. Viewed from the types of classical quotes and the

[110] *Hou-Hanshu* 3.137–38.
[111] *Hou Hanshu* 79a.2546. For these participants, see Tjan, *Po Hu T'ung*, 160–63.
[112] *Hou-Hanshu* 40b.1373.
[113] *Hou-Hanshu* 60b.1996.
[114] Tjan, *Po Hu T'ung*, 16.
[115] *Suishu* 32.937; *Jiu Tangshu* 46.1982; *Xin Tangshu* 57.1445. The English rendering is the only way to make sense out of the literal meaning of how the word *tong* is used in the title; but it is most likely merely an ellipsis for the normal sense of *tong* as "comprehensive" as seen in the full title of *Comprehensive Deliberations from the White Tiger Hall*.
[116] Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 (b. 1003), et al., in Vol. 1 *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985), 31; Chao Gongwu 晁 公 武 (ca. 1104–ca. 1183), in Vol. 1 *Junzhai dushuzhi jiaozheng* 郡齋讀書志 校證, 2 vols., ed. Sun Meng 孙猛 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2006), 140.
[117] *Paihutong shuzheng* 白虎通疏證 (HQJJ ed.), 13:6262–6349 (*juan* 167).
[118] D.C. Lau and Chen Fang Jing, eds. *Baihutong zhuzi suoyin* 白虎通逐字索引 (Hong Kong: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1995).
[119] Zhang, *Liang Han jingxueshi*, 246.
[120] Michael Loewe, ed., in Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts*, 347–56, p. 350. Tjan, *Po Hu T'ung*, 195–216, presents the entire table of contents for easy perusal of themes.

intellectual milieu, Yang Xiangkui concludes that this compilation was an important step in moving contemporary ideology away from its traditional, politically based orientation, centered on the key concept of the Way, toward a new conceptual orientation based on religion, centered on the key concept of education (*jiao* 教), ultimately a turn from political philosophy to theology.[121] This is evident when the heavy influence of apocryphal texts is taken into account, as already noted. Also easily apparent is the attention paid to the rites and their counterparts, punishment and law.[122] Finally, the notion of a political "grand unity" (*datong* 大 統) based on *Gongyang's Commentary* became increasingly untenable due to political realities, and hence its natural corollary, the unvarying distinction between the Central Kingdom versus foreign peoples (Di-Yi 夷 狄), became malleable.[123] The fact that more New Text classics are quoted, as noted by Loewe, says as much about the association of apocryphal texts with New Text learning as the official status of this classical school. The influence of Jia Kui's Old Text views on the conference is also readily apparent.[124] But, ultimately, the New Text curriculum hung on in the academies, while the Old Text classics became increasingly popular among private scholars.[125] It took the transition from the end of the Han to the Three Kingdoms period to see the official establishment of Old Text classics.

Comparing the motivations of the two conferences convened in the separate halls of the Stone Channel and the White Tiger reveal that the first one debated the establishment of new chairs for additional New Text commentaries while the

[121] Yang Xiangkui 楊向奎, "*Baihutongyi* de sixiang tixi" 白虎通義的思想體系, in Lin, ed., *Zhongguo jingxue shi lunwen xuanji*, 308–15; Huang Kaigguo 黃開國, "Lun Handai chenwei shenxue" 論漢代讖緯學, in Lin, ed., *Zhongguo jingxueshi lunwen xuanji*, 298–307.

[122] Yang Xiangkui, "*Baihutongyi* de sixiang tixi." Consult further Chen Yutai 陳玉台 , "Chen Li *Baihutong shuzheng* zhi lixue yanjiu—yi *Baihutong* yin sanlilei wei fanchou" 陳立白虎通疏證之禮研究 —以白虎通引三禮類為範疇, PhD diss., Zhongguo Wenhua University, 2000.

[123] Yang Xiangkui, "*Baihutongyi* de sixiang tixi." Zhang Quancai rather views the conference from an angle of economics as an attempt to solidify the new political power and ideology of the rising class of landowners. See his *Liang Han jingxueshi*, 242–44.

[124] See Huang, "Jia Kui yu guwen jingxue" 賈逵與古文經學, in *Jing jinguwenxue wenti xinlun*, 191–214.

[125] Jan L. Hagman points out that during the Western Han government academies dominated the educational scene, while during the Eastern Han private schools predominated. This reflects the official and flourishing position in the former period of New Text learning and the nonofficial but flourishing state of Old Text learning during the later period. See Hagman, "Private and Government Schools in the Han Dynasty," in *Outstretched Leaves on His Bamboo Staff*, 114–30.

later debated the establishment of chairs for Old Text classics.[126] This immediate foreground insight may be expanded with a more distant background insight: the former debate focused on the relative positions of the *Gongyang* and *Guliang Commentaries* and the latter centered on the relative merits of the official *Gongyang Commentary* and *Mr. Zuo's Commentary*.[127] The White Tiger Hall assembly may not have led to the official establishment of Old Text Classics, but it probably led to the wider dissemination of Jia Kui's school of *Mr. Zuo's Commentary*, the text that provided the first widespread interest in the Old Text classics and spearheaded their increasing popularity.[128]

As noted previously, Ban Gu was the purported compiler of the conference minutes. The immediate backstory to his involvement is presented in his biography: "The Son of Heaven convened the various classicists to discourse on the Five Classics, and the *Discourses on the White Tiger Notices* was produced. He ordered Gu to record the events" 天子會諸儒講論五經，作白虎通德論，令固撰集其事.[129] This notice does not openly record that Ban participated as a presenter, merely that he was assigned to write up the minutes of the meeting. Tjan asserts that the reason Ban did not participate, if he indeed did not, was because he was not a classicist.[130] But we might as well assert that he was not a historian because he composed belles lettres, or not a literatus because he wrote a history. He was a scholar trained in the traditional texts of his trade, including the classics, masters, and histories. Besides, he had served time in the Orchid Terrace 蘭臺collating books in the imperial archives, certainly the work of a classicist. It was from this task that he was called to write his imperially sponsored history of the house of Liu until the interregnum of Wang Mang.

As it happens, Ban Gu's classicism behind his historiography, and how his history of the Western Han differs from that of Sima Qian, will commence the next chapter.

[126] Tjan, *Po Hu T'ung*, 171.

[127] Consult Nambu Eigen 南部英彦, "*Byakkotsū* ni mieru *Kōyō* haku no sei ni tsuite" 白虎通に見える公羊學の性について. *Shūkan Tōyōgaku* 集刊東洋學 82 (1999): 1–20.

[128] The impact of the *Zuozhuan* on classical scholarship during the Han period and the progression of Jia Kui's school through Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166) and Fu Qian 服虔 (d. ca. 195) to Zheng Xuan is detailed in Guo Dan 郭丹, "*Zuozhuan* yu liang Han jingxue" 左傳與兩漢經學, *Jingxue yanjiu luncong* 5 (1998): 181–92.

[129] *Hou-Hanshu* 40b.1373.

[130] Tjan, *Po Hu T'ung*, 64.