

brought with it the discovery that Confucianism during the Later Han dynasty—when the Old Text school became, if not the dominant, at least the most influential intellectual force—differed greatly from the Confucianism of the Former Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 8), when the New Text school had been in vogue. When New Text Confucianism lost its political authority, its very existence was forgotten for fifteen hundred years.

Han Learning, strictly speaking, denotes a school of scholarship that came into fashion in Su-chou in the mid-eighteenth century. In raising the slogan of Han Learning to prominence in the Yangtze Delta, Hui Tung and his large Su-chou following actively opposed Sung Learning. They turned instead to a study of Later Han classical interpretations, especially those by Cheng Hsuan, who had successfully synthesized earlier New and Old Text doctrines. It was assumed that because such interpretations were closer to the time the Classics were compiled than T'ang and Sung sources were, they were more likely to reveal the authentic meanings of the Classics.

This rediscovery in the eighteenth century of the Old Text vs. New Text debate led some Ch'ing scholars to view the Confucian tradition in a new light. Scholars in Ch'ang-chou were the first Ch'ing literati to stress the New Text school of the Former Han dynasty. First, they turned to the New Text scholar Ho Hsiu, of the Later Han, who had been Cheng Hsuan's major rival. Ho Hsiu had defended the New Text ideas of the Former Han. After rediscovering Ho Hsiu, Ch'ing New Text scholars then returned to Tung Chung-shu's Former Han New Text orthodoxy. Accordingly, New Text learning really meant "Former Han Learning." Deep and potentially irreconcilable differences among competing orthodoxies emerged in the Han Learning agenda for classical studies. By returning to what they considered a purer form of Han Learning, New Text scholars in Ch'ang-chou touched off from within their ranks the breakup of Han Learning itself.⁴

New Text scholars, as we shall see, alleged that much of what had once been considered orthodox by Sung and Ming Neo-Confucians and Ch'ing *k'ao-cheng* scholars was in fact based on Old Text sources fabricated by Confucian scholars during the reign of the "Han usurper," Wang Mang. New Text advocates turned instead to the *Kung-yang*

4. See the comments by Wei Yuan in his "Hsu" (Introduction) to *Shu ku-wei*, pp. 1a–6b. On the New Text–Old Text debate during the Later Han dynasty see Dull, "Historical Introduction," pp. 338–411. See also Chou, *Chou Yü-t'ung hsuan-chi*, pp. 93–95.



Fig. 1. New Text: Clerical Script (*Li-shu* 隸書) during the Former Han Dynasty
Source: *Han Ts'ao Ch'üan pei* 漢曹全碑 (Han dynasty stelae of Ts'ao Ch'üan; Peking: Hsin-hua Bookstore, 1982).

commentary on Confucius's *Spring and Autumn Annals* because it was the only New Text commentary on one of the Classics that had survived intact from the Former Han dynasty. Recorded in contemporary-style script (*chin-wen*, hence "New Text" [fig. 1]), the *Kung-yang Commentary* supported the Former Han New Text school's portrayal of Confucius as a charismatic visionary and institutional reformer—an uncrowned king (*su-wang*).

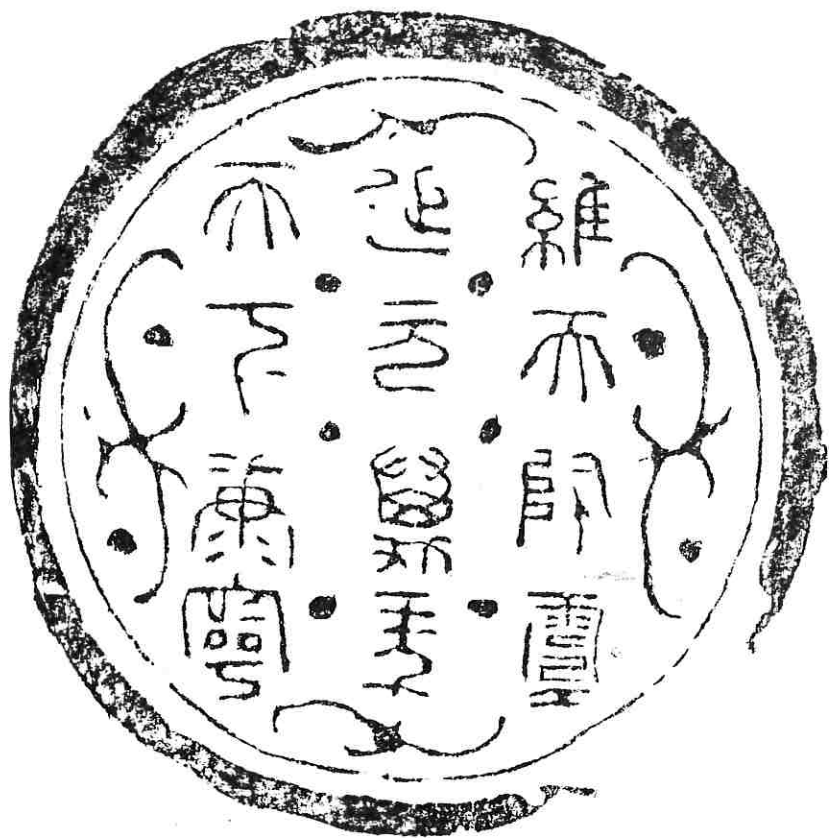


Fig. 2. Large Seal (*Ta-chuan* 大篆) Script during the Western Chou Dynasty

Source: "Hsiao K'e-ting ming-wen" 小克鼎銘文 (Engraved script on the smaller K'e tripod), in *Yü-ting K'e-ting* 孟鼎克鼎 (Yü and K'e tripods; Shanghai: Shanghai Museum, 1959).

During the middle of the second century B.C., however, versions of the Classics written in pre-Han styles of calligraphy (figs. 2 and 3) were purportedly discovered in Confucius's old residence in what is today Shan-tung Province. They were subsequently placed in the imperial archives. According to Former Han accounts, these Old Text Classics were recorded in ancient script (*ku-wen*, hence "Old Text"), that is, various forms of ancient seal script (*chuan-shu*) (fig. 2) in use during the Chou dynasty (1122?–221 B.C.). Because the Old Text Classics were written in more ancient calligraphic forms (fig. 3), their defenders claimed priority for those versions over the New Text Classics. The latter were



Fig. 3. Old Text: Small Seal (*Hsiao-chuan* 小篆) Script during the Ch'in and Han Dynasties

Source: *Ch'in-Han wa-tang wen-tzu* 秦漢瓦當文字 (Ch'in-Han script inscribed on palace roof-end tiles; 1878 Heng-ch'ü shu-yuan edition).

written in the Former Han contemporary-style clerical script (*li-shu*) (see fig. 1), a calligraphy instituted after the unification of writing forms and the burning of the books (*fen-shu*) during the Ch'in dynasty (221–207 B.C.) and were thus much later in origin.

Among the texts in the imperial archives was another commentary to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, which later became known as the *Tso chuan* (*Tso Commentary*). Portraying Confucius as a respected teacher and transmitter of classical learning, rather than as a charismatic visionary, the commentary lent support to the Later Han Old Text School. After the demise of the Later Han dynasty in A.D. 220, however, the Confucian Canon was not reconstituted until the seventh century, under the T'ang. Thereafter, the *Tso Commentary* remained the orthodox guide to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* until the mid-eighteenth century, when Ch'ang-chou scholars called it into question.⁵

Han dynasty Old Text vs. New Text debates had not been limited to textual issues. Textual expertise on a particular Classic was a prerequisite for appointment as an erudite (*po-shih*) in the prestigious and politically powerful Han Imperial Academy (*T'ai-hsueh*). The latter had been formed to ensure the transmission of orthodox texts under state sponsorship. After disciples of erudites completed their course of study, they were examined and then granted government positions if they passed. In essence, this simple recruitment process was the precursor to the elaborate Confucian civil service examination system set up during the T'ang and Sung dynasties. Accordingly, classical texts and their interpretation were the basis for political loyalties in the schools system (*chia-fa*) for classical studies. When eighteenth-century Ch'ang-chou scholars reopened the New Text–Old Text controversy, they recognized they were not dealing with an idle textual issue. In fact, they were reconstructing the fortunes of an academic and, by implication, political movement that had been replaced by another.⁶

In chapters 1 and 2 I will explore the social, political, and intellectual circumstances in Ch'ang-chou Prefecture and the Yangtze Delta region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The rise to prominence of the Chuang and Liu lineages in Ch'ang-chou Prefecture during the

5. On the Old Text version of these events see Liu Hsin, "I T'ai-ch'ang po-shih shu." See also Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih-chi*, vol. 10, pp. 3124–27 (*chüan* 121). See also Kargren, *On the Tso Chuan*, and Maspero, "La composition et la date du Tso tchouan."

6. Dull, "Historical Introduction," pp. 338ff. See also Lu Yuan-chün, "Ching-hsueh chih fa-chan."

late Ming will be interpreted in light of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century gentry political dissent directed against the authoritarian imperial state.

In chapter 2 I will measure the success of the Chuangs and the Lius in civil service examinations during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties and, in chapter 3, I will reconstruct statecraft traditions in Ch'ang-chou in an effort to understand the intellectual and social milieu from which Chuang Ts'un-yü emerged. Chuang was a distinguished scion of a powerful local lineage, which for generations placed members in the prestigious late imperial Hanlin Academy and other high government positions in Peking. A former secretary to the Ch'ien-lung Emperor, Chuang Ts'un-yü turned to the *Kung-yang Commentary* late in his official career to depict in classical garb Ho-shen's usurpation of imperial power. Ho-shen reminded late-eighteenth-century Ch'ang-chou literati of the infamous eunuch Wei Chung-hsien. In the late Ming Wei had similarly usurped power from the T'ien-ch'i Emperor and purged dissident literati who were associated with the Tung-lin Academy from nearby Wu-hsi County.

Ch'ang-chou intellectual traditions drew heavily on the statecraft formulations enunciated in the late Ming by T'ang Shun-chih. An analysis of the affinal ties between the T'angs and Chuangs reveals how T'ang Shun-chih's scholarship was emulated first by Chuang Ch'i-yuan in the late Ming and then by Chuang Ts'un-yü in the middle of the Ch'ing dynasty. The "learning of Ch'ang-chou" eventually became associated with precise scholarship and practical statecraft; the Ch'ang-chou New Text school should be seen as an outgrowth of these native currents.

In chapters 4–7 I will present the scholarly setting in which New Text Confucianism reemerged after fifteen hundred years of obscurity. My account will try to recapture the centrality of Confucian classical studies for political discourse in imperial China and the conflicting positions read into the Classics during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. The role of Sung Neo-Confucianism as the orthodox voice of the late imperial state permits us to weigh the political significance of recurrent classical controversies from which the New Text agenda reemerged.

Chapter 5 describes how Chuang Ts'un-yü resisted the inroads of Han Learning philology and the resulting fragmentation of the classical legacy by appealing to a holistic vision of the Classics. Chuang placed particular emphasis on the monistic cosmology of the *Change Classic* and the lessons of voluntarism encoded in the *Kung-yang Commentary*.

In chapter 6 I trace the way in which Chuang Ts'un-yü's holistic vision was advanced by his successors in the Chuang lineage. I also explain how the unraveling of Sung Learning first into Han Learning and then into New Text Confucianism tied in to Chuang Ts'un-yü's *Kung-yang* Confucianism.

In chapter 7 the official career and scholarly contributions of Liu Feng-lu are presented. If Chuang Ts'un-yü marked the reemergence of *Kung-yang* Confucianism in the eighteenth century, Liu Feng-lu in the nineteenth century linked his grandfather's *Kung-yang* theoretical vision to evidential research (*k'ao-cheng*) techniques. In Liu's hands, New Text Confucianism emerged as a sophisticated reinterpretation of Confucius's prophetic role in establishing the Classics for posterity. Moreover, Liu Feng-lu turned to *k'ao-cheng* for the epistemological leverage he needed to convince other Han Learning scholars of the dubious provenance of the Old Text Classics and the superior value of the New Text ones.

By analyzing the scope of the debate over Han Learning vs. Sung Learning among Confucian literati during the Ch'ing dynasty we can pinpoint the classical reformation represented by Chuang Ts'un-yü's turn to *Kung-yang* Confucianism and the way his legacy culminated in a recasting of the classical tradition among his immediate lineage and affines. Liu Feng-lu's articulation of a unified vision of New Text Confucianism signified the logical outcome of Chuang and Liu lineage traditions and cultural resources, which Chuang Ts'un-yü passed on to his grandson Liu Feng-lu, and which Liu then transmitted to Wei Yuan and Kung Tzu-ch'en.

In my concluding discussions in chapters 8 and 9 I will place the rise of New Text studies in Ch'ang-chou within a broader discussion of the unity between late imperial conceptual change, *ch'ing-i* (voices of remonstrance) political protest, and literary debate in the early nineteenth century. The reemergence of New Text Confucianism was paralleled by a revival of interest in late Ming political activism after the demise of Ho-shen. The renewed popularity of ancient New Text studies and more recent Tung-lin-style political concerns in the early nineteenth century was a twin legacy of Ch'ang-chou statecraft traditions.

Chapter 8 will refer to the underlying themes of pragmatism and realpolitik that Ch'ing dynasty New Text Confucians rediscovered while retracing the Confucian-Legalist synthesis of rituals and laws during the Former Han dynasty. In chapter 9 I will contend, following Mizoguchi Yūzō, that late Ming political activism, although defeated,

was not completely eliminated. Tensions between the autocratic imperial state and local gentry interests reappeared during the late eighteenth century, when Ho-shen and his men are said to have carved out personal financial empires not seen since the appropriations of late Ming eunuchs. The Ho-shen era was a watershed for imperial politics: the classical legitimation for autocratic government weakened, and the politics of literary expression shifted decisively in favor of literati dissent.⁷

I will end by presenting the reformist sentiments of the Ch'ang-chou literatus Yun Ching, which set the political direction that New Text ideas would take after transcending their origins in Ch'ang-chou. Written between 1800 and 1809, Yun's political tracts contained formulations for institutional reform later elaborated by Wei Yuan, Kung Tzu-ch'en, and K'ang Yu-wei. New Text Confucianism and ancient-style prose, strands woven together by Yun Ching, symbolized the rise of gentry dissent in the early nineteenth century.

My major themes are the interaction of Confucian classical scholarship, elite kinship structures, and orthodox imperial ideology in the formation of the Ch'ang-chou New Text tradition. I hope thereby to show how the intellectual history of China can be enriched when social and political history is interwoven with the history of ideas. The Ch'ang-chou New Text school, we shall discover, represented a lineage of ideas, whose scholarly transmission depended on elite kinship ties and cultural resources within a particular social and political context. The history of ideas in Ch'ang-chou mirrored the social configurations that Confucians there unconsciously presupposed as they grappled with local and national political issues.

New Text studies became a strand in the larger web of gentry challenges to the diminishing power of the Manchu imperial court; under the additional pressures of massive peasant rebellion and Western imperialism, they culminated in the 1911 Revolution and the demise of imperial China. By 1800, then, new intellectual forces had appeared in late imperial China. Investigation of the Ch'ang-chou New Text school of Confucianism in the Yangtze Delta enables us to trace the native origins and internal mutations of one of these new strands, whose supporters were destined under the influence of Western ideas to champion a radical reworking of imperial institutions and traditional ideology.

7. Mizoguchi, "Iwayuru Tōrinha jinshin no shisō."

Liu Feng-lu and New Text Confucianism

Liu Feng-lu represents in many ways the intellectual culmination of the Ch'ang-chou New Text school. After Liu, New Text Confucianism transcended its geographical origins in Ch'ang-chou, becoming a powerful current in early-nineteenth-century intellectual circles via the writings of Kung Tzu-chen and Wei Yuan. Both of these men studied in Peking under Liu Feng-lu's direction in the 1820s, when Liu had become a celebrity in the capital.¹

LIU FENG-LU AS AN OFFICIAL

A child prodigy who benefited greatly from the cultural resources of his two wealthy and influential lineages, Liu Feng-lu early on was considered one of the most promising talents in Ch'ang-chou, rivaled only by the slightly more senior Li Chao-lo. In due course, Liu Feng-lu and Li Chao-lo became regarded as the most exceptional local examination candidates and were known as the "two Shen" (*liang Shen*; i.e., both had *shen* as a character in their literary names) of Ch'ang-chou. A product of Ch'ang-chou Han Learning, Li Chao-lo nonetheless admired, as we have seen, the achievements of Chuang Ts'un-yü and had close ties with the Chuang lineage.

1. Wang Nien-sun, "Shen-shou fu-chün hsing-shu," 12.55b. See also Wang Chia-chien, *Wei Yuan nien-p'u*, pp. 30, 33n, and Wu Ch'ang-shou, *Ting-an hsien-sheng nien-p'u*, p. 219.

Although Liu Feng-lu did not achieve *chin-shih* status until the capital examination of 1814, his examination essays for the *chü-jen* degree in 1805 (which he prepared for the provincial examinations held in the capital rather than his own Chiang-su Province) had already caused a stir. Liu's use of *Kung-yang* interpretations to explicate the Classics "greatly astonished," said Tai Wang, "those who read over his examination materials," and Liu was treated with the respect due a national literatus. New Text had come to Peking.²

It of course mattered that Feng-lu possessed impeccable family and lineage credentials. His grandfathers Liu Lun and Chuang Ts'un-yü had, after all, long since left their marks on the highest levels of the Peking bureaucracy (see chapter 2). Moreover, the Liu and Chuang lineages had for generations propelled their Ch'ang-chou sons through examination success to the upper echelons of the imperial state. After the demise of Ho-shen, Liu Feng-lu continued this legacy into the nineteenth century. Appointed to the Hanlin Academy for his high standing on the 1814 palace examinations, Feng-lu quickly achieved prominence in the Ministry of Rites, a standard stepping-stone to high position in the internal politics between the inner court and outer bureaucracy (see chapter 3).³

Liu Feng-lu lived out what appears to have been a conventional career at the Ministry of Rites. Using his classical expertise, for example, Liu assembled proposals and precedents on the proper rituals for the sudden and unusual death of the Chia-ch'ing Emperor (r. 1796–1820), who was apparently struck by lightning. Liu also wrote a favorable opinion on a proposal from the He-nan provincial director of education, advocating that T'ang Pin be canonized in the official Confucian temple in Ch'ü-fu, Shan-tung. Then director of the Ministry of Rites, Wang Ting-chen was pleased with Liu's advocacy of this controversial early Ch'ing Confucian, and the Tao-kuang Emperor (r. 1820–50) accepted the proposal.⁴

Using his unconventional knowledge of historical precedents, Liu Feng-lu carved out an unusual place in the foreign policy decisions of the Ministry of Rites. His knowledge of the "precedents" in the *Spring*

2. Tai Wang, "Liu hsien-sheng hsing-chuang," 1.21b–22b. See also Wang Nien-sun, "Shen-shou fu-chün hsing-shu," 12.47a; Li Chao-lo, *Yang-i-chai wen-chi* (1852), 3.13b–14a; and Li's "Hsu" (Preface) to Chuang Shu-tsu, *Chen-i-i-shu*. Cf. Hsu K'o, *Ch'ing-pai lei-ch'ao*, 69/28. Many official families of the Yangtze Delta were able to enroll their sons for the less severe competition in the north.

3. See the *Chuan-kao*, no. 4455(1) of Liu Feng-lu at the Palace Museum, Taipei.

4. Ibid.

The Ch'ien-lung Emperor had used Mencius to play down Han Chinese chauvinism. Liu Feng-lu used Mencius to gainsay the Vietnamese. If sage-kings were "barbarians," what truth could there be to the Vietnamese claim that their status in the Confucian world order was being impugned? According to the imperial account of the incident, "the Vietnamese emissary had nothing he could say in reply and retired." Such issues could not be finessed for much longer, however. The tensions between Chinese and Manchu, Confucian and foreigner, eventually exploded into the Opium War (1839–42)—a battle initiated by Great Britain for full and equal diplomatic relations with China—and the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64), an anti-Manchu peasant rebellion.⁸

Liu Feng-lu served in the Ministry of Rites for twelve years, becoming well-known for his ability "to decide problematic cases on the basis of classical meanings" (*i ching-i chueh i-shih*). Liu also used historical precedents and classical meanings in the *Annals* to decide an 1817 family succession dispute in An-hui Province and an 1824 burial controversy, applying ritual precedents to determine how the status of wives influenced family succession. In the latter, Liu cited Ho Hsiu's explication of the *Kung-yang chuan* as the authoritative basis for ascertaining proper burial attire based on the status of the deceased.⁹

Liu Feng-lu's training in *Kung-yang* Confucianism under Chuang Ts'un-yü and Chuang Shu-tsu enabled him to tap a Former Han classical tradition that, it appears, was particularly useful in solving problems in ritual protocol and legal decisions. In rediscovering that the links between Han classical studies and ritual and legal precedents could also be applied to contemporary questions, Liu Feng-lu and other New Text scholars were also reconfirming the centrality of classical studies for political discourse.¹⁰

LIU FENG-LU AND HAN LEARNING

Unlike his distinguished grandfathers, Liu Feng-lu became more widely recognized as a scholar than as an official. In Peking he came into contact with the leading intellectual figures of the early nineteenth century and in so doing helped to transform the Ch'ang-chou *Kung-yang* tradition into a national concern.

Liu Feng-lu's friends and acquaintances in Peking included many of

8. *Chuan-kao*, no. 4455(1), and Crossley, "Manzhou yuanliu k'ao," pp. 765–71. See *Meng-tzu yin-te*, 30/4B/1, and Lau, *Mencius*, p. 128.

9. Tai Wang, "Liu hsien-sheng hsing-chuang," 1.22b–25a.

10. Ibid. See also *Chuan-kao*, no. 4455(1).

the most prominent Han Learning and *k'ao-cheng* scholars of the day. In addition to close relations with Ch'ang-chou Han Learning scholars such as Li Chao-lo, Sun Hsing-yen, Yun Ching, and Chang Hui-yen, Feng-lu was also intimate with leading Han Learning patrons such as Yang-chou's Juan Yuan. Although a patron of Han Learning on a grand scale for much of his career, Juan in the 1820s had begun to take a more moderate scholarly position, which encompassed the strengths of both Han and Sung Learning.

LIU FENG-LU AND JUAN YUAN

Around 1820 Liu encouraged Juan Yuan—then a major provincial official serving as governor-general of Kuang-chou—to reissue the *Shih-san-ching chu-shu* (Commentaries and subcommentaries to the Thirteen Classics), a Sung dynasty collectanea (*ts'ung-shu*) that contained the major classical studies of the Han, T'ang, and Sung dynasties. In addition, Liu suggested that Juan compile a comprehensive collection of Ch'ing dynasty contributions to classical scholarship. The result was the 1829 publication in Kuang-chou of the *Huang-Ch'ing ching-chieh* (Ch'ing exegesis of the Classics). After four years of preparation and editing at the prestigious Hsueh-hai-t'ang Academy, the book was greeted with great acclaim in Han Learning circles in China and sent to Korea, Japan, and later the West. Designed as a continuation to the *Shih-san-ching chu-shu*, the *Huang-Ch'ing ching-chieh* represented a major tribute to the classical research of *k'ao-cheng* scholars.¹¹

Juan's tribute to Ch'ing scholarship stressed the eighteenth-century Han Learning movement, which had championed the Later Han classical "schools system" of Cheng Hsuan and Hsu Shen, among others. But Liu Feng-lu prevailed upon Juan Yuan to include Ch'ing dynasty works dealing with the Former Han New Text "school system" based on Tung Chung-shu (179?–104? B.C.) and Ho Hsiu. As a result, a number of works by men connected to the Ch'ang-chou New Text tradition were reprinted in the collection: Chung Ts'un-yü's *Correcting Phrases in the Spring and Autumn Annals*; three works by K'ung Kuang-sen, including *Penetrating the Meanings in the Kung-yang Commentary to the Annals*; seven works by Liu Feng-lu, most prominently his *Master Ho Hsiu's Explications of Precedents in the Kung-yang Commentary to the Annals Classic* and the famous *Evidential Analysis of Master Tso's*

11. Wang Nien-sun, "Shen-shou fu-chün hsing-shu," 12.55a–56a. On Juan see my *Philosophy to Philology*, pp. 108–11, 124–28, 235–36.

Spring and Autumn Annals (Tso-shih ch'un-ch'iu k'ao-cheng); and two works by Ling Shu, a follower of Liu Feng-lu, including his *Ritual Explanations in the Kung-yang Commentary* (Kung-yang li-shuo).¹²

Besides associating with and patronizing scholars who studied the *Kung-yang chuan*, such as Liu Feng-lu, Juan Yuan himself developed an interest late in life in the Former Han New Text alternative to the Later Han Old Text "schools system." In an introduction to K'ung Kuang-sen's *Penetrating the Meanings*, Juan traced the transmission of *Kung-yang* studies and described their vicissitudes before their mid-Ch'ing revival. Although he pointed out four areas where K'ung's interpretation of the *Kung-yang chuan* differed from Ho Hsiu's (differences Liu Feng-lu would also stress in his own criticism of K'ung's research [see below]), Juan Yuan concluded that the *Kung-yang chuan* was superior to the *Tso chuan* in elucidating the organizing principles Confucius had subtly encoded in the *Annals*.¹³

In 1793, during his tenure as director of education in Shan-tung Province, Juan Yuan directed the rebuilding of a shrine commemorating the Later Han classicist Cheng Hsuan. This effort epitomized Juan's emphasis on Cheng Hsuan as the key figure in reconstructing the "schools system" of Han Learning. Moreover, as governor of Che-chiang Province in 1801, Juan had established the Ku-ching ching-she (Refined Study for the Glossing of the Classics) Academy in Hang-chou. He noted that the academy was named to honor the Later Han classical studies of both Cheng Hsuan and Hsu Shen, author of the *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* dictionary.¹⁴

Juan Yuan established the Hsueh-hai-t'ang Academy in Kuang-chou in 1820 along the same Han Learning guidelines used for the academy in Hang-chou. But the new school—unlike the Ku-ching ching-she, which was named after Cheng Hsuan and Hsu Shen—was named in honor of the New Text scholar Ho Hsiu, who had been known honorifically as "Hsueh-hai" (Sea of learning) because of his great erudition on the Classics. We can conclude, therefore, that Chuang Ts'un-yü's rediscovery of Ho Hsiu and the *Kung-yang* tradition was by 1820 more than just a local Ch'ang-chou tradition tied to the Chuang lineage.¹⁵

12. See the table of contents to the *Huang-Ch'ing ching-chieh*. See also my "Hsueh-hai T'ang," 51–82.

13. Juan, *Yen-ching-shih chi*, vol. 2, pp. 222–24. See also Hou Wai-lu, *Chin-tai Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang hsueh-shuo shih*, vol. 2, p. 599.

14. Juan, *Yen-ching-shih chi*, vol. 2, p. 505.

15. See the "Hsu" (Preface) by or in behalf of Juan, *Hsueh-hai-t'ang chi*, 1st ser. 1825.

Hsu Jung, one of the eight original directors of the Hsueh-hai-t'ang, caught the symbolic significance of Juan's name for the academy. He composed the following verse in 1824 for the dedication of the academy's new buildings on Yueh-hsiu Hill:

The Green-jade Pavilion is high and out of sight,
Southward from the South Garden only desolate weeds.
Of Clear Spring Refined Study no foundations remain,
Precious Moon Tower stands alone—what sounds will follow?

The roots of a hundred generations lie in past events,
This broad mansion of a thousand rooms holds the mind of the ancients.
We will be able to take the *Kung-yang* learning of the two Hans,
And swiftly sweep away the superficial to reveal the Old and New.¹⁶

Juan Yuan had personal ties with many of the scholars associated with the Ch'ang-chou New Text tradition. Liu Feng-lu's sometime follower, Ling Shu, served late in life as Juan's assistant, also tutoring Juan's sons. Juan's close friend Ch'eng En-tse was a well-known scholar and tutored many of those involved in the New Text tradition. Ch'eng's circle of friends in Peking included Liu Feng-lu, Wei Yuan, and Kung Tzu-chen, all of whose statecraft proposals and political activities were widely admired. Such links between Han Learning and New Text scholarship in the early nineteenth century suggest that we should broaden our understanding of the Old Text–New Text controversy and be prepared to consider the manner in which the Ch'ang-chou New Text initiative entered the *k'ao-cheng* mainstream.¹⁷

K'AO-CHENG EPISTEMOLOGICAL LEVERAGE

Standing on the borderline between Han Learning and Sung Learning, the *Kung-yang* studies produced by Chuang and Liu scholars in Ch'ang-chou assumed national prominence through the preliminary efforts of Chuang Shu-tsu, Chuang Yu-k'e, and Chuang Shou-chia. They united Chuang Ts'un-yü's *Kung-yang* interests to Han Learning *k'ao-cheng* studies. Liu Feng-lu brought this ongoing synthesis to virtual completion. Through him, the latest philological discoveries of Han Learning were conjoined to the reconstruction of the Former Han New Text clas-

16. *Hsueh-hai-t'ang chi*, 1st ser., 16.22a–23a.

17. Ling Shu, for example, annotated Tung Chung-shu's *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu*, a key New Text work. See Li Hsin-lin, "Ch'ing-tai ching chin-wen-hsueh shu," pp. 81–84, and Wilhelm, "Chinese Confucianism," p. 307.

sical tradition. He also impressed the theoretical perspectives of *Kung-yang* Confucianism on leading Han Learning scholars, who began to see the import of Chuang Ts'un-yü's efforts to overcome the threatening implications of the debate between Han and Sung Learning.

Liu Feng-lu realized that the theoretical conclusions reached by Chuang Ts'un-yü and other members of the Ch'ang-chou school needed support from empirically based *k'ao-cheng* methods of demonstration. Without such support, *Kung-yang* studies lacked the epistemological leverage to be taken seriously enough to appear alongside mainstream Han Learning studies in collections such as the *Ch'ing Exegesis of the Classics*. Juan Yuan, as we saw in chapter 4, declined to include Chuang Ts'un-yü's writings on the *Change Classic* in the latter collectanea, for example, because they were not informed by *k'ao-cheng* methods. Evidential research methods were employed so widely in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the accepted forms of scholarly discourse had been transformed in epistemological terms. Works that lacked systematic methods of demonstration could no longer achieve academic respectability. This scholarly shift was as true for Han Learning as for New Text studies.

As Chuang Shu-tsu and Chuang Yu-k'e had already demonstrated, *k'ao-cheng* was no one's monopoly. Liu Feng-lu devoted considerable attention to philology and phonology to gain the respect of his Han Learning colleagues. Liu made important contributions to *k'ao-cheng* research, particularly in the field of reconstructing ancient pronunciation based on classical rhymes (*ku-yin*). When such research was allied with New Text studies, the latter acquired the epistemological leverage needed to gain scholarly credibility.¹⁸

LIU FENG-LU AND NEW TEXT STUDIES

Liu Feng-lu transformed *Kung-yang* Confucianism from an idiosyncratic theoretical position into a legitimate form of Han Learning. Using *k'ao-cheng* to give epistemological legitimacy to the *Kung-yang* interpretation of the Classics, Liu Feng-lu in effect opened the door for full recognition of the scope of New Text Confucianism (*chin-wen-hsueh*). Along with Sung Hsiang-feng—who raised questions concerning the authenticity of the *Rituals of Chou* in connection with doubts about the legitimacy of the Old Text Classics (see chapter 6)—Feng-lu co-opted

the accruing philological evidence on the provenance of the Old Text portions of the *Documents Classic* and other Classics for the *Kung-yang* agenda.¹⁹

As the Old Text Classics increasingly became caught up in authenticity debates, the philological evidence unwittingly supplied by Han Learning scholars for more than a century became a powerful weapon in the New Text arsenal. For much of the nineteenth century, the New Text Classics enjoyed an aura of philological authenticity that contrasted sharply with the misgivings that clouded the reputations of the *Rituals of Chou*, the *Tso chuan*, and the Old Text *Documents*. Although research had by the early nineteenth century shown no unanimity on the Five Classics as a whole, the direction in *k'ao-cheng* research was evident.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, efforts to recover and reconstruct the Han Learning legacy had taken the form of a "return" (*fu-ku*) to the exegetical tradition of the Later Han "schools system." Continuing this scholarly return to the authenticated sources of the classical canon, followers of the Ch'ang-chou New Text school in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries advanced the frontiers of their knowledge by focusing on the scholarship associated with the "schools system" of the Former Han dynasty as a superior source for recovering the Confucian legacy. Even the more mainstream *k'ao-cheng* scholars who were not directly associated with the Ch'ang-chou school were moving in this direction.²⁰

The Fu-chien scholar Ch'en Shou-ch'i (1771–1834) is a good example of this more general scholarly shift. A New Text philologist, Ch'en was among the first to recognize the superiority of the New Text version of the authentic chapters of the *Documents Classic* over the Old Text version. In the early part of the nineteenth century, Ch'en completed a reconstruction of the Former Han New Text commentary to the *Documents*. Such emendations of the findings of Tuan Yü-ts'ai and other Old Text supporters were continued by Ch'en Shou-ch'i's son Ch'iao-ts'ung. In addition to collating the New Text recension of the *Documents*, Chen Ch'iao-ts'ung also assembled in another work most of the conclusions reached by *k'ao-cheng* scholars concerning the Old Text *Documents* controversy in the preceding two centuries. Like Chuang Shu-tsu and Liu Feng-lu, the Ch'ens rejected the Old Text re-

18. See my *Philosophy to Philology*, pp. 2–36.

19. Li Hsin-lin, "Ch'ing-tai ching chin-wen-hsueh shu," p. 186.

20. Chou Yü-t'ung, *Ching chin-ku-wen hsueh*, pp. 28–29.

cension of the *Documents* in favor of New Text variants dating from the Former Han "schools system."²¹

Philology became the means to reorder the classical legacy. Convinced of the need for an exact textual understanding of the Confucian Classics in order to reach doctrinal conclusions, *k'ao-cheng* scholars reversed earlier Sung-Ming Neo-Confucian agendas by making philology, not philosophy, the key to recovering the teachings of antiquity. Liu Feng-lu's genius lay in correctly perceiving the crucial role played by the textual criticism of the Old Text Classics. In fact, he viewed it as the philological premise for the restitution of the long-defunct New Text Classics initiated by Chuang Ts'un-yü when he turned to *Kung-yang* Confucianism. *Kung-yang* theory was now grounded on *k'ao-cheng* discourse. The joining of activist *Kung-yang* theory and intellectualist Han Learning philology would yield New Text Confucianism.²²

As his imperial biographer explained, "Liu Feng-lu's scholarship endeavored to penetrate great meanings without overstressing the parsing of sentences and phrases [in the Classics]." Although a student of Chuang Ts'un-yü, Liu moved away from his teacher's stress on Ho Hsiu back to the Former Han New Text Confucianism of Tung Chung-shu. The unanimity of Han Learning was effectively over. Feng-lu's shift epitomized the retreat from Cheng Hsuan and the classical "schools system" of the Later Han.²³

Liu Feng-lu perceived in the New Text concerns of the Former Han a bedrock of Confucian theory that could replace the overly philological concerns of the Later Han Old Text school. The Former Han New Text stress on theory contrasted in a fundamental way with the Later Han Old Text emphasis on philology. This contrast reaffirmed, albeit in new terms, the difference between Sung Learning moral philosophy and Han Learning *k'ao-cheng*. New Text Confucianism gave Feng-lu and others the textual means to restore the balance between theory and philology.²⁴

21. Ch'en Shou-ch'i, *Tso-hai ching-pien*, A.1a-12b, A.13a-21b, A.22a-26b, A.36a-40b, for a discussion of the New Text recension of the *Documents*. See also Ch'en Ch'iao-ts'ung, *Tso-hai hsu-chi*. Cf. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, *Intellectual Trends*, p. 90.

22. Liu Feng-lu, *Ch'un-ch'iu Kung-yang ching Ho-shih shih-li*, 1280.2b. See my "Philosophy versus Philology," pp. 211-17.

23. *Chuan-kao*, no. 4455(1), of Liu Feng-lu.

24. Tai Wang, "Liu hsien-sheng hsing-chuang," 1.26b. Liu Feng-lu stated his views in the "Hsu" (Preface) to his *Kung-yang ch'un-ch'iu Ho-shih chieh-ku ch'ien*, 1290.1a-2a.

LIU FENG-LU VS. CH'IENTA-HSIN

Liu Feng-lu's remarkable synthesis proceeded simultaneously on a number of fronts. The central axis of his New Text synthesis was Confucius's *Spring and Autumn Annals*, which he viewed as the key to "seeking out the intent of the sages" (*sheng-jen chih chih*). Showing remarkable professional courage and intellectual integrity, he wrote an essay entitled "Discourse on the *Annals*" ("Ch'un-ch'iu lun") early in the nineteenth century that directly controverted the conclusions on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* drawn by Ch'ien Ta-hsin. The most distinguished Han Learning scholar of the Ch'ien-lung era, Ch'ien Ta-hsin was also the chief spokesman for the Su-chou Han Learning tradition after the death of Hui Tung. Just as his grandfather had opposed Su-chou and Yang-chou Han Learning currents a generation before, Liu Feng-lu, it appears, was confident enough of his roots in Chuang traditions of classical learning to challenge the giants of the *k'ao-cheng* movement.

Continuing a line of interpretation with roots in Sung dynasty skepticism, Ch'ien Ta-hsin had argued that the *Annals* "had no historiographical message" (*wu shu-fa*). Indeed, according to Ch'ien, the *Annals* contained no secret message of "praise and blame" encoded by Confucius but was simply a straightforward chronicle of events (*chih shu ch'ishih*). Ch'ien therefore contended that the *Tso chuan* was the superior commentary on the *Annals* because it added flesh to the bones of the events listed in the *Annals*. The *Kung-yang Commentary* dealt only with unverifiable and mysterious notions (*wu-wang chih shuo*) of little value in classical studies.²⁵

Liu Feng-lu correctly perceived that Ch'ien Ta-hsin's efforts to define the *Annals* as a mere historical record constituted a throwback to Wang An-shih's attempt centuries earlier to dismiss the *Annals* as a useless collection of names and dates devoid of any moral message. Defending the *Kung-yang Commentary*, Liu wrote:

[Ch'ien Ta-hsin's argument] does not prove that *Kung-yang* [Kao] does not compare to Master Tso, but only that the *Annals* itself does not compare with Master Tso. Master Tso gives details on affairs, but the *Annals* stresses meanings, not affairs. Master Tso never mentions precedents, but the *Annals* is filled with precedents. It does not loosely construct precedents. Instead, by

25. Ch'ien Ta-hsin, *Ch'ien-yen-t'ang wen-chi*, vol. 1, 17-22.

emphasizing affairs, [the *Annals*] preserves only one-tenth of the hundreds and thousands [of affairs]. What is not recorded outnumbers what is recorded. Accordingly, the *Annals* does not loosely construct precedents.²⁶

By accepting the superior historical status of the *Tso chuan*, Liu Feng-lu placed an enormous conceptual distance between the intent of the *Annals* as a Classic and the historical reach of the *Tso chuan* as a commentary. Ch'ien Ta-hsin and his predecessors had subsumed the *Annals* under the historical minutiae of its *Tso chuan*. By giving priority to the *Annals* as a Classic, Liu Feng-lu dismissed efforts to relegate it to the status of mere history. The debate within Han Learning over the provenance of the Classics (*ching*) vis-à-vis history (*shih*) was beginning to take shape. Liu Feng-lu made Ch'ien Ta-hsin his foil for the Old Text position and then articulated the special transhistorical status of the New Text Classics against it.

THE CLASSICS VS. HISTORY

The debate over the relationship between the Classics and Dynastic Histories became prominent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As historical studies became almost as prestigious as classical studies in the late eighteenth century, the conceptual chasm demarcating the universality of the Classics from the particularity of the Histories was called into question. The *Documents Classic* and *Spring and Autumn Annals*, for instance, were historical records derived from antiquity that had become Classics. A recurring problem was explaining the distinction between 'Classic' and 'History'.²⁷

A specialist in classical and historical fields of *k'ao-cheng* research, Ch'ien Ta-hsin went further than most in his claim that, ultimately, there was no essential difference between the Classics and the Histories. This distinction had not existed in antiquity, according to Ch'ien, but had first been used in the bibliographic "four divisions" (*ssu-pu*, that is, classics, history, philosophy, literature) system of classification instituted after the fall of the Han dynasty. Consequently, Ch'ien rejected the priority accorded the Classics over the Histories in reconstructing the classical tradition. For Ch'ien, the Histories were equally important sources.²⁸

26. Liu Feng-lu, "Ch'un-ch'iu lun," in *Liu Li-pu chi*, 3.17b.

27. See my *Philosophy to Philology*, pp. 72–73.

28. Ch'ien Ta-hsin, "Hsu" (Preface) to his *Nien-erh-shih k'ao-i*, p. 1.

Critical of fruitless speculation and arbitrary praise-and-blame historiography, *k'ao-cheng* historians such as Ch'ien Ta-hsin and his close confidant and brother-in-law, Wang Ming-sheng, favored application of evidential research to paint the true face of history. Wang Ming-sheng, also a follower of Su-chou Han Learning, maintained: "Discussions of praise and blame are merely empty words. The writing of history is the recording of the facts. Overall the goal is simply to ascertain the truth. Besides the facts, what more can one ask for?" Similarly, Ch'ien Ta-hsin asserted that historical facts themselves would show whom to praise and whom to blame. The process of laying blame, according to Ch'ien, should be analogous to the deliberations involved in deciding court cases. There must be no self-serving use of historical evidence to support unverifiable and mysterious theories of praise and blame drawn from the *Annals*. Ch'ien and Wang both rejected the a priori assumption that Confucius's *Annals* was the model for and embodiment of the underlying "meaning" of history.²⁹

The well-known slogan "the Six Classics are all Histories," made famous in the late eighteenth century by the historian Chang Hsueh-ch'eng, should be understood in light of contributions made by *k'ao-cheng* historians such as Wang Ming-sheng and Ch'ien Ta-hsin. They set the stage for Chang Hsueh-ch'eng's dramatic conclusion, which historicized classical studies and placed the Classics unequivocally under history's purview. We should add that this demotion of the a priori status of the *Annals* at the same time threatened Confucius's status as a historian. If the *Annals* were a useless chronicle, then what of the compiler?³⁰

Chang Hsueh-ch'eng, for example, argued that Confucius had been only the most important of many late Chou dynasty theorists, and Confucianism but one school among others. Confucius's role, he explained, had been limited to transmitting the teachings enunciated by the Duke of Chou centuries before. Chang's discussion of the different roles played by Confucius and the Duke of Chou revived debates concerning the priority of the *Rituals of Chou* (associated with the Duke of Chou) over the *Annals* (associated with Confucius) precisely at the time when Chuang Ts'un-yü and his Ch'ang-chou kin were developing their *Kung-yang* portrait of Confucius as a sage who used history to declare classical truths.

29. Wang Ming-sheng, "Hsu" (Preface) to *Shih-ch'i-shih shang-ch'ueh*, p. 2a. See also Ch'ien Ta-hsin, *Ch'ien-yen-t'ang wen-chi*, vol. 2, 224–25.

30. Chang Hsueh-ch'eng, *Wen-shih t'ung-i*, p. 1.