

Chapter 9

The Sui Foundation of Early Tang Classical Scholarship

9.1. Liu Zhuo and Liu Xuan in Perspective

"Liu Zhuo and Liu Xuan were great Confucian masters of the Sui dynasty whose impact on early Tang scholarship was both deep and broad."¹ This authoritative assertion by Qiao Xiuyan sets the stage for this chapter and demarcates the coverage of late Sui scholarship. The two Lius, fast friends since childhood, transmitted much of the collective learning of the Northern and Southern Dynasties period. For example, Liu Xuan's commentaries on the *Poems*, *Zuo's Commentary*, and at least parts of the *Esteemed Documents* served as the blueprints for the exegetical work completed during the early Tang under the editorial supervision of Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648); traces of the residual work of Liu Zhuo are also evident.² This means that the scholarly understanding of three of the five traditional classics was indebted to the Lius' scholarship. Also, Kong was Liu Zhuo's pupil,³ and later became the major figure in the early Tang classical scholarly project sponsored by the court, which produced an authoritative edition, the texts of which are still normative today. Thus, this Sui-

¹ Qiao, *Yishuxue shuaiwang shilun*, 31. The flowery version of such panegyrics recorded in the preface to the "Grove of Confucians" collective biography in the *Suishu* reads, "The two Lius were outstanding beyond their kind; their learning penetrated that of both the North and the South. Their erudition reached to the ultimate of both ancient and modern. Advanced students looked up in admiration, but none could fathom them. Of the clearing-up-the-meaning commentaries they devised, all officials took them as gospel from their own master" 二劉拔萃出類，學通南北，博極今古，後生鈞仰，莫之能測。所制諸經義疏，摯紳咸師宗之。 *Suishu* 75.1707.

² By way of contrast, the commentary of the Liang dynasty classicist Huang Kan 皇侃 (488–545) on the *Liji* founded the Tang understanding of this classic.

³ Liu Zhuo was also the teacher of Zhang Shiheng 張士衡 (d. AD 645) from Hejian (eastcentral Hebei), in terms of ritual texts. Zhang in turn passed this learning on to Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (early Tang), the author of the *Correct Meaning* sub-commentaries on both the *Zhouli* and *Yili* ritual texts, which helped expand the *Correct Meaning* canon from five to nine. Jia Gongyan will be examined in chap. 10, sec. 10.4.1.

Tang interface was grounded on the scholarship of the Lius during the Sui on one end and on the great project of Kong Yingda during the Tang on the other.

Qiao Xiuyan has characterized the classical scholarship of the two Lius as breaking from the older patterns embodied in the clearing-up-the-meaning sub-commentaries in three distinct ways: (1) in its emphasis on the application of the practical, (2) in its basis in rational thinking, and (3) in its use of source materials. The Lius' concern for the practical is demonstrated by their favoritism of the *Esteemed Documents* and the *Classic of Filial Piety*, which of all the classics are most disposed to teaching practical ethical behavior. As for their concern for the realistic, the Lius use the principles of calendrical calculations to clarify historical chronology and unravel anachronisms. They also avoid the otherworldly mindset of the sages and worthies who interpret celestial calamities as warnings from Heaven. Because of this, they dispense with apocryphal texts because they deem them to be unrealistic, which is a departure from the school of Zheng Xuan. In addition, they confirm their interpretations with lists of facts from disparate categories, something not seen in the commentaries of Huang Kan on the *Records of Ritualists* or in the commentaries of Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 on the *Rites of Zhou* or the *Ceremonials and Rituals*.

As for the novel use of source materials, the Lius transcend the traditional limitation of reliance on the classics and their commentaries to include the broadest range of ancient writings in any form. They are also more discerning readers than most previous classicists, delving into the patterns of formatting and rhetoric of the classics and commentaries to derive new meaning and significance. Their exegetical thinking is thus not stuck within the parameters formed by the surface messages of the classics and Confucian commentaries.

Finally, for the use of source material, even in so basic an exegetical approach as quoting from the classics, they freely do so, especially the *Poems*, *Esteemed Documents*, and *Zuo's Commentary*, something that neither Huang Kan nor Jia Gongyan did to any significant degree.⁴ In short, while the evidence is insufficient to definitely determine which wording in the *Correct Meaning* epexegetical commentaries to the *Poems*, *Esteemed Documents*, and *Zuo's Commentary* derive from the Lius as opposed to Kong Yingda, enough traces remain to strongly reveal the hand of the Lius despite the editorial interventions of Kong.

With the appearance of the Lius' classical scholarship based on the criteria of the practical, the rational, and the refined reading of a breadth of old sources, the corresponding three criteria of the traditional sub-commentaries declined in importance within classical scholarly approaches. These three traditional approaches of longstanding pedigrees were the dependence on ungrounded reason, the use of inference, and a focus on the classics and their old commentaries to the exclusion of other, albeit unrelated, sources.⁵

⁴ Qiao, *Yishuxue shuaiwang shilun*, 57–96.

⁵ Qiao, *Yishuxue shuaiwang shilun*, 99.

9.2. Life of Liu Zhuo

I translate virtually all of Liu Zhuo's biography to display the herky-jerky path members of the penurious class in the North, such as Liu Zhuo, would have had to follow to gain a classical education. This path was typical of those who did not have the benefit of long training in the school of a famous classicist or who did not receive traditional family learning, a prevailing practice in the South. Liu Zhuo's life also reflects the fact that northern classicists came primarily from Hebei, not Shandong, which was the traditional bastion of Confucian piety and scholarship. Additionally, his teachers were found in regional locales, not in large metropolises as was the norm in the South.

Liu Zhuo's (544–608) style was Shiyuan; he was a man from Changting, Xindu [southcentral Hebei]. His father Liu Qia was a member of the headquarters of the Ministry of Works at the prefectural level. Zhuo's forehead was like a gaur and his back like a tortoise. His expectations were lofty and his vision far-reaching. He was clever and quick, and deep and broad of thought; when young he was not fond of playing. At a young age he concluded a compact of friendship with Liu Xuan of Hejian commandery [eastcentral Hebei]. Together they were instructed in the *Poems* by Liu Guisi from the same commandery, instructed in *Zuo's Commentary* by Guo Maocang from Guangping [southern Hebei], and asked questions about the *Rites* from Xiong Ansheng of Fucheng [southeastern Hebei], but they left all of them before completing their studies. Liu Zhihai from Jiaojinqiao, Wuqiang [southeastern Hebei] possessed many ancient books in his family library. Both Zhuo and Xuan frequented his house to study; they focused on the classics for 10 years. Although they lacked a dependable supply of food and clothing, they were content. Subsequently, they became renowned for their Confucian learning and became erudites at the provincial level. The governor Zhao Jiong invited Zhuo to join his staff,⁶ and recommended him to attempt the exam for a Cultivated Talent degree. He earned a place among the first rank of candidates and was assigned to compile the state history along with Editorial Director Wang Shao. . . .

Afterwards, Zhuo investigated and confirmed the assemblage of words in the palace library along with various Confucian masters. Thereupon he returned to his homeland on vacation, when the local county magistrate Wei Zhiye recommended him to serve as a member of the headquarters of the Ministry of Works for the prefecture.⁷ Subsequently, he again returned to the capital and discussed longstanding problems in

⁶ Zhao Jiong 趙鼎 (532–599) rose to the rank of prime minister under the Sui; his career as a local administrator was characterized by moral suasion rather than the force of his office. See his biography at *Suishu* 46.1249–51 and *Beishi* 75.2563–65.

⁷ Wei Zhiye 韋之業 is otherwise unknown.

interpretation, both ancient and modern, which previous worthies had been unable to penetrate, with such notables as the following: the Chief Administrator of the Left Yang Su,⁸ Imperial Secretary in the Ministry of Personnel Niu Hong,⁹ Chancellor of the Sons of State Academy Su Wei,¹⁰ Chancellor of the Sons of State Academy Yuan Shan, Erudites Xiao Gai and He Tuo, Erudites of the Grand Academy Fang Huiyuan¹¹ and Cui Zongde,¹² and Instructor to the Prince of Jin Cui Ze.¹³

Whenever Zhuo ascended to the lecture seat, those who disputed with him rose up like wasps, but none of them were able to defeat him. Yang Su and the others all submitted before both his preciseness of knowledge and breadth of learning. In the sixth year (AD 586), the stone classics were transported to the capital, but the characters had been effaced or obliterated; no one could recognize them. Zhuo received an edict to work with Liu Xuan and others to verify and determine them. But because of a ceremony for sacrificing to Confucius at the Sons of State Academy, only the two, Zhuo and Xuan, discussed the matter. They, however, were blocked by the other Confucian masters, who all harbored feelings of jealousy and hatred. Subsequently, he was slandered by malicious

⁸ Yang Su 楊素 (544–606), the Duke of Chu, hailed from Huayin 華陰 (eastern Shaanxi), Hongnong Commandery 弘農郡. A famous general, with multiple victories over the Tujue and much of the conquest of the state of Chen and the subjection of the royal rebel Yang Liang 楊諒 (575–605) to his credit, he also filled a variety of posts at court. He supervised the expansion of Luoyang as the eastern capital and was in charge of building a traveling palace in Baoji, Shaanxi, whose opulence offended the emperor. He himself lived in splendid palaces and led a profligate lifestyle. He was not, however, a scholar but left an anthology of poetry in 10 scrolls. His biography is in *Suishu* 48.1281–92 and *Beishi* 41.1508–16.

⁹ For Niu Hong 牛宏, see chap. 6, sec. 6.3.

¹⁰ For Su Wei 蘇威, consult the treatment throughout the biography of Yuan Shan in chap. 7, sec. 7.2.1.

¹¹ Yuan Shan, He Tuo, and Fang Huiyuan appear in the “Grove of Confucians” collective biography treated in chap. 7, sec. 7.1. Xiao Gai also appears there but is treated separately in chap. 8, sec. 8.1.2.

¹² Cui Zongde 崔宗德 is otherwise unknown.

¹³ Cui Ze 崔謁 is classified as a hermit given the placement of his biography in the chapter devoted to them; *Suishu* 42.1755–58. He gained a high placing in the exams and was assigned to help compile the ritual and musical codes, and also worked as an editor in the Palace Library. He was an eloquent speaker and a friend popular with Yuan Shan, Liu Zhuo, Liu Xuan, and others, who met during vacations to engage in light talks on philosophical matters, the so-called *qingtán* 清談. He served in a variety of posts around the state, often advising local princes and high officials. He was a prolific literatus in various genres but again, not a scholar. His *Beishi* biography is also assigned to the section on hermits. *Beishi* 88.2911–14.

circulars, so he was reduced in rank to that of a commoner. Thereupon, he traveled around his homeland in sorrow and took up private teaching and composition to earn a living. He worked diligently without tiring and either affirmed or contradicted many of the paragraph and line commentaries of Jia Kui, Ma Rong, Wang Su, and Zheng Xuan. . . .¹⁴

Zhuo authored *Enquiring into the Ultimate* in 10 scrolls, a *Book of Calendars* in 10 scrolls, and *Transmission of the Meaning of the Five Classics*, all of which circulated during the age.¹⁵ Liu Xuan was clever and bright and erudite, but his renown was second to that of Zhuo, hence contemporaries called them the Two Lius. Famous Confucian masters and advanced students and those with questions concerning the classics who came to study with him, not considering a thousand miles too far to come, are too numerous to count. Those who ponder such matters consider that over the last several hundred years, in terms of erudite and comprehensive Confucian masters, no one was able to surpass him. Still, those who harbored grand ambitions yet were lacking in talent, or those who did not pay tuition, were never among those Zhuo taught. Due to these factors, contemporaries denigrated him. Zhuo again revised the ritual system and determined the penal code together with other Confucian masters and was given an honorary appoint as Commander of Fleet-as-Clouds Cavalry. When Emperor Yang ascended the throne [AD 604], Zhuo was transferred to be an erudite at the Grand Academy. But presently he quit, pleading illness. After several years, once again he was summoned to be an Advisor-in-waiting. Therefore, he presented the work that he authored, *Book of Calendars*, to the throne, which differed in many respects from that of the Grand Astrologer Zhang Zhouxuan,¹⁶

¹⁴ Jia Kui (174–228), Ma Rong (79–166), Wang Su (195–256), and Zheng Xuan (120–200) were the chief exponents of the commentarial approach of the close reading of texts that characterized Old School learning during the Eastern Han. They were all northerners, and given substantial treatment in Honey, *A History of Chinese Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2.

¹⁵ None of these works is recorded in the *Suishu* bibliographical monograph, and I take the word “deliberations” (*yi* 議) to be an error for the word “meaning” (*yi* 義) in the title of Zhuo’s commentary on the Five Classics.

¹⁶ The learned astronomer and mathematician Zhang Zhouxuan 張胄玄 (d. ca. 610) enjoys an ample biography as do other specialists in *yinyang* thinking and techniques in *Suishu* 78.1779–82 and in *Beishu* 89.2958–60. For modern studies, see Qu Anjing 區安京, “Why Interpolation?,” in Alan K. L. Chan et al., eds. *Historical Perspectives on East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2003), 336–44; and Wei You 樺樵, “Zhongguo lidai fangshi (fangji) zhuanlue: Jingtong lifa de shengren Zhang Zhouxuan” 中國歷代方士（方技）傳略精通曆法的聖人張胄玄, in the online site Shihai gouchen 史海鉤沉, accessed August 17, 2017, <http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/9/2/2/n2415177.htm>. Liu Zhuo’s interest in

so it was rejected and not adopted.¹⁷ Zhuo died in the sixth year of the *Daye* reign period [AD 610], at 66 years of age. Liu Xuan petitioned the throne to grant him a posthumous title, but the court would not assent.

劉焯，字士元，信都昌亭人也。父洽，郡功曹。焯犀額龜背，望高視遠，聰敏沈深，弱不好弄。少與河間劉炫結盟為友，同受詩於同郡劉軌思，受左傳於廣平郭懋常，問禮於阜城熊安生，皆不卒業而去。交津橋劉智海家素多墳籍，焯與炫就之讀書，向經十載，雖衣食不繼，晏如也。遂以儒學知名，為州博士。刺史趙琨引為從事，舉秀才，射策甲科。與著作郎王劭同修國史。……

後與諸儒於秘書省考定群言。因假還鄉里，縣令韋之業引為功曹。尋復入京，與左僕射楊素、吏部尚書牛弘、國子祭酒蘇威、國子祭酒元善、博士蕭該、何妥、太學博士房暉遠、崔宗德、晉王文學崔躋等於國子共論古今滯義前賢所不通者。¹⁸ 每升座，論難鋒起，皆不能屈，楊素等莫不服其精博。六年，運洛陽《石經》至京師，文字磨滅，莫能知者，奉敕與劉炫等考定。後因國子釋奠，與炫二人論義，深挫諸儒，咸懷妒恨，遂為飛章所謗，除名為民。於是優游鄉里，專以教授著述為務，孜孜不倦。賈、馬、王、鄭所傳章句，多所是非。……著稽極十卷，歷書十卷，五經述議，並行於世。劉炫聰明博學，名亞於焯，故時人稱二劉焉。天下名儒後進，質疑受業，不遠千里而至者，不可勝數。論者以為數百年已來，博學通儒，無能出其右者。然懷抱不曠，又畜於財，不行束修者，未嘗有所教誨，時人以此少之。……焯又與諸儒修定禮律，除雲騎尉。煬帝即位，遷太學博士，俄以疾去職。數年，

mathematics and astronomy has been partially elided in this translation but is a large element of his historical profile. See Daniel Patrick Morgan, "Liu Zhuo (544–610) (Shiyuan) - Érudit, astronome, éducateur et mathématicien des Sui," in HAL archives-ouvertes, accessed on August 17, 2017 at <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01418322/document>; and Ji Zhigang, "The Development of Interpolation Methods in Ancient China: From Liu Zhuo to Hua Hengfang," in Alan K. Chan et al., eds., *Historical Perspectives*, 327–35.

¹⁷ Liu Zhuo's calendar may not have been adopted by the Sui court, but this rejection did not limit its later influence. Witness Ji Zhigang: "Around 600 A.D., in his *Huangji Calendar* (皇極历, AD 604), Liu Zhuo used a new algorithm—now called interpolation—which improved accuracy and coherency. Subsequently, this methodology was widely adopted in compiling and further improving calendars. Indeed, Liu Zhuo's contribution to calendrical has since ushered in a new era in the history of mathematical astronomy in ancient China." Ji, "The Development of Interpolation Methods," 327.

¹⁸ His biography is recorded in both *Suishu* 75.1718.19 and *Nanshi* 82.2762.

復被徵以待顧問，因上所著歷書，與太史令張胄玄多不同，被駁不用。大業六年卒，時年六十七。劉炫為之請謚，朝廷不許。

9.2.1. Scholarship

Liu Wenqi 劉文淇 (1789–1854), a noted classicist who worked during the height of Qing textual criticism, explains the utility of the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* for recovering the contributions to classical scholarship made by scholars during the Six Dynasties period. Since his target of investigation is Liu Zhuo, a northerner, we must assume that by "Six Dynasties" Liu Wenqi included scholars from both Northern and Southern Dynasties. In the preface to his *Investigations and Corrections of Old Sub-Commentaries on Zuo's Commentary* 左傳舊疏考正, Liu Wenqi comments as follows:

Of the works of the various Confucian masters from the Six Dynasties that explained the classics, not even one out of 100 is extant. That which allows later men to have a cursory critical look are the various explanations recorded in the *Correct Meaning* by the men of Tang. Nevertheless, the entirety of the "Illuminating the Classics" examinations devised during the Tang rely entirely on the *Correct Meaning*. Responses that contravene that which is deemed correct are degraded as heterodoxical. Subsequently, this caused the original works of these various masters to gradually disappear and become lost. Hence, former men characterized the *Correct Meaning* by the men of Tang as balanced equally between its merits and demerits. The world knows that the editorial changes performed by Kong Yingda and the various Confucian masters on the old sub-commentaries was not the work of a single hand. Additionally, during the *Yonghui* reign period [650–655], additions and deletions occurred, so when the work first was promulgated, it was not known that it was not the original former work of Mr. Kong. . . . Today I rely entirely on Mr. Kong's preface and conventions to apply a narrow analysis, which yielded a certain amount of items; I have organized them into eight scrolls. I will still investigate and correct his remaining sub-commentaries on the *Changes*, *Esteemed Documents*, *Mao Poems*, and *Records of Ritualists* all in sequence, in the hope that I can somewhat restore the old visage of the sub-commentaries of the Six Dynasties, as already discussed.

六朝諸儒說經之書百不存一。使後人略有所考見者則以唐人正義備載諸儒之說也。然唐制試明經一依正義，非是黜為異端。遂使諸儒原書漸就亡佚。故昔人謂唐人正義功過相等。世知孔沖遠與諸儒刪定舊疏非出一人之手。又永徽中就加增損，書始布，不知非孔氏之舊。……今一依孔氏序例細加析別得若干條釐為八卷其

餘易尚書毛詩禮記諸疏猶將次第者考正，庶幾六朝舊疏稍還舊觀云爾。¹⁹

Liu Zhuo's commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, titled *Transmission of the Meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋述義 is subjected to a close reading by Qiao Xiuyan to extract Liu's general approach, as seen in section 9.1. But since Liu's works have all been lost for ages, Qiao's medium of analysis is the study of Liu Wenqi, titled *Investigation and Correction of Old Sub-Commentaries on Zuo's Commentary*: the preface of which I translated above. Qiao analyzes Wenqi's work to attempt to identify Liu's original quotes and paraphrases. Qiao's points of entry include Wenqi's editorial comments such as, "Now the appraisal states" (*jin zan yue* 今讚曰), "Now we redact and determine" (*jin shanding* 今刪定), "Now we know that this is not so" (*jin zhi buranzhe* 今知不然者), "Now we suppose that" (*jin yiwei* 今以為), and so on. Qiao hopes that this textual treatment will better reveal just which relevant quotes are attributable to Liu Zhuo as opposed to Kong Yingda or other editors. Above, I merely summarized Qiao's conclusions without delving into any details to illustrate Liu's purported scholarly approach. I now refer interested readers to Qiao's original work for these details. To save space, I turn to another commentary by Zhuo.

Liu Zhuo's *Clearing-up-the-meaning of the Esteemed Documents* 上書義疏 is apparently not part of his larger set, *Transmission of the Meaning of the Five Classics*. This latter work, which was apparently lost early on, is not recorded in the *History of Sui* bibliographical monograph, although it is noted in Liu's biographies, the *History of Sui* and the *History of the North*. The former work is recorded in the bibliographic monograph in the *History of the Tang* in 20 scrolls and in the similar work, the *New History of the Tang* in 30 scrolls. Six quotations from this work that are expressly attributed to Liu are extracted from the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* by Ma Guohan 馬國翰 (1794–1857).²⁰

Jiao Guimei evaluates the six quotes preserved from Liu Zhuo's lost work and notes three major trends.²¹ First, Liu open-mindedly follows earlier authorities that he endorses for intellectual or historical reasons, not out of loyalty to a particular exegetical tradition or classical master. For instance, in the phrase "When Heaven was sending down its favoring decree and laying the foundations of (the eminence of) our people, (spirits) were used only at the great sacrifices" 惟天降命，肇我民，惟元祀，Liu reads *yuan* 元 as "beginning" rather than as the traditional reading of "great, large" in Kong Anguo's 孔安國 (ca. 156–ca. 74)

¹⁹ Liu Wenqi, *Zuozhuan jiushu kaozheng zixu* 左傳舊疏考正 (HQJJ ed.), 11:3809–51; "Self-Preface," pp. 3809–11.

²⁰ Ma, *Yuhanshanfang jiyishu*, 1:429–30.

²¹ Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 444–49.

original, sanctified commentary.²² Notice that Legge's translation reflects the understanding of both Han dynasty exegete Kong Anguo and his distant descendant, the commentator Kong Yingda, for the latter comments on Liu's reading by curtly quipping that "Greater Liu [Liu Zhuo] takes *yuan* as 'to commence,' but this is erroneous" 大劉以元為始，錯也。²³ Another example shows how both Lius, Liu Zhuo and Liu Xuan, followed Ma Rong in the face of the opposite reading by Kong Anguo and Wang Su.

Second, Liu Zhuo thinks for himself, offering independent and creative insights.

Esteemed Documents, "Hongfan" 洪範:

First, of the five elements. The first is water; the second is fire; the third, wood; the fourth, metal; and the fifth, earth.

五行：一曰水，二曰火，三曰木，四曰金，五曰土。²⁴

Liu Zhuo, Clearing-up-the-meaning Commentary:

Water, fire, wood, and metal are formed by obtaining the number of earth, hence the completion number of water is six, the completion number of fire is seven, the completion number of wood is eight, the completion number of metal is nine, and the completion number of earth is 10.

水火木金，得土數而成，故水成數六，火成數七，木成數八，金成數九，土成數十。²⁵

The background to this commentary by Liu Zhuo is the theory of "Production and Completion" (*shengcheng* 生成). Kong Yingda explains this theory as follows:

"To heaven belongs (the number) one; to earth, two; to heaven, three; to earth, four; to heaven, five; to earth, six; to heaven, seven; to earth, eight; to heaven, nine; to earth, 10." These then are the production and completion numbers of the Five Phases. One of heaven produces water; two of earth produces fire; three of heaven produces wood; four of earth produces metal; and five of heaven produces earth. These are the production numbers. In this manner, *yang* lacks a companion and *yin* lacks a match. Hence six of earth completes water, seven of heaven completes fire, eight of earth completes wood, nine of heaven completes metal, and 10 of earth completes soil [earth]. Thereupon *yin* and *yang* both possess a companion and match, and things are able to thereby be completed. Hence, we term them the completion numbers.

²² *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Jiugao" 酒誥, 14.15a; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:399.

²³ *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Jiugao," 14.16a.

²⁴ *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Hongfan" 洪範, 12.5b.

²⁵ *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Hongfan," 12.6b, translation based in part on Legge.

天一地二，天三地四，天五地六，天七地八，天九地十。此即是五行生成之數。天一生水，地二生火，天三生木，地四生金，天五生土，此其生數也。如此則陽無匹陰無偶。故地六成水，天七成火，地八成木，天九成金，地十成土。於是陰陽各有匹偶，而物得成焉。故謂之成數也。²⁶

It is at the end of a subsequent discussion of the Production and Completion theory that Kong Yingda quotes "Liu the Greater's" theory explaining the original passage from the "Hongfan." Liu Zhuo's creativity is seen in the fact that he does not explain the original passage in terms of what the Five Phases theory is; rather, he enlarges our understanding of the theory itself with the Production and Completion expansion.

Jiao Guimei cites this snippet of commentary from Liu Zhuo as an instance of his creativity. Yet, it is just such a penchant for creativity that elicits Kong Yingda's censure in his preface to his *Correct Meaning* edition of the *Esteemed Documents*. Kong first acknowledges the twin Lius' place of eminence among the six commentators he recognizes, especially their level of detail: of the six, "their notes and elucidation of the texts and commentaries on the meanings were all shallow and abbreviated; only Liu Zhuo and Liu Xuan were utterly detailed and elegant" 帖[=帖]釋注文義皆淺略，惟劉焯劉炫最為詳雅。²⁷ Liu Zhuo himself then fell under censure for his individuality: "He deceives with his new views, distances himself from previous Confucian masters, negates dangerous interpretations by making them even more dangerous, and finds even more significance where there is none" 詭其新見，異彼前儒，非險而更為險，無義而更生義。²⁸

Third, it is in Kong Yingda's praise of the Lius' care for detail that Jiao Guimei finds this last major trend in Liu Zhuo's scholarship: detailed elucidation based on factual evidence, as is evident in the examples cited both above and below.

"Hongfan":

(Of those divisions) the first is called "the five elements;" the second, "reverent attention to the five (personal) matters;" the third, "earnest devotion to the eight (objects of) government;" the fourth, "the harmonious use of the five dividers of time;" the fifth, "the establishment and use of royal perfection;" the sixth, "the discriminating use of the three virtues;" the seventh, "the intelligent use of (the means for) the examination of doubts;" the eighth, "the thoughtful use of the various verifications;" the ninth, "the hortatory use of the five (sources of) happiness, and the awing use of the six (occasions of) suffering."

²⁶ *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Hongfan," 12.6a.

²⁷ *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Xu" 序, 1.2b.

²⁸ *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Xu" 序, 1.2b–3a.

初一日五行，次二曰敬用五事，次三曰農用八政，次四曰協用五紀，次五曰建用皇極，次六曰乂用三德，次七曰明用稽疑，次八曰念用庶徵，次九曰嚮用五福，威用六極。²⁹

Liu Zhuo Clearing-up-the-meaning Commentary:

Liu the Greater considers that when the Royal Perfection³⁰ prevails, its aspects are distributed in total as the Five Businesses.³¹ If the Royal Perfection is lost, then it is unable to use the Five Personal Matters to preside. Ranked equally with the five Personal Matters is an unfavorable weakness, hence in number there are six. It is just like in the *Poems* where after his reign, King Ping was still ranked together with the feudal lords, and their poetry was included in the "Airs of the States" section. As for the matter of having five types of Unfavorable Verifications³² and six of Perfection, the *Commentary on the Five Elements* states, "When the Royal does not reach Perfection, the punishment is for constant

²⁹ *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Hongfan," 12.4a; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:324–25.

³⁰ "Royal Perfection" (*huangji* 皇極) is Legge's translation of this storied term, which implies the extent of the imperial sway to the maximum range of each direction. Such an all-pervasive rule makes for an ideal reign. The concept is defined later in the text: "The sovereign having established his highest point of excellence, he concentrates in himself the five happinesses and diffuses them so as to give them to his people. Then on their part, the multitudes of the people, resting in your perfection, will give to you the preservations of it. That the multitudes of the people have no lawless confederacies, and that men in office have no selfish combinations, will be an effect of the sovereign's establishing his highest point of excellence" 皇建其有極。斂時五福，用敷錫厥庶民。惟時厥庶民于汝極。錫汝保極。 *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Hongfan," 12.11a; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:328–29.

³¹ The Five Businesses, or more commonly translated today as "Five Personal Matters," are defined later in the text as "demeanor" (*mao* 貌), "speech" (*yan* 言), "seeing" (*shi* 視), "hearing" (*ting* 聽), and "thinking" (*si* 思)." *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Hongfan," 12.7a; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:326–27.

³² "Unfavorable Verifications" (*jiuzheng* 咎徵) is a subset of "Various Verifications" (*shuzheng* 庶徵), which include such natural omens as "rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind, and seasonableness" 曰雨，曰暘，曰燠，曰寒，曰風，曰時。 *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Hongfan," 12.20b; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:339. "Unfavorable Verifications," as translated by Legge, include "wildness, emblemed by constant rain; of assumption, emblemed by constant sunshine; of indolence, emblemed by constant heat; of haste, emblemed by constant cold; and of stupidity, emblemed by constant wind" 曰狂，恆雨若；曰僭，恆暘若；曰豫，恆燠若；曰急，恆寒若；曰蒙，恆風若。 *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Hongfan," 12.22–22; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:340–41.

cloudiness.”³³ That is, it partakes of the same category of the “constant rain” of the Unfavorable Verifications. Hence “constant rain” is taken to be included within what is termed the Five.

大劉以爲皇極若得，則分散總爲五福，若失則不能爲五事之主，與五事並列其咎弱，故爲六。猶詩平王以後與諸侯並列同爲國風焉。咎征有五而極有六者，五行傳云：皇之不極，厥罰常陰。即與咎征常雨相類。故以常雨包之謂五。

I cannot presume to understand every implication of this commentary, but I can at least admire the intellectual maneuvers Liu Zhuo performed to attain balance in his exegetical numerology, subsuming “constant cloudiness” under “constant rain.” His attention to detail characterized his commentarial approach, as isolated by Jiao Guimei, but it also elicited the ire of Kong Yingda. Kong’s remarks in his preface praise the “detail and elegance” of the Lius’ annotations, but later in the preface, Kong expresses his ire that Liu Zhuo took this otherwise admirable style to excess, something that Liu Xuan also did not approve of. As Liu Xuan is now the next classicist awaiting examination, let us close this section with Liu Xuan’s more moderate approach: “Liu Xuan disliked the irritating degree of detail employed by Liu Zhuo, and so redacted his works” 炫嫌焯之繁雜，就而刪焉。³⁴

9.3. Life of Liu Xuan

Liu Xuan (ca. 546–ca. 613) was the second half of the famous twin team of Lius. He gained neither the fame nor the high office of Liu Zhuo but had his own set of accomplishments. We now take a look at a large portion of his biography.

Liu Xuan, style of Guangbo, was from Jingcheng, Hejian [southcentral Hebei]. When young he was acclaimed for his cleverness and quickness. He studied with Liu Zhuo from Xindu behind closed doors, never exiting for ten years. . . . During the midst of the Kaihuang reign period of the Sui dynasty [581–600], he received an imperial summons to participate in the compilation of the state history with Editorial Director Wang Shao. . . .³⁵ Furthermore, he participated when an imperial rescript summoned the various experts to revise the systems of astronomy, music, and calendars; concurrently, he investigated and confirmed the assemblage of words preserved in the Palace Domestic Service. The Director of the Palace Domestic Service Li Delin from Boling treated

³³ The *Commentary on the Five Elements* is actually a *Commentary on the Five Elements of the Great Plan* 洪範五行傳, reasonably attributed to Xiahou Shichang 夏侯始昌, who taught it to his nephew Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝. The quote from this work on “constant cloudiness” cited by Liu Zhuo is even preserved in the *Hanshu* biography of Xiahou Sheng. *Hanshu* 75.2155.

³⁴ *Shangshu zhengyi*, “Xu,” 3a.

³⁵ Wang Shao is introduced at chap. 7, sec. 7.2.11.

Xuan with great ritual courtesy.³⁶ Although Xuan visited all sections of the Three Departments,³⁷ he ultimately did not find a posting. He took charge of the taxation and corvée labor systems for a district magistrate. Xuan stated his views to the Director of the Palace Domestic Service who escorted him to the Ministry of Personnel to pay a visit. Imperial Secretary Wei Shukang inquired about his abilities.³⁸ Xuan provided a brief about his current situation. “I can annotate the *Rites of Zhou*, *Records of Ritualists*, *Mao Poems*, *Esteemed Documents*, *Gongyang*, *Zuo’s Commentary*, *Classic of Filial Piety*, *Analects*, Kong Anguo, Zheng Xuan, Wang Su, He Xiu, Fu Qian, Du Yu, and the like, 13 specialists in all. Although some interpretations are keen and some crude, all are worthy of lecturing on and teaching. I have spent less effort on the *Zhou Changes*, *Ceremonials and Rituals*, and *Guliang*. I can recite from memory the histories, masters, literary anthologies, praiseworthy words, and tales from the past. I have penetrated to the kernel of the subtle and the sublime. I have not yet applied my hand to either public or private epistolary practices.” The Imperial Secretary over the Ministry of Personnel surprisingly did not examine him closely on his claims. But more than 10 renowned scholars at court offered their clear warranties

³⁶ Li Delin 李德林 (b. ca. 530), son of an erudite in the Grand Academy, hailed from Boling (modern Dingzhou 定州, central Hebei). After his stint in the local bureaucracy in Dingzhou, Li Delin’s ability to effortlessly compose in bureaucratese without revisions impressed an official connected to the regional examination for the *xiuca* degree. Li passed with flying colors and was immediately sent to work at the court. He served both the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou and made his mark on the Sui court, especially when serving as prime minister. He also helped compile histories. His draft history of the Northern Qi was completed by his son, Li Baiyao 李百藥 (564–647), in 636 and gained acceptance among the official canon of Twenty-Four Dynastic Histories. His biography is bloated by the preservation of several missives exchanged between Lin and his colleagues, memorials to the throne, and his preface to his compilation of his prose works composed when he was prime minister, compiled at imperial command. His personal anthology reached 80 scrolls. Consult his biographies at *Suishu* 42.1193–1209 and *Beishi* 72.2504–08.

³⁷ The Three Departments were composed of the Secretariat, Chancellery, and Department of State Affairs.

³⁸ Wei Shukang 韋世康 (530–597) was from Duling 杜陵, Jingzhao 京兆 (south of Xi’an). The scion of a prominent family originally from western Gansu, his father was a famous hermit who 10 times refused summons to serve. At age nine, Wei worked as a Recorder at the provincial level, and at age 19 he was assigned to the Temple at the Imperial Mausoleum and enfeoffed as Duke Han of Anxian 漢安縣公. He was married to Princess Xiangle 襄樂公主, a daughter of Emperor Xiao Wen of the Western Wei (r. 535–551), Yuan Baoju 元寶炬 (507–551). This led him to high office, culminating during the Sui with his service as Imperial Secretary. See his biographies at *Suishu* 47.1265–67 and *Beishi* 64.2271–73.

that what he had claimed was not off the mark. Thereupon he was appointed a General of the Palace.

At the time, Niu Hong submitted a memorial seeking to obtain through purchase lost works in the world;³⁹ Xuan subsequently fabricated books in more than 100 scrolls, entitled the *Lianshan Changes*, *Historian's Records from Lu*, and the like. They were duly registered and sent to the responsible official; Xuan picked up his compensation and departed. Later on somebody brought suit against him, but he was spared the death sentence; still, his name was removed from the list of potential officials. He returned to his home and took up teaching for his career. The dismissed heir apparent Yang Yong heard about him and summoned him. . . .⁴⁰ Because of these political entanglements, Xuan therefore imitated Qu Yuan's "Divination" and composed his own "Yarrow Stalks Smeared in Blood" to explain himself. When Yang Xiu was also deposed as heir, Xuan revised and determined the Five Rituals with the various Confucian masters and was assigned to be a Functionary for a Commandant of Cavalry.

During the 20th year of the *Kaihuang* reign period [AD 600], the Sons of State Academy, the Academy of the Four Disciplines, and the county and prefectural academies and schools were all abolished. All that was established was the Grandest Academy with 12 erudites and their 72 students. Xuan submitted a memorial to the throne stating that these schools and academies should not be abolished; his passion and argumentation were both very acute, but the emperor did not accept his views. At that time the state and its powerful clans were both flourishing, and both were intent on gaining Liaodong [Korea]. Xuan felt that Liaodong should not be invaded and remonstrated against it indirectly with an essay entitled "On Nurturing the Eastern Barbarians." At that time no one apprehended it. During the era of the *Daye* reign period [605–618], none of three expeditions was successful; Xuan's words were thereby fulfilled. Advisor Yang Da⁴¹ appointed Xuan as Erudite of the

³⁹ For Niu Hong 牛宏, see chap. 6, sec. 6.3.

⁴⁰ Yang Yong 楊勇 (568–604) was the eldest son of Sui emperor Wen, who was dismissed from his position as heir apparent after incurring the wrath of the empress. The empress felt that Yong had caused the death of his chief wife because of his improper infatuation with his favorite consort; Yong's denial of this cause and effect was viewed as an outright attempt to deceive the empress.

⁴¹ Yang Da 楊達 (551–612), from Hongnong 弘農 prefecture (western Hunan), was a member of the royal Yang clan of Sui. He became advisor with the accession of Yang Sui as Emperor Yang in AD 604. He helped plan the expansion of Luoyang and in 612 participated in the campaign against Koguryo. He was the epitome of a gentleman; a contemporary aphorism described him in this way: "Only Yang Da has the face of a

Grand Academy on the basis of his breadth of learning and literary abilities, as well as his high performance on the examinations. After more than one year, he quit his post due to his low grade. On his return, he reached Changping [modern Changping county, southern Shanxi] when an imperial edict was delivered to him directing him to visit the temporary imperial quarters. Someone said that Xuan had not set out, so the emperor dismissed him; he then returned to Hejian. At that time, robbers and brigands rose up like wasps, grain stuff spiraled in cost, the path toward mastery of classical texts ceased, and teaching could not be carried out. Xuan was separated from his wife and children by 100 *li*, and they were no longer in communication. He grew despondent for not being able to fulfill his ambitions, so he wrote a personal appraisal which stated. . . .

At that time in the prefectural city, grain payments and rations had ceased. Many of Xuan's followers went along with robbers and brigands. They grieved that Xuan was in straits and needy and sought for Xuan below the city walls. The officials in the prefecture sent Xuan out to meet with them and was taken by them. Shortly afterward, the robbers were destroyed by the official troops. Xuan was starving and had no means of survival, so he submitted to the county magistrate. The magistrate suspected that Xuan was acquainted with the robbers and feared that he would later go over to them. Subsequently, he barred the gates and would not admit Xuan. At that time, the night was icy cold, therefore Xuan died of cold and hunger. His followers called him by the posthumous title of the Master Who Proclaimed Virtue.

Xuan's nature was impatient and competitive, and he was fond of joking around. He was mostly boastful and self-important and fond of pouring scorn on the present age. As a result, he was detested by those in power; due to this, he could not follow the path of officialdom. He composed *Transmitting the Meaning of the Analects* in 10 scrolls, *Attacking the Obscure in the Spring and Autumn Annals* in 10 scrolls, *Correcting the Names in the Five Classics* in 12 scrolls, *Transmitting the Meaning of the Classic of Filial Piety* in five scrolls, *Transmitting the Meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals* in 10 scrolls, *Transmitting the Meaning of the Esteemed Documents* in 20 scrolls, and *Transmitting the Meaning of the Mao Poems* in 40 scrolls, and he annotated the *Preface on the Poems* in one scroll and *Arithmetic* in one scroll. In addition to the personal anthology he composed, all his works circulated during his age.

劉炫，字光伯，河間景城人也。少以聰敏見稱。與信都劉焯閉戶讀書，十年不出。……隋開皇中，奉敕與著作郎王劼同修國

gentleman as well as the heart of a gentleman" 有君子之貌，兼君子之心，唯楊達者。 *Suishu* 43.1218. See his biography in *Suishu* 43.1218 and *Beishu* 68.22371.

史。……又詔諸術者修天文律曆，兼于內史省考定群言。內史令博陵李德林甚禮之。炫雖遍直三省，竟不得官，為縣司責其賦役。炫自陳于內史，內史送詣吏部。尚書韋世康問其所能，炫自為狀曰：周禮、禮記、毛詩、尚書、公羊、左傳、孝經、論語、孔、鄭、王、何、服、杜等注，凡十三家，雖義有精粗，並堪講授；周易、儀禮、谷梁用功差少；史子文集，嘉言故事，咸誦於心；天文、律曆，窮核微妙。至於公私文翰，未嘗假手。吏部竟不詳試。然在朝知名之士十餘人，保明炫所陳不謬，於是除殿內將軍。

時牛弘奏購求天下遺逸之書，炫遂偽造書百餘卷，題為連山易、魯史記等，錄上送官，取賞而去。後有人訟之，經赦免死，坐除名。歸於家，以教授為務。廢太子勇聞而召之。……炫因擬屈原卜居為筮塗以自寄。及秀廢，與諸儒修定五禮，授旅騎尉。……

開皇二十年，廢國子、四門及州縣學，唯置太學，博士二人，學生七十二人。炫上表言學校不宜廢，情理甚切，帝不納。時國家殷盛，皆以遼東為意。炫以為遼東不可伐，作撫夷論以諷焉。當時莫有悟者。及大業之季，三征不克，炫言方驗。……納言楊達舉炫博學有文章，射策高第，除太學博士。歲餘，以品卑去任。還至長平，奉敕追詣行在所。或言其無行，帝遂罷之。歸於河間。時盜賊峰起，穀食踴貴，經籍道息，教授不行。炫與妻子，相去百里，聲聞斷絕，鬱鬱不得志，乃自為贊曰。……

時在郡城，糧餉斷絕。其門人多隨賊盜。哀炫窮乏，詣城下索炫，郡官乃出炫與之。炫為賊所將，過下城堡。未幾，賊為官軍所破，炫饑餓無所依，復投縣官。縣官意炫與賊相知，恐為後變，遂閉門不納。時夜冰寒，因此凍餒而死。其後門人諡曰宣德先生。炫性躁競，頗好俳諧，多自矜伐，好輕侮當世，為執政所醜，由是宦途不遂。著論語述議十卷、春秋攻昧十卷、五經正名十二卷、孝經述議五卷、春秋述議四十卷、尚書述議二十卷、毛詩述議四十卷，注詩序一卷、算術一卷，並所著文集，並行於世。

With a plethora of academic productions to his credit, Liu Xuan was obviously a prolific scholar, unlike any since the days of Zheng Xuan and Wang Su, who rightly boasted of an astonishing breadth of erudition. But his irascible personality and the vexing bent of his social skills undercut his career and set his contemporary negative reputation. Sadly, Xuan was cited by Zhang Quancai as the most prominent example of the tragic fate of many scholars who became caught up in the peasant rebellions that overwhelmed the Sui polity.⁴² In fact,

⁴² Zhang, *Wei-Jin Nan-Beichao Sui-Tang jingxueshi*, 249–50. Zhang stresses that rebels would often purposely target Sui officials, literati, and scholars—“those who cited books and histories”—for execution.

Zhang Quancai highlights the remarkable contributions to classical scholarship made by the two Lius by identifying the sources of opposition to them: as northern scholars, they still criticized their predecessors on scholarly grounds, which resulted in attacks by other northern classicists, but since they had also incorporated elements from southern learning, they were attacked with equal vehemence from that quarter. As classicists with a reputation for being endowed with a flair as prose stylists, they incited the jealousy of contemporary literati. And finally, given their revolutionary approach to classical scholarship, they threatened the entrenched interests of Confucian scholars of every interest group, including, I may add, bureaucrats with no overt interest in conflicts over the parsing of classical texts. Hence, the negative reaction to their scholarship was as political as it was scholastic.⁴³

9.3.1. Scholarship

Qing scholar Chen Xijin 陳熙晉 (1791–1851) praises Liu Xuan's outstanding contribution to classical scholarship with what may be termed extravagant hyperbole, except for when we stop to consider the breadth, if not the depth, of his commentarial oeuvre: “I assert that the one who gathered the great accomplishments of the two Han dynasties unto himself was Zheng Xuan; the one who gathered the great accomplishments of the Six Dynasties was Liu Xuan. . . . Of the many annotators of the classics since ancient times, none has surpassed Zheng Xuan; of the many commentators on the annotations, none has surpassed Liu Xuan” 竊謂集兩漢之大成者康成也，集六朝之大成者光伯也。……古來注家注經之多未有過於康成者，疏家疏注之多未有過於廣薄者。⁴⁴

Happily for us, numerous remnants of Liu Xuan's lost works have remained in circulation, albeit in the form of second-hand quotations. In contrast to Liu Zhuo's measly six quotes from his commentary on the *Esteemed Documents*, Liu Xuan's extant excerpts number in the hundreds, all collected by Ma Guohan. While the *Mao Poems* yields just three citations and the *Esteemed Documents* yields just eight, the *Classic of Filial Piety* offers 22 quotes. The three separate works on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* offer a total of 320 quotes: 146 snippets from the *Transmitting the Meaning* interpretive commentary, 174 items from his critical work *Regulating the Errors in the Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋規過, a work not noticed in his biography, and 10 citations from another interpretive work titled *Attacking the Obscure in the Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋攻昧. Jiao Guimei cites Chen Xijin's specialized bibliographical study, *Investigation into the Personal Bibliography of Mr. Liu from Hejian* 河間劉氏書目考, to come up with a total of 29 of Liu's compositions, which includes the two suspected forgeries and his personal anthology.⁴⁵

⁴³ Zhang, *Wei-Jin Nan-Beichao Sui-Tang jingxueshi*, 249–50.

⁴⁴ Cited in Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 455.

⁴⁵ Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 456.

Jiao Guimei evaluates a good selection of these leftover citations and explains the general thrust of Liu Xuan's scholarship in the following three ways. First, Liu Xuan selects the best authority at hand and does not hesitate to propose his own views. Second, his interpretations of the meaning of classical passages are written in concise, clear prose with a flair for literary style. Third, he stresses factual evidence while avoiding mystical explanations. The second and third trends are examples of blending the substantial, factual basis of northern learning with the concise and stylish prose of the learning of the south.⁴⁶

I follow here with Jiao Guimei's evaluations of Liu Xuan's approach for each classic that he annotated that has any examples remaining in the literary record.

I. *Transmitting the Meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals*:

1. His sub-commentary largely targets Du Yu's annotations, both supporting him and refuting him in equal measure.
2. Sometimes he comments on issues not treated by Du Yu.⁴⁷

II. *Regulating the Errors in the Spring and Autumn Annals*

1. He adopts a text-critical perspective in correcting Du Yu's text or textual interpretations, including the following aspects:

- a. Correcting characters
 - b. Correcting or supplying sound glosses
 - c. Correcting punctuation
 - d. Correcting grammar
 - e. Correcting errors in wording at the sentence level
2. He corrects the traditional targets of Old Text exegesis, including the following aspects:
 - a. Correcting or supplying names of objects and institutions
 - b. Correcting or supplying place names and geographical identities
 - c. Correcting or supplying historical dates
 - d. Correcting or supplying data concerning the bureaucracy and officials
 - e. Identifying rites and correcting ritual performances
 3. He analyzes narrative style and rhetorical patterns.
 4. He corrects errors in historical analysis.
 5. He corrects Du Yu's interpretations based on Liu's own views.
 6. He employs specific methodologies to correct Du:
 - a. Direct refutation

⁴⁶ Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 483–86.

⁴⁷ Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 456–62.

- b. Citation of the classics and commentaries
- c. Citation of Du to refute him elsewhere
- d. Citation of other authorities, such as Jia Kui and Fu Qian
- e. Heavy use of *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries
- f. Use of other ancient works⁴⁸

III. *Attacking the Obscure in the Spring and Autumn Annals*

1. He targets the main errors in Du Yu's reasoning.⁴⁹

IV. *Transmitting the Meaning of the Esteemed Documents*

1. He utilizes both the commentary of Zheng Xuan and the so-called *Forged Commentary of Kong Anguo*.
2. His sub-commentary is not uniformly identical with that of Liu Zhuo.⁵⁰

Remarks by Jiao Guimei: Since Liu had mastered this text, when elucidating other works that treated matters relevant to the *Esteemed Documents*, his views were usually superior. Kong Yingda, for example, not only uses Liu's commentary to form the basis of his *Correct Meaning* sub-commentary, but he also quotes Liu without attribution. An interesting sidelight of Liu's scholarship on this work is the division of the Old Text chapter "The Canon of Shun" 舜典, created by dividing the first chapter "Canon of Yao" 堯典 in half. A 28-word preface facilitates the rhetorical and historical transition:

Esteemed Documents, "Canon of Shun":

Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Di Shun was styled Chonghua. His character was entirely conformed to (that of) the (former) Di; he was profound, wise, accomplished, and intelligent. He was mild and courteous and truly sincere. The report of his mysterious virtue was heard on high, and he was appointed to office.

曰若稽古帝舜，曰重華協于帝。濬哲文明，溫恭允塞，玄德升聞，乃命以位。⁵¹

One Yao Fangxin 姚放欣 supposedly acquired an edition containing this passage and submitted it to the throne in AD 497. But at that date only the first 12 words were included in Yao's edition. The final 16 words are attributed to Liu Xuan's editorial machinations by Qing scholars. Liu

⁴⁸ Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 462–71.

⁴⁹ Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 471–73.

⁵⁰ Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 483–86.

⁵¹ *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Shundian 舜典," 3.1b; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 3:29. See Legge's discussion of this introductory paragraph in 28 characters on pp. 30–31.

seems to have been the earliest northern scholar to utilize the *Forged Commentary of Kong Anguo*, breaking the monopoly on northern scholarship of this classic traditionally explicated by the commentary of Zheng Xuan.⁵²

V. Transmitting the Meaning of the Mao Poems

Remarks by Jiao Guimei: Only three citations from this work are preserved in the *Correct Meaning*, and two of them are attributed ambiguously to the two Lius; they concern the matter of ritual in the *Poems*. Yet Kong Yingda's preface claims that he relied on the redacted editions of the two Lius as the base text for his sub-commentary. Therefore, he or somebody later effaced the name of the Lius in a great number of places. The fact that Liu Xuan often cites the *Poems* in his commentaries on *Zuo's Commentary* and the *Esteemed Commentaries* gives some indication of the thrust of his exegesis on the *Poems*. For example, he often based his interpretation of an entire poem on the basis of the first stanza. Also, he often utilized his vast knowledge of the *Poems* to elucidate other works. He further used his command of textual issues in the *Poems* to correct errors in Du Yu's textual criticism of *Zuo's Commentary*.⁵³

VI. Transmitting the Meaning of the Old Text Classic of Filial Piety

1. He gives attention to original authorship and division of the text into pericopes.
2. He gives attention to different names utilized for the same pericopes and to the manner and meaning of the quotes from the classics in the *Classic of Filial Piety* (mostly quotes from the *Poems*).
3. He shows a tendency to refute Zheng Xuan and support Kong Anguo.
4. He elucidates by examining contexts, especially ritual contexts.
5. He cites both Daoist classics *Master Lao* and *Master Zhuang* to elucidate this Confucian classic.

⁵² Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 474, nt. 3 cites Lu Deming and Ruan Xiaoxu for the notion that only the first 12 words appeared in Yao Fangxin's edition. On pp. 474–75, she further adopts the summary by Liu Qiyu 刘起鈇, *Shangshu xueshi* 尚书学史 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1996), 182–83, for the Qing sponsors of the view that credits Liu Xuan as the author of these last 16 words. Cheng Yuanmin 程元敏, *Shangshu xueshi* 尚书学史 (Taipei: Wunan Tushu Chubangongsi, 2008), 1589, suggests that Liu Xuan may have composed the last 16 words but does not endorse this view as fact.

⁵³ Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 476–79.

Remarks by Jiao Guimei: Liu Xuan attributed the authorship of this classic not to Master Zeng but to Confucius himself. And only two annotated versions of this classic circulated during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, one by Zheng Xuan and one by Kong Anguo. Since the Old Text version seemed to appear only during the Sui period, some Ming and Qing scholars suspect that this Old Text version was fabricated by Liu Xuan, not Kong Anguo. Kang Youwei affirmed this as a fact. And since the Old Text version was reputed to have 22 pericopes as opposed to the 18 of the received, New Text version, Liu subdivided several pericopes to reach the expected number of 22. He is the only northern classicist to adopt the use of thematic divisions so prevalent in the *clearing-up-the-meaning* commentaries of Huang Kan. Finally, his edition of the *Old Text Canon of the Classic of Filial Piety* was utilized by both Tang Emperor Xuanzong, at one remove, and by Xing Bing, at two removes. His impact on the exegetical tradition of this classic is thus very apparent.

The preservation of a manuscript of this work in Japan has settled the issue of whether Liu Xuan forged the preface by Kong An'guo of the Old Text Commentary of the *Classic of Filial Piety*, which is the modern scholarly consensus. A chapter in a book by Hayashi Hideichi, originally published in 1953, and reprinted recently in Chinese translation in 2015 and again in 2017, demonstrates that Liu Xuan's elucidation of Kong's exegesis contravened it 12 times. This distance between exegesis and elucidation hardly supports the claim that Liu forged Kong's commentary.⁵⁴ It turns out rather than forging Kong's commentary, both Liu Xuan and Liu Zhuo edited the work and prepared it for circulation.⁵⁵ This is an example of how Jiao Guimei's study, as impressively comprehensive and closely argued as it is, occasionally falls somewhat short due to ignoring the evidence of manuscripts preserved in Japan.

Here I cite an extended example of Liu's reasoning in his commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, preserved in a quote from *Attacking the Obscure in the Spring and Autumn Annals*.⁵⁶

Spring and Autumn Annals:

⁵⁴ See Hayashi Hideichi 林秀一, "Sui Liu Xuan *Xiaojing shuyi* fuyuan yanjiu" 隋刘炫孝 经述议复原研究, in Tong Ling ed., *Qin-Han Wei-Jin Nan-Beichao jingji kao*, 256–288. The original chapter entry in Japanese orthography was "Zui Ryū Gen *Kokei jutsugi* fukugen kenkyū," and included in Hayashi's *Kokei jutsugi* fukugen kenkyū 孝经述议复原に関する研究 (Niigata: Bunkyo-do 文求堂, 1953) and first published in Chinese translation in Liu Yucai 劉玉才 and Mizukami Miyahare 水上雅晴, eds. *Jingdian yu jiaokan luncong* 经典与校勘论丛 (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2015).

⁵⁵ Hayashi, "Sui Liu Xuan *Xiaojing shuyi* fuyuan yanjiu," 286.

⁵⁶ Detailed by Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 472.

In the third month, on Bingwu, the Marquis of Jin entered [the capital] of Cao, seized the earl of Cao, and handed him over to the people of Song.

三月，丙午，晉侯入曹，執曹伯，畀宋人。⁵⁷

Zuo's Commentary:

The Marquis was pleased with this advice, made the Earl of Cao his prisoner, and turned over to Song a portion of the land of Cao and Wei.

公說，執曹伯，分曹衛之田，以畀宋人。⁵⁸

Du Yu's Annotations:

Bi means "to give." Seizing the feudal lord was presumably done in order to return him to the capital. Jin desired to enrage Chu to provoke a battle. Hence Jin was called "deceptive and not correct" in dealing with Song.

畀與也。執諸侯當以歸京師。晉欲怒楚使戰。故以與宋所謂譎而不正。⁵⁹

Attacking the Obscure in the Spring and Autumn Annals:

The Gongyang Commentary says, "What is meant by handing [bi] him over? It means that they turned him over to the men of the state of Song. How does it mean to turn him over for a lawsuit?" He Xiu states, "The case of the men of Song' referring to men obviously refers to the fact that when adjudicating a suit there must be a group of experts deciding it."⁶⁰ The *Guliang Commentary* says, "Bi means to give. In saying that 'Who was the man,' it did not mean handing over the Marquis of Jin to the Duke of Song." The Annotations [of Fan Ning 范寧 (AD 339–AD 401)] state that "Bi refers to a superior presenting something to an inferior. Hence the marquis cannot be bequeathed to the duke."⁶¹ A personal note [by Liu Xuan] states, "Zuo's Commentary states 'Seizing the Earl of Cao' refers to dividing the fields of Cao and Wei to turn over to the men of Song; this implies that 'fields' also refers to 'men,' and not to adjudicating a lawsuit, hence it designates 'men.' If the Marquis of Jin

⁵⁷ *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, "Xigong" 28th year, 16.14.a; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 5:207, modifying "give" to "bequeath."

⁵⁸ *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, "Xigong" 28th year, 16.19.a; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 5:208. Legge notes that Zuo's Commentary is at variance with the text of the *Chunqiu* since the latter claims that the earl of Cao was seized by the Marquis of Jin and handed over to Song, while Zhuo asserts that he was detained by the marquis but not handed over. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg's *Zuo Tradition* passes over this discrepancy in silence.

⁵⁹ *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, "Xigong" 28th year, 16.14.a.

⁶⁰ *Gongyangzhuang* 12.10a–10b; trans. Miller, *The Gongyang Commentary on The Spring and Autumn Annals*, 113, modifying "transferring" to "handing him over"; He Xiu's comment is at *Gongyangzhuang* 12.10b.

⁶¹ See *Guliangzhuang* 9.11a for both quotes.

was not turned over to the Duke of Song, naturally the historian could have changed the term bi. So why did he call it bi and did not logically have to turn him over to them? If they gave him to the men of Song, how is it that the men of Song were low and base and only had to accept the Earl of Cao and deal with him? The statements of the two commentaries do not match that of Mr. Zuo. We should just take 'man' in the plural and apply it to the men in the entire state."

公羊傳曰畀者何與也？其言以畀宋人，何與使聽之？何休云宋稱人者明聽訟必師斷，與其師眾共之。穀梁傳曰畀與也。其曰人何也。不以⁶²晉侯畀宋公也。注云畀上與下之辭故不以侯畀公。按傳執曹伯分曹衛之田以畀宋人則田亦稱人，非為斷獄，故云人也。若不使晉侯與宋公，自可改其畀名，何以名之為畀，而使義不得與也？若與宋人，豈宋國卑賤之人，得獨受曹伯而治之乎？二傳之言，皆不得合左氏，當以人為眾辭，舉國而稱之耳。⁶³

It is interesting to note that this representative elucidation manifests several aspects of Liu Xuan's commentarial approach as isolated by Jiao Guimei. It utilizes earlier authorities such as He Xiu and Fan Ning but does not slavishly follow them; it makes use of the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* and takes account of the context by citing He Xiu. Liu furthermore parses the text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* differently than all earlier commentators, taking the first line as referring to two separate events, yielding the sense of "In the third month, on Bingwu, the Marquis of Jin entered [the capital] of Cao and seized the earl of Cao; he turned over fields to the people of Song." I cannot evaluate whether his language is elegant, but it certainly is concise.

9.4. The Substantive Impact of Sui Scholarship on Early Tang Classical Scholarship

Northern and southern classical scholarship was the bridge between Han and Tang classical scholarship, according to Pi Xirui. And as synthesized during the Sui period by the twin Lius, Sui scholarship was the immediate medium to transmit much if not most of northern and southern classicism. But should we enquire just what was conveyed along this intellectual conduit? Again we turn to specialist Jiao Guimei, who concludes her masterful survey with a chapter entitled "The Influence Exerted on Tang Dynasty Classical Scholarship by Northern and Southern Dynasties Classical Scholarship," with an occasional insight provided from her past treatment in this work.⁶⁴

⁶² The original text of the *Guliangzhuang* reads "take" (yi 以); Kong Yingda's quote of Liu Xuan's commentary employs "to give" (yu 與).

⁶³ Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 472.

⁶⁴ Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 489–511.

In terms of small-scale, local teaching, early Tang classics inherited the format of the classical lecture formulated by Buddhist doctrinal discourses on sutras. This includes the ascension of a master to an elevated position for a lecture, the introduction of a specialized topic, the laying out of the position of a master from the past, and the step-by-step exposition of the lecturer's own views to clarify and correct doubtful points. With the promulgation of a definitive edition of the classics and the *Correct Meaning* collection of authorized exegetical works, the need for formal lectures to clarify doctrinal issues gradually dissipated.

In terms of large-scale teaching on the state-wide level, early Tang classicists produced the previously mentioned definitive edition of the classics as well as its accompanying set of *Correct Meaning* commentaries and sub-commentaries. The composition of the numerous sub-commentaries under the direction of general editor Kong Yingda ensured at least the partial survival and continued use of the northern and southern sub-commentaries that had formed the basis of these new sub-commentaries, often without full acknowledgement of this foundation. The demarcation of large thematically-related sections widely utilized in the clearing-up-the-meaning subcommentaries was discontinued, eliminating this exegetical tool for the use of Tang classicists. This led to the fragmentation of these thematically related sections into discrete pericopes with no hint of overriding thematic cohesion beyond the level of the paragraph. Any inducement to seek an over-arching textual exegesis over large swaths of text was hence eliminated, further distancing commentators from textual exegesis even as it, perhaps counterintuitively, freed commentators to create hermeneutic systems that treated the work as an entity rather than as discrete words or passages. This ultimately aided in the rise of speculative hermeneutics.

In terms of the style of classical exegesis, the Tang inherited the learning of the Sui, which had adopted the unity of ancient and modern scholarship and the amalgamated learning of North and South. It eschewed the flowery and vapid style of purely southern learning and instead embraced a concise style of presentation that focused on substantial issues, not on flights of fancy pursuing leads that existed more in the minds of interpreters than in the texts of the classics. Yet theoretical speculation was present, a gift from the South to leaven the sometimes lead-footed preoccupation on textual minutiae inherited from sober northern specialists. In short, the amalgamated learning of the Lius tempered the excesses of both northern and southern schools.

In terms of content, Tang scholiasts inherited the canon as delimited by Sui classicist Lu Deming. The richness of the underlying commentarial tradition was masked by the penchant to redact the sources of the sub-commentaries composed for the new definitive edition. This means that it is grossly misleading to isolate and list the names of the authors of commentarial authorities that survived into the final edition to probe the sources of Kong Yingda and his fellow editors' sub-commentaries, since so many names and attributions to specific commentators had been eliminated.

The next chapter will conclude this volume with an analysis of the cultural and political background of the composition of both Yan Shigu's 顏師古 (581–645) definitive edition of the *Five Classics* and Kong Yingda's creation of a new set of sub-commentaries to these classics, the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*. We will also take a close look at the scholarship of these two worthies. In addition, we will examine several other ancillary figures who are important in the history of classical scholarship because of their authorship of early-Tang sub-commentaries that were adopted as part of an expanded set of *Correct Meaning* annotations and sub-commentaries during the Song period.

Chapter 10

Early Tang Classical Scholarship

Early Tang classical scholarship produced both a new edition of the *Five Classics* sponsored by the Tang court, entitled *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* 五經正義, and its accompanying sub-commentaries of the same title. This composite work entailed two separate stages. First, Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645) was commissioned to collate new editions of the classics. Second, Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) was summoned to head up a committee to provide new “epexegetes” (*shu* 疏), which are commonly termed sub-commentaries, on the most authoritative commentaries (*zhu* 注) that were in vogue at the time. This traditional understanding must be revised in light of the work of Zhang Sanbao, whose exhaustive study of the *Correct Meanings* reveals that these epexegetes explicate the texts of the classics as much as the texts of the commentaries.¹ The heavy dependence on preexisting classical commentaries in the clearing-up-the-meaning genre by Huang Kan 皇侃 (488–545),² Liu Zhuo 劉焯 (544–608) and Liu Xuan 劉炫 (ca. 546–ca. 613), and others served to smooth the way for a speedy completion of this project.³ It must be noted that, while not commonly termed a clearing-up-the-meaning commentary, *sensu stricto*, the set of sub-

¹ Zhang Sanbao 張三寶, *Wujing zhengyi yanjiu* 五經正義研究 (rpt. Shanghai: Huadong Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 2010), 90.

² The debt of Kong Yingda's *Correct Meaning* sub-commentaries to the genre of clearing-up-the-meaning commentaries is obscured due to Kong's reformatting of quotes he drew from these commentaries: the format of the catechism was eliminated, and it was impossible to detect the overall structure of the deviation into “thematic units”, topical units called “thematic sections” (*keduan* 科段), because only short passages from these older sub-commentaries were cited, and hence the overall structure was missing. The true visage of an original commentary in this format is discernable in the Japanese manuscript *Clearing-up-the-meaning of a Subsidiary Edition of a “Minor Record on the Mourning Vestments” Chapter of the Record of Ritualists* 禮記喪服小記子本義疏; it is known more commonly as the *Clearing-up-the-meaning of a Subsidiary Edition of the Record of Ritualists* 禮記子本義疏. See chap. 3, sec. 3.3.3, for this work and what its complete contextualization of individual passages reveals about this commentarial genre.

³ Li Songtao 李松濤, *Tangdai qianqi zhengzhi wenhua yanjiu* 唐代前期政治文化研究 (Taipei: Xuesheng Shuju, 2009), 114.

commentaries were understood as such, as indicated offhand in the text at various points when they were openly termed *shu*, and scholars outside the project also referred to them as *shu*. Zhang Baosan thus considered the correct meaning genre to be an offshoot of the clearing-up-the-meaning form of commentary.⁴

This chapter will first focus on the circle of scholars who participated in this great project of producing new texts and commentaries on the classics analyze these projects, and will then focus on two early Tang commentators, Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (fl. 655) and Yang Shixun 楊士勛 (fl. 640), whose exegetical work came to be included in the sanctioned set of *Thirteen Classics* during the Song dynasty.

10.1. The Political and Cultural Background

The political and cultural environments of textual criticism, according to recent research, are helpful to consider and sometimes even crucial to clarify. Consider the following quote from Michelle R. Warren concerning some political aspects that are relevant to the supposedly purely scholarly concerns of *The Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*:

A political view of textual scholarship locates editorial practice and theory within the broadest conceptions of literary and cultural study. To the extent that textual scholarship highlights the constructed nature of all texts, it opens perspectives on the various political forces that traverse those constructions—from historical circumstances to textual content, from intentional manipulations to the more diffuse effects of ideology, from assertions of power to its resistance. . . . The idea of politics in textual scholarship encompasses both the production of texts and their use—especially their use for partisan purposes. In other words, a political view means that textual scholarship belongs as much to its readers as to its creators.⁵

The political and cultural contexts of Kong Yingda's great compilation have recently been clarified by Li Songtao to highlight the influence such a set of classics and commentaries exerts on its readers. Sponsoring a major scholarly or literary project was a normal and expected move to help legitimize a new reign. In the case of the Tang, the second emperor, and in some respects co-founding emperor, Li Shimin 李世民 (598–649), who was the Grand Ancestor of the Tang 唐太宗 (r. 626–649), adopted three wide-ranging measures: he revised and strengthened the system of bureaucratic selection via examination, built national and regional academies, and sponsored official scholarship.⁶ All these moves

⁴ Zhang, *Wujing zhengyi yanjiu*, 87.

⁵ Michelle R. Warren, "The Politics of Textual Scholarship," in *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 119.

⁶ Li, *Tangdai qianqi zhengzhi wenhua yanjiu*, 108.

helped to legitimize the new regime as well as to align the literati class with the interests of the throne. The chief manifestation of this last move was the grand project to produce the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*. But Li Songtao's work reveals other, more practical and pressing, considerations behind this project.

Hailing from Shaanxi, the Li family was a member of a powerful conglomeration of old military families of sinified semi-minority stock. Culturally, this grouping was inferior in both accomplishment and prestige to the notable literary clans from Shandong. One purpose of this imperial sponsorship was therefore to break the monopoly on classical scholarship on the part of these powerful clans. This would weaken them culturally and would concurrently elevate the prestige of the new purveyors of Confucian orthodoxy back in Chang'an. Because they did not adopt the new orthodoxy and consequently were unable to base their scholarship on the new classical curriculum, Shandong Confucians lost the right to participate in scholarly discourse, including sitting for the examination system. Scholarly interest and support were directed away from the south, referred to as Jiangnan, the region "South of the Yangzi," and redirected toward the northwest, which was a marked change in policy from that sponsored by Emperor Sui of the Yang.⁷ This change also helped strengthen the political power of the northwest against alarming elements in both Shandong and Jiangnan, which were areas that had seen revolts in the recent past. For instance, it was in Shandong where the Prince of Han 漢王, Yang Liang 楊諒 (575–605), of the previous dynasty revolted in 604 at the death of Emperor Wen. Taizong's views of this region must have been colored by residual suspicion, in addition to the challenge posed by the cultural and scholarly authority exerted by the traditional learned clans.

In light of this political factor behind the project, editorial decisions in this project should be looked at with a jaundiced eye, for the motivation may have been orthodox purity rather than scholastic accuracy. And the very fact of canonization, as we saw in the case of the Western Han under Emperor Wu in an earlier volume of this series, meant close control over the contents of the canon, for to canonize is to control, controlling both access and interpretation. As I explained in volume 2, "one function of canonization is the effort to control and restrict; therefore, even while promoting the use of the Confucian classics, canonization effectually placed them under the control of the state."⁸ What was gained in unity of approach by focusing on a common canon was lost in the realm

⁷ Emperor Yang deliberately sought to strengthen the south to ally with him against the northwestern military nobilities from which he himself had sprung. Borrowing many institutions, including the ritual system from the Liang court, he hoped to unify the disparate elements of the remnants of the Northern Zhou and Northern Qi which threatened to fragment his empire. His denigration of so-called "barbarian" (*hu* 胡) from the northwest was the exact opposite of Taizong's attitude. Li, *Tangdai qianqi zhengzhi wenhua yanjiu*, 29–34.

⁸ Honey, *A History of Chinese Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2, chap. 3, sec. 3.3.

of individuality and private enterprise. Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞 (1850–1908) notes this cause and effect of the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*: “Since the promulgation of the *Correct Meaning* and *Definitive Version* in the Sons of State Academy, they have been used to recruit officials; all in the world take them as standards. Over the several hundred years from the Tang until the early Song, scholars have all scrupulously held to these official works, and no one dared to express divergent views.” 自正義、定本頒之國胄，用以取士，天下奉為圭臬。唐至宋初數百年，士人階謹守官書，莫敢異議矣。⁹ The dwindling of individual research was reflected in the scholarly record, and over the next few reigns most attention was paid to non-classical works.

Based on a close examination of the “Grove of Confucians” collective biographies in the *History of Sui*, *History of Tang*, and *New History of Tang*, Liu Songtao discerns the following trends in the history of classical scholarship during the Sui and early Tang periods:

1. Private scholarship was active during the Sui dynasty.
2. During the *Zhenguan* reign period (627–649), before the completion and promulgation of the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*, private scholarship followed the family learning of their individual masters.
3. After its promulgation in 653 under Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683), the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* became the foundation of official learning, and the practice of the private teaching of the classics gradually weakened, with fewer and fewer scholars engaging in classical research and more and more scholars turning towards research in the *Records of the Historian*, the *History of Han*, and genealogy.
4. During the period over which Zhongzong 中宗 and Ruizong 睿宗 exchanged reigns twice (between 684 and 690) at the command of Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705), private teaching and composition seldom appeared. During the early years of the *Kaiyuan* reign period (713–741) of Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–756), noted Confucian masters toiled in court archives, composing and editing. During the interface at the end of the *Kaiyuan* and *Tianbao* (742–756) reign periods, Xuanzong’s intellectual interests, along with his eager-to-please minions, turned to the Daoist speculations concerning *Master Lao* and *Master Zhuang*. At this point in time, classical commentaries of either the section and line variety or the clearing-up-the-meaning variety no longer appeared.
5. Finally, during the reign of Daizong 代宗 (r. 766–779), despite a short and evanescent flash of interest in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, writings on classical learning no longer appeared in the historical record.¹⁰

⁹ Pi, *Jingxue lishi*, 208.

¹⁰ Li, *Tangdai qianqi zhengzhi wenhua yanjiu*, 117–18.

After the Zhou dynasty interregnum of Empress Wu and on through the reign of Emperor Xuanzong, the Mysterious Ancestor, the social position of scholars fell below that of literati, and eventually below that of even Buddhist monks and Daoist priests.¹¹ And due to the constraining impact of the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*, and the vagaries of wandering imperial interests, it seems that a complete break with traditional classical scholarship occurred during the early to mid-Tang period. Given this fact, I am gratified that my decision to cut off volume 3 during the early Tang period is justified both on historical grounds and by the limits of my personal interests.¹²

10.2. Yan Shigu and the Definitive Edition of the Five Classics

10.2.1. The Life of Yan Shigu

Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645), whose formal name was Yan Zhou 顏籀, was a grandson of Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–591), the famous literatus discussed in chapter 4, section 4.2, and Yan Shigu’s great-great-grandson was Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–785), the renowned calligraphist. Yan Shigu’s father, Yan Silu 顏思魯, was notable for his learning in the fine arts, an inclination inherited from his father, Yan Zhitui. Yan Silu was also acclaimed for his classical learning and accomplishments as a word exegete.¹³ Yan Shigu was born in Wannian 萬年, which is part of modern Xi’an. His father died when he was eight. His father’s interest in the fine arts skipped a generation for Shigu’s claim to fame was instead that of an expert on word exegesis; as noted in his biography, “When young, Shigu was transmitted the family learning; he broadly perused the collective works, and was particularly expert in word exegesis and skilled at prose composition” 師古

¹¹ See Li Songtao’s treatment of the increasing imbalance in social position between the “literati” (*wen* 文) and “Confucian scholars” (*ru* 儒) in his *Tangdai qianqi zhengzhi wenhua yanjiu*, 119–37.

¹² Even though I limit myself to treating the early Tang period, an explanation of the rough tripartite division of Tang classical scholarship should be offered now to demonstrate the ultimate break from traditional classical scholarship as it developed from the Han to the Wei and through the Nan-Beichao and Sui periods. Yang Yinlou 楊荫楼 suggests the following three divisions: First, the early Tang period of unification of classical learning. Second, the High Tang period of criticizing traditional commentaries and the creation of the movement of doubting the classics. Third, the Late Tang trend to abandon classical commentaries to seek the meaning of the classics by extra-textual means. See Yang Yinlou, “Tangdai jingxue lunlue” 唐代经学论略, *Qishi xuekan* 求是学刊 1992.4:99–104.

¹³ Shentu Luming 申屠炉明, *Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu pingzhuan* 孔颖达颜师古评传 (Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue Chubanshe, 2006), 13.

少傳家業，博覽群書，尤精詁訓，善屬文。¹⁴ It turns out that the family learning was also enhanced by the accomplishments of Shigu's paternal uncle, Yan Minchu 顏愍楚，who not only was a word exegete, credited with a work entitled *Epitome of Verified Vulgar Forms and Pronunciations* 證俗音略 in two scrolls¹⁵ but also an historian, authoring a critical work on the *History of Han*, entitled *Resolving Doubts in the History of Han*, in 12 scrolls.¹⁶ After a short career at the Sui court, Shigu was dismissed and for 10 years lived in Chang'an, supporting himself through teaching. Early in the new Tang reign, he was appointed Grand Master for Closing Court and was invariably the author of directives sent out to the bureaucracy since his skill in this genre earned him widespread admiration.

Much of his scholarly approach and some of his concrete accomplishments are recorded in the following snippet from his biography:

In the seventh year of the *Zhengguan* reign [633], he was honored as Vice Director of the Palace Library, and placed in charge of exclusively standardizing and promulgating the correct forms of characters. He dissected and analyzed the doubtful parts of all strange and difficult characters that perplexed the collective scholars, and followed the tortuous path to their origins. At this time he elicited the help of up and coming scholars to serve as Collators. . . . Since Shigu had always relied on his ability and learning, yet early on was ordered around, he was often appointed to office but repeatedly incriminated and censured; he therefore became very depressed. Since this time, he closed his doors and possessed himself in tranquility, refusing to entertain visitors; instead he set his ambitions on his own garden pavilion and rustic clothing [of his eremitic lifestyle]. Nevertheless, he still sought out ancient traces and ancient implements, and indulged himself in his interests without cessation. Presently, he once again received an edict, this time to compile the *Five Rites* together with the Erudites. In the eleventh year [637], the *Rites* were completed; he was advanced in nobility to the rank of thane. At that time, [Li] Chenggan [619–645] was in residence at the Eastern Palace [as heir apparent]; he ordered Shigu to annotate Ban Gu's *History of the Han*. Its analyses and explications were very detailed and clear, and profoundly esteemed by scholars. When Chenggan offered it up to the throne via a memorial, the Grand Ancestor ordered it edited in the Palace Library, and bequeathed to Shigu 200 antique items and one fine horse.

¹⁴ *Jiu-Tangshu* 73.2594. For his entire biography, see *Jiu-Tangshu* 73. 2594–96 and *Xin-Tangshu* 196.5641–43.

¹⁵ Liu and Ouyang, *Tangshu jingji yiwen hezhi*, 55.

¹⁶ Shentu, *Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu pingzhuan*, 13.

貞觀七年，拜秘書少監，專典刊正。所有奇書難字，眾所共惑者，隨疑剖析，曲盡其源。是時多引後進之士為讎校。……師古既負其才，又早見驅策，累被任用，及頻有罪譴，意甚喪沮。自是闔門守靜，杜絕賓客，放志園亭，葛巾野服。然搜求古跡及古器，耽好不已。俄又奉詔與博士等撰定《五禮》，十一年，《禮》成，進爵為子。時承乾在東宮，命師古注班固《漢書》，解釋詳明，深為學者所重。承乾表上之，太宗令編之秘閣，賜師古物二百段、良馬一匹。¹⁷

Yan Shigu's commentary, still authoritative today, was highly praised by his contemporaries. According to Shentu Luming's analysis, Yan's approach included the following: (1) he confirmed which views were correct and which were erroneous; (2) he amplified and expanded on the viewpoints of Ban Gu and other commentators; (3) he corrected errors; (4) he pruned away superfluous wording and entries; and (5) he supplied missing information.¹⁸ He did not often list variant characters from other editions, but did so on occasion. He also clarified which difficult characters were merely ancient forms of easily read contemporary graphs. Finally, he clarified the pronunciation of characters, an interest and specialty inherited from his grandfather Yan Zhitui. Ren Guojun adds the aspects of grammar, rhetoric, and objects, plus institutions as targets of his commentary.¹⁹

The following passage from the *History of Han* demonstrates the language and format of Yan's commentary:

History of Han:

"His mother, the Old Lady. . . ."

母嫗. . . .²⁰

Yan Shigu's Annotations:

Wen Ying said, "In Youzhou and Hanzhong, they all call old ladies by the term *ao*." Meng Kang said, "*Ao* was an additional name of his mother; the pronunciation is *wu* plus *lao*." Shigu said, "*Ao* is a designation of a woman when she is aged; Meng's pronunciation gloss is correct then.

¹⁷ *Jiu-Tangshu* 73.2594–95. Shentu, *Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu pingzhuan*, 13–19 treats Yan Shigu's life; chapters seven and eight treat his scholarship. See further Luo Xianglin 羅香林, *Yan Shigu nianpu* 顏師古年譜 (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1972).

¹⁸ Shentu, *Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu pingzhuan*, 182–94.

¹⁹ Ren Guojun 任國俊, "Yan Shigu *Hanshuzhu yanjiu*" 顏師古漢書注研究 (Master's Thesis, Ningxia University, 2008). For a specialized article analyzing Yan Shigu's system of *fanqie*, among several modern possibilities, see Zhong Zhaohua 鍾兆華, "Yan Shigu *fanqie* kaolue" 顏師古反切考略, in *Gu Hanyu yanjiu lunwenji* 古漢語研究論文集 (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1982), 16–51.

²⁰ *Hanshu* 1A.1.

Historians have not preserved the surname or clan name of the mother of the Eminent Ancestor, so it is impossible to record them. Hence they describe her in terms of a contemporary designation. Below, for instances such as Old Lady Wang, they carry the same significance. As for Huangpu Mi and others rashly citing apocryphal records, they are fond of arcana and presuming on their erudition, and force terms into names for the parents of the Eminent Ancestor, but none of them are mentioned in the official histories, so presumably they were not adopted. If the original surnames of "Liu" and "Ao" were actually preserved, wouldn't the historian [Sima] Qian have been willing to preserve them? This can be known since it is absolutely in accordance with rational thinking. Elsewhere such instances are equally of the same type."

文穎曰：幽州及漢中皆謂老嫗為嫗。孟康曰：嫗，母別名，音烏老反。師古曰：嫗，女老稱也，孟音是矣。史家不詳著高祖母之姓氏，無得記之，故取當時相呼稱號而言也。其下王嫗之屬，意義皆同。至如皇甫謐等妄引識記，好奇騁博，強為高祖父母名字，皆非正史所說，蓋無取焉。寧有劉嫗本姓實存，史遷肯不詳載？即理而言，斷可知矣。他皆類此。²¹

History of Han:

"... once rested by a pond in a lowlands."

... 嘗息大澤之陂。²²

Yan Shigu's Annotations:

Shigu said, "Where water collects, it is called a pond. It seems that she rested and took a nap on the embankment of a pond in a lowland. The pronunciation of pond *bei* (*pĩə/pi)²³ is *bi* (*pĩə/pi) combined with *pi* (*bĩə/bi)."

師古曰：蓄水曰陂。蓋於澤陂隄塘之上休息而寢寐也。陂音彼皮反。²⁴

Yan's annotations to the wordlist *Jijiu Fascicle* 急就篇 also demonstrate his long-held interest in word exegesis. Yan latched onto this project due to his dissatisfaction with older commentaries. He (1) explained the word entries in the context of ancient works and to match the intent of the wordlist itself, (2) added a

²¹ *Hanshu* 1A.1-2.

²² *Hanshu* 1A.1.

²³ These two symbols, ~ and ə, should be written with the first one over the second one to represent an off-glide in Edwin Pulleyblank's system for Early Middle Chinese; the same goes for the next reconstructed form of *bĩə. See Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation*, 30, 236.

²⁴ *Hanshu* 1A.2.

gloss for the reading pronunciation when the meaning of a word was difficult to discern, and (3) added earlier commentators who agreed with his glosses.²⁵

10.2.2. The Definitive Edition of the Five Classics

The biography of Yan Shigu explains the public rationale behind the imposing editorial project adopted by the Grand Emperor Li Shimin that produced the *Definitive Edition of the Five Classics* 五經定本:

Because classical texts have been distanced from the Sage for a long period, and their texts are riddled with errors and wrong characters, the Grand Ancestor ordered Shigu to examine and authenticate the *Five Classics* in the Palace Library; he made many corrections. After the work was completed he announced it to the court with a memorial. The Grand Ancestor also dispatched the various classicists to deliberate over the work in detail. At this point, since these classicists had transmitted and studied their own versions for a long time, they all disparaged his work. Shigu adduced ancient and modern editions transmitted from the Jin and Song dynasties and afterwards, and countered their arguments with detailed and clear refutations at every point. His presentation exceeded their expectations, so they all sighed in admiration. He then was concurrently awarded with the honorary titles of Court Gentleman for Comprehensive Duty and Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary; the work that he had authenticated was promulgated throughout the empire and scholars were ordered to consult it.

太宗以經籍去聖久遠，文字訛謬，令師古於秘書省考定《五經》，師古多所厘正，既成，奏之。太宗復遣諸儒重加詳議，於時諸儒傳習已久，皆共非之。師古輒引晉、宋已來古今本，隨言曉答，援據詳明，皆出其意表，諸儒莫不嘆服。於是兼通直郎、散騎常侍，頒其所定之書於天下，令學者習焉。²⁶

Yan Shigu was officially entrusted with this work via imperial rescript in 630; it was officially released and ordered generally consulted in 633.²⁷

The wording of the last line cited above, "scholars were ordered to consult it," is intriguing since it shows that while scholars were mandated to consult it, this definitive version was not ordered to be used as the basis of classical scholarship. The fact that this new definitive version was not made the base text for the later project of *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* was noted by David McMillan in his masterful survey of classical scholarship and other educational

²⁵ Shentu, *Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu pingzhuan*, 244.

²⁶ *Jiu-Tangshu* 73.2594. Cf. similar treatment in the *Zhengguan zhengyao*, which was indubitably one of the sources for the biography. See Wu Jing 吳兢 (Tang), *Zhengguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1978), 220.

²⁷ Wu, *Zhenguan zhengyao*, 220; *Tangshu* 3.43.

matters during the Tang.²⁸ This decision may seem counterintuitive, but we may posit with some assurance that this flexibility was a compromise reached between Yan Shigu and the scholars convened at court which were led, according to the *Essentials of Government During the Zhenguan Era* 貞觀政要, by Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (582–666).²⁹ The compromise may have been along the lines of Linghu Defen supporting the production of this new edition without, however, agreeing to make it canonical. One difference between these two leading historians was that Linghu Defen was a working historian, while Yan Shigu was more of a working word exegete who, it will be recalled, was called on by the heir to the throne to compose an official commentary on the *History of Han*, which was mainly a commentary on problematic diction and phraseology. He did, however, work in conjunction with Kong Yingda to compose most of the basic annals and biographies in the *History of Sui*, a project that was completed in 636.³⁰ So he was at least well-versed in historical writing if not intellectually oriented to prioritize this type of research. A more important distinction between Linghu Defen and Yan Shigu was that the former was an entrenched insider and the latter was a recently-arrived outsider, at least in terms of the inner circle of scholastic power at court. Therefore, the former was defending his turf from the inroads attempted by the latter.

Yan Shigu further composed two compendia of word glosses. The first was the direct result of his editorial efforts on the *Definitive Edition*. Yan Shigu's grand-nephew Yan Yuansun described this now lost work as follows: "He accordingly recorded the model characters on several pages, to show the printed forms for the work of textual collation. It was transmitted during the age, and called *Mr. Yan's Model Characters*" 因錄字體數紙, 以示讎校楷書, 當代共傳, 號為顏氏字樣.³¹ The second was *Emending Errors and Correcting Vulgarities* 匡謬正俗, in eight scrolls. The draft materials of this work were edited by Yan's son Yan Yangting 顏揚庭 in 651, six years after his father's death. Its purpose

²⁸ David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 73. A detailed analysis of this issue is by Noma Fumichika 野間文史. He determines that the texts of this project remained confined within the court, and hardly ever appeared outside, and hence were unavailable for consultation by classicists outside of the court. See his *Gokyō seigi no kenkyū: Sono seiritsu to tenkai* 五經正義の研究: その成立と展開 (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 1998), 7–38.

²⁹ Wu, *Zhenguan zhengyao*, 220. Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (582–666) was the leading historian of the early Tang period, serving as lead editor for several imperially sponsored historical projects. See his biographies in *Jiu-Tangshu* 73.2596–99, and *Xin-Tangshu* 102.3982–84.

³⁰ Shentu, *Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu pingzhuan*, 5.

³¹ Yan Yuansun 顏元孫 (early Tang), "Preface to the *Ganlu Onomasticon*" 干祿字書序, in *Ganlu zishu* 干祿字書 (Guangzhou: Yuedong shuju, 1873, reprinting of the Jubo Jingshe edition 菊坡精舍), 1a.

was to correct the words in the classics and other works. The first four scrolls emended characters, pronunciation, and definitions in the classics and included 55 entries; the last four scrolls emended 127 entries in various early works.³²

Poon Ming Kay recently adduced convincing arguments to prove that Yan's *Definitive Edition* did not function as the base text for Kong Yingda's grand project. Poon focused his research on the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* edition of the *Poems*.³³ He found 329 direct citations to a *Definitive Edition*, which indicates that this work was not the base text, which would need no separate citations.³⁴ However, when the discussion centered on the readings of this edition, it was necessary to contrast it with the so-called *Popular Edition* 俗本. It was thus this later edition that formed the base text for Kong Yingda and his committee of scholars in the compilation of their grand commentarial project. Poon further compares the readings of these scattered citations from the *Definitive Edition* to related passages preserved in Yan Shigu's commentary on the *Book of Han*. He surprisingly discovers that seven of the sample citations he selected for in-depth analysis are similar to the readings in the *Definitive Edition* and eight support the readings of the *Popular Edition*. Modern scholarship, in opposition to the view of such traditional classicists as Zang Lin 臧琳 (1650–1713), Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735–1815), Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), and Chen Huan 陳奐 (1786–1863), insists that this *Definitive Edition* was not the work of Yan Shigu.³⁵ Poon does not go so far, but agrees at least that the work is not demonstrably that of Yan Shigu. I feel that it is a contravention of common sense to posit that, a few short years after an imperially commissioned *Definitive Edition* was widely promulgated, that version would not be the very edition cited in the *Correct Meaning of the Classics*, rather than an unknown and almost assuredly incomplete version left over from one of several announced productions from the Northern and Southern Dynasties, which may or may not have ever been started, let alone completed. This conclusion by modern scholars privileges tenuous supposition over commonsensical probability. I can also see that, since Yan Shigu's commentary on the *History of Han* was not completed until 641, eight years after the official promulgation of his *Definitive Edition*, it was not impossible that over time he had arrived at different conclusions in certain cases of word exegesis. After all,

³² See Shentu, *Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu pingzhuan*, 229–34.

³³ Poon Ming Kay (Pan Mingji) 潘銘基, *Yan Shigu jingshi zhushi luncong* 顏師古經史注釋論叢 (Hong Kong: D.C. Lau Research Centre for Chinese Ancient Texts, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2016), 159–201.

³⁴ Poon also found 38 citations to the *Definitive Edition* in the *Zuozhuan*, 29 in the *Liji*, seven in the *Shangshu*, and two in the *Zhouyi*. Poon, *Yan Shigu jingshi zhushi luncong*, 164, n. 13.

³⁵ Liu Wenqi 劉文淇 (1789–1854) reads *Definitive Edition* as referring to "old clearing-up-the-meaning commentaries" 舊疏, indicating pre-Tang commentaries. Poon, *Yan Shigu jingshi zhushi luncong*, 177–80, presents Liu's evidence and argumentation.

completing a text-critical study of all the *Five Classics* in three short years must have been a hurried project, impelled along by imperial oversight. Finally, Poon Ming Kay admits that his conclusions are based on 15 examples from a much greater total of possible comparative materials. The original, albeit temporary, name for this authoritative edition of the classics with new sub-commentaries produced to accompany the earlier canonized commentaries was *Meaning and Guide to the Five Classics* 五經義贊.³⁶

To close this section on Yan Shigu, I make a few remarks on his classical orientation. Recently, Deng Guoguang has provided an effective ingress into this orientation. Since Yan Shigu did not write any formal classical studies, Deng searched Yan's *Commentary on the History of Han* and his *Emending Errors and Correcting Vulgarities* to extract passages that commented on the *Analects*. Deng isolated over 200 relevant passages and examined 147 of them to distill the essence of this orientation. He concludes that the foundation of Yan's classicism with regard to the *Analects* was his strong allegiance to the "reading rules" of Western Han classicists, their "exegesis and glosses" style of commentaries as viewed by Southern Dynasties Confucians tinged with Buddhists metaphysical overtones countering with the Confucian take on human nature and the Way of Heaven, and their favored editions of the classics. This stance, influenced as it was by Southern classical metaphysics, contrasted strongly with Kong Yingda's adoption of both northern exegetical standpoints and editions inherited from Northern Zhou and Sui classicists.³⁷ With this important differentiation, I now turn to the life and work of Yan's intellectual opposite, the classical interpreter Kong Yingda.

10.3. Kong Yingda and the Correct Meaning of the Five Classics

10.3.1. The Life of Kong Yingda

The life of Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) reveals some of the inner workings of the political side of classical scholarship, where personal jealousies mattered more than scholarly accomplishments. The entire biography of Kong Yingda, the leading classicist of this early part of the Tang, follows.³⁸ The fame

³⁶ It could also signify "Meaning and Appraisals."

³⁷ Deng Guoguang 鄧國光, "Yan Shigu de *Lunyu* zhujie jiqi zai sixiangshang de yiyi—Tangdai Zhenguan jingxue tanyao zhi yi" 顏師古的論語注解及其在思想上的意義—唐代貞觀經學探要之一, *Zhongguo jingxue* 3 (2008): 74–132.

³⁸ His biographies are found at *Jiu-Tangshu* 73.2601–03, which is the base text for this translation, and *Xin-Tangshu* 198.5643–45. See also Shentu, *Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu pingzhuan*, 1–8; pages 254–78 includes a dual chronological biography of Kong and Yan Shigu. An older and more detailed chronological biography devoted to Kong is Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎 (commonly referred to as Naitō Konan 內藤湖南), "Kong Chongyuan jijiu nianpu" 孔冲遠祭酒年譜, trans. Qian Daosun 錢稻孫. *Guoli Beiping Tushuguan Guankan* 4.4 (1930).

he reached is crystallized in the adamantly compacted posthumous title of Erudite and Able 憲.³⁹ Now for his biography.

Kong Yingda, style of Zhongda, was a man of Hengshui, Yizhou [southeastern Hebei]. His grandfather was Kong Shuo who was an Aide in the Censorate during the Later Wei [Northern Wei, 386–534]. His father Kong An was an Adjutant in the Law Section during the Northern Qi dynasty [550–577]. When Yingda was seven years old he started school, and every day he was able to recite from memory more than one thousand words. When he had grown up, he was especially brilliant in *Mr. Zuo's Commentary*, the *Esteemed Documents According to Mr. Zheng [Xuan]*, *Mr. Wang's [Bi] Changes*, the *Mao Poems*, *Records of Ritualists*, and concurrently was skilled at mathematics and calculating astronomical movements, and analyzing and composing prose writings. Liu Zhuo from the same prefecture was renowned throughout the empire;⁴⁰ Yingda visited his school, but Zhuo initially did not treat him with ritual courtesy. When Yingda requested that he resolve some difficult points, many of his queries were astonishing, so Zhuo changed his countenance and respected Yingda. Yingda insisted that he return home; Zhuo just as insistently pressed him to stay, but to no avail. He returned home and took up teaching as his career. At the beginning of the *Daye* reign period [605–618], he was elevated to office on the basis of his high ranking in the Brilliant in the Classics exam, and was assigned as an Erudite of Henei Prefecture. At that time, Emperor Yang summoned Confucian scholars and officials from the various prefectures to gather in the eastern capital, Luoyang, and ordered scholars from the Sons of State Academy and the Palace Library to debate difficult points; Yingda was the best of them. At the time Yingda was still young, so mature scholars of the previous generation felt ashamed at being bested by him. They stealthily dispatched an assassin to eliminate him. But Yang Xuangan,⁴¹ the Director of the Ministry of Rites, sheltered him in his house, and he thereby escaped. Yingda was appointed Instructor in

³⁹ Shentu, *Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu pingzhuan*, 7, n. 3 cites the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 for this definition.

⁴⁰ For Liu Zhuo 劉焯 (544–608), see chap. 9, sec. 9.2, "The Life of Liu Zhuo."

⁴¹ Yang Xuangan 楊玄感 (571–613) from Huayin 華陰, east of modern Huayin, Shaanxi Province, was the son of high official Yang Su 楊素 (d. 606; for information about Yang Su, see chap. 9, sec. 9.2.) Yang Xuangan was talented and handsome but tainted by his father's power at court and therefore under suspicion by the throne. He rebelled in 613 during Emperor Yang's second Korean campaign, but his rebellion led nowhere. See his biography at *Suishu* 70.1615–19.

the Grand Academy. With the outbreak of rebellion, he took refuge at Wulao [=Hulao].⁴²

孔穎達，字仲達，冀州衡水人也。祖碩，後魏南臺丞。父安，齊青州法曹參軍。穎達八歲就學，日誦千餘言。及長，尤明左氏傳、鄭氏尚書、王氏易、毛詩、禮記，兼善算歷，解屬文。同郡劉焯名重海內，穎達造其門。焯初不之禮，穎達請質疑滯，多出其意表，焯改容敬之。穎達固辭歸，焯固留不可。還家，以教授為務。隋大業初，舉明經高第，授河內郡博士。時煬帝徵諸郡儒官集於東都，令國子秘書學士與之論難，穎達為最。時穎達少年，而先輩宿儒恥為之屈，潛遣刺客圖之。禮部尚書楊玄感舍之於家，由是獲免。補太學助教。屬隋亂，避地於武牢 [=虎牢]。

When the Grand Ancestor pacified Wang Shichong, he invited Yingda to become a Scholar in the Institute of Education within his Establishment of the Prince of Qin.⁴³ During the ninth year of the *Wude* reign period [626], Yingda was promoted to be an Erudite of the Sons of State Academy. Early in the *Zhenguan* reign [627–649], he was enfeoffed as the Baron of Qufu,⁴⁴ and transferred to be Supervising Secretary. At the time, the Grand Ancestor had newly ascended the throne, and was mindful of the various aspects of government. Since Yingda several times had submitted loyal counsel, he was granted increased personal access. The Grand Ancestor once asked him: “What is meant by the *Analec*s when it states, ‘The philosopher Zeng said, “Gifted with ability, and yet putting questions to those who were not so; possessed of much, and yet putting questions to those possessed of little; having, as though he had not; full, and yet counting himself as empty. . . .”’”⁴⁵ Yingda responded, saying: “When the Sagely One designed his teaching program, he desired men to be modest and reserved. Even if one possesses ability, one does not boast of being great. One still approaches those with no ability to seek out those who can handle things. Although one may possess many talents, act as if they are few, and approach those of few talents to seek to increase one’s own talents. Although having, one’s appearance should be as having not. Although full, one’s countenance should be as if empty. This should not just apply to commoners; the virtue of emperors and kings should be like

⁴² Hulao was a pass east of Luoyang in northcentral Henan, near modern Yingyang Municipality 滎陽市. During the Tang the name was changed to Wulao 武牢 due to a taboo on the name of the Grand Ancestor’s grandfather Li Hu 李虎 (d. 551).

⁴³ At this time, the Grand Ancestor Li Shimin was heir apparent; the institute was part of his bureaucratic stewardship.

⁴⁴ Qufu County was the homeland of his ancestor Confucius in southwestern Shandong.

⁴⁵ *Analec*s 8:5, trans. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:210.

this. As for the inner natures of emperors and kings, they embody spirituality. Outwardly they must be tranquil and uninvolved, and appear too profound to be fathomed, their depth unknowable. The *Changes* claims that ‘(The method of dealing with) the young and ignorant is to nourish the correct (nature belonging to them),’⁴⁶ and ‘The superior man, in accordance with *Mingyi*, conducts his management of men.’⁴⁷

“If his position occupies that of the utterly honorable royal throne, but glorifies being acutely enlightened, lords it over men with his talent, glosses over his errors and rejects remonstrances, then the true conditions both above and below will be covered up, the Ways of the lord and ministers will be perverse, and no destructions of states since antiquity but have followed from these.” The Grand Ancestor deeply appreciated his response.

太宗平王世充，引為秦府文學館學士。武德九年，擢授國子博士。貞觀初，封曲阜縣男，轉給事中。時太宗初即位，留心庶政，穎達數進忠言，益見親待。太宗嘗問曰：論語云：以能問於不能，以多問於寡，有若無，實若虛。何謂也？穎達對曰：聖人設教，欲人謙光。己雖有能，不自矜大，仍就不能之人求訪能事。己之才藝雖多，猶以為少，仍就寡少之人更求所益。己之雖有，其狀若無。己之雖實，其容若虛。非唯匹庶，帝王之德，亦當如此。夫帝王內蘊神明，外須玄默，使深不可測，度不可知。易稱以蒙養正，以明夷蒞眾，若其位居尊極，炫耀聰明，以才凌人，飾非拒諫，則上下情隔，君臣道乖。自古滅亡，莫不由此也。太宗深善其對。

In the sixth year [632], Yingda was appointed as the Director of Studies of the Sons of State Academy. After a little more than a year, he was transferred to be the Right Director of Studies of the Heir Apparent, and continued in his original post. When the deliberations among the various Confucians touched on the Hall of Brightness, they all followed the theories of Yingda. Furthermore, he joined with Wei Zheng in compiling the *History of Sui*.⁴⁸ This elevated his office to that of Policy Advisor. In

⁴⁶ *Zhouyi zhengyi* 1.32b, Hexagram No. 4, “Meng” 蒙, trans. Legge, <http://ctext.org/book-of-changes/meng>.

⁴⁷ *Zhouyi zhengyi* 4.14a, Hexagram No. 36, “Mingyi” 明夷, trans. Legge, <http://ctext.org/book-of-changes/ming-yi>.

⁴⁸ Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643), hailed from Julu county 巨鹿, southern Hebei province. He rose to Chancellor for 13 years under the reign of the Grand Ancestor and served as the Chief Editor of the *History of Sui*. See his biographies at *Jiu-Tangshu* 71.2545–63; *Xin-Tangshu* 97.3867–85 and Howard Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven: Wei Cheng at the Court of T’ang T’ai-tsung* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975).

the eleventh year [637], he again worked with worthy scholars at the court compiling and finalizing the *Five Rites*; his advice on doubtful points invariably decided the issues. When the work was finished, he was advanced in noble rank to that of viscount, and conferred goods in the amount of 300 items. The future commoner, heir Li Chenggan, ordered him to compile a *Clearing-up-the-meaning Commentary on the Classic of Filial Piety*. Because Yingda was true to the meaning of the text, he broadened the path for admonition and normalizing criticism and scholars praised this work. Because Yingda several times had offered corrective admonitions from the Eastern Palace, he was conferred a catty of gold and 400 bolts of silk, as was the Left Director of Studies Yu Zhining.⁴⁹ In the 12th year [638], Yingda was honored with the office of Chancellor of the Sons of State Academy while still serving as Expositor-in-waiting in the eastern Palace. In the 14th year [640], the Grand Ancestor favored the State Academy with this presence to observe the sacrificial ceremonies to Confucius; he offered his praise with a hand-written rescript. Later on, Li Chenggan quit following the law, and Yingda offended his royal person by advancing remonstrances. Chenggan's wet nurse, Lady Sui'an spoke, saying: "The Heir Apparent is a grown man; how is it appropriate to repeatedly bring him into disrepute?" Yingda responded, saying: "Having received so lavishly of the grace of the state, I can die without regret." His admonitions became all the more urgent but Chenggan was unwilling to accept them.

六年，累除國子司業。歲餘，遷太子右庶子，仍兼國子司業。與諸儒議歷及明堂，皆從穎達之說。又與魏徵撰成隋史，加位散騎常侍。十一年，又與朝賢修定五禮，所有疑滯，咸諮決之。書成，進爵為子，賜物三百段。庶人承乾令撰孝經義疏，穎達因文見意，更廣規諷之道，學者稱之。太宗以穎達在東宮數有匡諫，與左庶子於志寧各賜黃金一斤、絹百匹。十二年，拜國子祭酒，仍侍講東宮。十四年，太宗幸國學觀釋奠，命穎達講孝經，既畢，穎達上釋奠頌，手詔褒美。後承乾不循法度，穎達每犯顏進諫。承乾

⁴⁹ Yu Zhining 于志寧 (588–665) came from near Chang'an, and served as chancellor under the Grand Ancestor and the Eminent Ancestor 高宗 (r. 649–683); the Eminent Ancestor's personal name was Li Zhi 李治 (628–683). Zhining's scholarship is mentioned in a general way in his biography, which states that he earned merit for drafting the formats for the legal code, for the *Clearing-up-the-meaning of the Five Classics*, for a revised ritual code, and for compiling histories. He left a personal anthology in 20 scrolls. He was one of the major supporters of the Eminent Ancestor's plan to raise his father's former consort to become Empress Wu. Yu's biography is included at *Jiu-Tangshu* 78.2693–2700, and *Xin-Tangshu* 104.4003–06.

乳母遂安夫人謂曰：太子成長，何宜屢致面折？穎達對曰：蒙國厚恩，死無所恨。諫諍逾切，承乾不能納。

Previous to this, Yingda received an edict, along with such Confucian masters as Yan Shigu, Sima Caizhang, Wang Gong, and Wang Yan, to compile and finalize the meaning and instructions of the *Five Classics*, in all 180 scrolls. Its title was called the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*.⁵⁰ The Grand Ancestor issued an edict, announcing: "You ministers broadly synthesize ancient and modern learning, are erudite in the meaning of the classics and masterful in their principles. You have investigated the diverse explanations of previous Confucian masters and matched them with the recondite aims of the sages. This work is truly imperishable." It was lodged in the Directorate of Education for distribution, and Yingda was conferred 300 sections of cloth. At that time, another case was Ma Jiayun,⁵¹ an Erudite from the Grand Academy, who refuted the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*; an edict ordered a more detailed final version, thus in the end Yingda's merit was not accomplished. In the 17th year [643], he retired from office due to old age. In the 18th year [644], his image was placed within the Lingyan Pavillion.⁵² The appraisal of Yingda's portrait read: "His way lights up the serried ranks./ His style spreads among the bastions of Confucian scholarship./ His precise exegesis opens up like clouds./ And his ease of diction overwhelms like storms rising." He died in the 22nd year [648], and was buried at the imperial mausoleum Zhaoling.⁵³ He was conferred the posthumous office of Chamberlain for Ceremonials and the title of Erudite and Able.

⁵⁰ A slightly different title in the *Xin-Tangshu* is worth noting; it is translated in the next section.

⁵¹ Ma Jiayun 馬嘉運 (d. 645), whose hometown was Fanshui 繁水, Weizhou 魏州 (northwest of modern Nanle 南樂, northeastern Henan), was a lapsed monk turned Confucian Erudite. He was called to be an Erudite of the Grand Academy in 637 after a period of retirement on Mt. Bailu 白鹿山 in northern Heilongjiang, where he taught a thousand disciples. He participated in the compilation of the *Correct Meaning of the Zhou Changes* but was astringent in his aspersions directed against Kong Yingda's overall project, claiming that the sub-commentaries were too wordy and unfocused. It was his practice to point out these instances in a cutting manner; however, other Confucians applauded his precise approach to scholarship. His biography appears in the *Jiu-Tangshu* 73.2603, and *Xin-Tangshu* 198.5645.

⁵² Lingyan Pavilion was a gallery dedicated by the Grand Ancestor to display portraits of high officials and generals who contributed to the founding of the dynasty. However, Kong Yingda was not among the 24 original "meritorious ministers" (*gongchen* 功臣). See the discussion by Shentu, *Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu pingzhuan*, 7.

⁵³ Zhaoling 昭陵 was the mausoleum of the Grand Ancestor, which is accompanied by some 200 subsidiary tombs.

先是，與顏師古、司馬才章、王恭、王琰等諸儒受詔撰定五經義訓，凡一百八十卷，名曰五經正義。太宗下詔曰：卿等博綜古今，義理該洽，考前儒之異說，符聖人之幽旨，實為不朽。付國子監施行，賜穎達物三百段。時又有太學博士馬嘉運駁穎達所撰正義，詔更令詳定，功竟未就。十七年，以年老致仕。十八年，圖形於凌煙閣，贊曰：道光列第，風傳闕里。精義霞開，挾辭飄起。二十二年卒，陪葬昭陵，贈太常卿，謚曰憲。⁵⁴

Kong Yingda's biography in the *History of the Tang*, mentions an additional editorial stage in the compilation of the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*; the *New History of the Tang* contains details of this later step:

Beforehand, Yingda together with Yan Shigu, Sima Caizhang,⁵⁵ Wang Gong,⁵⁶ and Wang Yan⁵⁷ received an edict to compile the *Meanings and Instructions of the Five Classics*, in an hundred-plus fascicles; it was entitled *Meaning and Appraisals*. By edict it was changed to *Correct Meaning*. Although it encompassed the details and breadth of different masters, still it was impossible to avoid errors and redundancies. Erudite Ma Jiayun rebutted and corrected its mistakes, up to the point of mocking and slandering it. Another edict ordered a new round of revisions and finalization, so Yingda's merit was not accomplished. During the second year of the *Yonghui* period [651], an edict summoned Erudites from the Secretariat-Chancellery and the Three Libraries of the Sons of State Academy, and Academicians from the Institute for the Advancement of Literature to investigate and correct it. Therefore, the Left Vice Director of the Imperial Secretariat Yu Zhining, the Right Vice Director Zhang Xingcheng,⁵⁸ and the Director of the Chancellery Gao Jifu increased it

⁵⁴ *Jiu-Tangshu* 73.2601–03.

⁵⁵ Sima Caizhang 司馬才章 came from Guixiang 貴鄉 county in Weizhou 魏州 prefecture in southern Hebei. His father, Sima Huan 煥, had mastered the *Five Classics* as well as the apocrypha, so Caizhang mastered the family learning while young. At the fall of the Sui, he was serving as an Erudite on the level of the commandery. During the reign of the Grand Ancestor, he served as lecturer in the Sons of State Academy. His brief biographical notice is in *Jiu-Tangshu* 73.2603.

⁵⁶ Wang Gong 王恭 hailed from Baima 白馬 county, Huazhou 滑州 prefecture, in northeast Henan. He specialized in lecturing on the *Three Ritual Classics* and produced commentaries on them. During the early reign of the Grand Ancestor, he was honored as an Erudite in the Grand Academy. His biographical snippet is at *Jiu-Tangshu* 73.2603, and *Xin-Tangshu* 198.5645.

⁵⁷ Wang Yan 王琰 is otherwise unknown, although his brief glance in the *Routledge Curzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, s.v. *Wu jing zhengyi* denies even this fleeting moment of fame by misprinting his name Yan as Tan 談.

⁵⁸ Zhang Xingcheng 張行成 (587–653), from Yifeng 義豐, Dingzhou 定州 county (modern An'guo 安國, central Hebei), was a disciple of Liu Xuan with a reputation

at points and reduced it at other points before the work was promulgated.⁵⁹

初，穎達與顏師古、司馬才章、王恭、王琰受詔撰五經義訓凡百餘篇，號義贊，詔改為正義云。雖包貫異家為詳博，然其中不能無謬冗，博士馬嘉運駁正其失，至相譏詆。有詔更令裁定，功未就。永徽二年，詔中書門下與國子三館博士、弘文館學士考正之，於是尚書左僕射於志寧、右僕射張行成、侍中高季輔就加增損，書始布下。⁶⁰

This further effort at revising the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* was undertaken during the reign of the Eminent Ancestor; commencing in 651, the project was completed in the second month of 653 and offered to the throne on the 22nd of that month. Lingered doubts and complaints must have persisted, for a later round of revisions was proposed but not realized.⁶¹

The early publication history and early editions of this work should be reviewed in brief. In 988, Kong Wei 孔維, the chancellor of the Sons of State Academy, submitted a memorial requesting authority to revise the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*. Permission was granted and he proceeded to produce, after six years, a new edition that circulated in a woodblock edition with just the revised sub-commentaries; it was thereafter known as the "Isolated Sub-Commentary Edition" 單疏本. Sometime during the *Xianping* 咸平 reign period (998–1003), isolated sub-commentary editions of seven additional classics with Tang or Song sub-commentaries appeared, bringing the total number of classics to 12 in the isolated sub-commentary version. These additional classics were the

as an assiduous learner. He served the Grand Ancestor as Attendant Censor, rising to the rank of a chancellor in 651. Upon the ascension of the Eminent Ancestor, Zhang was enfeoffed as the Duke of Beiping County 北平縣公 and assigned to compile histories of the state. His biographies are found in *Jiu-Tangshu* 78.2703–05, and *Xin-Tangshu* 104.4012–14. It is worth noting that the three notable high officials mentioned at this point in the text, Yu Zhining, Zhang Xingcheng, and Gao Jifu, all share biographies in the same chapters—chapter 78 of *Jiu-Tangshu* and 104 of *Xin-Tangshu*.

⁵⁹ Gao Jifu 高季輔 (596–654), who went by his style, was named Gao Feng 高馮; he hailed from Tiaoxian 蓀縣, Dezhou 德州 (modern Jingxian 景縣, southeast Hebei). When young, he was known for his filial piety as he mourned his mother. During the early reign of the Grand Ancestor, he was appointed an Investigating Censor. His advice to the throne concerning current policy led to the throne appointing him as attendant and later as tutor to the crown prince. While serving in the palace secretariat, he helped compile histories of the state. At a high age, he was honored with the highly prestigious title of Grand Master for Splendid Happiness. See his biographies at *Jiu-Tangshu* 78.2700–03, and *Xin-Tangshu* 104.4010–12.

⁶⁰ *Xin-Tangshu* 198.5644.

⁶¹ *Jiu-Tangshu* 77.2689.

Rites of Zhou, Ceremonials and Rituals, Gongyang and Guliang commentaries on the Spring and Autumn Annals, Classic of Filial Piety, Analects, and Close to Elegance onomasticon. Early in the Southern Song era (1127–1279) an eight-line edition of the work appeared, with eight lines each on half a page; this edition for the first time combined the texts of the classics and their appended Han/Wei annotations, commentaries, and notes with the Tang sub-commentaries. Another eight-line edition of this integrated version appeared at the end of the Southern Song in 1191. The individual volumes came out at different times, however, finally forming a full set of *Thirteen Classics*, including *Master Meng* in 1200. Also at the end of the Southern Song, a ten-line version appeared, containing all the classics with ten lines per half page and with the addition of sound glosses by Lu Deming. At this period, the remaining eight classics in this version were provided with sub-commentaries, mostly composed during the Song, and thus the original set of Tang *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* was expanded to include sub-commentaries to the additional eight classics. This edition was republished in various recensions during the Yuan and Ming dynasties and became the father of all later Ming and Qing editions; the ultimate manifestation of this textual lineage, the Nanchangfuxue 南昌府學 edition of 1815, was adopted by Ruan Yuan into his authoritative set of *Thirteen Classics, with Annotations and Sub-Commentaries* 十三經注疏.⁶² Ruan Yuan retained the epithet of *Correct Meaning* for four of the original *Five Classics*: the *Zhou Changes*, the *Esteemed Documents*, the *Mao Poems*, and the *Zuo' Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals with Zuo's Commentary*. The fifth one, *Records of Ritualists*, is delimited as . . . *With Annotations and Sub-Commentaries*, but termed *Correct Meaning* in the introduction made by the imperial bibliographers for the *Complete Works of the Four Treasuries*. Two other classics are so defined, the *Records of Ritualists*, *Classic of Filial Piety*, and *Master Meng*. Yet on the title page of each of the *Thirteen Classics*, all are delimited as . . . *With Annotations and Sub-Commentaries*. The name of *Correct Meaning* thus continued in popular albeit limited use until the early nineteenth century. It is strange that the *Record of Ritualists* was not accorded the imprimatur of *Correct Meaning* by Ruan Yuan given that it was part of the original project, as demonstrated in the following section.

10.3.2. The Correct Meaning of the Five Classics

This collection of bivalent commentaries, each of which includes a traditional *zhu* "annotation" and a newly composed *shu* "sub-commentary," is obviously the work of many hands, but due to Kong Yingda's preeminence at the early stage of the project, his name is inseparably connected with it and represents the compiling or editorial work of different pairings or small groups of classicists. Table 1 of Zhang Baosan is a crystallization of the data on all participants mentioned in each preface to a *Correct Meaning* commentary on one of the *Five Classics*. Twenty-

⁶² This section on editions is a distillation of Zhang, *Wujing zhengyi yanjiu*, 28–36.

two scholars participated in the initial compilation and revision. Two compilers produced the *Correct Meaning* commentary on the *Zhou Changes*: Ma Jiayun, who was already noted above as a critic of the initial product, and Zhao Qianxie 趙乾叶;⁶³ Su Derong 蘇德融 undertook the initial revision.⁶⁴ Two compilers also worked on the *Esteemed Documents*: Wang Deshao 王德韶⁶⁵ and Li Ziyun 李子雲;⁶⁶ Su Derong, Zhu Changcai 朱長才,⁶⁷ Sui Desu 隨德素,⁶⁸ and Wang Shixiong 王士雄 revised it.⁶⁹ For the *Mao Poems*, again Wang Deshao, who also helped to compile the commentary on the *Esteemed Documents*, and Qi Wei 齊威 compiled the commentary;⁷⁰ Zhao Qianxie, who had helped compile the commentary on the *Zhou Changes*, and Jia Puyao 賈普曜 revised it.⁷¹ For the *Record of Ritualists*, six scholars compiled the commentary: Zhu Zishe 朱子奢,⁷²

⁶³ Zhao Qianxie 趙乾叶 was Instructor in the Grand Academy; he is otherwise unknown.

⁶⁴ Su Derong 蘇德融 was an Erudite of the School of the Four Gates and earned the merit title of Commandant of Cavalry; he is otherwise unknown.

⁶⁵ Wang Deshao 王德韶 was an Instructor in the School of the Four Gates; he is otherwise unknown.

⁶⁶ Li Ziyun 李子雲 was an Instructor in the School of the Four Gates; he is otherwise unknown.

⁶⁷ Zhu Changcai 朱長才 was an Erudite of the School of the Four Gates; he is otherwise unknown.

⁶⁸ Sui Desu 隨德素 was an Instructor in the Grand Academy; he is otherwise unknown.

⁶⁹ Wang Shixiong 王士雄 was an Instructor in the School of the Four Gates; he is otherwise unknown.

⁷⁰ Qi Wei 齊威 was an Erudite of the Grand Academy; he is otherwise unknown.

⁷¹ Jia Puyao 賈普曜 was an Erudite of the School of Four Gates; he is otherwise unknown.

⁷² Zhu Zishe 朱子奢 was from Suzhou and was a specialist in the *Zuozhuan*; he was also skilled at prose composition. During the Sui dynasty, he was on temporary assignment to the Palace Library as a Scholar. During the early part of the Grand Ancestor's reign, he served as a Lecturer at the Sons of State Academy. He was sent to Silla to negotiate a cessation of hostilities between this state and a Goguryeo and Baekje alliance. Such was his eminence as a classicist that he shared biographies with Lu Deming, Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu, et al., in the collective biographies of "Confucian Scholars" at both *Jiu-Tangshu* 189a.4948–49, and *Xin-Tangshu* 198a.5647–48. Yet his biographies betray little of his scholarly accomplishments other than his reliance on classical precedence of the views of Han classicists on the number of rooms that should be included in the Tang ancestral temple. Zhu adopted the views of Liu Xin 劉歆 (ca. 50 BC–AD 23) and Wang Su 王肅 (195–256) in supporting a seven-room plan over the five-room plan advocated by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200); Zhu's view ultimately carried the day. But see the contrasting episode associated with

Li Shanxin 李善信,⁷³ Jia Gongyan 賈公彥,⁷⁴ Liu Shixuan 柳士宣,⁷⁵ Fan Yijun 范義頤,⁷⁶ and Zhang Quan 張權;⁷⁷ Wang Shixiong, who had also participated in revising the *Esteemed Documents*, revised this sprawling commentary together with Zhou Xuanda 周玄達⁷⁸ and Zhao Junzan 趙君贊.⁷⁹ Finally, the commentary on *Zuo's Commentary* was compiled by Guna Lu 谷那律,⁸⁰ Yang Shixun 楊士勛,⁸¹ and Zhu Changcai; Ma Jiayuan, Wang Deshao, Su Derong, and Sui Desu performed the initial revision. Out of these 22 scholars, five performed multiple tasks: Ma Jiayun, Zhao Qianxie, Zhu Changcai, Wang Shixiong, and Sui Desu. Two of this number performed three tasks each: Wang Deshao helped compile two commentaries and revised one, and Su Derong revised three commentaries.⁸²

In addition to these 22 names associated with the initial compilation and editing of the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*, we must, of course, add the five names of Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu, Sima Caizhang, Wang Gong, and Wang Yan, all of whom were recruited via imperial edict to initiate the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* project, as documented above. Thus we know the names, if not the biographical profiles, of all 27 scholars involved in this initial stage of compilation and revision. Of this number only nine merited individual treatment in the Tang histories. This group effort seems top-heavy in the fame of its nominal

the biography of Jia Gongyan below. Zhu's biographies do not mention his participation in the *Wujing zhengyi* project.

⁷³ Li Shanxin 李善信 is otherwise unknown.

⁷⁴ Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 will be discussed below.

⁷⁵ Liu Shixuan 柳士宣 was an Erudite in the Court of imperial Sacrifices; he is otherwise unknown.

⁷⁶ Fan Yijun 范義頤 was an Erudite of the Grand Academy; he is otherwise unknown.

⁷⁷ Zhang Quan 張權 is otherwise unknown.

⁷⁸ Zhou Xuanda 周玄達 was an Instructor in the Grand Academy and earned the merit title of Commandant of the Fleet-as-clouds Cavalry; he is otherwise unknown.

⁷⁹ Zhao Junzan 趙君贊 was an Erudite of the School of Four Gates and had earned the merit title of Commandant of the Fleet-as-clouds Cavalry; he is otherwise unknown.

⁸⁰ Guna Lu 谷那律 also enjoys an entry along with Zhu Zishe, Lu Deming (556–630), Kong Yingda, Yan Shigu, et al., in the "Confucian Scholars" collective biographies in *Jiu-Tangshu* 189a.4952, and *Xin-Tangshu* 198a.5652. He hailed from Changle County 昌樂縣, Wei County 魏州, in central Shandong. His double surname reveals his derivation from the Dongyi 東夷 people. During the mid-reign of the Grand Ancestor, he rose to be Erudite of the Sons of State Academy. Such was the level of his erudition that one contemporary called him the "Store House of the Nine Classics" 九經庫. Like Zhu Zishe, Guna's participation in the *Wujing zhengyi* project is not mentioned in his biographies.

⁸¹ Yang Shixun 楊士勛 will be treated below at sec. 10.4.1.

⁸² Zhang, *Wujing zhengyi yanjiu*, 26–27.

leadership but overly light in the reputations and accomplishments of the majority of the compilers and revisers who did the actual work.

Table 2 of Zhang Sanbao lists the names of 23 scholars who worked on the second effort at revision, which began in 651; these names are included on the memorial that reported the completion of the revised version of the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* to the throne.⁸³ The memorial includes the names of nine of the former compilers and revisers: Guna Lu, Wang Deshao, Jia Gongyan, Fan Yijun, Liu Xuan 柳宣 (presumably the same individual identified as Liu Shixuan 柳士宣 in Table 1), Qi Wei, Sui Desu, Zhao Junzan, and Zhou Xuanda. The names of the new participants in this second round of revisions are Zhangsun Wuji 長孫無忌,⁸⁴ Li 李勣,⁸⁵

⁸³ Zhang, *Wujing zhengyi yanjiu*, 27.

⁸⁴ Zhangsun Wuji 長孫無忌 (d. 659) from Luoyang, of Xianbei heritage, was the Grand Ancestor's brother-in-law through Empress Zhangsun (606–636), whose personal name was unknown, and who was formerly known as Empress Wende 文德皇后. Zhangsun Wuji served in a post at the level of chancellor in 627–628 and supported his nephew Li Zhi to be heir apparent. Zhangsun's contributions to the rise of his early friend Li Shimin, the Grand Ancestor, resulted in his portrait being included in the Lingyan Pavillion, where Kong Yingda's portrait also appeared; indeed, Zhangsun's portrait was the first entry among the original 24 portraits of meritorious ministers. After Li Zhi's ascension to the throne, Zhangsun continued to serve in a high office, being appointed Defender-in-Chief, one of the Three Dukes or three highest positions in the bureaucracy, but he gradually grew to be mistrusted due to his opposition to Empress Wu's ascension to her exalted position. Zhangsun committed suicide on his way to exile due to the Empress's machinations. His biographies at *Jiu-Tangshu* 65.2446–57, and *Xin-Tangshu* 105.4017–22, indicate no special talent for scholarship beyond being Erudite and well-read in literature in the former biography and well-read in prose writings and histories in the latter biography.

⁸⁵ Li Ji 李勣 (594–669) derived from Lihu 離狐, Caozhou 曹州 (modern Heze, southwest Shandong). He was born as Xu Shiji 徐世勣 but was conferred his new surname by the founding emperor Li Yuan due to his merit in suppressing multiple rebellions during the early Tang; he had to shorten his name from Shiji 世勣 to plain Ji when the Grand Ancestor assumed the throne to avoid the taboo on the royal name of Shimin 世民. His later victories over the Tujue gained him great fame. He served as Minister of Works. Along with Yu Zhining, Li was one of the major supporters who helped Empress Wu to gain her new position. His biographies are found in *Jiu-Tangshu* 67.2483, and *Xin-Tangshu* 93.38.

Chu Suiliang 褚遂良,⁸⁶ Liu Shi 柳奭,⁸⁷ Liu Bozhuang 劉伯莊,⁸⁸ Shi Shihong 史士弘,⁸⁹ Kong Zhiyue 孔志約,⁹⁰ Xie Bozhen 薛伯珍,⁹¹ Zheng Zuxuan 鄭祖玄,⁹²

⁸⁶ Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (597–658) from Hangzhou served as a chancellor during both the Grand Ancestor's and the Eminent Ancestor's reigns. He was an intimate of Zhangsun Wuji, sharing the same biographical chapter in the *Xin-Tangshu* and experiencing the same fate, as both were exiled due to their opposition to the new Empress Wu, dying shortly after being exiled. They were both known for their knowledge of prose writings and the histories but lacked the profiles of classicists. Chu was renowned for his clerical and printing styles of calligraphy and was considered the expert on authenticating autographic remnants of Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 (303–361) calligraphy. For more information about the life and bureaucratic career of Chu, see his biographies in *Jiu-Tangshu* 80.2729–39, and *Xin-Tangshu* 105.4024–29.

⁸⁷ Liu Shi 柳奭 (d. 659), was from Pu Prefecture 蒲州 (modern Yuncheng 運城, southern Shanxi). He was the Secretariate Director. His niece was Empress Wang, Wang Yuyan 王珣 (d. 655), first wife of the Grand Ancestor, who was deposed in favor of the future Empress Wu. His fate was thus sealed, and he was executed four years after her ascension. His biographies are found in *Jiu-Tangshu* 77.2681, and *Xin-Tangshu* 112.4177–78.

⁸⁸ Liu Bozhuang 劉伯莊 was from Pengcheng 彭城 (modern Xuzhou 徐州, northeastern Jiangsu). During the reign of the Grand Ancestor, he was appointed as a Lecturer in the Sons of State Academy and later as a eunuch and a Scholar in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature. Early in the reign of the Eminent Ancestor, he concurrently served as a Scholar in the Institute for the Veneration of Worthies. He is one of the few revisers with scholarly productions to this credit. His profile as a classicist is typical of Sui period scholars in its focus on philological facts with some hermeneutics mixed in: a *Shiji yinyi* 史記音義, a *Shiji diming* 史記地名, and a *Hanshu yinyi* 漢書音義, each in 20 scrolls. He also helped compile a *Wensi boyao* 文思博要 and a *Wenguan cilin* 文館詞林. His biographies are in *Jiu-Tangshu* 189.4955, and *Xin-Tangshu* 198.5656.

⁸⁹ Shi Shihong 史士弘 was an Instructor in the Sons of State Academy but is otherwise unknown.

⁹⁰ Kong Zhiyue 孔志約 was Kong Yingda's second son, called Kong Zhi 孔志 in Kong Yingda's *Xin-Tangshu* biography (198.5644), where he is described as ending his career as the Director of Studies in the Directorate of Education, which office was subordinate only to the Chancellor. Elsewhere he is noted as having served as an Erudite in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, a Librarian in the service of the heir apparent, and a Grand Academician in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature. Extra-classical sources describe him as a specialist in pharmacological studies; he composed the preface to an imperially mandated pharmacological composition, *Xinxu bencao* 新修本草 and composed his own materia medica, a *Bencao yinyi* 本草音義.

Li Xuanzhi 李玄植,⁹³ and Wang Zhenru 王真儒.⁹⁴ Three high ministers, Yu Zhining, Zhang Xingcheng, and Gao Jifu, added a final editorial touch, bringing the total number of editors and revisers to 23. Note that more participants in the second round of revisions were notable enough to earn their own biographical entries in the twin Tang histories, perhaps bespeaking a more serious effort at professionalism than the first round.

The case of Li Xuanzhi is worth looking further into, since his general scholarship is outlined and his scholastic proclivities indicated; most importantly, his marked inheritance of Sui period classicism is revealed. Therefore, his short biography in the "Confucian Scholars" collective biography in the *History of the Tang* is worth translating for what it reveals of the continuity of Sui period classical trends:

Xuanzhi concurrently studied the *Mr. Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* with Wang Deshao and the *Mao Poems* with Qi Wei.⁹⁵ He broadly covered the Han histories as well as the theories of *Master Lao* and *Master Zhuang*. During the *Zhenguan* reign period, he successively served as attached Scholar in the Institute of Literature of the Heir Apparent and the Institute for the Advancement of Literature. During the reign of the Eminent Ancestor, he was repeatedly summoned for an audience with the Throne, before which he lectured and explained the meaning of the classics with Daoist priests and Buddhist monks. Xuanzhi was very accomplished in debate and discourse and in correcting and critiquing, thus the Emperor treated him with great ritual courtesy. Later on, he was sent off to be the district magistrate of Feishui [northwest Anhui] due to his involvement in some trouble where he died in office.

玄植兼習春秋左氏傳於王德韶，受毛詩於齊威，博涉漢史及老、莊諸子之說。貞觀中，累遷太子文學、弘文館直學士。高宗時，屢被召見。與道士、沙門在禦前講說經義，玄植辨論甚美，申規諷，帝深禮之。後坐事左遷汜水令，卒官。⁹⁶

⁹¹ Xie Bozhen 薛伯珍 was an Aide in the Inner Guard Command of the Right and Attached Scholar in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature; he is otherwise unknown.

⁹² Zheng Zuxuan 鄭祖玄 was an Instructor in the Grand Academy; he is otherwise unknown.

⁹³ For Li Xuanzhi 李玄植, see immediately below.

⁹⁴ Wang Zhenru 王真儒 was an Instructor in the School of the Four Gates; he is otherwise unknown.

⁹⁵ The biography of Jia Gongyan notes that Li Xuanzhi studied the *Three Ritual Classics* with him.

⁹⁶ *Jiu-Tangshu* 189a.4950.

Li's mastery of the technical side of classical scholarship with his specialization in *Zuo's Commentary* and the *Mao Poems*, ecumenical learning that incorporated early Daoist classics, and prowess in debate and in oral argumentation, all confirm his stance in the mainstream current of Sui classical scholarship, with its underlying strata of Northern and Southern classicism.

Cui Yixuan 崔義玄 (586–656) is another Confucian master very reminiscent of northern, southern, and Sui classical scholarship. Hailing from Wucheng 武城, Beizhou 貝州 (northwestern Shandong), Cui did not participate in any phase of the *Correct Meaning* project. Following is my translation of the relevant portions of his biography:

When young, Yixuan was instructed in the sections and lines style of commentarial learning and in the grand meaning of the *Five Classics*. In places that former Confucian masters found doubtful and where sounds and rhymes were unclear, he concurrently adopted all schools and explicated them; he cited textual evidence to support his views, each of them illustrated with examples. At this point, the Grand Ancestor ordered Yixuan to discourse on the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* and to determine in detail its correct and erroneous points with the various erudites and others; but the project never got off the ground.

義玄少愛章句之學，五經大義，先儒所疑及音韻不明者，兼採眾家，皆為解釋，傍引證據，各有條疏。至是，高宗令義玄討論五經正義，與諸博士等詳定是非，事竟不就。⁹⁷

Notice that the points of similarity of his scholarship with northern and southern learning and the Sui amalgamation were his skills in both the philological treatment and exegesis of texts to render them available to reading along with the hermeneutical interpretation of the *Five Classics* as a whole. His combination of philology and hermeneutics made intellectually meaningful and useful to the social, political, and moral lives of the community of scholars and bureaucrats. This embracement of both practical philology and speculative hermeneutics was the hallmark of many scholars treated in this volume, and his life is one of the last instances of this dual approach in the present work.

The fact that the Eminent Ancestor felt the need for a third round of revisions underscores some important reservations that many scholars must still have harbored concerning the soundness of this project. The most concrete shortcoming, which is still very apparent today, is the obvious haste of the compilation. The retention of Sui period reign titles in this early Tang compilation is a noticeable example of this haste. Pi Xirui made this atrocious act of *lèse-majesté* a casual critique of this work, which he made in the course of his demonstration of the debt owed by the compilers to the work of the twin pillars of Sui classical scholarship

⁹⁷ His biography is located at *Jiu-Tangshu* 77.2688–89; the translation is from a passage on page 2689.

Liu Zhuo and Liu Xuan.⁹⁸ But other Qing classicists had already pointed out this egregious error a century earlier, so the observation of Pi Xirui is nothing original.

10.3.3. The Contents of the Correct Meaning of the Five Classics

Base texts of the *Five Classics* with accompanying standard *zhu* 注 *Annotations*, a *zhuan* 傳 *Commentary*, and *jian* 箋 *Notes* were selected to form the foundations of the exegetical materials. The texts selected were simply those in most common use: this semi-canonical status of base texts was due to Lu Deming's original selection of classical editions that were examined in his *Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Works*, as noted in chapter 8 above. The original *Annotations* were Wang Bi's for a *Correct Meaning of the Zhou Changes* in 10 scrolls,⁹⁹ Kong An'guo's *Commentary* on the so-called spurious Old Text *Esteemed Documents* for a *Correct Meaning of the Esteemed Documents* in 20 scrolls, the *Mao* text with *Commentary* and Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127–200) *Notes* 箋 for a *Correct Meaning of the Mao Poems* in 70 scrolls, Zheng Xuan's *Annotations* for a *Correct Meaning of the Records of Ritualists* in 60 scrolls, and Du Yu's 杜預 (222–285) *Annotations* on the *Zuo's Commentary* text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* for a *Correct Meaning* commentary of this classic in 60 scrolls.¹⁰⁰

These foundational commentaries from the Han and Wei periods were not accepted uncritically, but were edited to a certain degree, as demonstrated in the case of Wang Bi's commentary on the *Zhou Changes*. Kong Yingda explains in his preface as follows: "Now we have edited and investigated according to imperial edict. Its matter definitely follows Confucius, and its meaning and principles have been elucidated. We first used Wang Bi's text as base, and eliminated its excessive prose but adopted its essence out of the desire to make a text that is reliable and documented with evidence." 今既奉勅刪定考察。其事必以仲尼為宗義理可詮。先以輔嗣為本，去其華而取其實，欲使信而有徵。¹⁰¹ The sources of the new sub-commentaries were not necessarily limited to

⁹⁸ For Liu Xuan, see chap. 9, sec. 9.3, "The Life of Liu Xuan." Pi Xirui's critique is found in *Jingxue lishi*, 198.

⁹⁹ Wang Bi's 王弼 (226–249) *Annotations* did not discuss the *Xici* 系辭 commentary; the *Annotations* of Han Kangbo 韓康伯 (332–380), known sometimes as Kang Bo 康伯, was mined to extract the relevant commentary on the *Xici*. This explains why the *Siku quanshu* editors list the base *Annotations* under the joint authorship of both Wang Bi and Han Kangbo. See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, 2 vols. (Taipei: Hanjing Wenhua, 1997), 1:18.

¹⁰⁰ Shentu, Kong Yingda, *Yan Shigu pingzhuan*, 36–118, examines the authorship and nature of these *Annotations*.

¹⁰¹ Zhouyi zhengyi, "Preface," 2b.

the traditional Han or Wei *Annotations, Commentaries, or Notes*, but extant clearing-up-the-meaning commentaries produced during the Six Dynasties were freely adopted.

Examples of the multiplicity of sources utilized by the Tang compilers are noted by Kong Yingda in his preface to the *Correct Meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals*: "Now we collate the fine and weak points of former Confucians, taking Du Yu as priority. Hence, as for those commentaries that have been transmitted up to the present from the Jin and Song periods, in the genre of clearing-up-the-meaning commentaries there are those of Shen Wenhe, Su Kuan, and Liu Xuan." 今校先儒優劣，杜為甲矣。故晉宋傳授以至于今。其為義疏則有沈文何、蘇寬、劉炫。¹⁰² The preface continues by evaluating the merits and demerits of these three earlier classicists. In his preface to the *Mao Poems*, Kong even lets his personal animus show, caustically observing, "Liu Zhuo and Liu Xuan et al. presume on their talent and despise former worthies, agree with what they should differ from, differ from what they should agree with. Sometimes they should be brief but instead are detailed, and when it is proper to be detailed they are even more brief. . . ." 焯炫等負恃才氣輕鄙先達，同其所異，異其所同。或應略而反詳，或宜詳而更略。¹⁰³ A quote from Kong Yingda's preface to his *Correct Meaning* sub-commentary on the *Esteemed Documents* is even more dispositive of his approach: "Now we investigate and determine the correct and the erroneous in accordance with the clear edict, and respectfully exhaust our mediocrity and ignorance, and deplete all we have heard and seen. We peruse the commentaries and exegetical notes of the ancients, and critique the differences in the scholarship of recent times, preserving what is correct and eliminating what is erroneous, excising where superfluous and increasing where too brief. In this, we do not dare to make rash conjectures, but limit ourselves to the evidence of old traditions." 今奉明勅，考定是非，謹罄庸愚，竭所聞見。覽古人之傳記，質近代之異同，存其是而去其非，削其煩而增其簡，此亦非敢臆說，必據

¹⁰² *Chunqiu zhengyi*, "Preface," 2b–3a. For a detailed look into this *Zhengyi* commentary, see An Min 安敏, *Kong Yingda Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi yanjiu* 孔穎達春秋左傳正義研究 (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 2009). Shen Wenhe 沈文何, or more properly Shen Wen'a 沈文阿 (503–563), figures in the collective biographies of Confucian classicists of both the Liang and the Chen dynasties, as noted in chapter 3. His *Chunqiu Zuoshi jingzhuan yilue* 春秋左氏經傳義略 commentary is treated in detail in Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 209–19. Chap. 5, sec. 5.3.3, identifies three modern studies on his exegetical work. For information about Su Kuan 蘇寬, a northern classicist with no biographical date, see chap. 5, sec. 5.3.3, "Su Kuan and Jia Sitong on Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals."

¹⁰³ *Maoshi Zhengyi*, "Preface," 2a. For a critical appraisal of the sub-commentary on the *Mao Poems*, see Huang Zhuo 黃焯, *Shishu pingyi xu* 詩疏平議序 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1985).

舊聞。¹⁰⁴ Earlier in his preface, Kong mentions six previous commentators whose work was utilized in his sub-commentary. But Zhang Baosan asserts that this *Correct Meaning* sub-commentary on the *Esteemed Documents* was based on the exegetical work of the two Lius, Liu Zhuo and Liu Xuan, supplemented by the work of Gu Biao 顧彪, a Sui-period classicist who was known for his knowledge of the *Esteemed Documents* and *Spring and Autumn Annals*.¹⁰⁵

To summarize the sources for the *Correct Meaning* commentaries among earlier clearing-up-the-meaning offerings, the *Changes* utilized more than 10 anonymous works, which necessitated the purging of speculative, even Buddhist, interpretations. The *Esteemed Documents* utilized those of Liu Zhuo, Liu Xuan, and Gu Biao. For the *Mao Poems*, the twin Lius were adopted, in many cases seemingly wholesale with little editorial intervention. For the *Records of Ritualists*, two works of Huang Kan were the chief sources, with that of Xiong Ansheng 熊安生 (fl. mid-sixth century) used secondarily. Finally, for the *Zuo Commentary Spring and Autumn Annals*, Liu Xuan's work was the foundation, with the works of Shen Wen'a and Su Kuan being consulted as well.

As for the relative merits of the *Correct Meaning* sub-commentaries, Pi Xirui rejects sweeping, generalized statements by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296), instead stressing that the nature and quality of the exegesis is based on the nature and quality of the original exegetical works. For instance, since the commentary of Wang Bi on the *Zhou Changes* is somewhat insubstantial and superficial—we may rather describe it as speculative and theoretical—the sub-commentary by Kong Yingda and his colleagues is naturally of a piece.¹⁰⁶ Pi compared it adversely to the more substantial and detailed sub-commentaries on the *Mao Poems*, *Records of Ritualists*, and the *Rites of Zhou*, which were all based on earlier, fact-centered commentaries by Zheng Xuan. Therefore, Pi concludes that these three sub-commentaries were the best of the set.¹⁰⁷

The high intrinsic value of the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* for the history of classical scholarship goes without saying, as it marks a watershed moment in the development of exegesis. This set of classical texts, commentaries, and sub-commentaries became normative for the imperial exams—when attention could be wrested from Zhu Xi's annotated version of the *The Four Books*, starting during the mid-Yuan period—and authoritative for scholarly research today. Its value also lies in its function of preserving numerous passages from works that

¹⁰⁴ *Shangshu zhengyi*, "Preface," 3b.

¹⁰⁵ Gu Biao's 顧彪 biographical snippet is included in the "Collective Biography of Confucian Scholars" in the *Suishu*, translated in chapter 7. His various commentaries on the *Shangshu* are analyzed by Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 449–55.

¹⁰⁶ Pi, *Jingxue lishi*, 203.

¹⁰⁷ Zhu Xi had originally included the *Zhouli* in his discussion of the relative merits of the sub-commentaries on the *Five Classics*, even though this exegetical work dealt with a classic that was not inserted into the cannon until the Song dynasty.

disappeared shortly before or sometime after the Tang. It therefore serves as a congeries of quotations from lost commentaries embedded in the sometimes prolix prose of the sub-commentaries of Kong Yingda and his confreres. The reason for this broad utility is precisely because the numerous classicists whose views helped inform the new sub-commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* were not only discussed, they were quoted at length.

A notable demonstration of this function of preservation is found in the "Jade-Bead Pendants of the Royal Cap" 玉藻 chapter of the *Records of Ritualists*. Kong Yingda's sub-commentary preserves an exchange from the lost *Monograph of Zheng* 鄭志 between Zheng Xuan and his most notable disciple Zhao Shang 趙商. Zheng prefaces his end of the catechism by distinguishing the relative authority of two of the ritual classics:

The *Records of Ritualists* were collected by later persons, and explained the rites according to the times. Sometimes the rites of the feudal princes were the same as the Son of Heaven; sometimes those of the Son of Heaven were the same rank as the feudal princes; that which they enacted were different. . . . Many places in the rules in the "Kingly System" chapter differ from the Zhou, but we should regard the classic [*Rites of Zhou*] as correct."

禮記後人所集，據時言。或諸侯同天子，或天子同諸侯等，所施不同。……王制之法與周異者多，當以經爲正。¹⁰⁸

Following is my translation of a lengthy excerpt from the *Correct Meaning* commentary on a paragraph from the *Records of Ritualists* to provide a feel for style, a grasp of format, and an awareness of the sort of information included in such a lengthy and often seemingly overwritten commentary. I shall proceed with a translation of the original paragraph of the classic, interspersed with Zheng Xuan's Annotations (minus the sound glosses from Lu Duming's *Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Works*, which, it will be recalled, were first inserted into canonical classical texts with the ten-line editions produced at the end of the Southern Song), and will then translate a long section of the Tang period sub-commentary.

"Quli":¹⁰⁹

"They are the rules of ritual,¹¹⁰ that furnish the means of determining (the observances towards) relatives, as near and remote; of settling points that

¹⁰⁸ *Liji zhengyi*, "Yuzao" 玉藻, 29.5a-b.

¹⁰⁹ Legge translates "Quli" 曲禮 as "Summary of the Rules of Propriety"; because this title is too cumbersome for my purposes, I suspend my usual practice of translating titles in the main body of this work and using romanized titles solely in the footnotes.

¹¹⁰ I have changed Legge's translation of *li* 禮 as "propriety" or "rules of propriety" in the entire translation to "ritual," which is more accurate. I have also engaged in some

may cause suspicion or doubt; of distinguishing where there should be agreement, and where difference; and of making clear what is right and what is wrong."

夫禮者所以定親疏，決嫌疑，別同異，明是非也。¹¹¹

Zheng Xuan Annotations:

"Those who are close include female singers and dancers. When a gentleman cannot be pleased in them according to the Way then he is not pleased."

為近伎媚也。君子說之不以其道則不說也。¹¹²

"Quli"

"One should not (seek to) be lavish of his words."

不辭費。

Zheng Xuan Annotations:

"This means injuring trustworthiness. The gentleman first enacts what he preaches and then one follows him."

為傷信。君子先行其言而後從之。

"Quli"

"In ritual, one does not go beyond the definite measure, nor encroach on or despise others, nor is fond of (presuming) familiarities."

禮，不逾節，不侵侮，不好狎。

Zheng Xuan Annotations:

"This means injuring respect. It occurs when one associates with those who are close and becomes 'fond of (presuming) familiarities.'"

為傷敬也。人則習近為好狎。

"Quli"

"To cultivate one's person and fulfil one's words is called good conduct."

修身踐言，謂之善行。

very light editing to include a word or two that Legge failed to translate or to make a better fit for the word "ritual."

¹¹¹ *Liji zhushu* 1.9b; trans. Legge, *Li Chi*, 63. All further references to the text of the *Liji* refer to this pagination until a later reference documents a change in pagination. The same holds for the references to Legge's translation, which however will not change pagination.

¹¹² *Liji zhushu* 1.9b. All further references to the text of Zheng Xuan's annotations refer to this pagination until a later reference documents a change in pagination.

Zheng Xuan Annotations:

“To fulfill” means to carry out. One’s words are fulfilled and enacted.”

踐履也。言履而行之。

“Quli”

“When the conduct is (thus) ordered, and the words are accordant with the (right) course, we have the substance of ritual.”

行修言道，禮之質也。

Zheng Xuan Annotations:

“To speak of the Way” is to make one’s words commensurate with the Way. ‘Substance’ is the same thing as the fundamental. Ritual just adorns it.”

言道言合於道。質猶本也。禮為之文飾耳。

“Quli”

“I have heard that it is in accordance with ritual that one should be chosen by others (as their model); I have not heard of his choosing them (to take him as such).”

禮聞取於人，不聞取人。

Zheng Xuan Annotations:

“This says that one who is a gentleman is ‘chosen by others (as their model).’ It is to say that he is eminent and exalted. The phrase he ‘chooses others’ by how he accords with the Way is to say that he controls his person.”

謂君人者取於人。謂高尚。其道取人謂制服其身。

“Quli”

“I have heard that, according to ritual, scholars come to learn; I have not heard of the master going to teach.”

禮聞來學，不聞往教。¹¹³

Zheng Xuan Annotations:

“This venerates the arts of the Way.”

尊道藝。¹¹⁴

¹¹³ *Liji zhushu* 1.10a; trans. Legge, *Li Chi*, 63.

¹¹⁴ *Liji zhushu* 1.10a. Traditional dictionaries define *daoyi* 道藝 as “learning and techniques.” The term was in popular use during the Eastern Han era; two examples will suffice. Xun Yue (148–209), *Qian Hanji* 前漢紀, “Xiaocheng Huandi ji er” 孝成皇帝紀二 sets learning and techniques in the context of early Confucian authorship:

Sub-commentary:

From “They are the rules of propriety” to “heard of the master going to teach.” The *Correct Meaning* says: This one paragraph sums up and clarifies cultivating the person and establishing correct conduct, whether exchanges and interactions are proper or not—all of this follows from ritual. Hence, ritual is taken as the target; each explains it according to the text. As for the sentence “They are the rules of ritual, that furnish the means of determining (the observances towards) relatives, as near and remote,” within the Five Degrees of Mourning Attire system, major merit is attained when the upper-level coarse clothing is used by the near relatives; minor merit is attained when the lower-level fine clothing is used by distant relatives. Hence, in the *Rites of Zhou*, the Manager of the Junior Scribes determines the lineage pedigrees, and discerns the Zhao-Mu system. . . .¹¹⁵ As for the phrase “distinguishing where there should be agreement, and where difference,” He Yang said, “The root being the same with present day differences refers to older and younger fraternal aunts; the root being different to present day similarities refers to fathers’ sisters, fathers’ younger brothers’ wives, and daughters-in-law.”¹¹⁶ As for the phrase “making clear what is right and what is wrong,” conforming with ritual is what is correct; not conforming with ritual is what is wrong. It is like when the deceased has not yet been encoffined,

“Formerly at the end of the Zhou, after the death of Confucius the various masters of later ages each authored writings desiring to elevate and broaden the arts of the Way, and form the lineage of a single master.” 昔周之末。孔子既歿。後世諸子。各著篇章。欲崇廣道藝。成一家之說。http://ctext.org/histories?searchu=道藝。Another Han period work, the *Lunheng* 論衡 of Wang Chong 王充 (ca. 27–100), relates, “When Confucius fell ill, Shangju divined that he would die at noontime. Confucius said, ‘Bring me a book; what does it matter that it is almost noon?’” The determination to learn on the part of the Sagely One is such that even when he was about to face the disaster of death he did not cease, his thoughts were still on the classical works, and did not let the excuse of approaching death make him cast off and forget the arts of the Way.” 孔子病，商瞿卜期日中。孔子曰：「取書來，比至日中何事乎？」聖人之好學也，且死不休，念在經書，不以臨死之故，棄忘道藝。http://ctext.org/confucianism?searchu=道藝。

¹¹⁵ The Zhao-Mu system is a Western Zhou institution where alternating generations enjoyed prominence at the sacrifice in the ancestral temple. Kong Yingda (representing all the compilers of this sub-commentary) paraphrases at this point from the *Zhouli* as follows: “Junior Scribes manage the records of the regional states, settle lineage pedigrees, and discerns the Zhao-Mu system” 小史掌邦國之志，莫系世，辨昭穆。 *Zhouli zhushu*, 26.16b.

¹¹⁶ He Yang 賀瑒 (452–510) was a famous Liang dynasty specialist and teacher of Huang Kan. His many notable contributions to the teaching of and research on the rites, especially the *Liji*, are detailed in chap. 3, sec. 3.2.3.

"Ziyou went on a visit of condolence, wearing the silk one over his fur." This is commensurate with ritual. "Zengzi went on a visit of condolence, wearing his fur robe over the silk one,"¹¹⁷ this was not commensurate with ritual, and was wrong. But cases of "suspicion and doubt," "agreement and difference," "correct and wrong" are very numerous in ritual; for each type we should cite one event to verify it, but Mr. Huang [Kan] cites examples of all of them, so now we for our part elide them. . . . In the *Annotations*, from "a gentleman" to "[cannot be] pleased," the *Correct Meaning* says that this is a passage from the *Analects*. Confucius said, "If you try to please a gentleman in any way which is not accordant with the Way, he will not be pleased."¹¹⁸ "Cannot be pleased in them according to the Way" is to be pleased by something absurd, hence the gentleman is not pleased. We cite evidence from this classic to the effect that according to ritual, one should not be pleased by human affairs. . . . For the phrase "I have heard that it is in accordance with ritual that one should be chosen by others (as their model); I have not heard of his choosing them (to take him as such)," Mr. Xiong [Ansheng] takes this as a reference to the rite when the Lord of Men on high summons worthies. He should employ worthy men of virtue, and not summon them haphazardly. The sentence "I have heard that it is in accordance with ritual that one should be chosen by others (as their model)," means that one hears of reputations for ritual propriety, and thereby summons worthy people. Virtuous conduct should be evident in personal actions, and such should be used for political instruction; we haven't heard of directly selecting worthy men. Assigning them to a particular position is merely a matter of the proper mourning vestments. Hence Zheng stated "one who is a gentleman." Mr. Huang thinks that one who is a gentleman takes a teacher to receive the rules of learning; "one should be chosen by others" means to personally go to the gate of a teacher and obtain his arts of the Way. "I have heard that, according to ritual, scholars come to learn; I have not heard of a master going to teach." As for the line "I have heard that, according to ritual, scholars come to learn," according to the rules of learning, one should approach a teacher, face north, and submit to his instructions. As for the line "I have not heard of a master going to teach,"

¹¹⁷ These two quotations concerning the apparel worn by Ziyou and Zengzi derive from the *Liji zhengyi*, "Tanggong," 7.20a-b; trans. Legge, *Li Chi*, 1:142.

¹¹⁸ This quote is a slight paraphrase of *Lunyu*, 13:25: "The gentleman is easy to serve and difficult to please. If you try to please him in any way which is not accordant with the Way, he will not be pleased." 君子易事而難說也：說之不以道，不說也；trans. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:25.

one may not humiliate a teacher to come in person to approach oneself. Hence Zheng states "This venerates the arts of the Way."¹¹⁹

疏夫禮至往教。○正義曰：此一節總明治身立行，交接得否，皆由於禮，故以禮為目，各隨文解之。○夫禮者，所以定親疏者，五服之內，大功已上服粗者為親，小功已下服精者為疏，故周禮小史掌定系世，辨昭穆也。……○別同異者，賀瑒云：本同今異，姑姊妹是也。本異今同，世母叔母及子婦是也。○明是非也者，得禮為是，失禮為非，若主人未斂，子游褻裘而吊，得禮，是也。曾子襲裘而吊，失禮，非也。但嫌疑同異是非之屬，在禮甚眾，各舉一事為證。而皇氏具引，今亦略之。……○注君子至說也。○正義曰：此論語文。孔子曰：君子說之不以其道，則不說也。不以其道說之，是妄說，故君子不說也，引證經禮不妄說人之事。……○禮聞取於人，不聞取人者，熊氏以為此謂人君在上招賢之禮，當用賢人德行，不得虛致其身。禮聞取於人者，謂禮之所聞，既招致有賢之人，當於身上取於德行，用為政教，不聞直取賢人，授之以位，制服而已，故鄭云謂君人者。皇氏以為人君取師受學之法，取於人，謂自到師門，取其道藝。○禮聞來學，不聞往教。○禮聞來學者，凡學之法，當就其師，處北面伏膺。不聞往教者，不可以屈師親來就己，故鄭云尊道藝也。

This extended section of sub-commentary, of which I have managed to translate roughly half despite its formidable length, treats just one "section" or "paragraph" (*jie* 節). In this passage, the introductory formula includes the incipit phrase that starts the first line of the section and the *extremus* phrase that concludes it in the format of "Sub-Commentary: From phrase A to phrase X," which translates as "From 'They are the rules of propriety' to 'heard of the master going to teach.'" This is the invariable formula that prefaces the sub-commentary whenever it appears at the start of a new paragraph in all of the *Correct Meaning* commentaries. Sometimes, after the scope of the sub-commentary is demarked with the incipit and the *extremus*, the scope of the original commentary of Zheng Xuan, Wang Bi, or whoever, is so demarcated. A summary of the general gist and purport of the paragraph follows. Each phrase or line of the classic is discussed *ad seriatim*. This particular extended textual example from the *Records of Ritualists* focuses largely on the text of the classic, although at one point it turns to Zheng Xuan's *Annotations* commentary. Other authorities quoted or cited are He Yang 賀瑒 (452–510) the very influential Liang dynasty classicist,¹²⁰ Huang Kan, He Yang's pupil and eventual successor as leading Confucian exegete, and the most famous northern classicist, Xiong Ansheng. Finally, a quote from an

¹¹⁹ For the texts of the "Quli" passages and Zheng Xuan's *zhu*, see *Liji zhengyi* "Quli," 1.9b–10.a; for Kong Yingda's sub-commentary, see "Quli," 1.10a–b.

¹²⁰ Chap. 3, sec. 3.2.3, is entirely devoted to He Yang.

earlier classical work, the *Analects*, and an intertextual nod to the *Records of Ritualists* are elicited in support of particular word definitions or passage interpretations.

Such is the structure of the new sub-commentaries composed for the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*, and indeed, all the new sub-commentaries composed for the remaining classics that became canonized into the set of 13, except for the one on the *Close to Elegance* onomasticon. The misleading reputation of these sub-commentaries for being tedious traversals through overly argued points of textual minutiae should be disabused now due to this close inspection of the details translated above; each point of the text of the classic is analyzed in order, and the meaning of words, lines, and paragraphs is clarified with a wide variety of proofs extracted from earlier classics or classicists. The sub-commentaries may make for slow reading, but for the persistent reader they provide much information necessary to approach the meaning of these ancient works. In my view, each sub-commentary is less overly packed periphrasis than a warehouse of useful information; whether all this information is interesting reading is ultimately irrelevant to its original intent.

10.4. Authors of Additional Sub-Commentaries on the Thirteen Classics

10.4.1. Jia Gongyan

Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (fl. 655), who has already been mentioned earlier in this chapter, was one of the six original compilers of the *Correct Meaning* sub-commentary on the *Records of Ritualists* and also participated in the second revision of the entire set in 651. The precise nature of his original assignment is not known, however, and the particular sub-commentary or sub-commentaries he worked on in this second stage of revision is also unknown. Since he was a specialist in ritual texts, we are probably safe in assuming that he worked at least on the *Records of Ritualists*. He is included here due to his merit in composing sub-commentaries on two other ritual classics that did not make it into the canon until the early Song dynasty. These classics were the *Rites of Zhou* and *Ceremonials and Rituals*.

His short biography is translated below:

Jia Gongyan was a man of Ming Prefecture, Yongnian County [southern Hebei, 20 kilometers south of modern Handan 邯鄲]. During the *Yonghui* reign period [600–655], his office reached that of Erudite of the Grand Academy. He compiled a *Clearing-up-the-meaning Commentary on the Rites of Zhou* in 50 scrolls and a *Clearing-up-the-meaning Commentary on the Ceremonials and Rituals* in 40 scrolls. His son Jia Dayin's office reached that of Attendant Gentleman in the Ministry of Rites.

賈公彥，洺州永年人。永徽中，官至太學博士。撰《周禮義疏》五十卷、《儀禮義疏》四十卷。子大隱，官至禮部侍郎。¹²¹

His *New History of the Tang* biography merely mentions the general thrust of his scholarship and his learning and teaching:

Zhang Shiheng taught his various students the *Three Ritual Classics*;¹²² at this time the most prominent among his students were Jia Gongyan from Yongnian and Li Xuanzhi from Zhao. Gongyan ended his career as an Erudite in the Grand Academy, and was prolific in editing and ordering section and lines commentaries. . . .¹²³ Gongyan transmitted his learning to Li Xuanzhi.

士衡以禮教諸生，當時顯者：永年賈公彥、趙李玄植。公彥終太學博士，撰次章句甚多。……公彥傳業玄植。¹²⁴

Jia Gongyan composed two sub-commentaries, one for the *Rites of Zhou* and one for the *Ceremonials and Rituals*. Jia's preface to the former work entitles it *Correct Meaning of the Rites of Zhou*; the preface to the latter work entitles it *Sub-Commentary on the Ceremonials and Rituals*. Jia analyzes these two ritual classics and two specialists on the *Ceremonials and Rituals* as follows:

The *Rites of Zhou* is the branch, the *Ceremonials and Rituals* is the root. The root is difficult to understand but the branch is easy to comprehend. For this reason, the *Rites of Zhou* enjoys multiple schools of annotators, but important annotators of the *Ceremonials and Rituals* end with Zheng Xuan. Two scholars composed philological annotations or sub-commentaries, Huang Qing of Xindu and the Qi scholar Li Mengzhe of Shengde. On the one hand, during the days of the Sui the outstanding Confucian Huang Qing elevated the grand meaning but abbreviated details. His annotations and sub-commentary on the classics lacked coverage at many points just like ascending a mountain and gazing out over the distance yet not perceiving what is close at hand. On the other

¹²¹ *Jiu-Tangshu* 189a.4950.

¹²² Zhang Shiheng 張士衡 (d. 645) was born in Leshou 樂壽, Ying County 瀛州, in eastern Hebei. He became a notable Confucian master, with short entries in the collective biographies of both versions of Tang histories. He was a pupil of Zhang Guisi 張軌思 in the *Maoshi* and *Zhouli* and learned the *Liji* from both Xiong Ansheng and Liu Zhuo. He lectured widely on the *Five Classics* but specialized in the *Three Ritual Classics*. See *Jiu-Tangshu* 189a.4949, and *Xin-Tangshu* 198.5648–49.

¹²³ At this point in the biography, a long excursus on Jia's son Dayin is inserted, detailing his probity in handling the machinations of Empress Wu, who conspired to increase the rooms in the Ancestral Temple of her new Zhou dynasty from the five utilized by the Tang to seven, a number at variance with an earlier mention of the appropriate number of rooms.

¹²⁴ *Xin-Tangshu* 198a.5649–50.

hand, Li Mengzhe elevated minor details and abbreviated the grand meaning. The sub-commentaries of the two masters both have their strengths and weaknesses, so sometimes I favor one and sometimes the other.

周禮為末，儀禮為本。本則難明，末便易曉。是以周禮注者則有多門，儀禮所注後鄭而已。其為章疏則有二家，信都黃慶者，齊之盛德李孟慙。隋日碩儒慶則舉大略小，經注疏漏猶登山遠望而近不知。慙則舉小略大，經注稍周，似入室近觀而遠不察二家之疏互脩段，時之有所尚。¹²⁵

The editors of the *Complete Works of the Four Treasuries*, in discussing the story of commentaries on the *Ceremonials and Rituals*, note that the clearing-up-the-meaning commentaries of Shen Chong 沈重 and two anonymous scholars did not survive into the Tang,¹²⁶ and the notable commentary by Wang Su 王肅 (95–256) in 17 scrolls had disappeared during the early Tang. Therefore, Jia Gongyan was limited to the two earlier clearing-up-the-meaning sub-commentaries already mentioned in the preface, that by Huang Qing and by Li Mengzhe, who are both otherwise unknown.¹²⁷ This paucity of commentarial authorities naturally explains the general lack of quotes from secondary sources. Quotes from other ritual texts, including the *Rites of Zhou*, *Records of Rites*, and other chapters from the *Ceremonials and Rituals* appear in small numbers.

The structure of this sub-commentary follows the common format of the original five *Correct Meaning* works. One seemingly notable feature of Jia's sub-commentary is how it commences with the term "The *Elucidation* says" (*shiyue* 曰). But this is a technical feature introduced by later editors during the Song dynasty and following dynasties. "The *Elucidation* says" appears on and off in a long manuscript and a Republican-era printing of the "singly circulating sub-commentary" (*danshu* 單疏), that is, the sub-commentary that was produced without the text of the classic or original commentary. In later printed versions, such as the imperially sponsored Song dynasty version with classic, commentary, and sub-commentary printed together, and Yuan printings of the same, Ming revisions of the Yuan version, and Ruan Yuan's *Thirteen Classics* edition, the formula of "the *Elucidation* says" invariably appears to set off the start of a quote

from the sub-commentary.¹²⁸ As this feature is not original with Jia Gongyan, it need not further detain us here.

Jia Gongyan's sub-commentary on the *Rites of Zhou* follows the same format as his work on the *Ceremonials and Rituals*. The only differences are that his preface is quite lengthy, including 16 half-pages of general introduction and 9.5 half-pages on the history of the "Neglect and Resurgence of the *Rites of Zhou*" 周禮廢興,¹²⁹ and that Zheng Xuan's *Annotation* runs on at some length, indicating the good state of preservation of his ancient commentary that he accessed.

10.4.2 Yang Shixun

Yang Shixun 楊士勛 (fl. 627–649) is unknown outside of his role as a classicist. Little biographical data exist apart from the offices he served in while compiling his exegesis on *Guliang's Commentary*; he occupied the office of Instructor in the School of the Four Gates, and he participated in the compilation of the *Correct Meaning* sub-commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* as an Erudite of the Sons of State Academy.

Yang's sub-commentary on the *Guliang Commentary* explains the text of the classic according to Fan Ning's 范甯 (ca. 339–ca. 401) *Collected Explanations on Guliang on the Spring and Autumn* 春秋穀梁傳集解.¹³⁰ A comprehensive study of this work by Chen Hsiu-ling introduces what can be learned about the life of Yang Shixun, the outlines of a career, the scope of his commentary, and the history of its editions. As far as general approach is concerned, she isolates the following six distinctions: (1) he targets the sub-commentary of Fan Ning; (2) he elucidates it based on evidence from the text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and *Guliang's Commentary*; (3) he elicits support from *Zuo's Commentary*; (4) he broadly cites other Confucian sources; (5) he utilizes earlier commentaries and explanations; and (6) he harmonizes doubtful points in old explanations and seeks for a consensus. In terms of specific methodologies utilized in analyzing Fan Ning's *Collected Explanations*, Yang Shixun clarifies the meaning, corrects erroneous characters, identifies names and objects, explains institutions, rites, and customs, astronomical bodies, geographical features, and vegetation and trees. He further addresses aspects not treated by Fan and provides his own glosses or exegesis, and he isolates narratological features. All in all, Yang's scholarship operated on the level of textual meaning, narrative procedures, historical facts, and comparative analysis of the texts of both *Guliang's Commentary* and *Zuo's Commentary*.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Personal communication via e-mail from specialist Professor Jian Yiguang 簡逸光, July 19, 2019.

¹²⁹ *Zhouli zhushu*, "Xu," 9a.

¹³⁰ On Fan Ning and his commentary, see Honey, *A History of Chinese Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2, chap. 9, sec. 9.5.

¹³¹ Chen Xiuling 陳秀玲, "The Research of Yang, Shih Shiu Chun-Giu Gu-Niang-Zhuan Chu-shu" (Master's Thesis, National Chung Hsing University, 1996).

Yili zhushu, "Xu," 1a.

Shen Chong 沈重 (500–583), was a prolific commentator on the classics with nine commentaries to his credit, seven of which are devoted to the three standard ritual texts. He is treated in chap. 6, sec. 6.3.

Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 1:114.

A weakness in Yang's approach is his lax documentation of citations. This stems from his habit of introducing old quotations of earlier authorities through such anonymous formulations as "an old analysis" (*jiu* 舊解), "an old explanation" (*jiu* 舊說), or "one explanation" (*yishuo* 一說). His mindset perhaps assumes a great deal of erudition on the part of his readership; more likely it reflects the fact that he worked in an era when these older authorities were widely available. A recent study not only introduces important traditional and modern studies on *Guliang's Commentary*, it analyzes the use of such citation formulae. It seems that most of these citation formulae introduce quotes from the standard corpus of Confucian prose works such as philosophical masters and the writers of early histories *cum* fabulae; only a few draw from old exegetes, so Yang's faith in the familiarity of his readers with his numerous out-of-context quotes is fully justified.¹³² This conclusion suggests that Yang was less of a classical exegete, drawing on the long tradition of the literature of Six Dynasties sub-commentaries, than a well-educated reader of the classics who focused on the text of *Guliang's Commentary* as an object of analysis without a commitment to, let alone a grasp of, the tradition of classical scholarship.

Chapter 11

Conclusions on Chinese Classical Scholarship of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui, and Early Tang

This work has attempted to trace the line of philologically based textual scholarship, inherited from Han and Jin worthies, from the commencement of the period of division into Northern and Southern Dynasties until the early Tang era. It is evident from my treatment of southern scholarship that speculative hermeneutics expanded the scope of classical scholarship from the hardnosed mending of the texts of traditional classics to the high-minded interpretation of their messages from new hermeneutic paradigms. This fundamental focus on "meanings and principles" (*yili* 義理) interpretive strategies of southern classicists ran counter to the "section and lines" (*zhangju* 章句) close reading of texts and the "exegesis and glosses" (*xungu* 訓詁) of terms prevalent in the North. The interest of southern scholars not only in the classics of Confucianism but also the two founding scriptures of Daoism—*Master Lao* and *Master Zhuang*—both provided personal sources of emotional comfort and spiritual solace in an age of anxiety and fostered the serious intellectual exercise of "Learning of the Mysterious" (*Xuanxue* 玄學). This trend could not help but color discussions on the Confucian classics and even impacted the nature of hermeneutics of the time. This supercharged intellectual atmosphere, further enriched with Buddhist currents of metaphysics, certainly provided an energized environment for intellectual exchange along all lines of enquiry, Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, northern classicists pursued their quiet commitment to the sober earthbound side of classical scholarship as the legacy of Old Text philology was conserved and transmitted. Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127–200) scholarly legacy turned out to be the thread of philology that ran throughout the entire period, and he was the chief classicist whose commentarial works formed the foundation of much of the sub-commentaries that were composed during the early Tang for Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 (574–648) *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* project. The textual exegesis of Xu Zunming 徐遵明 (475–529) and his disciple Xiong Ansheng 熊安生 (d. ca. 578) carried on the direction of Zheng Xuan's scholarship in the North and gained considerable fame for this pair both as teachers and scholars. Southern classicists such as the transplanted northerner Cui Ling'en 崔靈恩 (fl. 6th century), Yu Weizhi 庾蔚之 (d. ca. 464), He Yang

¹³² Tan Jiajian 譚沛林, "Guliang zhuan suo cheng Zhang Peilin 張沛林, *Journal of School of Chinese Language and Culture, Nanjing Normal University* (2016) No. 2: 51–66.

易 (452–510), and He Xun 賀循 (260–319), were all demonstrably able textualists, even as this lineage displayed increasingly bold interpretive freedom in offering independent views. Huang Kan 皇侃 (488–545) represents the culmination of the nascent hermeneutic trend in the South that created distance in texts to interpose personal interpretations based increasingly on speculation rather than literal readings. This distance eventually grew large enough over the course of the Tang to accommodate deliberate hermeneutical misreadings that led to the doubting the classics movement. It is just such a critical distance from texts that directed most of the scholarly tangents of the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties away from factual scholarship and toward philosophical, even theological, speculations. The return to philology during the early Qing period and its development will next attract my critical attention in volume 4.

The hallmark of exegetical scholarship in the Northern and Southern dynasties period was the genre of clearing-up-the-meaning commentary (*yishu* 義疏). Its original format, inspired by lectures on the classics presented before the emperor and based on the micro-structure of the catechism and the macro-structure of “thematic sections” (*keduan* 科段), is only clearly discernable in the manuscript remains of Huang Kan’s minor commentary, the *Clearing-up-the-meaning of a Subsidiary Edition of the Record of Ritualists* 禮記子本義疏. These commentaries were not retained into Kong Yingda’s *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* production of an authorized canon *cum* commentary, even as he followed the basic matter of much of the newly composed sub-commentaries in the clearing-up-the-meaning commentaries of Sui classicists Liu Zhuo 劉焯 (ca. 544–608) and his close friend Liu Xuan 劉炫 (ca. 546–ca. 613). They produced an original if amalgamated brand of scholarship, itself based on earlier representatives of the genre, both northern and southern, which presented a unified Sui reading of the classics that anticipated Kong’s production of a homogenized and authorized Tang school some forty years later. As the foundation of the great Tang project on classical scholarship, which is still authoritative today, Sui classical scholarship must be credited with great significance in the history of Chinese classical scholarship. And the work of two different Sui scholars codified a new approach to word glossing based on phonetic cues. Lu Deming’s 陸德明 (556–627) *Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Books* provided the database for transmitted earlier scholarship on sound glosses;

Fayan’s 陸法言 (fl. 600) rhyming dictionary, *Isolated Rhymes*, marked the professionalization of the study of historical phonology; as such it naturally marked the beginning of a new discipline. Even as we credit early Tang classical scholarship for putting the foundation of the field on a remarkably solid and well-tailored base, the creative soil of Tang scholarship was taken over from Sui scholars, just as the seeds of scholarly works were transplanted from Sui graftings. This volume, therefore, could very credibly be retitled as “The foundations of Sui Classical Scholarship and its Birth of Tang Classicism;” I will not go so far as to

make this change; but as an overarching theme, along with the enduring legacy of Zheng Xuan, it must be acknowledged.

This work has also introduced the lives and scholarship of the composers of the sub-commentaries, leaving aside two later Song dynasty exceptions, which made it into the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics*. The original exegetical works from Han and Jin scholiasts, which were canonized by custom and by Lu Deming’s selection for entry in his great work, were treated in depth in volume 2. The very *raison d’être* of the field of classical scholarship—the composition of the *Six Classics* and the role of Confucius in their codification and ritualized oral teaching settings—were treated in volume 1. The following related themes were also included: Confucius’s followers who transmitted his learning and recorded it in malleable bamboo books; later intellectual disciples Mencius and Xunzi who performed the post facto Pauline tasks of homogenization and popularization: orientating Confucianism along twin tracks of humaneness and fealty by the former and ritual hierarchies and education under an authoritative master by the latter, thus making the classics meaningful to contemporary concerns. Given the extensive background encompassed by these three volumes of prolegomena, as it were, work on volume 4 devoted to the philological side of classical scholarship during the Qing will proceed from a strong position of knowledge concerning traditional authorities, their commentaries, and intellectual conundrums. Propaedeutic though these three volumes may be for understanding the seminal issues at play in Qing classical scholarship, these volumes each have their own contributions to make to the story of Chinese classical scholarship at different points in time, a wealth of details isolated and analyzed, and individual contributions weighed and judged—none of the volumes in such lavish depth of detail as in volume 3.