Pingyuan,[1] Shen Jun of Wuxing,[2] Yan Zhizhi of Jianping,[3] and He Yang of Kuaiji to each supervise one academy.[4] Each academy housed several

[1] Ming Shanbin 明山賓 (443–527) was a well-respected official at court who served in numerous posts and in high local offices, including several stints as erudite and chancellor of different imperial academies. At his death, Prince Zhaoming 昭明太子, Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531) contributed heavily toward the expenses of his funeral. Among his classical offerings were a lengthy compendium called *Jiliyi zhu* 吉禮儀注 in 224 scrolls, another work entitled the *Liyi* 禮儀 in 20 scrolls, and a hermeneutical work called *Xiaojing Sanglifu yi* 孝經喪禮服義 in 15 scrolls. None of these works survived into the Sui. His rather detailed biographies are at *Liangshu* 梁書 27.405–407 and *Nanshi* 50.1243–44.

[2] Shun Jun 沈峻 is treated in the Liang dynasty "Grove of Confucians" collective biography in sec. 4.1. But an interesting incident is worth citing here. He had mastered the Five Classics early on but was particularly strong in the *Sanlijing*. A minor official at court, Shen was serving as an instructor at the national academy when he was recommended for the post of full-fledged erudite by Lu Chui, a member of the Eight Friends of Prince Jingling and Xu Mian 徐勉 (466–535), a noted classicist who had been a student at the Song national academy when Wang Jian was chancellor. The letter of recommendation reveals a singular view, at least for the place if not the time, of the *Zhouli* which was very reminiscent of the thought of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) that prevailed in the North. I reproduce it here: "The Erudite of the Five Classics Yu Jida must be removed. We estimate that the state should certainly prudently select his replacement. Of all the works of the sages and worthies that may be orally explained, they must be interpreted within the framework of the *Zhouli*. This particular work then in truth is the source and foundation of all the classics. Still this tradition of learning has not been transmitted for many ages. The northerners Sun Xiang and Jiang Xian have studied it by ear, but sounds changed in both the south and the heartland, hence pupils did not materialize. Only Instructor Shen Jun is particularly proficient in this book. Recently a lecture hall has been opened and a group of students of the Confucians Liu Yan, Shen Hong, and Shen Xiong grasped their classical texts and seated themselves, faced north and received instruction; none but sighed and submitted, and engaged in no other topic of conversation. However, it is meet that this man be immediately employed, and assigned exclusively to this brand of learning, and teach it in repeating cycles. This will allow this orthodox canon of the sages to flourish after long neglect. For generations this abandoned learning will be transmitted to learners." 五經博士庾季達須換，計公家必欲詳擇其人。凡聖賢可講之書，必以周官立義，則周官一書，實為群經源本。此學不傳，多歷年世，北人孫詳、蔣顯亦經聽習，而音革楚、夏，故學徒不至；惟助教瀋峻，特精此書。比日時開講肆，群儒劉巖、瀋宏、瀋熊之徒，並執經下坐，北面受業，莫不嘆服，人無間言。第謂宜即用此人，命其專此一學，週而復始。使聖人正典，廢而更興；累世絕業，傳於學者. *Liangshu* 48.678–79.

[3] Yan Zhizhi 嚴植之 is treated in the Liang dynasty "Grove of Confucians" collective biography in chap. 4, sec. 4.1.

hundred students and provided grain stipends for their board. Those who passed their examination questions were appointed as officials. Within the space of twenty months, those who came holding their classical texts and shouldering book bags gathered like clouds in the capital. Some students were selected to proceed to Mt Yunmen in Kuaiji to study under He Yin of Lujiang. Others were separately assigned to be Chancellors of the Erudites, and dispatched to the provinces and counties to establish schools.

高祖有天下，深愍之，詔求碩學，治五禮，定六律，改門 曆，正權衡。天監四年，詔曰：二漢登賢，莫非經術，服 膺雅道，名立行成。魏、晉浮蕩，儒教淪歇，風節罔樹，抑此之由。朕日昃罷朝，思聞俊異，收士得人，實惟酬奬。可置五經博士各一人，廣開館宇，招內後進。於是以平原明山賓、吳興沈峻、建平嚴植之、會稽賀瑒補博士，各主一館。館有數百生，給其餼廩。其射策通明者，即除爲吏。十數月間，懷經負笈者雲會京師。又選遣學生如會稽雲門山，受業於廬江何胤。分遣博士祭酒，到州郡立學。

This might be dismissed as pro forma propaganda, promulgated with insincere insouciance at the founding of the dynasty to launch it on an orthodox and energetic track. But this was one of the rare times that the thrones' actions matched its lofty pronouncements, for a real renaissance of classical scholarship did take hold during the Liang, at least in the first half of Emperor Wu's 46-year reign, before his Royal Person became obsessed with Buddhism and Daoist Learning of the Mysterious sometime during the Datong 大同 reign period (528–529).

In this chapter we will have occasion to examine the works of three of the names mentioned above, Yan Zhizhi, He Yang, and He Yin, and of course, those of Emperor Wu himself. Other classicists who did not figure in this historical preface will also receive attention, but we start now with the good emperor and his coterie of early Liang classicists.

3.1. Liang Wudi

Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464–549), the later Martial Emperor of Liang 梁武帝, was a man of great talent in the polite arts, military strategy, and political maneuvering, and he possessed considerable learning in the Confucian classics, historiography, and Daoist and Buddhist thought. He was unquestionably the most educated and accomplished among the founding emperors of the Southern Dynasties. Xiao had served as the libationer or honorary chancellor of the state academy founded by the great classicist and educationalist of the earlier Song dynasty, Wang Jian. Xiao Yan's literary reputation was such that he was included among that glittering coterie of poets known as the Eight Friends of Prince Jingling 竟陵八友, Xiao

[4] He Yang enjoys lengthy treatment in chap. 3, sec. 3.2.1.

Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494). In addition to Xiao Yan, these famous friends included Wang Rong 王融 (d. 493), Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464–499), Ren Fang 任昉 (460–508), Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513), Fan Yun 范雲 (451–503), Xiao Chen 蕭琛 (478–529), and Lu Chui 陸倕 (470–526). Some 80 items of Xiao Yan's poems are still extant.[5]

Emperor Liang's major intellectual accomplishments are divisible into the categories of classical scholarship, historiography, literature, and religious thought, especially Buddhist doctrine and syncretic philosophy. I defer authoritative discussion of these last two categories to the great work of Mori Mikisaburo, who alas mentions very little in passing about the former fields, and who certainly offers no critical analysis of them.[6] For historiography, the good emperor was dissatisfied with the approach taken by the genre of the dynastic history as represented by the *History of Han*, so he commissioned a new work, reviving an old genre pioneered by Sima Qian: a *Comprehensive History* 通史 in 600 scrolls, for which he supplied the prefaces and appraisals. Residual materials, mainly contradictory or unsupported episodes, were compiled into a supplemental *Minor Tales* 小說.

The major achievements of the Liang dynasty in fostering classical scholarship are the three following aspects. First, academies on the national level and schools on the local level were established and supported with both erudites and chancellors being dispatched under imperial direction to staff them, leading to universal interest in classical scholarship and its transmission. This dual move was initiated in 505. In 528 and 529, another institution for classical scholarship, the Hostel for the Grove of Scholars 士林館, was erected west of the palace complex. It was convened concurrently with the operating of the national academy. Learned masters took turns lecturing on the classics in this new institution, and royal princes, clansmen, and sons of noblemen were commanded to study there. It enjoyed the royal presence for the opening ceremony. Unfortunately, it lasted only as long as the emperor's commitment to Confucianism, which amounted to merely a year or two more after he had been totally involved in it over the preceding two decades. Second, heavy reliance on classically trained officials and largess in their material support helped spur on classical scholarship, for only specialists in the classics who demonstrated mastery over one text were recruited to fill posts in the bureaucracy. This measure was promoted through an edict promulgated in 509. It was designed to recruit learned commoners into the bureaucracy along the lines of the ancient Han dynasty system and to get around the pampered sons of the nobility who had not

[5] His traditional biographies are the "basic annals" of *Liangshu* 1.1–29, 2.33–59, 3.63–95, and *Nanshi* 6.167–200, 7.201–26.

[6] Mori Mikisaburo 森三樹三郎, *Ryō no Būtei: Bukkyō ōchō no higeki* 梁武帝：仏教王朝の悲劇 (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten 平樂寺書店, 1956), merely mentions the titles of Emperor Wu's classical works.

earned the offices to which they felt entitled. Third, the powerful personal example of the erudite emperor centered the curriculum on classical scholarship.[7] All of his sons were trained in the classics, including Xiao Tong, the learned editor of the famous literary anthology *Literary Selections* 文選 (compiled between 520 and 530), who was taught the *Classic of Filial Piety* and the *Analects* when he was only two years old, and who was able to read and recite the Five Classics when age six.[8]

In the realm of classical scholarship, Emperor Liang's industry produced the following works: *Answers to Questions on the Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋答問, *Answers to Questions on the Mao Poems* 毛詩答問, *Interpretation of the Classic of Filial Piety According to Imperial Intent* 制旨孝經義, *Clarifying Lectures on the Zhou Changes* 周易講疏, *Interpretations of the Sixty-Four Hexagrams* 六十四掛義, *Interpretations of the Two Appended Statements of the Zhou Changes* 周易系, *Interpretation of the Patterned Speech Commentary* 文言義, *Interpretation of the Preface to the Hexagrams* 序掛義, *Interpretation of the Music at the Altars* 樂社義, *Grand Interpretation of the Esteemed Documents* 尚書大義, *Clarifying Lectures on the Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸講疏, *Clarifying Lectures on the Laozi* 老子講疏, and *Correct Words of Confucius* 孔子正言. He further commissioned a compilation of directives and commentaries on the five general classes of ritual in more than one thousand scrolls.[9] According to the "Grove of Confucians" collective biography of the *Southern History*, these classical works from the imperial hand were widely promulgated throughout the state: "When Emperor Wu compiled his new interpretations according to his own imperial intention, he selected various Confucians to promulgate them in the areas in which they circulated, being dispatched towards Yue in the north and heading back through Wu in the south" 及武帝撰制旨新義，選諸儒在所流通，遣越還吳，敷揚講說。[10]

Jiao Guimei does not analyze any of the works in the imperial oeuvre, but Jian Boxian takes us deeply into the text of three important offerings, one on the *Zhou Changes*, one on the *Analects,* and one on the *Classic of Filial Piety.* The *History of Sui* bibliographical monograph does not list any of the emperor's five works on the *Zhou Changes* cataloged above; instead, it records a combination of several of them under the title of *The Grand Meaning of the Zhou Changes* in 21 scrolls.[11] According to Jian Boxian, this work seems to be an amalgamation of all of the relevant works on this classic, and it is probably the redaction of later hands.[12] Four fragments of this work are collected by Ma Guohan 馬國翰 (1794–

[7] See Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 200–204.
[8] *Liangshi* 8.165.
[9] *Liangshu* 3.96.
[10] *Nanshi* 71.1752.
[11] *Suishu* 32.911.
[12] Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 97.

1857).[13] One offers an interpretation; three provide sound glosses. Tradition has assumed that Emperor Wu, given his predilection for Learning of the Mysterious and Buddhism, would naturally follow Wang Bi's eldritch ontology in his exegesis. But Jian Boxian's detailed analysis reveals that the Emperor based himself on Ma Rong's 馬融 (79–166) diurnal pragmatism and Zheng Xuan's ritualized textuality, and that he sometimes favored Ma over Zheng.[14] Of course, it is conceivable that the attribution of imperial composition was merely a pro forma courtesy referring to what amounted to imperial sponsorship of court Confucians, as suggested by Jian Boxian.[15]

An example of an innovative interpretation by the emperor's reading is discerned among the following four fragments. In one, the emperor defines the meaning of *wen* 文 as used in the title of a commentary on the *Zhou Changes* attributed to Confucius, the *Patterned Speech* 文言 commentary, as it is often translated. Liu Huan's 劉瓛 (434–489) *Interpretation of Qian-Kun in the Zhou Changes* 周易乾坤義, interprets *wen* as "text, wording": "Verbalize the rationale according to the wording, hence it is called 'Verbalized Wordings'" 依文而言其理故曰文言.[16] The *Correct Meaning* commentary of Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) explains instead that "*Wen* refers to patterned decorations; since the virtue of Qian and Kun is great, therefore patterned decorations were purposefully used to compose the *Patterned Speech*" 文謂文飾，以乾坤德大，故特文飾以為文言.[17] This interpretation is now widely accepted. But Emperor Wu steps off the concrete level of the word to the broader platform of the abstract. He approaches, if not hermeneutics, at least history, and focuses on the author of the commentary, not the meaning of the title: "*Cultured Verbalizations* was what the Cultured King [King Wen] devised" 文言是文王所制.[18] Such distance from the word and attention on contextualized application was a welcome step toward a more broadly conceived view of the role of a commentator that was not followed by the Tang scholiast Kong Yingda, at least in this instance.

Another work by Emperor Wu examined by Jian Boxian is a commentary on the *Analects*. Nowhere in his "Basic Annals" chronicle in the *History of Liang* is it mentioned that he turned his critical attention to this work, and it is unnoticed

[13] Ma, *Yuhanshanfang jiyishu*, 1:234–45.
[14] Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 98.
[15] Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 102, where Jian cites some suggestive historical works to support his reasonable hypothesis.
[16] Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 100.
[17] Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*.
[18] Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*.

by the Sui catalogue. Yet three fragments are culled from two Tang works by Ma Guohan.[19] Jian Boxian remarks on the value of these fragments:

> Now, in examining these three fragments of lost text, they preserve the ancient interpretations of Han Confucians rather well. The histories state that Emperor Wu possessed penetrating understanding of both Confucianism and the Learning of the Mysterious, and he seemed to esteem the mysterious style most. Still, in explaining this classic, the plain and unadorned is much in evidence, and his explanations enjoy textual proof, and are valuable.[20]

His example of this tendency is the comment of Emperor Wu on *Analects* 5.10:

> Analects:
>
> Zaiyu was sleeping during the daytime.
>
> 宰予晝寢。
>
> Emperor Wu Commentary:
>
> "Daytime" should be written with the graph for "to paint." This states that he had painted his bedroom, hence the Master sighed that rotten wood cannot be carved and that walls made of dung cannot be plastered.
>
> 晝當作畫字。言其繪畫寢室，故夫子歎朽木不可彫，糞土之牆不可圬。[21]

Jian Boxian explains that this novel interpretation was supported by an allusive line in Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 BC–18 BC) "Sweet Springs Rhapsody" 甘泉賦, thus forming one of Jian's proofs that Emperor Wu's innovative glosses had a textual basis among Han-era Confucian masters.

Of the other two fragments, Emperor Wu follows Zheng Xuan in one instance, and in the other advances an independent interpretation based on a reading of the Lu version of the *Analects*.[22] Clearly, the Emperor—or, more cynically, his learned ghostwriter minions—partook of the philological spirit of Han dynasty scholiasts, favoring them over contemporary post-Han southern classicists and their sometimes airy, non-textually based conjectures.

One other work analyzed by Jian Boxian is the emperor's *The Lord of Liang's Interpretation of the Classic of Filial Piety* 梁主孝經義, titled by Ma Guohan as *Clarifying the Meaning of the Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經義疏. It is recorded in

[19] Ma, *Yuhanshanfang jiyishu*, 4:413. The first work was Lu Deming's 陸德明 (556–627) *Jingdian shiwen*; the second was the *Zixialu* 資暇錄 of Li Kuangyi 李匡義 [also known as Li Kuangwen 李匡文] (late ninth century).
[20] Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 25.
[21] Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 252.
[22] Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 253–54.

the Sui bibliography under the latter title with 18 scrolls.[23] The emperor was not only learned in his own right but amenable to being inspired and enlightened by his ministers. One example is Zhu Yi 周异 (483–549), an erudite in the national academy at the time and later a powerful and corrupt minister: "Emperor Wu summoned him for an interview, and had him orally explain the meaning of the *Classic of Filial Piety* and the *Zhou Changes*, which pleased him very much. That same year the emperor himself lectured on the *Classic of Filial Piety*, and had him take it home and read it" 武帝召見，使說孝經、周易義，甚悅之。其年帝自講孝經，使异執讀.[24] Jian Boxian concludes that because of this incident Zhu Yi transcribed this lecture and, we may conclude, made an author out of the emperor.[25]

Four fragments of this work are extant, three culled from Xing Bing's 邢昺 (932–1010) *Correct Meaning* commentary, and one pressed into service from the emperor's literary anthology.[26] Three are textually based and exegetical in format. Number one offers implausible definitions of the meaning of Confucius's names: "'Qiu' means 'to gather,' 'Ni' means 'harmony'" 邱為聚，尼為和.[27] These are less word glosses than they are borrowed luster from Confucius' sweeping moral influence. Number three in Ma's order is more rational and seeks to elucidate.

> Classic of Filial Piety:
>
> As they serve their fathers, so they serve their mothers, and they love them equally.
>
> 資於事父以事母，而愛同。[28]
>
> Emperor Wu:
>
> The section on the Son of Heaven expounds love and reverence in order to promote transformation. This section expounds love and reference in order to promote feelings.
>
> 天子章陳愛敬以辨化也。此章陳愛敬以辨情。[29]

[23] *Suishu* 32.934

[24] *Liangshu* 38.538; Zhu Yi's entire biography spans pp. 537–40. He composed *clearing-up-the-meaning* commentaries on the ritual texts and the *Zhou Yi*; his literary writings surpassed 100 scrolls.

[25] Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 257.

[26] Ma, *Yuhanshanfang jiyishu*, 4.186–87.

[27] *Xiaojing zhengyi* 1.2a. The meaning of "harmony" deriving from *ni* was first suggested by Liu Huan in his own commentary on the *Xiaojing*.

[28] *Xiaojing zhengyi* 2.5b, trans. Legge, *The Classic of Filial Piety*, http://ctext.org/xiao-jing/filial-piety-in-inferior-officers, accessed March 31, 2016.

[29] *Xiaojing Zhengyi* 2.6a.

This explication is not only inspired by the textual context of two pericopes and hence well founded, but it is imaginative and, as viewed against the tradition, highly innovative: it was singled out for praise by later Confucians.[30]

Fragment number two is a sprawling disquisition on the royal conception of filial piety as embodied in service. It comments on pericope two relative to the Xiaojing.[31] Fragment number four is an extract from the emperor's anthology in the form of an imperial rescript concerning the ancient ritual edifice known as the Hall of Brightness 明堂, entitled "Discoursing on My Rescript on the Hall of Brightness with the Assembled Ministers" 與群臣論明堂制.[32] It was not originally composed as a commentary but was considered so by Ma Guohan. He used it as an extended gloss on a line in pericope nine: "In the Brilliant Hall he [the Duke of Zhou] honored King Wen and sacrificed to him as the correlate of God" 宗祀文王於明堂，以配上帝.[33] This passage is interesting because in his extended description of the physical layout of the Hall of Light and its significance, the emperor departs completely from the authoritative view of Zheng Xuan.

Such was the regard of the emperor and his underlings for this work that in the third month of 528, an assistant instructor in this text was established in the School for the Sons of the State, with 10 students to receive instruction.[34] From the above analysis of multiple classical commentaries, it is obvious that the emperor not only moved classical studies forward with great momentum via his enlightened educational policies, but he also personally participated in the scholarly conversation during his reign. And any doubts about his ability not just to commission works of classical scholarship but to compose them himself, at least in the arena of ritual arcana, are resolved by a glance at his extant literary anthology, where six other imperial rescripts in addition to the one concerning the Hall of Brightness cited above are preserved. For the most part, they treat ritual matters such as mourning vestments, the ancestral temple in the suburbs, and the main ancestral temple.[35]

3.2. The Prelude to Huang Kan

The following three classicists form the background to Huang Kan's remarkable accomplishments as a classical commentator and hermeneut: the first, Cui Ling'en, a transplanted northerner; the second, He Yin, a specialist in ritual; and the last, He Yang, Huang Kan's own master of the classics.

[30] All noted by Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 257.

[31] *Xiaojing zhengyi* 1.4b.

[32] D. C. Lau, et al., eds., *A Concordance to the Works of Liang Wudi Xiao Yan* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001), 27, entry 2.6 (1 of 2, p. 27).

[33] *Xiaojing zhengyi* 5.2a; Legge, *The Classic of Filial Piety*, http://ctext.org/xiao-jing/government-of-the-sage, accessed March 31, 2016.

[34] *Liangshu* 3.76.

[35] See D. C. Lau, et al., eds., *A Concordance to the Works of Liang Wudi Xiao Yan*, 27–29, entries 2.5, 2.6 (2 of 2), 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 2.10.

重以未成人之時呼之重難也。[85]

He Yang New Clearing-up-the-meaning:

Duplicate means difficult. It is difficult to call his name before he has reached maturity; hence replace it with his style.

重，難也。難未成人之時呼其名，故以字代之。[86]

But besides an instance of an innovative parsing of a sentence, an example of textual exegesis that we have not seen before in the extant quotes from commentaries on the *Records of Ritualists*,[87] we also discern more of a hermeneutic bent in He Yang's exegesis. A very clear instance of this follows:

Records of Ritualists:

The foresters examined the trees about the various altars, and cut down those which they thought suitable for the coffins and shell.

虞人致百祀之木，可以為棺槨者斬之。[88]

Zheng Xuan Commentary:

The Forrester is the official in charge of the mountains and lowlands. The hundred offerings are the offerings made within the imperial demesne and all the prefectures.

虞人，掌山澤之官。百祀，畿內百縣之祀也。[89]

He Yang New Clearing-up-the-meaning:

The virtue of a gentleman is manifest in both hidden and apparent realms. If it is present, then both men and spirits rejoice together; if suppressed, the numinous presences await for the sorrow of mourning to appear.

君子德著幽顯。若存，則人神均其慶；沒，則靈祇等其哀傷也。[90]

He Yang explicates this passage, not based on its wording, but on what sense he can wrest from it from a "meaning and principles" (*yili* 義理) point of view, an insight of Jiao Gumei. Jiao further cites this comment as an instance of Yang's creative reading of the *Records of Ritualists*.[91] I concur with this assessment and add my own extrapolation: to me it reads like he is explaining this passage within

[85] *Liji zhushu* 26.15b. The received version of the Thirteen Classics edition does not include the last three words of Zheng Xuan's commentary: 重難也 "the difficulty of reduplication." Ma Guohan's quote of this passage preserves these three words, rendering Zheng's commentary much more clear.
[86] Ma, *Yuhanshanfang jiyishu* 3:21.
[87] *Liji zhushu* 10.21b; Legge, *The Li Chi*, 1:194.
[88] *Liji zhushu* 10.21b; Legge, *The Li Chi*, 1:194.
[89] *Liji zhushu* 10.21b.
[90] Ma, *Yuhanshanfang jiyishu*, 3:21.
[91] Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 250.

the broader context of a fully developed exegetical tradition, a tradition that is not made explicit but is understood by insiders. This explains the loose connection between the practice of ritual sacrifices and the individual virtue of a gentleman. He does eventually connect the dots through implications, but he sacrifices the explicit element of ritual offerings to do so.

Such a high degree of innovative readings sets He Yang's exegesis apart from that of his confreres and lends it particular value. Jiao Guimei cites a wonderful example, much too complicated to analyze here, where Kong Yingda compares the readings of three commentators on the rites. One was Fan Xuanzi 范宣子 (d. 548 BC), a diplomat of the state of Jin who explained a ritual matter to the court of Qi, and the other two were He Yang and Huang Kan. Kong Yingda ultimately opts for Huang Kan's explication, but Qing specialists argue that Kong should have adopted Yang He's inspired reading.[92] Jiao Guimei credits He's individual scholarship for this creativity, but I would give at least partial credit to his intellectual lineage, if not to He Xun directly. He's exegesis is obviously representative of the southern learning approach to exegesis on the rites that stresses innovative reading and independent theorizing, but the density of such readings must have set an inspiring example for He's pupil Huang Kan and set him on his path of bringing the genre of "clearing-up-the-meaning" to its highest point of development.

3.3. Huang Kan

Huang Kan 皇侃 (488–545) is well known in western sinological circles as the compiler of the most important compendium of commentaries on the *Analects* in the medieval period, the *Clearing-up-the-meaning of the Analects* 論語義疏. As the major voice among some 40 philosophically oriented commentators, Huang's intellectual profile is reminiscent of an ethereal and impractical thinker who dealt with this classic on an abstract hermeneutic, rather than a concrete textual, level.[93] In the case of his commentary on the *Analects* this view is valid, for his philosophical approach is described by John Makeham as "the most sustained philosophical exegesis of the *Analects* before Zhu Xi's *Collected*

[92] Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 250–51. The original passage at the foundation of this comparative analysis is *Liji zhushu* 40.2a.
[93] Witness the characterization of John Makeham: "Huang's innovation was to use the *shu* commentary form to articulate his own philosophical views on a range of interrelated subjects predicated on the view that there are hierarchically differentiated grades of innate human nature. . . . His innovation lay in his ability to develop an integrated philosophical exposition of an important body of ideas even though he was constrained by the immediate task of writing an exegesis of the *Collected Explanations of the Analects* commentary [ed. He Yan]." Makeham, *Transmitters and Creators*, 96–97.

Annotation on the Analects."[94] His exegesis reveals his interest in human nature, emotional responses, patterns, sagely qualities, sages versus worthies, words versus intended meaning, and the cycle of facility and obstruction and the constant way.[95] As a man of his times, Huang's thought was often openly couched in the terminology of contemporary philosophy, and just as often, he quietly reacted to intellectual challenges to Confucianism from Learning of the Mysterious and Buddhism without specifically mentioning the targets of his reaction.[96] Yet his role as the greatest textual commentator on the rites during the Southern Dynasties belies this overarching if superficial nature of his scholarly profile, for I examine him now in his equally impactful role as a textual exegete. Northerner Xiong Ansheng 熊安生 (d. ca. 578) was paired with Huang as the leading classical specialists on the rites in the North,[97] but it was Huang's commentaries that formed the foundation of Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 (574–648) *Correct Meaning* epexegetical commentary on the *Records of Rituals*, and modern scholarship has granted its imprimatur of *nihil obstat* to the works of Huang Kan, not Xiong Ansheng. Here we naturally focus on Huang's surviving commentaries on the *Records of Ritualists*.[98]

Huang Kan's biography sets his accomplishments within the culture of courtly lectures:

> Huang Kan was a man of Wu Commandery [the border region between Jiangsu and Zhejiang], a ninth-generation grandson of Huang Xiang, the former Provincial Governor of Qingzhou.[99] When Kan was young he was an ardent learner, and took as his master He Yang. He devoted his energies to his specialties, and ultimately mastered his studies. He was

[94] Makeham, *Transmitters and Commentators*, 80. For studies of the remaining fragments of this work, consult Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 239–46 and the detailed analysis of Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 297–335.

[95] Makeham, *Transmitors and Commentators*, chapter 4, "The Philosophical Character of *Elucidation of the Meaning*" (pp. 96–147).

[96] On the impact on Huang's thought in this commentary of Learning of the Mysterious and Buddhism, see Jiang Guanghui 姜广辉, ed., *Zhongguo jingxue sixiangshi* 中国经学思想史, 4 *juan* (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 2003), 2:701–23; consult further Makeham, *Transmitters and Commentators*, chapter 5, "Buddhist and Institutional Influences on Huang's Thought," 148–67.

[97] Xiong Ansheng will be treated at length in chap. 5, sec. 5.2.3.

[98] A *Lunyu yishu* 論語義疏 in 10 scrolls is noted in the *Suishu* bibliography, *Suishu* 32.937. Its survival in Japan in manuscript form and re-importation to China during the Qing period preserves much of it. It is the subject of John Makeham, *Transmitters and Creators*, 393–95. Huang's commentarial oeuvre also includes a *Sangfu wenju yishu* 喪服文句義疏 10 scrolls; *Sangfu wendamu* 喪服問答目 13 scrolls; and *Xiaojing yishu* 孝經義疏 3 scrolls. *History of Sui* 32.920, 934.

[99] Huang Xiang was a notable calligraphist during the Wu period of the Three Kingdoms era.

> especially brilliant in the *Three Ritual Classics*, the *Classic of Filial Piety*, and the *Analects*. He founded his career by holding the post of lecturer in the Sons' of the State Academy. As for his learning, he lectured and orally explained, with auditors numbering several hundreds. He compiled *Lectures to Clear-up-the-meaning of the Records of Ritualists*, 50 scrolls. When the work was completed, he memorialized the throne, which ordered it placed within the palace library. Presently he was summoned to the Light of Longevity Palace to lecture on the *Meaning of the Records of Ritualists*. The Eminent Ancestor [The Martial Emperor of Liang 梁武帝, Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464–549)] considered it excellent, and appointed him Outer Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, with concurrent duty as Teaching Assistant as before. By nature Huang was utterly filial, and his usual daily scholarly practice was limited to chanting the *Classic of Filial Piety* in 20 scrolls, in imitation of the chanting of the *Avalokiteśvara Sutra.*[100] In mourning for his mother née Ding, he was released from office and returned to his homeland. Prince Shaoling, the Pacifier of the West,[101] admired his learning, and treated him with lavish ritual courtesy. After Huang arrived, he fell into a malaise, and died in the twelfth year of *Datong* [AD 546] when he was 58 [=57 according to Western Calculation]. Both works that he compiled, the *Meaning of the Analects* and the *Meaning of the Records of Ritualists*, were renowned in his generation, and scholars transmitted them.
>
> 皇侃，吳郡人，青州刺史皇象九世孫也。侃少好學，師事賀瑒，精力專門，盡通其業，尤明三禮、孝經、論語。起家兼國子助教，于學講說，聽者數百人。撰禮記講疏五十卷，書成奏上，詔付秘閣。頃之，召入壽光殿講禮記義，高祖善之，拜員外散騎侍郎，兼助教如故。性至孝，常日限誦孝經二十遍，以擬觀世音經。丁母憂，解職還鄉里。平西邵陵王欽其學，厚禮迎之。侃既至，因感心疾，大同十一年，卒於夏首，時年五十八。所撰論語義十卷，與禮記義並見重於世，學者傳焉。

For the specialist, this paragraph is highly dispositive of the condition of classical scholarship of the time, for it marks the last major point of separation between oral and written exegesis, although the abbreviated title does somewhat obscure this point. The full title of Huang Kan's work *Lectures to Clear-up-the-Meaning*

[100] This refers to chapter 25 of the *Lotus Sutra*, "The Universal Gateway of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, *Guanshiyin Pusa pumenpin*" 觀世音菩薩普門品.

[101] A title held by Wang Cong 王沖 (493–568). His mother was the younger sister of the Martial Emperor of Liang. Rising to high office under the following Chen dynasty, his most important post was that of tutor to the heir. Wang's biography is contained at *History of Chen* 17.235–36.

of the Records of Ritualists includes the technical terminology of "Lectures to Clear-up-the meaning" (*jiangshu* 講疏), obviously an oral genre. The final line notes another of his works on the *Records of Ritualists*, which is referred to elsewhere in a fuller form: a *Clearing-up-the-meaning of the Records of Ritualists* 禮記義疏.[102] The term clearing-up-the-meaning is, by way of contrast, a written genre in its mature form.[103] Yet it was based on lectures and formatted into a catechistic question-and-answer format. Huang Kan did not invent the oral genre of the *jiangshu*, as his elder contemporary the Martial Emperor of Liang himself composed a *Lectures to Clear- up-the-meaning of the Application of the Inner* 中庸講疏.[104] And lectures in the presence of the emperor were common, especially in the form called "classics explained before the mat" (*jingyan* 經筵), which were named and normalized sometime during the post-Tang era. But the genre of lectures being recorded and circulated as commentaries saw its fullest flowering in the second half of the Southern Dynasties.

3.3.1. Commenting on the Records of Ritualists

In the preface to his sub-commentary to the *Correct Meaning of the Records of Ritualists*, Kong Yingda cites earlier commentators from the Northern and Southern Dynasties who adopted the "clearing-up-the-meaning" form from the Jin and Southern Dynasties eras. Among them he mentions classicists already familiar to us, namely He Xun, Yu Weizhi, He Yang, and Cui Ling'en. After reviewing northern proponents of this genre, whom we have not yet encountered in the present work, Kong Yingda summarizes the approaches and failings of the two outstanding ritual specialists as follows:

> Of these, only the works of the two masters Huang and Xiong are found in the present age. As for Xiong, he traversed the meaning of the classics, and frequently cited interpretations from outside the Confucian tradition; it is as if he were going to Chu but travelled northward. Although he spurred on his horse he went farther and farther afield. Furthermore, when he was about to elucidate the texts of the classics, he merely gathered passages that were difficult to interpret. It is as if he were treating silk threads yet grasping a bunch of strands in his hands that

[102] *Suishu* 32.922.

[103] This distinction between the oral genre of "Lectures to Clear Up the Meaning" and the written genre of the *Clearing-up-the-meaning* commentary is made in an intriguing appendix to an article by Tong Ling introducing a manuscript of a lost work by Huang Kan on the *Liji* preserved only in Japan; see Tong Ling 童嶺, "Liuchao jiu chaoben *Liji ziben shuyi* yanjiu shilue—jianlun 'jiangshu', 'yishu' zhi bie" 六朝舊鈔本禮記子本疏義研究史略—兼論講疏、義疏之別. *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua luncong* 中国典籍与文化论丛, 15 (2013): 27–51 and Tong, *Liuchao Sui-Tang Hanji chaoben yanjiu*, 207–13.

[104] *Suishu* 32.923.

> became even more tangled. And although Mr. Huang's section and line commentary was detailed and accurate, minutiae were treated in too much complexity and breadth. Furthermore, even while respecting the interpretations of Mr. Zheng [Xuan], he occasionally contradicted them. This is a matter of a tree not landing close to its roots when falling, or a fox not facing its hillside burrow when dying. These are the two defects of these two masters, who cannot be considered as having grasped the essential meaning. Nevertheless, comparing Xiong and Huang, Huang was superior. Although their formats and layouts were different, I cannot follow them. Now I present my commentary. Being ordered to redact and explain this text, I then base myself on Mr. Huang as my foundation; where he does not comment, I supplement him with the views of Mr. Xiong.
>
> 其見於世者唯皇熊二家而已。熊則違背經，多引外義，猶之楚而北行。馬雖疾而去逾遠矣。又欲釋經文，唯聚難義，猶治絲而棼之手雖繁而絲益亂也。皇氏雖章句詳正，微稍繁廣，又既遵鄭氏乃時乖鄭義。此事木落不歸其本，狐死不首其丘。此皆二家之敝，未為得也。然以熊比皇，皇氏勝矣。雖體例既別，不可因循。今奉 敕刪理，仍據皇氏以為本，其有不備以熊氏補焉。[105]

Huang Kan's *Clearing-up-the-meaning of the Records of Ritualists* has been subjected to searching analysis by both Jian Xianbo and Jiao Guimei. Jiao categorizes Huang's exegetical approach according to the following general criteria: (1) He based himself on Zheng Xuan, but cited a broad range of alternate commentators; these include previous worthies, or Han commentators, and Jin and southern classicists including Fu Qian, Lu Zhi, Wang Su, Du Yu, Yu Weizhi, He Yin, Cui Ling'en, and his own teacher He Yang. He did not blindly follow any of them any more than he blindly followed Zheng Xuan. (2) He emphasized interpreting "meanings and principles" more than solving textual complexities. When he proffered his own views, he generally cited supportive textual evidence from the *Records of Ritualists*, other classics, and master's literature. Contemporary classicists seldom cited other works to support their *ex cathedra* conclusions; when they did, they usually limited themselves to the *Records of Ritualists*, usually only the chapter of the passage they were explicating. By way of contrast, Huang ranged throughout the entire work and also explained the rites from historical contexts and events. (3) He adopted analysis by like category, synthesizing entire sections. In order to do this, he had to divide the text into smaller segments, that is sections (*duan* 段), verses (*jie* 節), and commentary (*zhu* 注). He also analyzed the internal rhetorical structure of each section and distinguished sentence types and typical patterns. This textual division was borrowed from Buddhist commentarial methodology. (4) He adumbrated the ritual system from the perspective of how it evolved; this allowed him to explain

[105] *Liji zhengyi*, "Xu", 3a–b.

the differences in textual variations in competing chapters within the *Records of Rituals*, assigning them to historical, not textual, factors. But sometimes this led to him changing the text of the classic to conform with his own interpretation, whether based on history or proper ritual practice as he viewed it. (5) He was creative in resolving doubts and elucidating the rites. Sometimes this creativity got him into trouble, as when he cited no textual or historical evidence. But his innovative and imaginative thinking shone through.[106] When Huang Kan did descend into details of the text below the level of the rhetorical, the historical, and the ritual, he mainly employed explanations on diction, phonetic glosses, scanning of lines for punctuation, and textual collation.[107] On the negative side, Jiao Guimei notes two major areas of weakness in Huang's exegetical approach: sometimes his conjectures were proffered without proof and sometimes he made mistakes because his analysis was based on flawed editions of texts.[108]

Here I review three examples of Huang's textual treatment of the *Records of Ritualists*, from the minute to the mundane and on to the marvelous; these instances exemplify text-based exegesis, text-based interpretation, and free-floating hermeneutics.

First, text-based exegesis. The simplest way to indicate an independent reading is to propose an alternate punctuation for a line:

> "The Pattern of the Family" 內則:
>
> Bream and tench were steamed; pullets, roasted; and pheasants, (boiled), with fragrant herbs and no smart-weed.
>
> 魴鱮烝，雛燒，雉，薇無蓼。[109]
>
> He Yang New Clearing-up-the-meaning:
>
> Bream, tench and steamed pullets, roasted pheasants, (boiled) with fragrant herbs and no smart-weed.
>
> 魴鱮烝雛。燒雉，薇無蓼。[110]
>
> Huang Kang Clearing-up-the-meaning:
>
> Bream and tench were steamed; pullets, roasted; and pheasants, (boiled), with fragrant herbs and no smart-weed.
>
> 魴鱮烝。雛燒，雉，薇無蓼。[111]

[106] Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 276–93.
[107] Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 277.
[108] Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 294–97. We will see in chapter 5 that Xiong Ansheng overcame this last drawback with a searching critical eye.
[109] *Liji Zhengyi* 28.1a; Legge, *Li Chi*, 1:462.
[110] Cited from Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 81.
[111] Cited from Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 81. Ma Guohan's compilation in four scrolls of the 325 surviving fragments of Huang Kan's commentary is presented at *Yuhanshanfang jiyishu*, 3:26–63. He Yang's collection of quotes is preserved at pp. 21–25.

Huang does not follow his teacher's punctuation, an indication of independent thinking that is as effective as it is inoffensive; it also demonstrates his freedom from entrenched views. The modern parsing follows Huang Kan.

Second is text-based interpretation. This example also illustrates how Huang differs from Xiong Ansheng, his closest rival for the palm of leading ritual exegete of the era:

> "Record of Music" 樂記
>
> (Speaking of the sixth movement of the pantomime performance in the ancient dance "Martialism" 武) In the sixth, they again unite at the point of starting to offer their homage to the son of Heaven. Two men, one on each side of the performers, excite them with bells, and four times they stop and strike and thrust, showing the great awe with which (King Wu) inspired the Middle States.
>
> 六成復綴以崇。天子夾振之而駟伐，盛威於中國也。[112]
>
> Huang Kan Clearing-up-the-meaning:
>
> When King Wu struck against King Zhou, it was as if great generals personally grasped bell clappers and stood on opposite sides of the army throng. Now when the music for "Martialism" is performed, they have two persons flourish clappers while standing on opposite sides of the dancers. This is emblematic of King Wu and great generals riding quadrigas when striking against Zhou.
>
> 武王伐紂之時，正與大將親自執鐸以夾軍眾。今作武樂之時，令二人振鐸夾武者，象武王與大將之伐紂之時而駟矣。[113]
>
> Xiong Ansheng Clearing-up-the-meaning:
>
> According to "A Summary Account of Sacrifice" (When they went in for the dance), the ruler, holding his shield and axe, went to the place for the performance. He took his station at the head of those on the east, and in his square-topped cap, carrying his shield, he led on all his officers, to give pleasure to the august personator of the dead." Furthermore, below it says the following: "The feasting of the three classes of the old and five classes of the experienced in the Great College (served to inculcate brotherly submission on those princes.") Wearing his cap and carrying his shield, and still getting to dance in person, why would he not get to hold the clapper? Here, holding the clapper was for use when sacrificing to Heaven.

[112] *Liji zhengyi* 39.10a; Legge, *Li Chi*, 2:123.
[113] Ma, *Yuhanshanfang jiyishu*, 3.52.

按祭統云："君執干戚就舞位，冕而總干，率其群臣，以樂皇尸。"[114] 又下云："食三老五更於大學，（所以教諸侯之弟也）。"冕而摠干，尚得親舞，何以不得親執鐸乎？此執鐸為祭天時。[115]

Both Xiong Ansheng and Huang Kan follow Zheng Xuan's commentary but reach different conclusions. But Jian Xianbo points out that Zheng's commentary was based on his erroneous punctuation of the text of the *Records of Ritualists*. If one follows Wang Su's punctuation, then the correctness of Huang Kan's interpretation is immediately apparent. Jian also posits that Kong Yingda preferred Huang's interpretation because he suspected that the basis of Xiong's reading, Zheng's commentary, was doubtful.[116]

Third is an instance of free-floating hermeneutical theorizing, not tied to any particular textual issue. The following passage is cited by Kong Yingda as part of his own general preamble to the *Records of Ritualists*,[117] and is hence unmoored from any textual setting, so we cannot discern how Huang Kan meant to use it:

> There are three origins pertaining to the rites. The principles of the rites arose from the Grand Unity; the matter of the rites arose from Emperor Sui; the names of the rites arose from the Yellow Emperor.
>
> 禮有三起。禮理起於大一，禮事起於遂皇，禮名起於黃帝。[118]

Kong Yingda only agrees with the first of these assertions, finding the last two "paradoxical" (*guai* 乖).[119] Yet this quotation is an example of the critical distance maintained by Huang Kan as a textual hermeneut. Unlike the origin of abstract principles that he derives from an overarching abstraction, the Grand Unity, he

[114] This quotation has either been selectively edited by Xiong Anguo or he quotes from an inferior edition. The following underlined sentences are what are missing from the received version: "When they went in for the dance, the ruler, holding his shield and axe, went to the place for the performance. He took his station at the head of those on the east, and in his square-topped cap, carrying his shield, he led on all his officers, to give pleasure to the august personator of the dead" 及入舞，君執干戚就舞位，君為東上，冕而摠干，率其群臣，以樂皇尸。

[115] Ma, *Yuhanshanfang jiyishu*, 3:95.

[116] Jian, *Jincun Nan-Beichao jingxue yijikao*, 81. In this line of thinking, Jian Boxian adopts the views of Qi Shaonan's 齊召南 (1703–1768), *Liji zhushu kaozheng* 禮記注疏考證.

[117] This passage went unnoticed by Ma Guohan but is preserved at *Liji zhengyi* 1.2a.

[118] The Grand Unity refers to the primal generative *qi* that created heaven, earth, and the myriad things. Emperor Sui refers to Mr. Sui 燧氏, the first of the so-called Three August Ones 三皇, the mythical culture heroes of Chinese civilization. Emperor Sui invented the use of fire among men; his name *sui* originally meant "flint." The Yellow Emperor was the first of the Five Thearchs (*wudi* 五帝), and leaving aside Emperor Sui, he is considered the first Chinese monarch and ancestor of the Chinese people.

[119] *Liji zhengyi* 1.2a.

lodges the origin of ritual praxis and names within the human mind and volition. There is symmetry in such an elegant formulation, if not historical foundation,[120] and *pace* Kong Yingda, impressive. For confident hermeneutic misreading, Huang Kan is an early exemplar.

3.3.2. The Clearing-up-the-meaning of a Subsidiary Edition of the Records of Ritualists

It is just such a problem of the original contextualization of Huang Kan's lost quotes, and indeed, all lost citations gathered during the Qing dynasty movement known as "fishing up what was sunk in obscurity" (*gouchen* 鉤沉), that bedevils all who utilize these recompiled chrestomathies of quotes. This problem of contextualization is solved, at least in the case of Huang Kan, by the preservation of a manuscript copy in Japan of another of his exegetical works on the *Records of Ritualists*.[121] Of course, ancient Chinese manuscripts preserved in Japan are not only important sources for revealing the visage, including matters of formatting and orthography, but also in preserving earlier, often more authoritative, editions.[122] An additional 12 MSS of the *Historian's Records* were utilized by

[120] For the historical basis of Huang Kan's reasoning, including an extended quote from Zheng Xuan's *Discourse on the Six Classics* 六藝論, see *Liji zhengyi*, "Xu", 5b–6a.

[121] Two other manuscripts long hidden away in Japan also reveal the original visages of late Six Dynasties manuscripts. One is a copy of the part of Lu Deming's *Jingdian shiwen* annotating the *Liji*, in one scroll. The other is an anonymous work entitled *Record of the Meaning of Various Discursive Masters Who Have Lectured on Clearing-up Works on the Zhou Changes, Liuchao houqi Jiangnan yishuti Yixue jianlun – yi Ricang Hanji jiu chaoben jiang Zhouyi shulunjia yiji canjuan wei zhongxin.*" 講周易疏論家義記 in one scroll, 37 pages. It has been speculated to be a work deriving from either the Nara period or the Heian period, but whether it was copied locally or by Tang scribes is equally uncertain; both works were stored in the Kōfukuji 興福寺 Temple in Nara. For both works, see Huang Huazhen 黃華珍, *Riben Nailiang Xingfusi cang liangzhong guchaoben yanjiu* 日本奈良興福寺藏兩種古鈔本研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2011), and Tong Ling 童嶺, "Liuchao houqi Jiangnan yishuti yixue jianlun" 六朝後期江南義疏體易學譾論—以日藏漢籍舊鈔本講周易疏論家義記殘卷為中心, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo jikan* 81.2 (2001): 411–65.

[122] In the present author's critical study of the parallel texts of the "Xiongnu Logos" presented both in *Shiji* 110 and *Hanshu* 94a, I utilized three Nara period manuscripts of the *Shiji* preserved in Japan; copies of these manuscripts were provided courtesy of Professor William H. Nienhuauser, Jr. My conclusion is that the textual readings in these MSS were closer to the orthography preserved in the *Hanshu* than in the text of the *Shiji*; it seems that the latter had been reconstituted and its spelling modernized based on the text of the *Hanshu*. See Honey, "The *Han-shu*, Manuscript Evidence, and the Textual Criticism of the *Shi-chi*: The Case of the 'Hsiung-nu *lieh-chuan*'," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 21 (1999): 67–97.

Takigawa Kametarō 池田四郎次郎 in the production of his magisterial critical edition of the *Historian's Records*.[123] In some cases, this importance consists of preserving works that have been long lost in China. The title and nature of an anthology by antiquarian Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839–1915) who served in the Chinese consulate in Japan from 1880 through 1884, should be recalled at this point. Working under the leadership and with the funding of consul Li Shuchang 黎庶昌 (1837—1896), Yang compiled the *Collectanea of Books Lost Since Antiquity* 古逸叢書, a work comprised of 26 works long lost in China but partially preserved in Japan.[124] When returning home, Yang Shoujing transported back some 200,000 scrolls of lost or rare Chinese books that he had gathered over the course of his four year stay.[125]

The story of the transmission of Chinese works to Japan is fascinating and multi-faceted, but need not detain us too long here.[126] Still, a few salient facts are worth noting.

The earliest identifiable Chinese works to be transmitted seems to be a copies of the *Analects* in 10 scrolls and the *Thousand Characters Text* 千字文 in one

[123] Takigawa Kametarō 池田四郎次郎, *Shiki kaichû kôshô* 史記會注考證 (1932–34; rpt. Taipei: Hongye Shuju, 1982).

[124] Yang Shoujing 楊守敬, *Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書, 3 vols. (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997). One purpose, states the editor's introduction, is to reveal the "true visage" (*zhenshi mianmao* 真實面貌) of these works. The term "lost, missing" (*yi* 逸) applies well to this compilation, which includes MSS remains and Song and Yuan incunabula. A follow-up version was entitled *Continuation of Collectanea of Books Missing Since Antiquity, Xu Guyi congshu*, comprising 47 "missing" works compiled by the learned editor (1892 *jinshi* degree) Zhang Yuanji 張元濟, and published in 1957 after 28 years of work by Commercial Press of Shanghai. Recently it has been re-formatted and published as Zhang Yuanji 張元濟 ed., *Xu Guyi congshu* 續古逸叢書, 4 vols. (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997). The explanation for re-producing this collection by the publishing house states that Zhang Yuanji was continuing the unfinished business of Li Shuchang, implying that these works had been collected in Japan. For an important bibliographical study of the original collectanea edited by Yang, see Paul Pelliot, "Manuscrits chinois au Japon," *T'oung Pao* 23 (1924): 15–30.

[125] See Tong Ling 童嶺, *Liuchao Sui-Tang Hanji jiu chaoben yanjiu* 六朝隋唐漢籍舊鈔本研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2017), 109. Pp. 107–110 includes Tong's introduction to Yang Shoujing's life and bibliographical work in Japan.

[126] For the background to the importation to Japan of Chinese manuscripts, and later printed books, consult David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth Through the Eighteenth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). See also Yü-Ying Brown, "The Origins and Characteristics of Chinese Collections in Japan," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 21 (1983): 19–31. For a detailed introduction in Chinese to the history of manuscript transmission to Japan, see Tong, *Liuchao Sui-Tang Hanji jiu chaoben yanjiu*, 19–55.

scroll. Both were presented to the Japanese court by an emissary of the Korean state of Baekje (18 BC–660 AD) named Wang Ren (Japanese Wa Ni) 王仁 during the reign of Emperor Ōjin Tennō 應神天王, Homutawake no mikoto 誉田別尊 (r. 270–310).[127] During the Six Dynasties, the land route for exporting Chinese works to Japan was from China proper to Liaodong, on to Lelang 樂浪, the region near the modern border between North and South Korea, then to the southern Korea peninsula, and finally across the sea to Japan.[128] The major impetus behind the transmission of Chinese books to Korea and Japan was in the form of gifts from the Chinese court, the requisite response to tribute payments made from tributary states.[129] Among the works presented or requested from Korean emissaries was the *Five Classics*, *Three Histories*, Chinese character primers, the *Literary Selections* 文選, and commentaries on the classics to support the educational work of the newly established Erudites of the Five Classics at the various courts in Korea and Japan.[130]

The situation of transmitting Chinese books during the Sui-Tang period grew much more complex, and added two new elements. First was the involvement of merchants travelling over the land routes to Korea or voyaging directly to Japan via cargo vessels. Second was the impact of Buddhist monks, whether Japanese monks visiting China to seek training or on pilgrimages, or proselytizing Chinese Buddhist monks headed to Japan. For example, the Chinese Monk Jianzhen, Japanese Ganjin 鑒真 (688–763), took 38 books with him, among other parts of his baggage.[131] The number of Six Dynasties and Tang era MSS or printed works identified in the valuable bibliography of Fujiwara Sukeyo 藤原佐世 (d. 897) in *Nihonkoku kenzai sho mokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄 compiled around 891 numbers 1586 titles in 16,734 scrolls.[132]

The manuscript of Huang Kan that was imported to Japan and preserved there is entitled *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.[133] It is a Tang copy

[127] Tong, *Liuchao Sui-Tang Hanji jiu chaoben yanjiu*, 33.

[128] Tong, *Liuchao Sui-Tang Hanji jiu chaoben yanjiu*, 37.

[129] Tong, *Liuchao Sui-Tang Hanji jiu chaoben yanjiu*, 37.

[130] Tong, *Liuchao Sui-Tang Hanji jiu chaoben yanjiu*, 37–38.

[131] Tong, *Liuchao Sui-Tang Hanji jiu chaoben yanjiu*, 50–53 lists these titles by name.

[132] Tong, *Liuchao Sui-Tang Hanji jiu chaoben yanjiu*, 83–84.

[133] I have seen only one, admittedly roundabout, scholarly discussion of the meaning of the term *ziben* 子本, which is demonstrably original to the title. Qiao, *Yishuxue shuaiwang shilun*, 34, comments that the title "Clearing-up-the-meaning of the Subsidiary Text" is probably attributable to the texts of the classic and the annotations of Zheng Xuan being combined together. More technically, I assume *ziben* functions syntactically similar to the common term "subsidiary city" (*zicheng* 子城), indicating

of a Six Dynasty manuscript transcribed no later than AD 557,[134] and happily, it preserves the original visage of Huang Kan's work, for it betrays vestiges of a catechism format and division into topical units, called "thematic sections" (*keduan* 科段) with introductions on the themes of these sections. This manuscript of course preserves the entire context of quotes that were included in Kong Yingda's *Correct Meaning* commentary in piecemeal form. The earliest of its numerous seals indicating ownership bears the inscription of Empress Kōmyō 光明皇后 (701–760), the Nara period consort of Japanese Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (r. 724–749). It is in good condition, most likely because it was housed in safe obscurity for centuries in a Japanese monastic library at Nara until it was sold by a monk from Nara to a bookstore in Tokyo and was made known to the world at the end of the nineteenth century; today it is preserved in the library of Waseda University, where it may be accessed online.[135]

Hua Zhe presents a faithful transcription of the entire manuscript, including notes that correct textual errors and interpolations, to present the original countenance. He also notes extracts from Kong Yingda's commentary where relevant.[136] Hua Zhe also preserves the marks on the text that divides units into either "classic" (jing) "annotation" (*zhu* 注), or "clearing-up-the-meaning" (*shu*) sections, a function fulfilled in the original manuscript by also leaving a space between each section. Occasionally, a "note" (*an* 按) by Huang Kan's follower

a minor enclave within a larger city. This manuscript appears to be part of a much larger exegetical work on the *Liji*, called *Clearing-up-the-meaning of Subsidiary Texts on the Records of Ritualists* 禮記子本義疏, as recorded in Fujiwara Sukeyo, *Nihon koku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄 (Yangzhou: Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1990), 736. Because of this, the title cannot indicate that this short manuscript is subsidiary to the "Mourning Vestments" chapter alone; rather, it seems that "subsidiary text" is appropriate, but subsidiary in the sense of functioning analogous to a formal "commentary."

[134] Demonstrated by avoiding a taboo on the name of the Martial Emperor of Chen, Chen Baxian 陳霸先 (r. 557–579). The MS changes all instances of "first" (*xian* 先), as in "the first emperor" in the manuscript to "the former" (*qian* 前) emperor.

[135] http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ro12/ro12_01134/index.html. For the history of this manuscript and its modern study, plus its physical description and available editions, see Tong, "Liuchao jiu chaoben *Liji ziben shuyi* yanjiu shilue," Hua, "Han-Tang jian jingdian chanshi bianqian shilun," 191–203, and Yamada Iwa 山田岩, "*Liji ziben shuyi kao* 礼记子本疏义考, trans. Ma Yunchao 马云超, in Tong Ling 童岭 ed., *Qin-Han Wei-Jin Nan-Beichao jingjikao* 秦漢魏晉南北朝經籍考 (Shanghai: Zhong-Xi Shuju, 2017), pp. 195–213. This is a Chinese translation of Yamada Iwa's Japanese article originally published in 1983 entitled "Raiki shihon sogi kō," which is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese characters of the Chinese translation. Tong Ling is particularly strong in utilizing both traditional and modern Japanese scholarship devoted to this manuscript.

[136] Hua, "Han-Tang jian jingdian chanshi bianqian shilun," 204–32.

Zheng Zhuo 鄭焯 appears at the end of all this commentarial matter. Zheng Zhuo was earlier thought to have been the original author of this work, but this has been demonstrated to be an erroneous assumption.[137] The manuscript includes most of part 1 of the chapter in the *Records of Ritualists* known as the "Minor Record on the Mourning Vestments" 喪服小記, which occupies chapter 32 of the classic. In size, the manuscript is 642.5 x 28.5 cm. Each line contains approximately 29 characters. The occasional spot of damage from insects do not inhibit discernment of the text.

In terms of internal structure, there are 74 instances of verses of the original classic demarked by the term classic (including the first instance, which is missing along with the annotation but followed by the clearing-up-the-meaning portion, which commences the manuscript *in medias res*.) But these instances are themselves grouped in some 35 *keduan* thematic sections by virtue of spacings inserted between the usages of *jing*. Many of these sections consist of a single grouping of *jing*, along with its accompanying annotation and clearing-up-the-meaning passage, plus an occasional note by Zheng Zhuo. But larger groupings are ascertainable. For instance, section 14 includes 9 instances of *jing* sets; section 15 includes 5 *jing* sets. This thematic division is a major advance accomplished by the "clearing-up-the-meaning" genre of commentary, yet it would go unnoticed without the visible evidence of this and other ancient manuscripts.

Following I translate representative passages from this commentary, including two entire *jing* sets.

Classic:

(Ordinarily) men wore the cap, and women the hairpin.

男子冠而婦人笄。[138]

Clearing-up-the-meaning:

Because women have hairpins for use until the end of mourning, therefore below it clarifies that men and women always oppose caps to hairpins. When times are auspicious, men use caps, and it is auspicious for women to use hairpins. Right after fathers die, men doff their caps and women doff their hairpins. When they don mourning vestments for fathers, men ascend six times and wear cloth caps; women wear hairpins made of bamboo. When mothers die, then men ascend seven times and wear cloth hats; women use wood for their hairpins. Therefore, it is said that men wear the cap, and women the hairpin.

因婦有終喪之笄，故此以下明男女冠笄恆相對也。吉時男子有冠，則女子吉笄也。若親始死，男去冠，女去笄。若成服，為父，男

[137] Qiao, *Yishuxue shuaiwang shilun*, 133–34.

[138] *Liji zhengyi* 32.1a. Legge, *Li Chi*, 2:40.

則六升布為冠。女則箭篠。若為母，男則七升布為冠，女則棒木為笄。故云男冠女笄也。[139]

This comment by Huang Kan is fairly straightforward and is based on a rational analysis of the information contained in the classic. The following example is much more suggestive of Huang's overall commentarial approach in its reliance on earlier authorities; it is atypical in one sense in that Huang does not proffer his own views.

Classic:

(Ordinarily men wore the cap, and women the hairpin; in mourning men wore the cincture, and women the same after the female fashion.) The idea [meaning or interpretations] was (simply) to maintain in this way a distinction between them.

(男子冠而婦人笄，男子免而婦人髽。) 其義：為男子則免，為婦人則髽。[140]

Clearing-up-the-meaning:

Yu [Weizhi] states, "The *Mourning Vestments* frequently makes use of the odd to clarify meaning, sometimes being doubtful about the male and female cinctures to distinguish their purport; it thus explains things in this manner. The meaning [Legge's 'idea'] stops at men using cinctures and women using their types of cinctures, solely trying to distinguish men and women; there is no other significance." He Yang states, "When a man doffs his cap it is just like when a woman doffs her hairpin; the significance is all in this, and implies no other meaning. Hence the classic states 'Its meaning.'"

庾云: 喪服往往寄異以明義，或疑免、髽以別有其旨，故解之。其義，止於男免，婦人則髽，獨以別男女而已。非別有義。賀瑒云：男去冠，猶婦去笄，義盡於此，無復別義，故云其義也。

[Zheng] Zhuo states, "Since above it states that men use a cincture [*mian*] and women their own type of cincture [*zhua*], it is a great difference in names, but I am afraid that the things also differ. This then is the reason for this explanation. Although the names follow from the difference in men and women, all that is held by the term 'the meaning' is in the names of men's and women's cinctures."

灼案：上既云男絻女髽，為名碩異，則恐嫌在物亦異。故此解之矣。名雖隨男女之別而立，其義所有，髽免之名耳。非異物也。故云其義為男免女髽也。

[139] Hua, "Han-Tang jian jingdian chanshi bianqian shilun," 205.
[140] *Liji zhengyi* 32.1a. Legge, *Li Chi*, 2:40.

[Zheng Xuan's] Annotation:

This distinguishes men and women.

注別男女也。[141]

In this *jing* set, Huang cites two former commentators, Yu Weizhi and Huang's own teacher He Yang. This reliance on others is characteristic of this manuscript and, we may suppose, the entirety of the original work. In the manuscript Yu Weizhi is cited eight times, more than any other commentator except for Zheng Xuan, who is quoted or noted some 19 times. His teacher is cited only twice. Other authorities are described in general terms; they include "former Confucian" (*qianru* 前儒), "masterful one" (*tongzhe* 通者), and "masterful one states" (*tongyue* 通曰), each cited once. An anonymous "Wang states" (*Wangyun* 王云) makes a single appearance. Added to this *jing* set is a note by Zheng Zhuo. In the entire manuscript his notes appear eight times.

As mentioned above, the manuscript is formatted into 35 "thematic sections." And catechism is present as questions are posed at various points, with the term "answer" often continuing the formula. But these questions seldom appear in shorter thematic sections composed of a single *jing* citation with a short comment by Huang Kan. Indeed, they seem limited to discursive comments by Huang that run on at some length and that involve comments from earlier classicists. For instance, between the two *jing* sets translated above is another *jing* set supported by a lengthy "clearing-up-the-meaning" commentary by Huang. Four citations by Zheng Xuan and one by a "masterful one" are peppered with six questions that rhetorically focus attention on important points. In all, the manuscript contains some 22 interrogatives distributed in 10 different *jing* sets. Even two notes by Zheng Zhuo contain questions. These two features disappear when Kong Yingda incorporates much of this work into his *Correct Meaning*, thus officially signifying the end of the "clearing-up-the-meaning" genre.[142]

[141] Hua, "Han-Tang jian jingdian chanshi bianqian shilun," 207.
[142] Hua, "Han-Tang jian jingdian chanshi bianqian shilun," 233–53 summarizes the general types of changes made by Kong Yingda when he appropriated Huang Kan's *Clearing-up-the-meaning of a Subsidiary Edition of the Record of Ritualists* for the foundation of his *Correct Meaning Commentary*. He eliminated the formats of the thematic sections and catechism, and did some rearranging of paragraphs of classical passages. He also eliminated the frequent use by Huang Kan of uninformed paranomasia to gloss words by homophonous or near homophonous words. He edited out what he felt were overly wordy glosses to simplify his own epexegetical commentary. He also cited Huang in the effort to refute him.