Chapter Two

Pre-Canonical Confucians: Early Han Classical Thinkers and Advisors

The breadth of Chinese classical scholarship during the Han is indicated by an early genealogical filiation proposed by Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), the great historian who encompassed the Western Han. According to his ecumenical viewpoint, the line of transmission of great scholars who preserved the learning of the past ran from Confucius through a favored lineage of scholars:

> The appraisal says, "Confucius claimed that 'It is difficult to obtain talented men, isn't this statement true indeed!'[1] After Confucius, those gentlemen who composed texts were legion, but really only the several masters Mencius, Xunzi, Dong Zhongshu, Sima Qian, Liu Xiang, and Yang Xiong were broadly versed and widely learned, and who penetrated the ancient and understood the modern. Their words benefit the ages."
>
> 贊曰：仲尼稱「材難不其然與！」自孔子後，綴文之士眾矣，唯孟軻、孫況，董仲舒、司馬遷、劉向、揚雄。此數公者，皆博物洽聞，通達古今，其言有補於世。[2]

The break between the end of the Zhou and the founding of the Han occurred with Xunzi. His study and transmittal of the classics concluded volume 1 of *History of Chinese Classical Scholarship.* It will be natural—and instructive—to note the frequent appearance of his name in the following pages as his residual influence on early Han textual or interpretive practices still persisted. Collectively, these appearances in a work devoted to the Han demonstrates his dominance in the Confucian intellectual life of the late Zhou as the "Gatherer of great accomplishments" (*jidachengzhe* 集大成者), a tradition that was seemingly transmitted intact through the short interval of the Qin to the Han.[3]

Of the Western Han figures isolated by Ban Gu, each had his strength in one or more major aspects of classical scholarship: Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca.179–104 BC) was the chief intellectual architect of the Confucian synthesis during the

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[1] *Lunyu* 8.20.
[2] *Hanshu* 38.1972.
[3] The starting point for Xunzi's influence on Han Confucianism is Xu Pingzhang 徐平章, *Xunzi yu Liang Han Ruxue* 荀子與兩漢儒學 (Taipei: Wenjin Chubanshe, 1988), 123.

Western Han based on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, according to the reading of the Gongyang 公羊 school. His intellectual disciple Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145/135– 86 BC), was the Grand Historian who created the genre of universal history. His great work *Historian's Records* was one great commentary on the lessons enshrined in the classics,[4] provided the format for Ban Gu's later history of the Western Han, and offered a counterpoint stylistic model of rich vocabulary and lofty prose to Ban Gu's more spare and restrained phraseology. Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–76 BC) was the textual critic *primus inter pares* who collated the scattered manuscript remains preserved in the Han court archives, reconstituted them in modern editions, and made them accessible through the bibliographical notations that prefaced each new text. Finally, Yang Xiong 揚 雄 (53 BC–AD 13) was a classicist and textual critic, thinker, political writer, lexicographer, and poet whose work exemplified the universalist trends of the age.

This lineage is rather too eclectic to be symmetrical, but modern scholar Xu Kangsheng suggests an alternate line of early Han scholars that elegantly, if inaccurately, focuses on masters of specific classics: Shusun Tong was an expert on the *Rites of Zhou* and accordingly, devised the ritual system for the early Han court.[5] Lu Jia based his own work *New Tales* 新 語 on the *Guliang Commentary* on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Jia Yi's collection of writings *New Works* 新書 was informed by *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* and the *Documents*. Han Ying specialized in the *Poems* and had mastered the *Changes*.[6] Yet as Xu himself admits, none of the work of these masters can be considered as classical scholarship. In this work I will strive to distinguish between informed readers, interpreters, and teachers of the classics and students of the texts of the classics who formed and furthered the tradition of classical scholarship by expounding and transmitting these books; for after all, classical education was different than critical scholarship. There are hints in the historical record that the former category of classicists did sometimes descend into the recesses of textual criticism and exegesis, yet none of their extant work survived in sufficient scope to reveal the contours of their scholarly programs. Regardless, major readers of the classics played their parts in promoting the necessary intellectual environment in which textually oriented classical scholarship could flourish.[7] This is especially true in

[4] After all, according to Ban Biao 班彪 (3–54), the father of Ban Gu, "Each generation had the office of historian in order to supervise the cannons and documents" 世有史官以司典籍, an admittedly textual duty. *Hou Hanshu* 40A.1324.

[5] Since the *Rites of Zhou* did not emerge from the obscurity of the Han imperial archives until the editorial work of Liu Xiang at the end of the Western Han, it is highly doubtful that Shusun Tong or any other scholar was familiar with this text before that time.

[6] Xu et al., "Liang Han juan", 67.

[7] Succinct introductions to the thought of the early thinkers and advisors treated below (plus some others) are Xu Fuguan, *Zhongguo jingxueshi de jichu*, 208–22, and Qin

the early Han, a period in which it took time for the classics to be recognized as the foundation of the new Confucian orthodoxy of universal rule under the despotism of Han Wudi and his successors. And it is also true that political, social, or economic writings based on precepts derived from the classics were a form of interpretation. For these reasons, it is this symmetrical, but not necessarily philologically, oriented lineage of Xu Kangsheng that will form the framework of my treatment of classical scholarship during the early Western Han. Chapter 4 of the present work will focus on more strictly philological endeavors during the early Western Han. And it will be instructive to note some residual connections in some of the writings of these early thinkers with the ritualized teaching scenarios isolated in volume 1.

2.1. Shusun Tong: From Rite to Text

Shusun Tong 叔孫通 (d. ca. 188 BC) was among a select group of meritorious ministers during the early Han who formulated administrative policy and standardized procedures in several broad areas, as described by Ban Gu:

> When the empire had been subjugated, he commanded Xiao He to set in order the criminal laws and orders, Han Xin to set forth the military methods, Zhang Cang to fix the calendar and measures, Shusun Tong to establish the rites and etiquette, and Lu Jia to compose the *New Tales.*
>
> 天下既定，命蕭何次律令，韓信申軍法，張蒼定章程，叔孫通制禮儀，陸賈造新語。[8]

Tradition credits Shusun Tong as being a disciple of Kong Fu 孔鮒 (264–208 BC), the eighth-generation descendant of Confucius who hid up the treasured family heritage of classical manuscripts in the wall of his progenitor's old residence. According to his biography, Shusun Tong was first recruited to the Qin bureaucracy on the basis of his "textual learning" (*wenxue* 文學), serving as an "erudite waiting appointment" (*daizhao boshi* 待詔博士), a term that surely reflects the long association of Ruists with erudites.[9] Despite Sima Qian's characterization of the basis of his recruitment, Xu Kangsheng posits that it was his expertise in the law that made him attractive as a counselor at court.[10] His

Xueqi 秦学頎, "Lun Xi-Han qianqi de jingxue sichao" 论西汉前期的经学思潮, *Chongqing Shiyuan xuebao zhe-sheban* 重庆师院学报哲社版, 1998. 2:10–16.

[8] *Hanshu* 1b.81; trans. Homer H. Dubbs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty, by Pan Ku,* Vol. 1 (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938), 146.

[9] Shusun Tong shares a biography with Liu Jing; *Shiji* 99.2715–20 for Liu, pp. 2720–27 for Shusun Tong. In *Hanshu* 43, Shusun Tong is one of five Qin figures who aided the founding and stabilizing of the Han, including Li Shiqi, Lu Jia, Liu (here written Lu) Jing. Only Zhu Jian 朱 建 (d. 177 AD) is not treated. Shusun Tong's biography is on pp. 2124–34.

[10] Xu et al., "Liang Han juan", 37. See pp. 34–40 for Xu's treatment of Shusun Tong, whom he designated the "pioneer of Confucian studies."

appointment to office came about through his willingness to say what the emperor wanted to hear. When the rebellion led by Chen Sheng 陳勝 (d. 208 BC) broke out in 209 BC, Shusun was a Confucian scholar and among the thirty or so Ruists and erudites assembled to deliberate policy over this urgent matter. [11] Shusun countered the consensus and downplayed the rebellion, characterizing it as a mere act of brigandage. His advice was to leave it in the hands of the local commandant. He was rewarded for this welcome counsel that highly pleased the emperor, the Second Generation of Qin 秦二世 (r. 230–207 BC), with silk, clothing, and assignment as erudite awaiting appointment. But his fellow erudites regarded his policy proposal as the effort to flatter rather than to advise. Knowing that an actual rebellion was in progress, and fearing the outcome, he fled after leaving this parting shot to his fellow advisors: "I barely escaped from the tiger's mouth!"我幾不脫於老虎口. [12] Pragmatic self-preservation then is just as likely an explanation for his policy proposal as outright flattery, but it is the former dark characterization that has informed the historical view of his personality.[13]

Shusun Tong fled to his ancestral home of Xie 薛 , near the birthplace of the soon-to-conquer Liu Bang 劉邦, the future Eminent Ancestor 高祖 the E (r. 202–195 BC) in Pei County 沛 縣 (modern Xuzhou, Jiangsu); they therefore shared the same southern culture of Chu. Shusun joined the cause of another leading rebel, Xiang Yu 項羽 (232–202 BC), which cause held power in the area at the time, to which Shusun remained faithful until he submitted to Liu Bang. This submission occurred before the battle of Pengcheng 彭 城 (in modern Xuzhou, Jiangsu) in 205 BC. Despite the defeat of Liu Bang, Shusun Tong followed him in his retreat.

Upon his defection to the cause of Liu Bang, Shusun Tong brought along more than one hundred Confucian masters and students. After the empire was reunited under Liu Bang's Han dynasty, Shusun had access to the throne and was honored with a title that acknowledged his erudition, the Lord Who Succeeded the Jixia Academy 稷嗣君; he also assumed the post of erudite. Nevertheless, he did not try to advance any of his Confucian followers in office, despite their complaints; he knew the time was not ripe to promote Confucian values. The

[11] Despite the difficulty in rendering this term in English as well as the current trend in Western sinology to parse it as "specialist in the rites and cultural learning" or something similarly vague and summative, the term Ruist henceforth will be rendered as "Confucian," in line with the historical reading of this term, as already mentioned above.

[12] *Shiji* 99.2721.

[13] See Xu et al., "Liang Han juan," 36, for Sima Guang's 司 馬 光 (1019–1086) aspersions; a thorough treatment, including Sima Qian's complex portrayal, is provided by Lin Congshun 林聰舜, *Shiji de renwu shijie* 史記的人物世界 (Taipei: Sanmin Shuju, 2003), 156–69.

emperor desired simplicity and abolished the more severe of the Qin regulations. Such desire for simplicity perhaps reflected the Daoist element of Chu culture, as was perhaps His Highness's distaste for the Confucian regalia worn by Shusun. Shusun agreeably changed to Chu habiliments and kept his peace. But when the need arose to curb the casual and crude behavior at court of courtiers more suited to the rough and ready outdoor life of the military encampment, Shusun perceived his opening and offered to devise courtly rites to govern deportment and preserve the royal dignity while in the august presence; he based them on a combination of ancient precedents and Qin practice.

He described his endeavor as follows:

> The Five Emperors had different music, the Three Kings had dissimilar rites. As for ritual, they are the graduated rules made by men of the age following the times and human sentiment. [14] Hence, the foundation, additions, and deletions of the rites of the Xia, Yin, and Zhou can be known, and termed independent from each other. Your servant is willing to adopt ancient rituals and combine them with Qin ceremonies to produce them.
>
> 五帝異樂，三王不同禮。禮者，因時世人情為之節文者也。故夏、殷、周之禮所因損益可知者，謂不相復也。臣願頗采古禮與秦儀雜就之。[15]

The following retrospective glance at his construction of a ritual system in the "Monograph on Ritual" in the *Historian's Records* confirms both the continuity of Qin ritual in the Han and the basis of Qin ritual in ancient Zhou precedents:

> When the Qin possessed all-under-heaven, it incorporated the rites and ceremonies of the Six States, adopting what was good in them. Despite not being commensurate with the system of the sages, their reverencing of the Lord and abasement of ministers and the stateliness of the court was all according to what came from the ancients. With the reign of the Eminent Ancestor, he gloriously possessed all within the four seas. Shusun Tong did somewhat add to and eliminate from them, but in general they all followed Qin precedents.
>
> 至秦有天下，悉內六國禮儀，采擇其善，雖不合聖制，其尊君抑臣，朝廷濟濟，依古以來。至于高祖，光有四海，叔孫通頗有所

[14] The term "graduated rules" (*jiewen* 節 文) is found in the *Liji* and became a shorthand term for rites, ritual performance, or the devising of rituals. According to the Tang dynasty commentator Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648), it is actually an abbreviation of the phrase "to judge and regulate elegant elaborations" (*zhunjie wenzhang* 準節文章). See the author's *A History of Chinese Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1, chap. 1, sect. 4.6.

[15] *Shiji* 99.2722.

增益減損，大抵皆襲秦故。[16]

Shusun Tong recruited more than thirty masters from Lu to assist him in his ritual program. Two of them demurred, insisting that ancient rituals should not be modified and that they could only be devised after morality had accumulated after one hundred years. Shusun merely dismissed their concerns with a laugh, stating that "you are truly vulgar Confucians, you don't realize that times change" 若真鄙儒也，不知時變.[17] He recruited his own one hundred disciples and some court scholars who petitioned the court to practice his new rituals for more than one month in private, outside of the capital, before letting the emperor observe a trial performance. Two years later, in 196 BC, the first formal ceremony was held in the Changle Palace 長樂 宮 upon its completion.[18] The emperor was so pleased that he lavishly rewarded Shusun Tong as the Master of Ritual Ceremony. It was at this time that Shusun presented a memorial that asked that his disciples be appointed to office; they were all made unspecified courtiers. It was this initial introduction of Confucians into the court that modern scholar Lin Congshu considers as important a contribution as any other made by Shusun Tong.[19]

In 194 BC Shusun Tong was appointed as the tutor to the heir apparent, in which office he successfully defended the prince with a persuasiveoral remonstrance and kept him from being replaced in 191 BC. Shusun Tong served the next emperor, Huidi 惠 帝 (195–188 BC), for whom he had acted as tutor, served again as Master of Ritual Ceremonies, and devised new rites yet again, but this time for the ancestral temple. He also revised the former rituals he originally had put in place.

For Shusun Tong's service in establishing the ritual basis of the new regime, Sima Qian praised him as the "Founding Progenitor of the House of Han" 漢家儒宗.[20] Sima Qian adopted another way to underscore his great accomplishment. Since Shusun Tong shares a biography with Liu Jing in the *Historian's Records*, his career is rhetorically conditioned by the parallel life of Liu Jing; in fact, the life of Liu Jing starts their collective biography. [21] Therefore, a quick look at the latter is in order.

Liu Jing 劉敬 (fl. 200 BC, originally surnamed Lou 婁) earned great merit in solidifying the early Han regime by making several key policy initiatives, domestic and foreign. Those policies are explained by extensive quotes from the oral counsel preserved in his biography. First, he supported the location of the capital in Chang'an, stressing that the Zhou fell not due to moral decline but to the strategic weakness and poor natural defense of Luoyang. Second, he crafted a

[16] Shiji 23.1159.
[17] *Shiji* 99.2722.
[18] Described in detail at *Shiji* 99.2723.
[19] Lin Congshun, *Shiji de renwu shijie*, 160.
[20] *Shiji* 99.2726.
[21] *Shiji* 99.2721–26.

policy regarding Han–Xiongnu relations. Liu Jing was sent to appraise the battle-readiness of the Xiongu. He was the only emissary who saw through the Xiongnu ploy of appearing weak. He advised against a direct attack that would leave the army open to a surprise attack by nomadic cavalry. Imprisoned for his advice that was regarded as insulting to the Han forces, he was cashiered by the emperor after the disastrous siege at Pingcheng 平 城 (east of modern Datong, Shanxi) in 200 BC. Liu still cautioned against a frontal attack, instead proposing the long-term *Peace through Consanguinity* 和 親 policy of alliance through intermarriage to gain the allegiance of Han-leaning relatives of later generations. Third, he also advocated relocating great families from the empire to Chang'an as a buffer against attack from foreign peoples and to control them more easily. He was charged with this task and moved a population of more than one hundred thousand within the Guanzhong area. Such was the luster of Liu Jing's political policies, which Shusun Tong surely basked in due to his biographical pairing with Liu. Shusun Tong's eminence was due, of course, to his service in creating a ritual system for the new dynasty but was no less praiseworthy in the mind of Sima Qian, which can be ascertained by the obvious extent of Liu Jing's merit.

Notwithstanding Shusun Tong's own merit as a specialist in the rites, there is no evidence, and few hints, that he was a classical scholar in terms of studying and explicating ritual texts. However, his role as master of ritual must have surely included prompting his disciples in chanting written directions for ritual performance in the properly elevated language of the past, glossing technical terms, and of course orally explaining the intricacies of ritual and musical choreography; yet Sima Qian does not mention this textual basis of his teaching program. Instead, he portrays early Confucians as experts in ritual performance, including music, not as involved in the study of ritual texts. Witness the following passage from the "Grove of Confucian Scholars" 儒林列傳 collective biography:

> During the waning years of the Qin, it burned the *Poems* and *Documents*, and buried the scholars of techniques. From this time forth, the Six Arts were defective. When Chen She became king, the various Confucians journeyed to submit to him carrying their ritual implements Why was it that robed and sashed [Confucian] masters shouldered Confucius's ritual implements and journeyed to pledge themselves as ministers? It was because the Qin burned up their profession, so their pent-up resentment was vented to King Chen.
>
> 及至秦之季世，焚詩書，阬術士，六藝從此缺焉。陳涉之王也，而魯諸儒持孔氏之禮器往歸陳王。縉紳先生之徒負孔子禮器往委質為臣者，何也？以秦焚其業， 積怨而發憤于陳王也。[22]

Of note is the fact that Confucian ritual specialists possibly were unable to study their traditional ritual texts due to their defective and incomplete natures after the policies of the Qin and the warfare attendant to its fall. If so, this defective nature

[22] *Shiji* 121.3116.

would become a strong motivation for later specialists to assume the roles of textual critics to reconstitute such works. Xu Kangsheng cites this imperative as one of the chief motivations for recovering or repairing all of the lost or defective classics during the early Han.[23]

The narrative continues with rise of Han:

> When the founding emperor punished Xiang Ji [Yu], he raised troops and besieged Lu. Within Lu, the various Confucians still chanted and performed the rites and music; the sound of strings and songs never ceased. Isn't this the residual transforming effect of the sage and a state that is founded on the rites and music?
>
> 及高皇帝誅項籍，舉兵圍魯，魯中諸儒尚講誦習禮樂，弦歌之音不絕，豈非聖人之遺化，好禮樂之國哉？[24]

Despite the lack of classical texts, the Confucians in Lu still practiced the ritual and musical foundation of their profession, performance being the *raison d'être* of their specialty, and this despite the threat of personal danger.

The motivation for textual criticism was apparently in place soon after the founding of the Han, as seen when Sima Qian continues the narrative thread on ritual: "Formerly the Han rose up, and later on the various Confucians were finally able to restore their classical arts, and perform the district archery and drinking rites" 故 漢興，然後諸儒始得修其經藝，講習大射鄉飲之禮.[25] The phrase "restore their classical arts" could indicate either more widespread usage of ritual, the recovery and preparatory study of ritual texts, or both. But Sima Qian does not clarify the textual study of the classics either here or elsewhere until the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 140-87 BC), when various specialists were described as "lecturing" (*yan* 言) on one or other of the classics, to be discussed later.[26] Still, a general term denoting study (*xue* 學) was used to conclude the ritual career of Shusun Tong, which quote will also conclude this treatment of him and the rites during the early Han: "Shusun Tong devised the rites and ceremonies for the Han, and thereby was appointed Master of Ritual Ceremony. His various students and disciples helped him finalize them, but he was the head who made the selection. Thereupon, they heaved sighs, and were inspired in their studies" 叔孫通作漢禮儀，因為太常，諸生弟子共定者，咸為選首，於是喟然嘆興於學.[27]

[23] Xu et al., "Liang Han juan," 20.
[24] *Shiji* 121.3117.
[25] *Shiji* 121.3117. A popular yet fully documented and illustrated introduction to the ritual archery festival is Gu Tao 顾涛, *Zhongguo de sheli* 中国的射礼 (Nanjing: Najing Daxue Chubanshe, 2013). More detailed is Shi Longmin 施隆民, *Xiangsheli yijie jianshi* 鄉射禮儀節簡釋 (Taipei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985).
[26] *Shiji* 121.3118.
[27] *Shiji* 121.3117.

2.2. *Lu Jia: Heaven and Earth in Resonance*

Shusun Tong is the archetypal erudite who served more as political advisor than as learned scholar;[28] at the least, he was steeped in traditional cultural values and textual traditions. Other early advisors were not so prepared. Naturally, at the founding of the empire, the Eminent Ancestor's closest advisors stepped into the political arena straight from the battlefield and assumed roles for which they were not well suited.[29] Despite the collective title of "Meritorious Subjects" (*gongchen* 攻 臣), it is not clear that this political coterie was even supportive of the emperor's post-conquest program for other-than-selfish goals. In analyzing the dynamics of these early supporters of the new emperor, Aihe Wang concludes that "there was little sense of group identity, common interests, or open dialogue. Once the emperor was produced, the same political group perpetuated the concentration of power in the emperor by eliminating its own powerful members one by one, leading to the group's self-destruction."[30] Given such dynamics, few individuals survived long enough to emerge at court with personal profiles sufficiently sharp to be able to ascribe to them roles in shaping educational policy. Most of these early functionaries, except for certain limited facts of lives and generalized achievements presented in tabular form by Sima Qian, are lost to history.[31]

During the initial period of the Han dynasty, the Eminent Ancestor and his staff were almost exclusively occupied with erecting the political, sumptuary, and legal framework of the government; such matters of peripheral importance as education, literature, and the ritual trappings of the court came later, as we have noted above in the case of the rites with the career of Shusun Tong. Displaying consistent irritability, His Highness reacted badly to evidence of Confucian trappings such as the ritual robes worn by Shusun Tong or advice that diverted attention from setting up the state. This was especially so if it was buttressed by quotations from the classics. Lu Jia was one such source of irritation.

[28] For the political roles played by erudites at court during the Han dynasty that exceeded and largely obscured their scholarly portfolios, see Li Boqi 李伯齐, "Boshi lunyi yu liang Han zhengzhi" 博士论议与两汉政治, *Guanzi Xuekan* 管子学刊, 1977.1:82–88.
[29] Aihe Wang, "Creators of an Emperor: The Political Group Behind the Founding of the Han Empire," *Asia Major: Third* Series, 14 (2001):19–50; 20.
[30] Aihe Wang, "Creators of an Emperor," 20.
[31] A. F. P. Hulsewé does his best to draw attention to at least some of these figures largely lost to history by offering a translation of the biographical facts preserved for the first entrants in each category of the tables preserved at *Shiji* 18 and *Hanshu* 16, some 152 figures. He supplements his translation with data culled from other sources. See Hulsewé, "Founding Fathers and Yet Forgotten Men: A Closer Look at the Tables of Nobility in the *Shih Chi* and the *Han Shu*," *T'oung Pao* 75 (1989):43–126.

Lu Jia 陸賈 (d. 170 BC) was also a product of the Qin, although no details are known from his early life.[32] Along with the founding emperor Liu Bang, Lu Jia was born and raised in the cultural milieu of Chu and had early on supported Liu's cause. Lu was known for his political acumen, skill at debate, and political writings. His biographical partner, whose career commences their shared biography, was Li Shiqi 酈食其, commonly called Master Li 酈生, an advisor who is credited with Liu Bang's successful submission of the city of Chenliu 陳留 (near modern Kaifeng, Henan). Unfortunately, after he had successfully negotiated a peace treaty with the state of Qi, the Han general Han Xin 韓信 (230–196 BC) recklessly attacked Qi under pretext of not having been officially notified about the treaty in writing. Li was boiled alive as a result. At one point, his biography foreshadows Lu Jia's initially rocky interactions with the anti-Confucian Liu Bang: "The Duke of Pei was not fond of Confucians; whenever any visiting Confucians came wearing their formal caps, he would snatch them off and urinate in them" 沛公不好儒，诸客冠儒冠来者，沛公辄解其冠，溲溺其中。[33]

Lu Jia was often sent as emissary to various princes and feudatories, including Liu Bang's chief rival Xiang Yu 項羽 (233–202 BC). His most notable success was in persuading Zhao Tuo 趙 佗 (ca. 240–37 BC) to pledge the allegiance of his kingdom of Nanyue 南越 to Han in 196 BC. He lay low at home, literally cultivating his garden and vegetable plot, during the rule of the empress-dowager Lǚ 吕太后, who was in power from roughly 195–180 BC. But upon her death he was instrumental in setting up Emperor Wen 文帝 (180–157 BC) after helping to counter the claims and eradicate the remnants of the Lǚ clan; his maneuvering helped ensure the integrity of the succession within the house of Liu.

His major contribution to the development of classical studies in the Han was the theoretical background he laid for the formation of Confucian ideology. An early exchange with the Eminent Ancestor suggests his reliance on Confucian teachings:

> Master Lu frequently cited the *Poems* and *Documents* before His Highness. The emperor berated him, saying, "If you sir, gained the empire on horseback, would you involve yourself in the *Poems* and *Documents*? Master Lu said, "Even if I gained it on horseback, would it be best to govern it from horseback? Moreover, both Tang and Wu went against the flow and used military might to gain the world, yet went with the flow to preserve it. Kings Wen and Wu used both as a long-lasting technique. Formerly, King Wuwang Fuchai and Zhibo perished due to their extreme militarism; Qin employed punishments and the law without variance, which ultimately destroyed their house of Zhao.[34] Recently I was an emissary to Qin, which had united all-under-heaven. If Qin had practiced humaneness and propriety, and imitated the former sages, how would you have been able to gain the realm?" The emperor was unhappy and looked displeased, and said to Master Lu, "Try and write for me how Qin lost all-under-heaven, and how I gained it, as well as the reasons for the success and failure of states in antiquity." Master Lu thereupon roughly narrated the signs of preservation and ruination. In all, he composed twelve chapters. The emperor always acclaimed them as good whenever one was submitted; those surrounding him at court wished him ten thousand years of life, and called his book *New Lectures*.
>
> 陸生時時前說稱詩書。高帝罵之曰：乃公居馬上而得之，安事詩書！陸生曰；居馬 上得之，寧可以馬上治之乎？且湯武逆取而以順守之，文武并用，長久之術也。昔 者吳王夫差、智伯極武而亡；秦任刑法不變，卒滅趙氏。鄉使秦已并天下，行仁義， 法先聖，陛下安得而有之？高帝不懌而有慚色，乃謂陸生曰：試為我著秦所以失天 下，吾所以得之者何，及古成敗之國。陸生乃粗述存亡之徵，凡著十二篇。每奏一 篇，高帝未嘗不稱善，左右呼萬歲，號其書曰新語。[35]

Lu's thought can be distilled into four broad areas.[36] First is the ontological foundation of social order, which is based on the pattern of heaven and earth:

> Thereupon the former sages looked up and observed the heavenly patterns, looked down and inspected earthly striations, and drew up the hexagrams *qian* and *kun* in order to set the human way. The people started to be enlightened, and realized the intimacy between father and son, the propriety between lord and minister, the way between husband and wife, and the order between young and old. Thereupon the hundred officials were established, and the royal way therefore sprang to life.
>
> 於是先聖乃仰觀天文，俯察地理，圖畫乾坤，以定人道，民始開悟，知有父子之親， 君臣之義，夫婦之道，長幼之序。於是百官立，王道乃生。[37]

Since the social pattern on earth is a natural counterpart to the structure of heaven and earth, the inherent inevitability of how society is constructed cannot

[32] *Shiji* 99.2697–3006; *Hanshu* 43.2111–16. See Wang Xingguo 王兴国, *Jia Yi pingzhuan. Fu Lu Jia Chao Cuo pingzhuan* 贾谊评传附陆贾晁错评传 (Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue Chubanshe, 1992), 344–65; Hsu Fu-kuan 徐復觀, *Liang Han sixiangshi* 兩漢思想史, 3 vols. (Taipei: Xuesheng Shuju, 1984), 2:85–108.

[33] *Shiji* 97.2692.

[34] Zhao was one of the ancestral surnames of the Qin state.

[35] *Shiji* 97.2699.

[36] Xu Kangsheng suggests this four-part approach to Lu Jia's thought, although the illustrative quotations are largely my own selection. For his treatment of Lu Jia's career and thought, see Xu et al., "Liang Han juan"," 40–48.

[37] *Xinyu* (ZZJC ed.), "Daoji" 道基, 1.1.

be denied, and rhetorical strengthening of the bonds between social roles is thereby reinforced. Second is nonaction as the basis of social rule. After treating the historical evidence for the utility of nonaction in governing the people, Lu Jia concludes that, with the rule of nonaction, society will be ordered:

> The people will fear the ruler's awesomeness and transform by following him; they will cherish his virtue and return to his realm. The people will fear committing crimes without being punished, be delightful and happy without being rewarded; and gradually be steeped in virtue. This all results from submitting to the middle.
>
> 民畏其威而從其化，懷其德而歸其境，美其治而不敢違其政。民不罰而畏罪，不賞而歡悅，漸漬於道德，被服於中和之所致也。[38]

In this chapter Lu Jia quotes Laozi, as well as makes use of legalist and Confucian approaches to nonaction that well illustrate the eclecticism of early schools of thought and their mutual indebtedness to ancient cultural values.

Third is the ideology of universal rule: "Now speaking of the way, it is established due to authority; virtue is enacted due to power. Those not in office have no means to unify their governance; those who do not wield authority, even if he were a Yan Hui, could not change the music" 夫言道因權而立，德因勢而行，不在其位者，則無以齊其政，不操其柄者，則，回也不改其樂.[39] In practical terms, it boils down to the fact that sage rulers, assisted by worthy ministers, naturally occupy the highest position in government. It requires the close relationship between morally superior rulers and morally qualified ministers for the ruler to occupy this high position or "office" (*wei* 位), which is characterized as a "nest of humaneness and propriety" (*renyi wei chao* 仁義為巢). This benevolent rule of sage kings guided by worthy ministers became an essential underpinning of Confucian political ideology. Lu summarizes the practical application of universal rule as follows: "Hence, those who rely on the sages become emperors; those who rely on worthies become kings; those who rely on the humane become hegemons; those who rely on the right become strong men; those who rely on the flatterers become destroyed; and those who rely on robbers perish" 故杖聖者帝，杖賢者王，杖仁者霸，杖義者強，杖讒者滅，杖賊者亡。[40]

Fourth is the close interaction, a sympathetic response, between heaven and man. Lu Jia calls wielding political power "holding on to the government of heaven and earth, and wielding the bonds of the four seas" 夫持天地之政，操四海之綱。[41] This response worked in both directions, as Lu Jia explains:

[38] *Xinyu*, "Wuwei" 無為, 4.7.
[39] *Xinyu*, "Shenwei" 慎微, 6.10.
[40] *Xinyu*, "Fuzheng" 輔政, 3.5.
[41] *Xinyu*, "Mingjie" 明誡, 11.18.

> Hence when the age declines and the way is lost, this is not done by heaven, but is chosen by the rulers of states. An evil administration is spawned from evil *qi*; evil *qi* is spawned from the marvelous signs of disasters. Snakes, insects and their like are spawned according to *qi*; rainbows, their reflections and their ilk are manifested according to rulership. When the way is lost down below, then heavenly patterns cross over above. . . . Worthy lords who are wise as to principles know to change by following natural transformations. . . .
>
> In the management of the sage person, his grace reaches the snakes and insects, his munificence arrives at the fauna The sage person observes things, and leaves nothing out. Above he reaches the sun, moon, and asterisms; below he arrives at flora and fauna and the insects.
>
> 故世衰道亡，非天之所為也，乃國君者有所取之也。惡政生於惡氣，惡氣生於災異。蝮虫之類，隨氣而生；虹蜺之屬，因政而見。治道失於下，則天文度於上。……賢君　智則知隨變而改。……聖人之理，恩及昆虫，澤及草木聖人察物，無所遺失，上及日月星辰，下至鳥獸草木昆虫.[42]

This sympathy between the natural and human realms was indebted to earlier Warring States and Qin thought, and of course was not original to Lu Jia. But he did deftly integrate this strain with the rather straitlaced Confucian moral political dogma to justify universal rule and the role played by sage advisors.

Lu Jia's educational program depended on broad reading and chanting to access the words of the sages as preserved in the classics: "As for being able to chant the *Poems* and *Documents* after strenuous study, it is something that most persons are able to do. But if they desire to change the rivers and streams, and move Mount Tai, this inherently is something that man's strength is incapable of doing" 夫力學而誦詩、書，凡人所能為也；若欲移江、河，動太山，故人力所不能也.[43] Reading scarcely qualifies as intensive and technical study of classical texts, especially as reading led to the internalization of the moral injunctions of the sages through memorization and chanting, not formal scholarship. Yet such reading formed the necessary, if often unstated, motivation for scholarship that was most always concerned with the moral application of the classics. This fundament use of reading for moral cultivation still persisted over the ages, despite the inevitable need for textual reconstitution or mending to make accurate reading and chanting possible, regardless of the changing hermeneutic imperatives of each succeeding generation.

Lu Jia made good use of the classics as cultivated reader rather than textual critic, a field that was just starting to emerge with Jia Yi, as will be discussed below. As such, he was intimately familiar with these texts, as numerous quotes

[42] *Xinyu*, "Mingjie", 11.18.
[43] *Xinyu*, "Shenwei," 6.10.

from various classics were liberally employed to clinch his arguments, much in the style of Xunzi. In fact, a connection with this last Confucian master of the Zhou era is suggested by Yu Jiaxi 余 嘉 錫 (1884–1955), who conjectures that Lu Jia's understanding of the classics was based on his scholarly apprenticeship under Xunzi's disciple Fuqiu Bo 浮丘伯.[44] And it is noteworthy that some view Lu Jia's writings as steeped in the thought of the Guliang tradition of exegesis on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.[45] Therefore, Lu Jia must be regarded, just as Mencius and Xunzi were, as a Confucian master continuing the study of the way of Confucius as found in the classics in the light of the political realities and intellectual currents of his time.[46] Of course, the former was a sage and the latter was located somewhere in the Confucian pantheon between *cultus confirmation* and beatification. Along with these two former masters, Lu Jia was famous as a literatus; his work *Spring and Autumn Annals of Chu and Han* 楚漢春秋 was not a chronicle of the conflict between these two powers but rather a collection of moral and political lessons to be derived from this conflict, in the manner of the original *Spring and Autumn Annals*.[47] Ban Biao described it as "recording the merit performed for the times" 記錄時功.[48] Lu's political thought, based on the sympathetic resonance between heaven and man as expounded by the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, became the starting point for classical studies in the Han.[49]

2.3. Jia Yi: Teacher of Classics

Jia Yi 賈誼 (200–169 BC) was the first notable Han minister and scholar born during the dynasty, although his teachers undoubtedly had been scholars active in the former Qin regime (later on we will note one of his probable classical

[44] See Yu Jiaxi, "*Siku tiyao* bianzheng—*Xinyu*" 四庫題啊要辯證—新語, in Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 et al. eds. *Gushibian*, 4: 203–15; p. 206.
[45] Xu et al., "Liang Han juan", 47.
[46] This would include the influence of Huang-Lao Daoism and Legalist leanings in the intellectual ether of the era, a combination that was seen in the political thinking of all early scholars, even of those of so- called Confucian persuasion who people the early part of Sima Qian's "Grove of Confucians " collective biography. See the extensive treatment of Qi culture, which was suffused with Huang-Lao thought and the application of military tactics in nonmilitary human affairs, at Li Changzhi 李長之, *Sima Qian zhi renge yu fengge* 司馬遷之人格與風格 (1997; rpt., Taibei: Liren Shuju, 2008), 6–12; and Zhang Fengyi 張峰屹, *Xi Han wenxue sixiangshi* 西漢文學思想史 (Taibei: Commercial Press, 2013), 32–101.
[47] See Lǚ Shihao, *Cong Shiji dao Hanshu*, 42–43. It should be noted that the 40th fascicle of Jia Yi's *Xinshu* is entitled *Spring and Autumn Annals* and is also merely a collection of hortatory anecdotes and cautionary tales, not a chronicle.
[48] *Hou-Hanshu* 40a.1325.
[49] As asserted by Xu et al., "Liang Han juan", 48.

masters).[50] His birthplace was Luoyang, and he gained early notoriety as an accomplished poet and prose writer. Recruited into office at age eighteen by the local governor, Sire Gong 吳 公 , Jia Yi went along when Sire Gong was brought into the court by the newly enthroned Emperor Wen 文 帝 (r. 180–157 BC) by virtue of Wu's good administration. Jia Yi was soon brought to the attention of His Highness and made an erudite at the tender age of twenty. The personal affronts and difficulties caused to his fellow erudites and senior officials by the presence of such a young man may be imagined, especially as he was the most articulate in arguing policy in front of the emperor, and his views always seemed to carry the day. Within a year he was made a senior palace advisor. Sima Qian summarizes his reforms and accomplishments at this time as follows:

> Master Jia knew that the world had enjoyed peace for more than twenty years since the Han arose until Emperor Wen. Still, he insisted that the calendar be changed and he switched ritual clothing, placed the bureaucracy on a legal basis, and finalized the names of officials. For all of these he drafted the relevant ceremonies or laws. For color he honored yellow, for numerology he adopted the number five; and he devised the names of officials—in all of these matters he replaced the regulations of Qin.
>
> 賈生以為漢興至孝文二十餘年，天下和洽，而固當改正朔，易服色，法制度，定官名，興禮樂，乃悉草具其事儀法，色尚黃，數用五，為官名，悉更秦之法。[51]

Jia Yi's reforms were not the only attempt to revise Han ritual throughout the dynasty. Fan Ye describes the process of revision as an ongoing project—something that, even after the foundation was laid by Shusun Tong, such classicists as Jia Yi, Dong Zongshu, one Wang Ji 王 吉 , and Liu Xiang were all preoccupied with, lamenting their inability to effect substantial changes.[52] Alas, Jia Yi's biography in *Historian's Records*, chapter 84, is shared with Qu Yuan.[53] This portentous pairing with the maligned high minister of Chu, who committed suicide to prove his probity, foreshadows the greatness of Jia as a writer, his importance as a political advisor, his disgraceful treatment at court, and ultimately, his tragic death at his own hand.

When Jia Yi continued with his policy initiatives, including reforming the legal code and relocating the feudal princes within the capital area, the emperor suggested that Jia be made chancellor. This proved too much for the senior advisors, including those who had worked with Lu Jia to quell the Lǚ clan.

[50] His biographies are recorded at *Shiji* 84:2491–2504 and *Hanshu* 48.2221–65. See Wang Xingguo, *Jia Yi pingzhuan*; Xu Fuguan, *Liang Han sixiangshi*, 2:109–74; Qi Yuzang 祁玉章, *Jiazi tanwei* 賈子探微 (Taipei: Sanmin Shuju, 1969).
[51] *Shiji* 84.2492.
[52] Consult *Hou-Hanshu* 35.1205.
[53] In contrast, chapter 48 of *Hanshu* is devoted exclusively to Jia.

Therefore, a concerted effort was made to get rid of him. By denigrating his youth and learning, and calumniating his person, they succeeded in orchestrating his fall from favor. He was dismissed and exiled, assuming the nominal post of family tutor to the King of Changsha. It was on this journey while passing the river Xiang that he composed his famous *fu* prose-poem lamenting Qu Yuan. After serving the prince for three years, the baleful visit of an owl inspired his second most famous poem, a *fu* on the owl. After another year, in 173 BC he was summoned back to court as advisor and appointed tutor to the emperor's youngest son King Huai of Liang 梁懷王, Liang Ji 劉 揖 . But in 169 BC, after his royal student died in a horse-riding accident, Jia Yi was so affected that he languished in sorrow for a year before dying at the age of thirty-three.

Much of Jia Yi's work is still extant. His collected essays, gathered in a compilation of fifty-eight fascicles, is entitled *New Writings* 新書 and is recorded in Ban Gu's "Monograph on Literature."[54] A collection of bureaucratic documents in five fascicles is attributed to Jia Yi by Ban, *Regulations for Officers in the Five Bureaus* 五曹官制.[55] Some details of Jia Yi's life and career were gleaned by Sima Qian by exchanging letters with two of Jia Yi's grandsons. He also included the texts of two of Jia's *fu* within Jia's biography, out of a total of seven fascicles of individual items preserved in the imperial library.[56] Ban, who was an accomplished composer of *fu* himself, ranked Jia Yi only behind Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179–127 BC) in attainment among Han *fu* poets.[57] In Ban's *History of Han* biography of Jia Yi, he included several of Jia Yi's policy memorials, explaining in his appended appraisal that he "had gathered the ones most urgently relevant for contemporary affairs and recorded them into his biography" 掇其切於世事者著于傳云。[58]

The advice dispensed by Jia Yi for government policies and administrative practice was assembled in the form of separate essays in his *New Works*. This book contains the notable essay on "Faulting Qin," that itself reiterates the need for different techniques for the separate endeavors of conquest and unification verses consolidation and rule. In addition to practical policy advice on diplomacy with the nomadic Xiongnu threat from the northwest, agriculture as the base of economics, and the mechanics of governing, his political thought is broadly represented within. It may be categorized as the theoretical foundation of a united empire and the ritual basis of centralized control, both ideals that he was eager to support. Finally, for education, he treats the ontological basis of classical learning, for both sovereign and subject, which points to the moral imperative of education. As it is in this last field that he makes his contribution to classical scholarship, it will take up the rest of our attention regarding him.

[54] *Hanshu* 30.1726.
[55] *Hanshu* 30.1734.
[56] *Hanshu* 30.1747.
[57] *Hanshu* 30.1756.
[58] *Hanshu* 30.1747.

Jia Yi's essay "Exhortation to Learning" 勸學, in four parts, continues along the path of self-cultivation as set forth by Lu Jia. It commences with two nods to historical precedents for the lessons they embody—one the legendary sage Shun 舜and the other the ancient temptress Xi Shi 西施 (5th century BC). Jia commences with a side-glance at Mencius by stressing the common nature shared between Shun and himself. The difference in reputation is explained only by the deep commitment on the part of the sage to learn: "What is the sole difference? Just that Shun was assiduous and tireless and pursued his will, whereas I indulge myself and do not engage in self introspection" 獨何與？然則舜僅俛而加志，我儃儇而弗省耳.[59] The lesson to be drawn from Xi Shi is that students are required to adorn themselves morally, just as anciently, Xi Shi adorned herself with white powder for her face, dark kohl for her eyebrows, and fragrant flowers—Chinese angelica and spiderwort—for her apparel. Otherwise, her flaws would render her repellent instead of attractive, despite her fine figure and admirable ambition. Then Jia Yi stresses the need for a teacher in the learning endeavor, but illustrates this need in an ancient teaching setting by ritualizing—therefore co-opting it for Confucians—a teaching setting borrowed from the *Zhuangzi* through adding such required elements as seeking out a teacher (*qinshi* 親 師), approaching him, paying ritual respect by standing and then posing a thoughtful question, and finally sitting reverently to receive the teaching, as explained in volume 1 of the author's series of studies:[60]

> Formerly Nanrong Zhu was ashamed that he had abandoned the Way, hence he traversed mountains and crossed rivers,[61] braving brambles and thorns, travelling the road for more than a thousand *li*, crossing hundreds of stages and doubling his callouses, never daring to rest for long. He encountered Laozi, who appeared like a stern but kind father. Zhu was orderly like a line of geese, and turned his back on the sun (to face north), stood erect like the monopod monster Kui, and approached like a snake. Only afterward did he dare to pose a question. He was instructed with one lofty sermon that was like enjoying the repast at the Tailao sacrifice after ten days. By this his discernment reached heaven and earth, and his conduct edified later generations.
>
> 昔者南榮跦醜聖道之忘乎己，故步陟山川，坌冒楚棘，彌道千餘

[59] *Xinshu,* "Quanxue" 勸學, in *Kongcongzi, Xinyu, Xinshu: Fuji liangtongshu* 孔叢子新語新書附輯兩同書, Zhongguo Zixue Mingzhu Jicheng Bianyin Jijinhui 中國子學名著集成編印基金會, ed. (Taipei: Zhongguo Zixue Mingzhu Jicheng Bianyin Jijinhui, 1977), 8.3a.
[60] Honey, *A History of Chinese Classical Scholarship,* vol. 1, chap. 7, "Orality and Ritualized Teaching, Part Two." The original story is found in *Zhuangzi jishi,* "Gengsang Chu" 庚桑楚, 23.33 but leaves out the details of the teaching setting.
[61] Reading 跋涉 for 步陟, as suggested by Rao Dongyuan 饒東原, ed. *Xinyi Xinshu duben* 新譯新書讀本 (Taipei: Sanmin Shuju, 1998), 368.

，百舍重繭，而不敢久息。既遇老聃，噩若慈父，鴈行避景，屬立蛇進，而後敢問。見教一高言，若饑十日而得大牢焉。是達若天地，行生後世。[62]

Of course, the teacher to be so approached is Jia Yi himself, as revealed in the concluding remarks of his disciples in the final section:

> Now master, your discernment has surpassed that of Laozi, and the talent of your disciples is no less than that of Nanrong Zhu, yet we did not have to travel the distance of a thousand *li* or suffer from doubling callouses. We have personally sat together with a great worthy, and looked at each other knee to knee. Your conversation was free and easygoing, with no question going unanswered, this is due to heaven endowing us with a great mandate to complete our virtue. We have heard it said, "It is hard to gain when it is time, and easy to lose." Students should be encouraged by this! Heavenly blessing will not come again!"
>
> 今夫子之達，佚乎老聃，而諸子之材，不避榮跌，而無千里之遠，重繭之患，親與巨賢連席而坐，對膝相視，從容談語，無問不應，是天降大命以達吾德也。吾聞之曰：“時難得而易失也。”學者勉之乎！天祿不重。[63]

This educational program was comparative to ancient *paideia*, a variety of humanistic education based on Roman virtues to qualify students to be citizens, without of course the strict discipline needed for military service. The program as envisioned by Jia Yi can obviously be traced to Confucius,[64] but by Han times, Lu Jia had also furthered this orientation in his *New Lectures*, fascicle 12: "Now, one orally chants the words of the sages, and personally learns to imitate the conduct of the worthies. If one perseveres over a long time and does not fail, toils and does not falter, although one might not become the lord, (one is in fact a lord)" 夫口誦聖人之言，身學賢者之行，久而不弊，勞而不廢,雖未為君□□□□□□已。[65]

The *sine qua non* of studying the classics, both internally through chanting to absorb moral lessons imperceptibly, and externally, to recite and be able to teach the texts of the individual classics in social settings, is evident in their very nature: they derive from the Dao. For Jia Yi, the Dao is Daoist in its pervasive and subliminal workings, yet Confucian in its social effects of ordering the human realm. Specific "techniques" of the Way, called *shu* 術, are techniques that facilitate how the Way operates in the physical realm, or as Jia Yi puts it, how it

[62] *Xinshu*, "Quanxue," 8.3a–b.
[63] *Xinshu*, "Quanxue," 8.3b.
[64] See *A History of Chinese Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1, chap. 4.
[65] *Xinyu*, "Siwu" 思務, 2.14b–15a. The translation is completed by the parallel passage below that reads: "Although one is not the lord Yao or Shun, one can be a Yao and Shun" 雖非堯、舜之君，則亦堯、舜也" (2.15a).

"interacts with things" (*jiewu* 接物), in this case, with the human realm. The main techniques for the ruler to employ the Confucian Way are such social virtues as humaneness, propriety, ritual correctness, trustworthiness, justice, and legality.[66] He writes in the "Techniques of the Way" 道術 of the need for officials and rulers to comprehend this Way; the degree of intimacy officials and rulers enjoy with the Way determines their ranking in the hierarchy: "Hence, he who maintains the Way is called an official; he who delights in the Way is called a gentleman; he who understands the Way is called enlightened; he who enacts the Way is called a worthy. He who is both enlightened and worthy, this one is called a sage" 故守道者謂之士，樂道者謂之君子，知道者謂之明，行道者謂之賢。且明且賢，此謂聖人。[67]

As material manifestations of the Dao, the classics play an essential role in how the Dao operates in the human realm. The Six Classics are part of a series of six aspects of the Way, such as the Six Principles (*liuli* 六理) of the Way (the Way itself, virtue, nature, spirit, understanding, and destiny), also manifesting as Six Models (*liufa* 六法), depending on where they operate in different interior realms. Externally, they form the Six Techniques 六術 (*liushu*六術) and the Six Conducts (*liuxing* 六行): humaneness, propriety, ritual correctness, wisdom, trustworthiness, and harmony.[68] Only the former kings were able to comprehend and examine them. For this reason, Jia Yi concludes the following in his essay entitled the "Six Techniques":

> The former kings established education for the world to train people in the qualities they should possess and to guide their emotions in what was genuine. Therefore, internally they were based on the Six Models, and externally, they were embodied in the Six Conducts. Together with the techniques of the six works *Poems*, *Documents*, *Changes*, *Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Rites*, and *Music*, they formed the grand meaning. Therefore, they are called the Six Arts (classics). Having people follow them to cultivate themselves, they will master the Six Conducts when fully cultivated. If the Six Conducts are not correctly engaged in, then they must return and unite with the Six Models. The reason the Arts (classics) are six in number, is that they imitate the Six Models and embody the Six Conducts. Hence quantifying them as six makes them complete.
>
> 是以先王為天下設教，因人所有以之為訓，道人之情，以之為真，是故內本六法， 外體六行，以與詩、書、易、春秋、禮、樂六者之術，以為大義，謂之六藝。令人緣之以自脩，脩成則得六行

[66] *Xinshu*, "Daoshu" 道術, 8.4a–b.
[67] *Xinshu*, "Daoshu" 道術, 8.6b.
[68] For a more refined treatment of these and other categories of six, consult Xu et al., "Liang Han juan"," 50–52.

矣。六行不正，反合六法。藝之所以六者，法六法而體六行故也，故曰六則備矣。[69]

The "techniques" of the Six Classics are the moral lessons one must embody in one's behavior, whether above as ruler and official or below as people. Therefore, study of the classics is the study of the nature of the Way as it operates within the human realm. Without such a classical education, one's rule will not bring about the order and harmony among men intended by nature.

Jia Yi expounded this doctrine in a different essay, "Explaining the Way and Virtue" 道 德 說, in which he analyzes the different functions of each classic as it embodies a different aspect of the Way and its attendant virtues:

> For this reason, when this (virtue) is recorded on bamboo and silk it is called writings. The *Documents* records it; the *Poems* makes a record of its aim; the *Changes* records its divinations; the *Spring and Autumn Annals* records its chronicles; the *Rites* records its embodiments; the *Music* records its joy. Those who sacrifice to the gods and spirits are those who are blessed by it; those who are broadly learned and able to debate and deliberate over it are those who can speak of it.
>
> 是故著此竹帛謂之書，書者此之著者也，詩者此之志者也，易者此之占者也，春秋者此之紀者也，禮者此之體者也，樂者此之樂者也，祭祀鬼神為此福者也，博學辯議為此辭者也。[70]

A later passage in the same essay more clearly articulates the orientation of the classics towards moral cultivation. It seems to be a deliberate recapitulation for clarification as a sort of self-authored commentary, a useful teaching technique for students:

> The *Documents* records the principles of virtue on bamboo and silk and displays them, allowing persons to view them within its pages to preserve the endeavors they should perform; hence it was said, "The *Documents* records it." The *Poems* makes a record of the principles of virtue and clarifies their intentions, allowing persons to follow them to complete themselves; hence it is said, "The *Poems* makes a record of its aim." The *Changes* records the principles of the essence of virtue for men to examine and to see whether they are followed, to divine whether auspicious or baleful, and hence it is said, "The *Changes* records its divinations." The *Spring and Autumn Annals* maintains the principles of former affairs to see whether commensurate or not with virtue, and to chronicle their successes or failures to form the rules for following a teacher; hence it was said, "The *Spring and Autumn Annals* records its chronicles." The *Rites* embodies the principles of virtue and creates their graduated rules, and completes the affairs of man; hence it is said, "The *Rites* records its embodiments." If in the five works *Music*, *Documents*, *Poems*, *Changes*, and *Rites*, virtue is complete, then they are all commensurate with virtue.
>
> 書者，著德之理於竹帛而陳之，令人觀焉，以著所從事，故曰：書者，此之著者也。詩者，志德之理，而明其指，令人緣之以自成也，故曰詩者，此之志者也。易者， 察人之精德之理與弗循，而占其吉凶，故曰易者，此之占者也。春秋者，守往事之 合德之理與不合，而紀其成敗，以為來事師法，故曰春秋者，此之紀者也。禮者， 體德理而為之節文，成人事，故曰禮者，此之體者也。樂者，書、詩、易、春秋、 禮五者之道備，則合於德矣。[71]

Another nod to Jia's heritage as a student within a Confucian learning lineage is discernible in his *New Writings*. This heritage was already alluded to through the phrase "the rules for following a teacher" and was seen in the previous ritualization of the teaching setting of Nanrong Zhu when he approached Laozi. This is Jia Yi's use, albeit sparing, of the dialogue. He deliberately preserved the dialogic format in two of his essays. First, the essay, "Techniques of the Way," is entirely in the format of a catechism; its early date of composition perhaps reflects Jia Yi's mindset as either a newly minted classical master or a newly employed Confucian advisor before he became fully absorbed in his political career. It commences with a question: "Someone said, 'Several times I have heard of the name Way, but never knew its substance. May I please inquire what does the term Way mean?' I answered, saying, 'As for the Way, it is what we follow to interact with things . . .'" 曰：數聞道之名矣， 而未知其實也。請問道者何謂也？對曰：道者，所從接物也.[72] The same format informs the entire essay, divisible as it is into four separate exchanges of questions and answers. Modern commentator Rao Dongyuan regards this format as a sure sign that this essay was based on an exchange with students.[73] Second, the essay "Lectures on Cultivating Good Government" 修政語 records oral discourses of the ancient sages pronouncing on political problems. Part 2 commences with King Wen of Zhou and is formatted into a catechism, while part 1, recording pre-Zhou sage kings, is not. But the early Zhou Kings in part 2 pose questions to worthy ministers and obscure wise men, not the normal direction for learning through the format of a catechism.[74] Rao Dongyuan regards this essay as deriving from the period during which Jia Yi served as the tutor to King Huai of Liang, so the format of a catechism was

[69] *Xinshu*, "Liushu" 六術, 8.7b–8a.
[70] *Xinshu*, "Daode Shuo," 8.11a–12b.
[71] *Xinshu*, "Daode Shuo," 8.14a–b.
[72] *Xinshu*, "Daoshu," 8.3b–4a.
[73] Rao, *Xinshu duben*, 371. On page 4 Rao assigns the provenance of this essay to a group of four that were composed before Jia Yi took office at court: "Exhortation to Learning," "Explaining Dao and Virtue," "The Techniques of the Dao," and the "Six Techniques."
[74] *Xinshu*, "Xiuzheng yuxia" 修政語下, 9.15b–20a.

suitable for the give and take of private instruction, yet he placed himself as the responder, not the questioner, as befitting his status of royal tutor.

Jia Yi wrote prose that was noted for its poetic imagery. Here I note two striking examples. First, in discussing the dangers of royal princes and nephews being set up as feudal kings, he wrote, "The situation in the world today is just like being afflicted with great swelling of the legs. The swelling of the thigh makes it as large as one's waist, and the swelling of the toes makes them as large as one's buttock. With such a vicious disease, it is difficult to bend or stretch. If the chance to cure this disease is not seized now, it will become a chronic illness; even with a Bian Jue, there will be nothing one can do" 天下之勢，方病大尰，一脛之大幾如要， 一指之大幾如股，惡病也，平居不可屈信。. . . 失今弗治，必為錮疾，後雖有扁鵲，弗能為已. [75] Second, in refuting those who argued that the realm was at peace, he retorted, "Now it is like placing fire under a pile of firewood and sleeping on top. Just because the fire has not yet reached the firewood, you can't call it at peace—it is a spurious kind of peace!" 夫抱火措之積薪之下，而寢其上，火未及蓼，因謂之安，偷安者也。 [76]

One of Jia Yi's evocative tropes became paradigmatic. In his essay "Ranks and Grades" 階級 he cites an old saw: "A rustic proverb says, 'Throw something at a rat but fear breaking an implement.' This is a good metaphor. When a rat is near an implement, one should be careful and not throw anything for fear of breaking the implement. How much more so in the case of great ministers who are close to his lord on high?" 鄙諺曰：欲投鼠而忌器，此善喻也。鼠近於器，尚憚而弗投，恐傷器也， 況乎貴大臣之近於主上乎.[77] It was occasionally recycled by later ministers in their memorials to the throne, such as Kong Rong 孔 融 (153–208). His counsel to the throne to let slide for the nonce the threat posed by the warlord of Jingzhou, the distant royal cousin Liu Biao 劉 表 (142–208), included Jia Yi's advice: "This ignorant person says that, even though we cry heavily, it would be best to hide and suffer them. What Jia Yi said about 'throwing at a rat but fearing the implement' is probably referring to this situation" 愚謂雖有重戾，必宜隱忍。賈誼所謂"擲鼠忌器"，蓋謂此也.[78] Other felicitous phrasings became proverbial, such as when Ban Biao 班彪 (3–54) paraphrases Jia Yi's description of the influence of good neighbors: "If one habitually dwells with upright men, one cannot help but be upright, just like growing up in Qi one cannot help but speak the Qi language" 習與正人居之不能無正也，猶生長於齊之不能不齊言也.[79] Ban Gu does substitute the quality of "goodness" (*shan* 善) for "uprightness" to confirm Confucius's point about it being habit or practice that separates human nature.[80] And Fan Zhun 樊準 (fl. AD 100) commences his remonstrance to the throne in AD 103 with a quote he erroneously attributes to Jia Yi: "Your servant has heard that Jia Yi had a phrase, 'The lord of men cannot not learn'" 臣聞賈誼有言，人君不可以不學.[81] This phrase actually was in the intellectual ether of the times, but its attribution to Jia Yi should be viewed as a mark of respect for his proverbial wisdom.

This care with diction and imaginative metaphors bespeaks his pervasive interest in language for its own sake. This is also seen in his choice to engage in the nitty-gritty of philology, as seen in his only work known to be strictly textual in its approach, titled *Exegetical Glosses on the Commentary of Mr. Zuo on the Spring and Autumn Annals* 秋左氏傳訓詁, which he taught to a man from Zhao, one Sire Guan 貫公.[82] The *Chronicles of Han* 漢紀 also notes this scholarly trend in Jia Yi and reveals another contemporary if senior practitioner: "When the Han arose, Zhang Cang and Jia Yi both wrote glosses on *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* 漢興張蒼賈誼皆為左氏 訓 .[83] Zhang Cang (253–152 BC) was a former court official during the Qin and prime minister to Emperor Wen. According to a lost passage from Liu Xiang's "Bielu" bibliography, preserved in Du Yu's preface to his commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, Zhang Cang received his training in the text of *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* directly from Xunzi himself:

> Zuo Qiuming transmitted it to Zeng Sen; Sen transmitted it to Wu Qi; Qi transmitted it to his son Qi; Qi transmitted it to Duo Jiao, a man of Chu; Duo Jiao composed a *Selected Copies* in eight *scrolls*; he transmitted it to Yu Qin who composed a *Selected Copies* in nine *scrolls*; he transmitted it to Xun Qing; Xun Qing transmitted it to Zhang Cang.
>
> 左丘明授曾申；申授吳起；起授其子期；期授楚人鐸椒，鐸椒作《抄撮》八卷；授虞卿，虞卿作《抄撮》九卷；授荀卿；荀卿授張蒼。[84]

As a pupil of Xunzi, Zhang's eminence in Confucian circles was most likely supreme, and he would naturally be the most authoritative teacher for Jia Yi, at least for this text. Zhang composed a commentary that is in all likelihood the one identified by Ban Gu as *Mr. Zhang's Subtleties* 張 氏 微 , in ten scrolls. [85] And

[75] *Xinshu*, "Dadu" 大都, 1.15a.
[76] *Xinshu*, "Shuning" 數寧, 1.10a.
[77] *Xinshu*, "Jieji" 階級, 2.6b–7a.
[78] *Hou-Hanshu* 70.2269.
[79] *Xinshu*, "Baofu" 保傅, 5.4b.
[80] For Ban Biao's paraphrase, see *Hou-Hanshu* 40a.1327–28.
[81] *Hou-Hanshu* 32.1125. It can be found in the *Guoyu* 國語 "Jinyu" 晉語, 9, *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語, "Zilu chujian" 子路初見, and Liu Xiang's *Shuoyuan*, "Jianben" 建本, all with slight variations of who must study: "a man" (*ren* 人), "the gentleman" (*junzi* 君子), or "the one who possesses the state" (*youguo zhe* 有國者).
[82] *Hou-Hanshu* 79b.2577.
[83] *Hanji* 漢紀 "Xiao Cheng Huangdi ji er"孝成皇帝紀二." http://ctext.org/qian-han-ji, accessed 22 November 2015.
[84] *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan Zhengyi*, "*Chunqiu* xu"春秋序, 1.1b-2a.
[85] *Hanshu* 30.1713.

according to the same textual filiation noted previously, preserved by Lu Deming, Zhang did in fact transmit his learning to Jia Yi. Although no interpretive work by Jia on *Mr. Zuo's Commentary* is known to have been composed, Zhang Binglin does identify one of the fascicles in Jia's *New Writings* as a commentary on the *Zuozhuan* due to its interpretive treatment of themes common to both. It is significant that the title of this fascicle, "Examining Subtleties" 審 微, reflects the title of his teacher Zhang Cang's own commentary on the text, *Mr. Zhang's Subtleties*.[86] Unfortunately, when at court, Jia Yi's brilliance as political thinker, advisor, and writer became threatening enough to overcome any lingering personal master-disciple ties. Zhang ended up banishing Jia Yi despite their evident shared fondness for *Zuo's Commentary* and exegetical commentaries.

The existence of these works by Zhang Cang and Jia Yi during the early Han bespeaks the practice of engaging in the close reading and exegesis of texts; we may be warranted to posit the practice of related philological efforts at the time, such as textual criticism to recover the original countenances of texts to put the classics into shape for transmittal through the instruction of personal disciples, and this over and beyond the training officials in Confucian thought, ritual, and political precedents. For as the *Records of the Historian* states, "When the Han arose, it modified the failures of the Qin, and collected fascicles and bundles of works on a large scale, and opened up and broadened the conduit for offering up books" 漢興，改秦之敗，大收篇籍，廣開獻書之路.[87] Apparently, there was a wealth of materials that needed editing. Yet this need was not urgent enough to surface among the many tasks that awaited the construction of the early regime. Given the paucity of historical evidence, we cannot discern the different degrees of emphasis weighted for each of the previously mentioned endeavors, if they did operate at this early date. But another witness to this alternate strain of intellectual engagement with the classics, apart from learning how to read and chant them, is Han Ying.

2.4. Han Ying: Exoteric Textual Critic and Esoteric Interpreter

Han Ying 韓 嬰 (ca. 200–ca. 130 BC) was a specialist in the interpretation of the *Poems*, having independent views that differed from the contemporary Qi school of Yuan Gu 轅固 or the Lu school of Shen Pei 申培.[88] Of the three early Han masters of the *Poems*, Han's work is the only one to survive, although it has not been transmitted *in toto*. He hailed from the state of Yan and was appointed

[86] Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1869–1936), *Chunqiu Zuozhuan du* 春秋左傳讀, in *Zhang Taiyan quanji* 章太言全集, 5 vols. (Shanghai: Renmin Chubanshe, 1982), 2:421.

[87] Zhang, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan du*, 421.

[88] Collectively, these three constituted the so-called "Three Masters" 三家 of the *Poems*, three separate schools of interpretation that stood apart from the Mao school, which when officially established soon rendered the others superannuated. See chapter 3, "The Case of the Poems."

erudite under Emperor Wen, and under Emperor Jing he was assigned to be the tutor to the King of Changshan 常 山 王 , Liu Shun 劉 舜 (r. 145–114 BC); consequently, Han was sometimes referred to as Tutor Han 韓太傅, or just Master Han.

His reading of the *Poems* is encapsulated in the catch phrase "He inferred the intentions of the poets" 推詩人之意; that is, he interpreted the moral significance of the *Poems*.[89] Yet he may have held to a more ecumenical approach, for he conveyed his teachings on the *Poems* in the form of two separate commentaries, each presumably with a unique approach. Work one was *Master Han's Esoteric Commentary on the Poems* 韓詩內傳, seemingly a specialized work designed for private consumption, while work two, *Master Han's Exoteric Commentary on the Poems* 韓詩外傳, was more general in nature and suitable for public consumption. Methodologically speaking, we may be justified by treating the "esoteric" commentary as concerned with the internal text of the classic and the "exoteric" as concerned with its message and moral application. Only the latter is now integrally extant.[90] Since the work cites Xunzi in some fifty-four instances, modern specialist Xu Pingzhang regards Han Ying's *Exoteric Commentary* as being heavily influenced by Xunzi's views on the *Poems*.[91] Zhang Fengyi goes even further, claiming that the Han school of interpretation of the *Poems* was transmitted from Xunzi,[92] despite the line of transmission remaining unclear. But noting the philosophical differences embodied in the *Xunzi* and *Esoteric Commentary*, Gong Pengcheng clearly separates Han Ying from the Xunzi camp.[93] Still, the format of his composition is in general similar to that of the *Xunzi* in that he cites historical exempla or makes moral pronouncements and concludes with a quote from the *Poems*. Han Ying also liberally quotes from an unidentified "Commentary" (*zhuan* 傳), something Xunzi did in some twenty instances; it is not unlikely that Han Ying had inherited a collection of old commentaries handed down from Xunzi. And his intellectual differences with Xunzi are much less than those of Xunzi's pupils Li Si and Han Fei. So we may

[89] *Hanshu* 88.3613. This biography adds that he also "inferred" the meaning of the *Changes*. For Han Ying's moral and theoretical hermeneutics, see Xu et al., "Liang Han juan"," 56–67, and Xu Fuguan 徐復觀, *Liang Han sixiangshi, juan 3: Hanshi waizhuan de yanjiu* 兩漢思想史卷三韓詩外傳的研究 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1979).

[90] See Xu Weiyu 許維遹, comp. *Hanshi waizhuan jishi* 韓詩外傳集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1980); James Robert Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952).

[91] Xu, *Xunzi yu Liang Han Ruxue*, 123.

[92] Zhang, *Xi Han wenxue sixiangshi*, 67.

[93] Gong Pengcheng 龔鵬程, *Handai sichao* 汉代思潮, rev. ed. (Beijing: Commercial Press, 2008), 172–90.

be safe in assuming a scholastic debt owed to Xunzi on the part of Han Ying, while noting the latter writer's independence of thought.

The extant *Exoteric Commentary* proceeds, as before noted, by episodic narratives of exemplary figures in Chinese history, whose words and deeds are worthy of emulation. These episodes are capped by a quote from the *Poems* to crystalize the moral lesson to be derived from these figures; sometimes Confucius or Xunzi are quoted as ancillary argumentation. This format, with its starting point outside of the text of the *Poems*, only approaching this classic to clinch the conclusion, may be the reason for the name *Exoteric*. Regardless, the type of morals to be drawn focus on loyalty and filial piety. Often Han Ying notes that the obligation of loyalty to one's liege and the inborn requirements of filial piety are at odds.[94] The contemporary political thought expressed includes the effects of the sympathetic resonance between heaven and man, the efficacy of rule by ritual, and the positive effects of the Huang-Lao strain of governing policy.[95] Gong Pengcheng instead treats four other concepts within the framework of the aforementioned political themes: study (*xue* 學), accommodation or acquiescence (*shun* 順), timeliness (*shi* 時), and nurturing (*yang* 養). The debt to Confucian self-cultivation, Huang-Lao political thought, and Daoist quietist techniques is apparent.[96]

Let us take a closer look at Han Ying's views on learning. The following passage from *juan* 2 makes a general statement on the imperative of study for preparation to serve the state:

> If jade is not polished, it will not be a perfect vessel; if a man is not taught, his will not be perfect conduct. Though you have in your house jade worth a thousand [pieces of] gold, you still will be poor unless you know how to handle it. If a good craftsman works on it, then it will be valued and handed down to posterity. When a superior man studies, then he is of use to the state. Truly in his movements he makes the people easy, and his deliberations result in an extension of human life. The Ode says, "The virtuous man, the princely one, / Rectifies the people of the state. / He rectifies the people of the state— / May he continue for ten thousand years!"
>
> 玉不琢，不成器；人不學，不成行。家有千金之玉，不知治，猶之貧也；良工宰之， 則富及子孫。君子謀之，則為國用。故動則安百姓，議則延民命。詩曰：“淑人 君子，正是國人；正是國人，胡不萬年。”[97]

[94] Gong, *Handai sichao*, 189–91. This selection contextualizes Han Ying's views on this moral dilemma within the history of thought.

[95] For Han Ying's poetics, see Xu et al., "Liang Han juan"," 56–67.

[96] Gong, *Handai sichao*, 172–96.

[97] *Hanshi waizhuan: Fu buyi jiaozhu shiyi* 韓詩外傳.附補逸校拾遺, 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985), 1:24; trans. James Robert Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the* Classic of Songs (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 72.

Three contiguous passages from *juan* 3 are sufficient to illustrate the means as well as the thrust of Han Ying's teachings on learning. They are linked rhetorically by the fact that they all adopt the same quote from the *Poems* as tag endings. The first passage places the process of learning within the purview of a teacher, who must be approached with ritual formality:

> Meng, Prince of Chang, wishing to study under Minzi, sent his carriage togo meet him. Mizi said, "Etiquette (*li*) demands that [the pupil] come to study, not that [the master] go to teach. If you study by having your teacher come to you, you will be unable to learn. If I go to teach you, I will be unable to influence you. Meng Prince of Chang then said, "I respectfully obey your command. Next day, lifting up his robe [and hastily taking a low seat (sitting on a mat)], he asked to receive instruction. The Ode says, "By daily progress and monthly advance."
>
> 孟嘗君請學於閔子；使車往迎閔子。閔子曰：禮有來學，而無往教。致師而學，不能學；往教，則不能化君也。。。於是孟嘗君曰：敬聞命矣。明日、袪衣請受業。詩曰：日就月將。[98]

The second passage treats the effects of study on moral character development and the resultant self-awareness concerning deficiencies in one's learning. The need for continuous learning under a teacher is stressed to overcome such deficiencies, a need that is acute even after becoming a teacher oneself; learning and teaching thus complement each other:

> Though a sword may be edged, if it is not sharpened, it will not cut. A man may be able, but if he does not study, he will not excel. There may be fine wine and superior delicacies, but without tasting them their excellence will not be known. There may be an excellent Way, but without study it will not be understood. Thus after study one realizes his shortcomings, and after teaching he realizes his shallowness. Because he falls short, he is ashamed of himself and makes an effort; because he is shallow, he give himself over to a teacher and become familiar with his subject. Viewed in the light of this, teaching and learning complement one another. When Zixia inquired about the Odes, he knew two parts from having studied one. Confucius said, "It is Shang [Zixia] who can bring out my meaning. Now I can begin to talk about the Odes with him." When Confucius gave distinction to that noble character, his own saintly virtue was completed. When the disciple received his influence, his own virtue was manifested. The Ode says, "By daily progress and monthly advance."
>
> 劍雖利，不厲不斷；材雖美，不學不高。雖有旨酒嘉殽，不嘗，

[98] *Hanshi waizhuan*, 1:33; trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 92.

不知其旨；雖有善 道，不學，不達其功。故學然後知不足，教然後知不究。不足，故自愧而勉，不究、故盡師而熟。由此觀之，則教學相長也。子夏問詩，學一以知二，孔子曰：起予者， 商也，始可與言詩已矣。孔子賢乎英傑，而聖德備，弟子被光景而德彰。詩曰：日 就月將。[99]

The third passage culminates the learning process by explaining how learning honors the teacher and how this honor redounds to reverencing the Way:

> Now in the conduct of studies it is making the teacher respected that is difficult. If the teacher is respected, then the Way is honored. If the Way is honored, then the people know that learning is to be revered. Hence, by the ceremony (*li*) of the Great School, even though he address the Son of Heaven, [the teacher] does not have to face the north; this is out of honor for the teacher and esteem for the Way. Truly, "one who is given credence without having to speak, and who inspires awe without making a display of anger"—this may be said of a teacher. The Ode says, "By daily progress and monthly advance, / I will learn from those who are continuously bright in their enlightenment."

凡學之道，嚴師為難。師嚴然後道尊；道尊然後民知敬學。故太學之禮，雖詔於天子，無北面，尊師尚道也。故不言而信，不怒而威，師之謂也。詩曰：日就月將， 學有緝熙于光明。[100]

The object of such devoted learning is mastery of the rites under the direction of a teacher, as explained by a passage contained in *juan* 5 that is based on the thought of Xunzi in his "Exhortation to Learning":

> *Li* resembles the form of Heaven and Earth. While [*li*] is in accord with human feelings, it goes on to bring them under control. Without *li*, how would it be possible to rectify oneself? Without a teacher, how can one know the correctness of *li*? If you approve of what *li* approves, it is because your feelings are at rest in *li*. If you speak as your teacher speaks, it is because your knowledge is equal to your teacher's. When your feelings are at rest in *li* and your knowledge is equal to your teacher's, then yours is the way of the superior man. When words correspond with reason and conduct is in accordance with the true principle, the empire is in accord. The Ode says, "Without consciousness of effort on your part, / In accordance with the pattern of God."

禮者、則天地之體，因人情而爲之節文者也。無禮，何以正身？無師、安知禮之也。禮然而然，是情安於禮也；師雲而雲，是知若師也。情安禮，知若師，則是君子之 道。言中倫，行中理，天下順矣。詩曰：“不識不知，順帝之則。”[101]

[99] *Hanshi waizhuan*, 1:33; trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 92–93.
[100] *Hanshi waizhuan*, 1:33; trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 93.

Through learning one may transcend the common folk (*su* 俗) to become a knight or cultivated gentry (*shi* 士), then advance to the level of the gentleman (*junzi* 君子). Beyond this attainable stage is that of the sage (*sheng* 聖), which one should aspire to imitate, to follow, to admire, but not hope to become.[102] Impelling all of this advancement is study of the rites, the training of the emotions, and the service of others. This is explained at length in *juan* 3, another free adaption from *Xunzi*, this time chapter 5, "Feixiang" 非相.

The *Exoteric Commentary on the Poems* seldom mentions the classics. In one passage Confucius links the study of the *Poems* and the *Documents* with that of the rites and music, and he shoulders the responsibility for not teaching them with sufficient effectiveness, a fact discernible from the intemperate impulsiveness of Zilu. His behavior obviously demonstrates his deficiencies as a student, for he had not gained the self-mastery that the study of these texts and cultural forms fostered, a virtue couched by Confucius in the moral generalities of "humaneness and fealty" (*renyi* 仁 義).[103] Another passage describes one of the effects of the Qin control of learning, for along with the "abandonment of the *Poems* and *Documents*" came the "nullification of rites and music" 非禮義，棄詩書.[104] Only in chapter 5 is the term "Six Classics" found: "Now the writings of the Six Classics all are devoted to exhaustive discussion, but they derive [their matter] from the *guanju*. The subject of the *guanju* is great!" 夫六經之策，皆歸論汲汲，蓋取之乎關雎，關雎之事大矣哉。[105]

An opposite tack to the relentless attention paid by this text to the message of the *Poems* is discernible in Han Ying's other commentary on the *Poems*. Fragments of the *Esoteric Commentary* are preserved in various encyclopedias, which have been collated by Ma Guohan, among others.[106] The thrust of these *disjecta membra* point to an alternate view of the nature of the former: it was a textual commentary focusing on words and terms and, therefore, philological rather than hermeneutic. For example, Han Ying identifies the plant *fuyi* 芣 苢 as "plantain," explains the symbolism of the *shu* 殳 "lance" and the function of *luan* 鸞 "bit-bells" that adorned the harnesses of teams of horses, and

[101] *Hanshi waizhuan*, 2:66; trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 170.
[102] See the discussion concerning these various levels at Gong, *Handai sichao*, 175–77.
[103] *Hanshi waizhuan*, 2:83; trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 214.
[104] *Hanshi waizhuan*, 2:67; trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 175.
[105] *Hanshi waizhuan*, 2:61; trans. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 214.
[106] Ma Guohan 馬國翰 (1794–1857), *Yuhanshanfang ji yishu* 玉函山房輯佚書, 8 vols. (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshu, 1990), 2:1–3. For five other collections of stray quotes, from Song to Qing, see Sun Qizhi 孫啟治 and Chen Jianhua 陳建華, eds., *Zhongguo guyishu jiben mulu jieti* 中國古佚書輯本目錄解題 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2009), 33–34.

differentiates between the varied technical vocabulary for an "imperial hunt," termed *tian* 畋 during spring, *sou* 獀 during summer, *xian* 獮 during fall, and *shou* 狩 during winter. Such glossology is absent in the *Exoteric Commentary*. We may speculate that the *Esoteric Commentary* is a record of Han Ying's oral exegesis of his particular textual version of the *Poems*, which text has traditionally been viewed not as an ancient manuscript transmitted from the past, known as an "old text" (*guwen* 古文), but as a reconstituted text dictated by him and transcribed in the contemporary script of the times, known as a "modern text" (*jinwen* 今文). As a set of glosses and explanations, Han's *Esoteric Commentary* takes its place besides the glosses of Jia Yi and Zhang Cang on *Mr. Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* as revealing a more text-oriented approach to classical studies, one that was concerned with explaining *mingwu* 名物, "names and objects/institutions," during the early Han that existed along with the approach of message interpretation and moral application.

Han Ying also composed two more short studies devoted to the *Poems*. They parallel his two longer commentaries in the division of methodologies, both exegetical: *Han's Glosses on the Poems* 韓詩故 in two scrolls (parsing 故 as 詁), and a *Han's Explanations on the Poems* 韓詩說 in one scroll.[107] The "plantain" is treated again in the *Han's Explanations*. Its fruit is described: "The fuyi is the name of a tree; its fruit is similar to that of a plum" 芣苢木名，實似李.[108] Obviously a tree is not the plant plantain, so one work corrected the other. I suspect that the *Esoteric Commentary* was composed later, since in this instance, Han Ying quotes one Mr. Zhi 直氏 as his authority for identifying the *fuyi* as a plant, seemingly an effort to correct his earlier mistake.

Another work along the same exegetical lines was on the *Changes*; of medium length, it was entitled *Zhouyi zhuan Hanshi* 周易傳韓氏, or *Commentary on the Zhou Changes by Mr. Han*, in three scrolls. It is entered in Ban Gu's bibliographical category as *Mister Han*, two scrolls 韓氏二卷.[109] The "Biography of the Grove of Confucians" explains that "Han Ying also taught the *Changes*, and extended its meaning through composing a commentary" 韓生亦以易授人，推易意而為之傳.[110] Some bibliographers speculate that it later became known as the *Zixia Yizhuan* 子夏易傳, or *Commentary on the Changes by Zixia*, reading the name Zixia not as referring to Confucius's ancient disciple but to Han Ying himself.[111]

[107] Ma, *Yuhanshanfang ji yishu*, 2:3–4 for the *Hanshi shuo*, and 1:490–507 for two chapters of quotations.
[108] *Hanshi shuo* 1:491.
[109] *Hanshu* 30.1703.
[110] *Hanshu* 88.3613.
[111] See Gu Shi 顧實, *Hanshu yiwenzhi jiangshu* 漢書藝文志講疏 (1970; rpt. Taipei: Guangwen Shuju, 1995), 15–16. Chen Hongsen's in-depth analysis, while not confirming Han Ying's authorship of this work, demonstrates that both Liu Xiang and Liuxin credit this work to Han Ying. See Chen Hongsen 陳鴻森, "*Zixia yizhuan* kaobian"子夏易傳考辨 *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 61, Part 2 (1985): 359–404.

Han Ying's reputation as a master of the classics was inextricably connected with both the *Poems* and *Changes*. As for the former, he transmitted his text and traditional readings to one Master Fei from Huainan 淮南費生, and all who "lectured" (*yan* 言) on the *Poems* between the Yan and Zao regions followed Han's views.[112]

Han's remaining intellectual influence and the varying fortunes of his commentary on the *Changes* are epitomized as follows by Sima Qian:

> In the region between Yan and Zhao, people were fond of the *Poems*, so his *Changes* (teachings and text) were slighted; only Mr. Han himself transmitted it. During the reign of Emperor Wu, Ying once debated with Dong Zhongshu before His Highness. Ying was penetrating and insistent, and articulate in explaining how things should be handled. Shu was unable to refute him. Afterwards, Han's grandson Shan became an erudite. During the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (r. 74–49 BC), Master Han from Zhuo Commandery was a descendant, and was recruited on the basis of his learning in the *Changes*, and waited in the palace (as an erudite) for appointment. He said, "That which I have received in the learning of the *Changes* was transmitted by the former tutor. I once was imparted Han on the *Poems*, but it does not compare with Mr. Han on the *Changes* in profundity, so the tutor exclusively transmitted it."
>
> 燕趙間好詩，故其易微，唯韓氏自傳之。武帝時，嬰嘗與董仲舒論於上前，其人精悍，處事分明，仲舒不能難也。後其孫商為博士。孝宣時，涿郡韓生其後也，以易徵，待詔殿中，曰：「所受易即先太傅所傳也。嘗受韓詩，不如韓氏易深，太傅故專傳之。

The *Hanshu* adds that "the Metropolitan Commandant Gai Kuanrao originally received instruction in the *Changes* from Meng Xi. When he saw the *Explanations on the* Changes *by Master Han of Zhuo Commandery*, he became fond of it, and switched teachers and followed him" 司隸校尉蓋寬饒本受易於孟喜，見涿韓生說易而好之，即更從受焉。[113]

[112] *Shiji* 121.3124.
[113] *Hanshu* 88.3614.