Chapter 5

Northern Learning

The Northern Dynasties officially stretch from AD 311, the end of a rebellion of princes during Yongjia Era (307–311), until the reunification of the realm under the Sui dynasty in AD 589. The multifarious episodes of political upheavals, palace putsches, competing polities, and rapid rises and falls make linear treatment of the history of classical scholarship according to dynastic succession unwieldy at best and unrevealing at worst. Instead, prominent classicists will take the fore. Overarching trends are, however, visible from the historical distance we now reside in and through the wealth of traditional histories on this era; these trends will be detailed shortly. First, I will review works by three historians, one traditional and two revisionist moderns, which offer three competing interpretations of the nature of Northern classical scholarship.

5.1. Three Views on the Nature of Northern Classical Scholarship

Traditional understanding of the classical scholarship of the Northern Dynasties has been shaped by the introduction to the "Collective Biographies of the Grove of Confucians" of Tang historian Li Yanshou's 李延壽 (fl. AD 650) *History of the North* 北史. Pi Xirui's 皮錫瑞 (1850–1908) authoritative *History of Classical Scholarship* distills the essence of this introduction with the following quote from Li Yanshou: "In the South Wang Bi was used for the *Zhou Changes*, Kong Anguo for the *Esteemed Documents*, and for *Zuo's Commentary* it was Du Yu. In the North, Fu Qian was used for *Zuo's Commentary*, and for both *Esteemed Documents* and *Zhou Changes* it was Zheng Xuan. As for the *Poems*, both were based on Sire Mao, and for ritual texts both esteemed Zheng Xuan." 江左，周易則王輔嗣，尚書則孔安國，左傳則杜元凱。河洛，左傳則服子慎，尚書、周易則鄭康成。詩則並主于毛公，禮則同遵于鄭氏.[1]

At base, the differences between northern and southern learning, according to this view, boil down to the classical commentaries that are privileged, along of course with certain stylistic differences detailed in the preface, such as, "Southern classicists were concise and brief, and got at the essential flowers of the classics; northern classicists were profound and florid, and exhaustively plumbed their

[1] *Beishi* 81.2709; Pi Xirui, *Jingxue lishi*, 166. Both this quote and the one immediately following were already translated above in chap. 1.

branches and leaves." 南人約簡，得其英華；北學深蕪，窮其枝葉.[2] The paragraph in the *History of the North* that was constructed of both these passages concludes the introduction to the collective biography and hence is the last impression left for readers. This grounds the difference between Northern and Southern classical scholarship on the simple choice of curriculum. And based on the prominence of Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249) at the apex of the classical commentarial tradition with his exegesis of the *Zhou Changes*, the view developed in recent times that Southern classical scholarship, with its coloration of Learning of the Mysterious, suffused the *Correct Meaning of the Classics* 五經正義 commentary of Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648). Therefore, southern learning superseded and absorbed northern learning due to cultural factors, namely the blending of its commentarial viewpoints with the intellectual outlook of the times.

This view of the textually based cultural superiority of southern learning has recently been countered by Pan Zhongwei. He argues that the influence of northern classicists Liu Zhuo 劉焯 (544–608) and his close friend Liu Xuan 劉炫 (ca. 546–ca. 613), especially on the commentaries devoted to the *Poems* and *Records of Ritualists*, was just as powerful as that of Wang Bi. The famous sub-commentaries edited by Kong Yingda therefore do not reflect only southern learning. In fact, despite both southern classicist Huang Kan 皇侃 (488–545) and northern classicist Xiong Ansheng 熊安生 (d. ca. AD 578) sharing equal honors in producing authoritative commentaries on the *Records of Ritualists*, which underpinned Kong Yingda's epexegetical commentary on this work, the addition of the commentaries of transplanted northerner Cui Ling'en 崔靈恩 (fl. sixth century) on ritual texts into the scholarly mix insured that the foundation of ritual studies by Kong Yingda was northern scholarship, with southern scholarship performing a supplemental role.[3]

Countering this conclusion, however, is the fact that southern classicists outnumber northern counterparts in being directly cited in Kong Yingda's commentary on the *Records of Riutalists*, and that the base text of Kong's commentary was Huang Kan's exegetical works, likely the original composition preserved in manuscript form in Japan, the *Clearing-up-the-meaning of a Subsidiary Edition of the Records of Ritualists*. Of the Northern and Southern Dynasties' classicists cited by Kong Yingda, five are from the South: Cui Liang'en, Yu Weizhi 庾蔚之 (d. ca. AD 464), He Yang 賀瑒 (452–510), He Xun 賀循 (260–319), and of course, Huang Kan; three are from the North: Xu Zunming 徐遵明 (475–529), Li Yexing 李業興 (484–549), and Xiong Ansheng, unless we want to claim that transplanted northerner Cui Ling'en should be classified

[2] *Beishi* 81.2709.
[3] See Pan Zhongwei, *Beichao jingxueshi*.

according to the region of his education.[4] This would leave a tie between the North and South; but the degree of dependence on Huang Kan's base text tilts the scales in favor of southern scholarship. Evaluation is further skewed by the importance to Kong Yingda's exegetical project of the work of northerners Liu Xuan and Liu Zuo during the Sui period (581–618), who had absorbed much of the southern tradition of classical scholarship.

Modern classicist Chen Hongsen accepts the absorption of northern learning by southern learning, the traditional view, but credits it to a hitherto unnoticed factor. While Pi Xirui asserts that the scholarship of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) and Fu Qian 服虔 (fl. AD 180) had spread throughout the North, a fact that seems to warrant viewing it as a superior brand of learning, Chen explains that the overall condition of northern classical scholarship was superficial in particular works and stagnant in production toward the end of the era. He makes this conclusion after a close examination of the historical record, which reveals details that trump broad assertions such as those made by Pi Xirui.[5]

In an important review of classical scholarship during the Northern and Southern Dynasties, especially from the perspective of the degree of its "flourishing or decline" (*shengshuai* 盛衰), Huang Chung-tien bases himself on pure historical, and not textual, factors, including the logistics of classicism—institutional support, educational institutions, cultural considerations, and book production. He also provides an overview that offers the following conclusions in five separate areas: (1) northern monarchs were much more intellectually and institutionally supportive of classical scholarship than southern monarchs; (2) the major northern dynasties were much more stable and long-enduring, and hence were able to promote more stable officially sponsored classical scholarship; (3) national academies in the North as well as regional schools were much more numerous and stable than in the South. Yet in terms of private scholarship, southern participants were more numerous, and the cultural environment of scholarship in the South facilitated the flourishing of scholarship to a much greater degree than the effect played in the North by official support; (4) the influence of the Learning of the Mysterious, prevalent in the South, caused Pi Xirui to regard southern scholarship as less "pure" than Northern scholarship. Yet, southern scholarship was more creative and open to new currents. Therefore, neither criterion of purity or creativity can serve as an index of the degree of flourishing or decline of classical scholarship during the era; (5) the general lack of books in the North impeded both the process of sinification and the development of classical scholarship. The number of compositions on classical scholarship that can be identified in the historical record as deriving from either northern or southern classicists breaks down as follows: for the *Zhou Changes*, 44 are

[4] *Liji zhengyi*, "Xu", 3a–b. The five southern classicists were treated in chapters 2 and 3; the three northern classicists are treated in the present chapter.
[5] Chen Hongsen 陳鴻森, "Beichao jingxue de ersan wenti" 北朝經學的二三問題, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 66, no. 4 (1995): 1075–1101.

southern, 11 are northern; for the *Documents*, 16 are southern, three are northern; for the *Poems*, 32 are southern, eight are northern; for the *Three Ritual Classics*, 108 are southern, 26 are northern; and for the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, 88 are southern, 22 are northern.[6] These data are provisional in that far more titles and authors are known than can be identified by geographical derivation; still, the data are suggestive and support the historical record that describes the southern prolixity of books in general versus northern paucity.

As for specific trends in the progress of the "flourishing and decline" of classical scholarship in the North, Jiao Guimei provides the following historical overview and isolates the high points as follows. The question of the nature and quality of classical scholarship, whether trending Southern versus Northern as mentioned previously, is not addressed in the short survey she provides.

The period under consideration here stretches from the founding of Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534) in 386 until the destruction of Northern Zhou 北周 (557–581) in 581, a span of 195 years. The fact that Northern Wei was partitioned into Eastern Wei (534–550) and Western Wei (535–556) in 534, and that Eastern Wei was removed from the political scene by Northern Qi 北齊 (550–577) in 557, and that Northern Zhou destroyed Northern Qi in the same year, makes it quite obvious that we do not want to divide the classicists under consideration by dynasty but by chronological order. Three dynasties take the fore, the core states of Northern Wei, Northern Qi, and Northern Zhou. The following epitome is based on the scholarship of Jiao Guimei.[7]

Classical scholarship during the Northern Wei polity is divisible into three periods. Period one includes the reigns of Emperor Daowu 道武帝 (r. 386–409) to Emperor Xianwen 獻文帝 (r. 466–471) and is characterized as the period of initial development, as evinced by the establishment of a Grand Academy, the installation of erudites, and an increase of the number of students traditionally allowed to enroll in the academy. Emperor Xianwen established regional academies staffed by erudites and lecturers, and peopled by students, all under official sponsorship. This move broadened the scope of educational opportunities, hitherto limited to the aristocracy in the capital, to include the mass of plebeians in the countryside, and thus further expanded the base of classical scholarship.

Period two witnessed the flourishing of classical scholarship and included the reigns of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝 (471–499) and Emperor Xuanwu 宣武帝 (499–515). Emperor Xiaowen was broadly learned and able to lecture on the classics. He cultivated an environment for supporting and encouraging classical scholarship that reached such refinement and subtlety which even the Southern Dynasties could not attain. Emperor Xuanwu maintained the same high degree of commitment to classical scholarship and specific policies, adding a Sons of the

[6] Huang Chong-tien (Huang Zhongtian) 黃忠天, "Nan-Beichao jingxue shengshuai pingyi" 南北朝經學盛衰評議, *Zhengda Zhongwen xuebao* (2009.12): 89–120.

[7] Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 336–45.

State Academy, establishing primary schools outside of the four gates of the capital, and searching for books throughout the realm to supplement the imperial holdings.

Period three, from 516–535, saw a succession of short-lived emperors and an inevitable decline of classical scholarship due to the lack of strong rulers, as initial propositions for maintaining educational institutions were not implemented. As a result, after 527, learning declined along with political power. The lectures of Li Yu 李鬱 on the *Records of Ritualists* and Lu Bian 盧辯 on the *Rites of Dai Senior* 大戴禮 were seemingly the only highlights of Confucian scholarship during this period.[8]

During the Northern Qi dynasty (550–577), founding monarch Emperor Wenxuan 文宣 (r. 550–559) was most supportive of classical scholarship; this is to be expected because legitimation based on the promotion of Confucian values was an important component of the ideology of legitimacy. He promoted the senior descendant of Confucius and visited and repaired the Confucian temple at Qufu. He also required students at the Sons of State Academy to study and enact the rites in the ritual classics. He promoted classical scholarship on the national level by relocating some 52 remaining large steles of the Xiping Stone Classics 熹平石經 (175–183) to his capital at Ye 鄴 (Linzhang 臨漳, southern Hebei) and promoted local education in the countryside. Yet he did not practice Confucianism personally, and he was a violent and ruthless ruler. Naturally, Confucian-based classical scholarship could not flourish under such contradictory conditions. Emperor Xiaozhao 孝昭帝 (r. 560–561) tried to restore the moral order and stressed educational reform and reestablishing the ritual system. His successor, his maternal uncle Emperor Wucheng 武成帝 (r. 561–565), continued these reforms and even personally tested the Cultivated Talents (*xiucai* 秀才), which status was earned by examining candidates in the academy who were prepared to be assigned office upon passing the exams. This fact is the last mention of education or classical scholarship in the historical record for this dynasty.

Northern Zhou (557–581) was another boreal state officially dedicated to Confucian education and classical scholarship; the choice of dynastic name was itself a conscious effort to align the new dynasty with the ancient state of Zhou and the refiner of its ideological underpinning, Confucius. Early emperors based their important state edicts on the *Esteemed Documents* and the *Rites of Zhou*. Emperor Wu 武帝 (561–578) personally lectured on the *Records of Ritualists* and stressed the value of the enactment of the ancient ritual system of the Zhou state for the success of his own reign.[9] After debate at court, he definitively set the

[8] Lu Bian and his classical scholarship are the focus of chap. 5, sec. 5.2.4; Li Yu is otherwise unknown.

[9] For the formative role of the *Zhouli* in the late Northern Dynasties, see Scott Pearce, "Form and Matter: Archaizing Reform in Sixth-Century China, in *Culture and Power*

priority of state ideology as Confucianism first, Daoism second, and Buddhism third. He treated classical masters such as Xiong Ansheng with the appropriate, if lavish, ritual courtesies. Alas, three years after his death at age 36, effective political power fell into the hands of the Yang 楊 clan, distant relatives of Emperor Wu's royal Yuwen 宇文 clan and future founders of the Sui Dynasty.

As Chen Hongsen observed, the compositions of Northern classical scholarship were rather superficial and production was stagnant, despite all of the institutional developments and official sponsorship of these three northern states; scholarship is obviously less the product of state support than of personal erudition, commitment, and deeply-entrenched cultural traditions. With this historical background, we now turn to the textual scholarship of individual classicists to attempt to uncover their research agendas, specific exegetical strategies, and relative importance in the family of Northern classicists.

5.2. Northern Classicists on the Records of Ritualists

5.2.1. Xu Zunming

Xu Zunming 徐遵明 (475–529) is the earliest classicist to gain widespread prominence in the North. With the number of his disciples and the span of his teaching career, he exerted an enormous impact on the development of classical scholarship there. It will be well worth the effort to translate in full his biography in the "Grove of Confucians" chapter of the *History of the North*. This will reveal general conditions of classical education during the era, sidelights on the search for classical masters and some of their personal foibles, encounters with minor classicists, interactions with classmates, prominent classical texts under study, and the slender thread of the survival of texts based on the preservation of rare manuscripts. In short, the variegated life and career of a classicist in an age of anxiety is lightly sketched, and in some aspects, highlighted with gentle penciling of details.[10] Of course, the annotations to certain figures and events supply information only alluded to in the historical narrative, and they provide necessary background knowledge for modern students that would have been foregrounded in the minds and memories of traditional readers.

> Xu Zunming, style Zipan, was from Huayin [central Shaanxi]. Orphaned when young, he was devoted to learning. At age 17, he followed along with his countryman Mao Linghe and others to pursue his studies in Shandong.[11] Arriving at Shangdang [southeastern Shanxi], he took as his master Wang Cong of Tunliu [southeastern Shanxi][12] and was taught the *Mao Poems*, *Esteemed Documents*, and *Records of Ritualists*. After one year, he left Cong and travelled around Yan and Zhao [equivalent to Hebei], taking as his master Zhang Wugui, whose disciples were quite numerous.[13] Zunming remained devoted to him for several months then privately said to a friend: "Master Zhang enjoys an eminent reputation, but his interpretations are not examined nor verified; I am not pleased with any of his lectures. Let's change masters." Subsequently, along with Tian Menglue of Pingyuan [northwestern Shandong] he sought out Sun Maide of Fanyang [southeastern Anhui].[14] He studied under him for one year, then once again desired to leave. Menglue spoke to Zunming, saying, "You, sir, are following various masters while young but never finish your studies. I am afraid that with this type of attitude you will end up never accomplishing anything." Zunming then pointed to his heart, explaining that "I now know where my true master is located; it is right here!" He thereupon visited Tang Qian of Pingyuan, and took up residence in a cocoonery.[15] He read the *Classic of Filial Piety*, *Analects*, *Mao Poems*, *Esteemed Documents*, and the *Three Ritual Classics*, never leaving his courtyard. In all, he stayed six years, from time to time strumming a zither and playing a flute to entertain and console himself. Furthermore, he learned that during the Zhao era (304–329) the Ye family of Yangping, Guantao Prefecture [southern Hebei], had obtained a copy of the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr. Fu*, which had been copied during the *Yongjia* reign period (307–311) of the age of Jin. Zunming set off to read it. He returned and spent several more years in study. Because of this, he compiled the *Meaning by Sections of the Spring and Autumn Annals* in 30 scrolls.
>
> Afterward he accepted disciples. Whenever he would lecture, he would first hold on to his own clearing-up-the-meaning commentaries and then present his expositions; over time, this became his normal practice while lecturing to students. Zunming also lectured outside of the capital for more than twenty years; throughout the empire no one but took him for their master and venerated him. He enjoyed collecting a following and gathered disciples in Hebei to teach along with Liu Xianzhi and Zhang

in the Reconstitution of the Chinese Realm. 200–600, Scott Pear, Audrey Spiro, and Patricia Ebrey, eds. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center, 2001), pp. 149–78.

[10] *Beishi* 81.2720–21; Xu's biography at *Weishu* 84.1855–56 contains more information, but the inclusion of the texts of certain memorials, such as that by Li Yexing petitioning the throne for a posthumous title to be granted to Xu Zunming, bloats the biography beyond a reasonable length manageable for translation.

[11] Mao Linghe is otherwise unknown.

[12] Wang Cong is otherwise unknown.

[13] Zhang Wugui 張吾貴 has a short biography in *Weishu* 84.1851, distilled in table 3 in chap. 6 that identifies him as studying the *Li* and *Yi* but neglecting *Zuozhuan* until his official duty called for lectures on this classic. He hastily sought out a local expert to tutor him. Within a month, he had read through Du Yu and Fu Qian's commentaries and incorporated both views in his popular lectures.

[14] Both Tian Menglue and Sun Maide are otherwise unknown.

[15] Tang Qian is otherwise unknown.

Wugui.[16] When the quotas were announced for the collection of silk and millet, a portion for clothing was set aside for them, called "hostages for the body;" such was their treatment despite a current trend towards denigrating Confucians. Zunming once saw Zheng Xuan's "Preface to the *Analects*" where it stated that "it was written on bamboo strips of eight inches," but it had been corrupted into "eighty ancestors." Because of this he twisted himself in circles to interpret it; such was the nature of his eccentricities. Xianzhi and Wugui were even worse in this regard. Zunming did not like the capital; therefore he moved to Yanzhou [southwestern Shandong, north of Jining 濟寧] because of some old acquaintances living there. When Yuan Hao entered Luoyang,[17] Liu Zhan was preparing to raise a loyal army;[18] Zunming approved of this attempt. At night Zunming went out among the crowd in the city and was killed by rebel troops. In the second year of *Yongxi* (534), Zunming's disciple Li Yexing, the Court Gentleman for Comprehensive Duty and Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, petitioned the throne to award a posthumous title for Zunming; ultimately it was not awarded.[19]

徐遵明，字子判，華陰人也。幼孤，好學，年十七，隨鄉人毛靈和等詣山東求學。至上黨，乃師屯留王聰，受毛詩、尚書、禮記。一年，便辭聰游燕、趙，師事張吾貴。吾貴門徒甚盛。遵明伏膺數月，乃私謂友人曰："張生名高而義無檢格，凡所講說，不愜吾心。請更從師。"遂與平原田猛略就範陽孫買德。[20]受業一年，復欲去之。猛略謂遵明曰："君年少從師，每不終業，如此用意，終恐無成。"遵明乃指其心曰："吾今知真師所在矣，正在於此。"乃詣平原唐遷，居於蠶舍，讀孝經、論語、毛詩、尚書、三禮。不出門院，凡經六年，時彈箏吹笛，以自娛慰。又知陽平館陶趙世業家有服氏春秋，是晉世永嘉舊寫。遵明乃往讀之，復經數載。因手撰春秋義章，為三十卷。

是後教授門徒，每臨講坐，先持執疏，然後敷講。學徒至今，浸以成俗。遵明講學於外，二十餘年，海內莫不宗仰。頗好聚斂，與劉獻之、張吾貴皆河北聚徒教授，懸納絲粟，留衣物以待之，名曰影質，有損儒者之風。遵明見鄭玄論語序云"書以八寸策"，誤作"八十宗"，因曲爲之說。其僻也皆如此。獻之、吾貴又甚焉。遵明不好京輦，以兗州有舊，因徙屬焉。元顥入洛，任城太守李湛將舉義兵，遵明同其事。夜至人間，為亂兵所害。永熙二年，遵明弟子通直散騎侍郎李業興表求加策命，卒無贈謚。

Xu Zunming's biography consciously stresses the similarity of his lifestyle and scholarship with that of Zheng Xuan, namely Xu's itinerant search for teachers, breadth of training, and mastery over the classical tradition. It furthermore makes an explicit connection between Xu and Zheng Xuan through the manuscript copy of Fu Qian's commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* that Xu sought out, which was based on Zheng's original scholarship. The "eccentricities" charged against Xu were the lack of rigor in his scholarship and easy acceptance of the inviolable nature of texts, since he seemed satisfied to wrench meaning from a corrupt passage instead of engaging in a measure of preliminary textual criticism to establish the best readings. This was an easy criticism to make in retrospect from the period of the Tang. But full-scale collation of manuscripts was not necessarily part of Xu's mental makeup, nor was it apparently a component of many of his contemporaries North or South, and it may have not been physically possible at this juncture anyway due to paucity of available editions. The criticism leveled against Xu Zunming should have been limited to faulting him for not leaving open the matter of interpreting the passage in question as not possible of resolution, a standard practice of scholarship then as it is now.

None of the classical commentaries of Xu Zunming are registered in the bibliographical monograph of the *History of Sui*, indicating the early loss of his works. Most likely they were submerged in the flooding fame of Huang Kan and Xiong Ansheng's later classical scholarship. Any redactions of scattered quotes preserved in other extant works also remain unfound. So both his fame as a classicist and the besetting failure of his loose control over editions must remain unanalyzed and taken on faith from the historical narrative.

[16] Liu Xianzhi, from Boling 博陵, central Hebei, was a broadly trained classicist with many notable compositions: *Sanli dayi* 三禮大義 in four scrolls, *Sanzhuan lueli* 三傳略例 in three scrolls, *Zhu Maoshi xuyi* 注毛詩序義 in one scroll, and *Zhangju shu* in three scrolls 章句疏. He was working on a commentary on the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* 大般涅槃經 when he died. One odd aspect of his scholarship was on the *Zuozhuan*; he would only lecture up through the eighth year of the reign of Duke Yin 陰公 (714 BC), not only ignoring the remaining three years of the duke's reign, the first entry in this text, but the remaining 12 dukes as well. This left his students woefully lacking in understanding of this text; but Liu's novel justification was that all the principles and narrative norms in the *Zuozhuan* were contained in the first eight years of the narrative on the Duke of Yin. His biographies are recorded in the *Weishu* 84.1849–50 and *Beishi* 81.2713–14, and he is included in chap. 5, table 3.

[17] Yuan Hao 元顥 (485–529) was a scion of the royal Tuoba line who rebelled against the throne in a period of political chaos and invaded the capital of Luoyang; he set up his own very short-lived dynasty based there.

[18] Li Zhan was a former tutor of the heir apparent who had accompanied his father, Li Hun 李渾, on a diplomatic visit to the southern state of Chen; he has a short biographical entry at *Beiqishu* 29.394, repeated verbatim at *Beishi* 33.1207.

[19] Li Yexing is the focus of chap. 5, sec. 5.2.2.

[20] Tian Menglue is otherwise unknown.

5.2.2. Li Yexing

The work of Xu Zunming's notable disciple Li Yexing 李業興 (484–549), by way of contrast, left its imprint on Tang bibliographies. Two of Li's compositions are recorded in the Sui bibliographical monograph, both short chronologies.[21] Alas, his works on classical scholarship left no impression on later history. But his placement in the "Grove of Confucians" collective biography of Confucians in the *History of the North* reflects the judgment of medieval Chinese history, and Kong Yingda acknowledged his debt to Li among the sources of his own *Correct Meaning* commentary of the *Records of Ritualists*.

Li Yexing was born in Shangdang, southeastern Shanxi. Both his grandfather and father had been recommended for office on the state level by being designated as "filial and incorruptible" as accomplished students of the classics by local officials. Li's studies are characterized to be (being designated to be "filial and incorruptible") committed and assiduous; he habitually brought his texts along when studying with his master, perhaps indicating that he was eager to compare what he learned from his teacher with what his texts actually recorded. His textual commitment is more openly asserted, given that he "abandoned himself in pondering sections and lines and was fond of perusing alternate explanations" 耽思章句，好覽異說. It is with this scholastic orientation and openness that he became a disciple of Xu Zunming, despite Xu's initial lack of eminence of reputation and paucity of production. It was Li's unsatisfactory flirtation with a more prominent teacher, a man named Xianyu Lingfu 鮮于靈馥, whose exegesis of *Zuo's Commentary* was unsatisfactory, that led Li to return to Xu Zunming, taking Xianyu Lingfu's pupils along. This new infusion of students led to Xu's rise to prominence.[22]

Li Yexing's further studies included ranging over the early philosophical masters, divination in diverse forms, apocryphal texts, astronomy, and calendrical calculations. Following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, Li too was recommended for office as being "filial and incorruptible," and he took up a post as an editor helping to compile the daily imperial diary. While serving in a succession of new offices, he continued to revise old calendars, including those of the Yin dynasty and the Yellow Emperor. On his way to high office as the personal tutor to His Highness, he helped revise and explain the ritual system, including its musical instruments, regalia, and stage props. He served the successor dynasty of Northern Wei through various early reigns, and later in life he habitually read through his large private collection of ritual works in some 10,000 scrolls, annotating and emending them. Contemporary Confucians venerated him for the erudition of his ritual learning, and it is presumably through

[21] *Renzi yuanli* 壬子元曆 and *Qiyao shuli* 七耀疏曆, both in a single scroll. *Suishu* 34.1023, 1024. For Li Yexing's biographies, see *Weishu* 84.1861–65 and *Beishi* 81.2721–25.

[22] Xianyu Lingfu is otherwise unknown.

absorbing his oral teachings that scholarly circles preserved and transmitted his interpretations to the Tang for Kong Yingda to utilize in his commentarial work.

An amusing yet revealing episode took place in AD 529 when Li Yexing was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Liang court on behalf of the state of Northern Wei. A private conversation ensued between the Martial Emperor of Liang, his minister Zhu Yi 朱异 (483–549), and northerner Li Yexing. The minister peppered him with questions concerning strategy, topography, matters of national security, and ritual institutions. The emperor, however, queried him concerning scholarly aspects of the classics, namely the *Poems*, *Esteemed Documents*, *Changes*, and *Rites*, approaching them from the aspect of Learning of the Mysterious and Buddhist thought; he employed dialogue and debate, while the staid Confucian was obviously neither versed nor interested in these arts. Li Yexing either disclaimed knowledge of these passages or answered directly and sometimes tersely. The entire episode provides a fascinating ingress into the contrasting intellectual milieus of the North and the South.[23]

5.2.3. Xiong Ansheng

Xiong Ansheng 熊安生 (d. ca. AD 578) was the third source of northern ritual learning for Kong Yingda. I translate the early portion of his economical biography in the *History of the North* that explains his education and scholarly accomplishments.

> Xiong Ansheng's style was Zhizhi, a man of Fucheng, Changle [southeastern Hubei]. When young he was devoted to learning and was both motivated and meticulous. He was schooled in the *Three Commentaries* by Chen Da,[24] and in the *Rites of Zhou* by Fang Qiu.[25] He took Xu Zunming as his master for several years, and afterwards was schooled in the *Records of Ritualists* by Li Baoding.[26] Subsequently, he became broadly versed in the *Five Classics*. Notwithstanding this, he exclusively taught the *Three Ritual Classics*, with more than three thousand disciples journeying from afar; he then discussed with them magical diagrams and apocryphal texts, collecting divergent interpretations. Xiong was able to elucidate all the points which previous Confucians had not understood. . . . Ansheng's learning made him a venerated master of Confucian scholarship. Those who underwent his intense education and later became renowned on their own include Ma Rongbo, Zhang Heinu, Dou Shirong, Kong Long, Liu Zhuo, and Liu

[23] *Weishu* 84.1863–64. Qiao, *Yishuxue shuaiwangshi*, 193–99, analyzes this episode very sensitively to reveal the separate strands of thought present in these exchanges that demonstrated the fundamentally different points of departure between northern and southern learning.

[24] Chen Da is otherwise unknown.

[25] Fang Qiu is otherwise unknown.

[26] Li Baoding is otherwise unknown.

Xuan;[27] they were all named among his disciples. That which he compiled which was transmitted during the age included a *Clearing-up-the-meaning of the Rites of Zhou* in 20 scrolls, a *Clearing-up-the-meaning of the Records of Ritualists* in 30 scrolls,[28] and a *Meaning of the Classic of Filial Piety* in one scroll.[29]

熊安生，字植之，長樂阜城人也。少好學，勵精不倦。從陳達受三傳，從房虬。

受周禮，事徐遵明，服膺歷年，後受禮於李寶鼎，遂博通五經。然專以三禮教授，弟子自遠方至者千餘人。乃討論圖緯，捃摭異聞。先儒所未悟者，皆發明之。齊河清中，陽休之特奏為國子博士。……安生既學為儒宗，嘗受其業，擅名於後者，有馬榮伯、張黑奴、竇士榮、孔籠、劉焯、劉炫等，皆其門人焉。所撰周禮義疏二十卷，禮記義疏三十卷、孝經義一卷，並行於世。[30]

Among Xiong Ansheng's teachers was Xu Zunming; this made Xiong a classmate of Li Yexing. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Xiong Ansheng was one of the sources of the transmission of Li Yexing's interpretations, whether by transmitting Li's oral teachings or through Xiong's own classical commentaries. Xiong's works on classical scholarship centered on the *Rites of Zhou* and *Records of Ritualists*; both commentaries were composed in the clearing-up-the-meaning genre written on a large scale. His single-scroll work on the *Classic of Filial Piety*, in comparison, must have been a pro forma nod to contemporary convention. Qing dynasty bibliophile Ma Guohan 馬國翰 (1794–1857) extracted some 321 quotes from Xiong's work by culling them from Kong Yingda's commentary.[31]

[27] Ma Rongbo is the style of Ma Guang 馬光, from Wu'an 武安, near Handan, Hubei. Ma was a specialist on the *Sanli* and was also well-versed in magical charts and the Apocrypha. Along with Zhang Heinu, Dou Shirong, Kong Long, and two other contemporaries not mentioned here (Zhang Zhongrang 張仲讓 and Liu Zuren 劉祖仁), Ma Guang was numbered among these "Six Confucians" 六儒, who were appointed Erudites of the Grand Academy in Chang'an during the early Sui period. The sad fate of five of the "Six Confucians" is detailed in Ma Guang's *Suishu* biography. Ma is reputed to be the only classicist in northern China since the days of Xiong Ansheng to be viewed as a "Venerated Confucian Master" *Ruzong* 儒宗 on the *Sanli*. He enjoys short entries in the "Grove of Confucians" chapters of *Suishu* 75.1717 and *Beishi* 82.2761. His entry in the former sources is translated in chap. 7. The two famous Sui period classicists Liu Zhuo and Liu Xuan will be treated in chap. 8.

[28] Xiong's *Zhoushu* biography records the work in 40 scrolls.

[29] Termed *yishu* in Xiong's *Zhoushu* biography.

[30] *Beishi* 82.2743–45 and *Zhoushu* 45.812–13.

In chapter 3 section 3.1, I quoted Kong Yingda's comparative analysis of the merits and demerits of Huang Kan and Xiong Ansheng's exegetical work on the *Records of Ritualists*. I repeat this passage here:

> Of these [earlier scholars], only 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 text 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 become 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, he occasionally contradicted them. This is a matter of a tree not falling 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 it. 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.[32]

Previously, I also analyzed their separate comments on the same passage from this classic and demonstrated Huang's more reasonable interpretation.[33] I will compare several new passages to demonstrate Xiong's commentarial approach after first examining Jiao Guimei's outline of Xiong's classical exegesis based on the numerous fragments of his clearing-up-the-meaning commentary preserved by Kong Yingda.

First, Xiong displays little interest in any other views than those of Zheng Xuan's normative interpretations. This includes his own basic exegetical approach as well as defending Zheng from what he felt were misunderstandings of his stance. Second, he prefers to support his views with evidence instead of conjecture and usually utilizes more than one source as documentation. This approach naturally leads to a wealth of documentary sources including classical texts, commentaries, and apocryphal works, both pre-Qin as well as post-Qin. In

[31] Ma, *Yuhanshanfang jiyishu*, 3:69–103. By way of comparison, Ma collected 325 quotes from Huang Kan's *yishu* commentary, indicating Kong Yingda's slightly greater reliance on the latter commentator.

[32] *Liji zhengyi*, "Xu", 3a–b; Chinese text included with translation in sec. 3.3.1.

[33] See chap. 3, sec. 3.3.1.

utilizing these sources, he is quite agile, consulting textual readings as well as contextual implications, parsing the grammar of individual passages—which is a rare occurrence among classicists so far—as well as interpreting ritual performance practices. Third, he delves rather deeply into his exegesis, much more so than his contemporaries. Fourth, like Zheng Xuan and other classicists of the Northern School, he is liberal in his use of magical charts, apocryphal texts, and theories concerning Yinyang and the Five Elements. Fifth, he is good at synthesizing ritual topics and themes. Sixth, he strives to resolve the difficulties caused by textual variora, adopting a broad range of explanations for tracing their origins and displaying an equally broad pallet of techniques to treat them. Seventh, he supports the evidence from the *Records of Ritualists* over other classics, even ritual classics, in order to elevate the status of this work.[34]

Some concrete examples of Xiong Ansheng's critical exegesis follow.

Records of Ritualists, "Quli":

> The ruler of a state should bend toward the cross-board [in the front of the chariot] when he meets a sacrificial victim, and dismount (in passing) the ancestral temple.
>
> 國君下齋牛，式宗廟。[35]

Xiong Ansheng, Clearing-up-the-meaning:

> This passage is erroneous; we should follow the annotations in the *Rites of Zhou* for the correct reading.
>
> 此文誤，當以周禮注為正。[36]

Xiong judges this passage to be corrupt due to both its inherent confusion and to his knowledge of a better reading preserved in Zheng Xuan's annotation of the *Rites of Zhou.* Xiong's critical distance from the text is evident from the view he maintained from outside the hallowed text of the *Records of Ritualists*. Xiong's macro-textuality valued the alternate reading of this passage which Zheng Xuan had preserved in his commentary and lent it equal weight to the original reading of the classic. The original passage that occasioned Zheng's comment is as follows: "Whenever a matter concerns animal sacrifice, then the king occupies the position in front of the horses" 凡有牲事則前馬.[37] Zheng's annotation reads as follows: "When the king sees a sacrificial animal, he bows and leans against the cross-board; he positions himself in front of the horses when they walk in order to guard against them galloping off when startled. The 'Quli' [chapter] states, 'The Lord of the state stops in front of the ancestral temple, and bows to the

[34] Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 382–98.
[35] *Liji zhengyi* 39.10a; Legge, *Li Chi,* 2:123.
[36] *Liji zhengyi* 3.24b; Legge, *Li Chi,* 1:97. It should be noted that Legge translates this passage according to its corrected form, but he erroneously transposes the verbs "bend towards the cross-boards" and "dismounts."
[37] *Zhouli zhushu* 32.14b.

sacrificial ox while leaning against the cross-board'" 王見牲則拱而式，居馬前卻行，備驚奔也。曲禮曰國君下宗廟，式齋牛.[38] Xiong displays a great leap forward in textual criticism from that of Xu Zunming, who attempted to wrest meaning from a corrupt passage without even noticing the corruption, let alone attempting to emend it. This is a supreme example of Xiong being able to preserve intellectual distance as a textual critic.

Records of Ritualists, "Yuzao":

> After he had washed his head and bathed, his secretary brought him the ivory tablet, on which were written his thoughts (which he should communicate to the ruler).
>
> 沐浴，史進象笏，書思對命。[39]

Xiong Ansheng, Clearing-up-the-meaning:

> Note: A low-level grandee cannot use ivory; the use of the "ivory" character is erroneous. Ming Shanbin states that only grandees who possess land may use ivory.
>
> 按下大夫不得有象，有象字者誤。明山賓云有地大夫故有象。[40]

Kong Yingda does not preserve the details of Huang Kan's interpretation, merely stating that "Mr. Huang recorded all of the different views of the interpreters; this view [of Xiong] is superior, hence I preserve it." 皇氏載諸所解者不同，以此為勝，故存之耳.[41]

Records of Ritualists, "Quli":

> One must not marry a wife of the same surname with himself. Hence, in buying a concubine, if he do [*sic*] not know her surname, he must consult the tortoise-shell about it.
>
> 取妻不取同姓；故買妾不知其姓則卜之。[42]

Zheng Xuan *Annotations*:

> This is due to this being close to the birds and beasts.[43] If a concubine be lowly in status then sometimes she is not escorted. Marrying a lowly one, then no family lineage will exist for that generation.

[38] *Zhouli zhushu* 32.14b.
[39] *Liji zhengyi* 29.11b; Legge, *Li Chi,* 2:6.
[40] *Liji zhengyi* 29.11b. Ming Shanbin, an erudite under Liang Wudi specializing in ritual texts and performance, is introduced in chap. 3, n. 1.
[41] *Liji zhengyi* 29.11b.
[42] *Liji zhengyi* 2.14a; Legge, *Li Chi,* 1:78.
[43] Kong Yingda explains the metaphor of birds and beasts by citing a passage from the "Jiaotesheng" 郊特牲 chapter of the *Liji*: "The absence of such distinction and

為其近禽獸也。妾賤或時非臆，取之於賤者，世無本系。

Xiong Ansheng, *Clearing-up-the-meaning*:

When a diviner divines over auspiciousness and balefulness, and does not know the surname [of the concubine], but comes up with auspiciousness, then she may be married.

卜者卜吉凶。既不知其姓，但卜吉，則取之。

Kong Yingda adds that as for this comment of Xiong, "the interpretation is perhaps right" 義或然.[44] Zheng's annotation focuses on the doctrine of whether or not to marry a concubine of lowly status because ritual distinctions must preserve social ranks to avoid appearing animal-like in indiscriminate mating. He also cautions against the genealogical fallout from marrying a concubine who lacks a surname. Xiong Ansheng rather focuses on the function and product of divination. In this case, Zheng approaches his interpretation of this passage from his overarching exegetical viewpoint based on his self-constructed holistic ritual system; Xiong appears instead as a straightforward, single-minded textual critic who clarifies the literal meaning of a line.

Jiao Guimei concludes her analysis of Xiong Ansheng's career as a teacher and scholar by suggesting three important areas of impact made by his career in Northern classical scholarship. First, he taught several thousands of students; among his close disciples were Ma Guang, Liu Zhuo, and Liu Xuan, classicists prominent in Sui times.[45] Second, he helped to set the foundation for Kong Yingda's *Correct Meaning of the Records of Ritualists* subcommentary. And third, he provided a firm foundation for more refined studies of the *Records of Ritualists*.[46]

5.2.4. Lu Bian

Lu Bian 盧辯 was a member of the distinguished Lu clan, historically based in Fanyang 范陽州 commandery, Zhuo 涿 Prefecture (northwestern Hubei, modern Zhuozhou City 涿州市). Descendants of the Eastern Han classicist Lu Zhi 盧植 (d. AD 192), who first settled in Fanyang, the clan rose to prominence in the Western Jin period (mentioned in chapter 1 in conjunction with the impact that Lu Zhi and Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 [127–200] exerted on Northern classical

righteousness [among married couples] is characteristic of the way of beasts." 無別無義，禽獸之道也. *Liji zhengyi* 26.19a; Legge, *Li Chi*, 2:440.

[44] *Liji zhengyi* 2.15b.

[45] It will be recalled that Liu Zhuo, Liu Xuang, and Ma Guang, the so-called "Venerated Confucian Master" in the North, were members of the "Six Confucians" who were prominent at court in early Sui times; the other members of this sextet were Zhang Heinu, Dou Shirong, and Kong Long, all mentioned towards the end of Xiong Ansheng's biography translated above.

[46] Jiao, *Nan-Beichao jingxueshi*, 398–99.

scholarship). In chapter 47, Lu Xuan 盧玄 (fl. AD 431) heads up the clan lineage detailed in the *History of Wei.* Some 49 names are mentioned who belong to this clan and its various branches, and 10 members are given extended treatment. Lu Bian and his elder brother Lu Jingyu 盧景裕 are not mentioned in this chapter, but Lu Jingyu can be found in an individual entry in the *History of Wei* "Grove of Confucians" collective biography. Chapter 30 in the *History of the North*, which is devoted to the Lu clan, contains 19 biographies, all containing substantial information. Among them are the biographies of Lu Bian and Lu Jingyu, a specialist on the *Zhou Changes*, whose work will be examined next.[47]

Lu Bian is notable in the long history of classical scholarship for being the only traditional commentator on the *Records of Ritualists of Dai the Elder* 大戴禮記 before Qing dynasty philologists turned their critical eyes to this rather neglected ritual text, which lost out in popularity to the related anthology of ritual writings known as the *Records of Ritualists,* or more formally, *Records of Ritualists of Dai the Younger*.[48] He was motivated to annotate this classic due to the example and invitation of Lu Jingyu: "His elder brother Jingyu was a great Confucian of the time, who said to Bian, 'Formerly I, a Palace Attendant, annotated *Dai the Minor* [i.e. *Records of Ritualists*]. Now you should annotate *Dai the Elder*, which I nearly included among my earlier compilations." 其兄景裕為當時碩儒，謂辯曰："昔侍中注小戴，今汝注大戴，庶纂前修矣.[49] Such is the importance of Bian's commentary in the course of the transmission of this classic that it is doubtful whether this work would have survived largely intact without his editorial intervention. Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) famously called for his contemporaries to turn critical attention to this work: "Of texts outside of the Thirteen Classics that are suitable for urgent treatment, there is only the *Records of Ritualists of Dai the Elder* now." 十三經之外宜亟治者，惟大戴禮記矣.[50] The work originally consisted of 85 fascicles, including the original contents of the *Records of Ritualists*; by the Tang dynasty only 39 fascicles were extant and survive today. And of this foreshortened text, only 24 of them include Bian's commentary.

Qing classicist Wang Pinzhen 王聘珍 (mid-eighteenth century) provides an even more depressing depiction of the sad state of critical attention to *Dai the Elder*, even given the protective role of Lu Bian's commentary, which preserved it from historical oblivion:

[47] *Beishi* 30.1099–1104.

[48] For an analysis of these two texts and their provenances, see Honey, *A A History of Chinese Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1, chap. 2, sec. 2.5.1., "The Rites."

[49] *Beishi* 30.1100.

[50] From the preface to Ruan Yuan's *Da Dai Liji buzhu* 大戴禮記 補注, cited in Fang Xiangdo 方向東, *Da Dai Liji huijiao jijie* 大戴禮記匯校集解, 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2008), 1:7.

but pronunciations 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.

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。[28]

Given this imperative for proper pronunciation, it is no wonder that attention was paid to *yinyi* commentaries during the Southern Dynasties, for I have not observed any mention of such a commentary (as opposed to the less complex *yin* commentaries) among northern classicists. Xiao Gai, it must be mentioned, was a transplanted southern scholar from Jiangsu. I address his life and scholarship in the following section.

8.1.2. Xiao Gai

Xiao Gai 蕭該 (ca. 535–ca. 610) may seem to be an unlikely forerunner to Lu Deming, given that the age gap between them spanned a mere 21 years. But Xiao was noted for his phonological studies, participated in the compilation of the rhyming dictionary of Lu Fayan, and, most significantly, was the first classicist in all of the "Grove of Confucian" collective biographies examined in chapter 4 for the South, and chapter 6 for the North, to be credited with a pronunciations and meanings commentary. He is therefore a convenient focal point through which to trace the development of studies on Chinese phonology leading up to the watershed productions of Lu Deming and Lu Fayan.

Xiao Gai of Lanling [modern Changzhou 常州, southern Jiangsu] was the grandson of Xiao Hui [476–526], the Prince of Boyang during the Liang Dynasty.[29] When young, Gai was enfeoffed as the Marquis of You. When Jingzhou [southcentral Hubei] of Liang fell, Hui fled to Chang'an together with He Tuo. By nature he studied diligently and penetrated the grand meaning of the *Poems*, *Documents*, *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and *Records of Ritualists*; he was especially expert in the *History of Han*.

[28] *Liangshu* 48.678–79. This paragraph was first translated above in the introduction to chapter 3: "Southern Learning Part Two: Liang."

[29] Xiao Hui 蕭灰 was the ninth (or by some estimates, tenth) son of retroactive Emperor Wen 文帝 of the Liang Dynasty, Xiao Shunzhi 蕭順之, whose son Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464–549), Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 502–549) founded the Liang Dynasty.

He was treated with ritual correctness by the leisured class of royalty and nobility.

Early in the *Kaihuang* reign period [581–600], he was conferred a patent of nobility as the Duke of Shanyin County, and was honored as a Euridite of the Sons of State Academy. He received an imperial edict to correct and finalize the classics and histories with He Tuo, but each held to his own views and engaged in hot disputations; after a while they were unable to work together. His Highness censured them and then they were dismissed. Later, Gai compiled pronunciation and meaning commentaries on the *History of the Han* and *Literary Anthology*, both of which were prized at the time.[30]

蘭陵蕭該者，梁鄱陽王恢之孫也。少封攸侯。梁荊州陷，與何妥同至長安。性篤學，詩、書、春秋、禮記並通大義，尤精漢書，甚為貴游所禮。開皇初，賜爵山陰縣公，拜國子博士。奉詔書與妥正定經史，然各執所見，遞相是非，久而不能就，上譴而罷之。該后撰漢書及文選音義，咸為當時所貴。[31]

The experience that Xiao brought to the social coterie headed up by Lu Fayan that compiled the *Isolated Rhymes* certainly helped elevate the scholarly quotient of the members, which assuredly included interested amateurs, at the least low profile scholars, most of whom attracted no attention for their scholarly achievements.

8.2. Lu Deming

Lu Deming's great synthesis of pronunciation glosses and definitions created a watershed moment in the development of classical scholarship in its role of summative compendium or *summa*, which "summed up" knowledge of an entire field. In the medieval West these fields were usually broad, generalized arenas of inquiry such as philosophy, theology, or canon law. The names of Peter Lombard (ca. 1096–ca. 1160), whose work *Libri Quattuor Sententiarum* (Four Books of Sentences [i.e., "authoritative statements"]) earned him the epithet of Master of Sentences, and St. Thomas Aquinus (1225–1274), author of the most splendid exemplar of the genre, *Summa Theologica*, ring bells as the most important of such "summatists." *Summae* on more specialized fields such as confession or penance took on the nature of practical manuals. Representative manuals in manuscript such as the "Summa Confessorum" of John of Freiburg (d. AD 1314) and "Summa de Poenitentia" of Raymond of Pennafort (completed AD 1235) may be mentioned.

[30] The *Suishu* bibliographical monograph notes that his *yinyi* commentary on the *Hanshu* consisted of 12 scrolls; his pronunciation commentary on the *Wenxuan*, here called a *yin* commentary, reached only three scrolls. This same monograph records a *yin* commentary on the *Hou Hanshu* in three scrolls.

[31] *Suishu* 75.1715–16.

In the realm of Chinese classical scholarship, *summae* that gathered and digested linguistic data lacked the dry disquisitions that characterized medieval *summae*, which were based on scholastic dialectic.[32] The work in this genre in medieval Chinese linguistics that became the catastasis of the developmental continuum was the great compendium of pronunciation glosses on individual classics by Lu Deming entitled *Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Works* 經典釋文, in 30 scrolls.

Lu Deming's complete biography in the *History of Tang* 唐書 is worth translating in toto for several reasons, not the least of which is for what it does not include, that is, facts of his scholarship:

> Lu Yuanming's style was Deming; he went by this style; he was from Wu in Suzhou. He excelled at discoursing on names and principles and studied under Zhou Hongzheng.[33]
>
> During the midst of the *Jianzhong* reign period [569–582], the Last Ruler [r. 582–589] was serving as the Heir Apparent [Chen Shubao 陈叔宝 (553–604)]. He convened famous classicists to lecture in the Hall of Received Light; when Deming was first capped at age 20, he sat in the last seat. Xu Xiaoke [527–599], the Chancellor of the Sons of State Academy, expounded on the classics.[34] Xu lorded it over others due to his prestige and disputed with all in attendance; everyone submitted to him except for Deming, who answered his queries and repeatedly won the argument. All present sought his counsel and rewarded him. He divested himself of his shabby clothes and started his career as an Attendant-Ordinary of the Left in the Princedome of Guoxing [east of the Wuyishan 武夷山 mountain range in northern Fujian]. After the fall of Chen, he returned to his homeland.
>
> Emperor Yang of Sui promoted him to be an Academician of the Palace Library. During the middle of the *Daye* reign period [605–618], a broad recruitment of candidates for office who were enlightened in the classics was held; candidates came closely on each other's heels from the four quarters. Thereupon, Deming together with Lu Da and Kong Bao were all assigned to the Chancellery where they congratulated themselves on overcoming their difficulties in reaching office.[35] None surpassed them in performing their duties. Deming was transferred to be a lecturer in the Sons of State Academy. He served as Director of Studies in the bureaucracy of the Prince of Yue Tong [Yang Tong 楊侗 (604–619), the grandson of Emperor Yang and the nominal last sovereign of the Sui state], then he became an Instructor of the Classics in the Palace Administration Office. After Wang Shichong illegitimately claimed the throne [AD 619], the Prince of Yue Tong was spared and demoted to commoner status.[36] He had enfeoffed his son Xuanshu as the Prince of Han, and appointed Deming as his tutor. Xuanshu approached Deming's thatched cottage and performed the rite of offering dried meat as tuition. Deming was shamed by this, and took a concoction of croton [i.e.,

[32] See *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s.v. "Literary Forms of Medieval Philosophy," by Eillen Sweeney, accessed 22 October 2016, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/medieval-literary/

[33] Zhou Hongzheng 周弘正 (496–574) was a Liang and Chen classicist who appeared in chap. 4, sec. 4.2, "Table 2. Classicists in the History of Chen, 'Grove of Confucians.'" I have supplied a short biographical epitome in chap. 4, n. 24.

[34] Xu Xiaoke 徐孝克 hailed from Donghai Commandery, which was just north of modern Tancheng 郯城, southeastern Shandong, and was reknowned for mastering the *Five Classics*; he was also a man of letters. He served as an Erudite of the Grand Academy during the Liang dynasty but withdrew from the world for a spell as a monk during the rebellion of Hou Jing 侯景, which occurred during the interval of 548–552. Afterward, he returned to public life and served in a variety of political and educational posts, including Chancellor of the Sons of State Academy during the Chen dynasty and was again appointed a Euridite of the same institution under the Sui; he lectured on the *Diamond Sutra* at court and the *Liji* in the Eastern Palace of the Heir Apparent. He died at age 72. Consult his biographies at *Chenshu* 26.336–38; *Nanshi* 62.1527–28.

[35] Lu Da 魯達 was most likely the Lu Shida 魯世達 who was credited with composing a *Maoshi zhangiu yishu* 毛詩章句義疏 recorded in the "Grove of Confucians" Collective Biography in the *Suishu*; see chap. 7, sec. 7.2.9. Kong Bao is otherwise unknown.

[36] Wang Shichong 王世充, a sinified "barbarian," was among the throng of rebels who rose up towards the end of the Sui; his short-lived dynasty was called the Zheng 鄭; the next year, AD 620, his upstart dynasty was toppled by the Tang. Lu Deming's handling of Wang's blandishments and importunings was much praised by later Confucians, while Kong Yingda's less than honorable behavior from the point of view of loyalty to ones' defunct liege was either not mentioned or glossed over in generalized terms. The specific act in question was Kong's assistance in drafting an edict in the name of Wang to order the last royal representative of the Sui court to abdicate the throne. Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705–1755) is an example of dimly alluding to this event surrounding Kong's submission to Wang Shichong without descending into details. His essay "Tang jingshi congsiyi" 唐經師從祀義 comments as follows: "This age observes the sacrifices to Kong Yingda; actually, during Yingda's life his actions once stained the sacred followers of Confucius despite his great probity. Once I wanted to try to remove him from these sacrifices and replace him with Lu Deming due to the latter's own great probity." 今世從祀孔穎達，其實穎達生平大節有玷聖門，故愚嘗欲黜之，而進陸德明，以其大節. Quan Zuwang, *Jieqiting jiaozhu* 鮚琦亭集校注, 4 vols., ed. Zhan Haiyun 詹海雲 (Taipei: Guoli Bianyiguan, 2003), 3:909. For a detailed discussion of this event, see Huang, "Lu Deming de xuexing he jingxue sixiang," 213–15.

rushfoil], which made him sprawl supine rigidly by the eastern wall; Xuanshu knelt by the bed drooping down low. Deming thus became of little use to him as he no longer spoke. Lu suffered a series of illnesses, enough to fill a lake.

After Wang Shichong was pacified, the Prince of Qin [Li Shimin 李世民 (598–649), the future Emperor Taizong of Tang 唐太宗 (r. 626–649)] summoned Deming to fill the post of Academician of the Institute of Education and was assigned to teach the classics to the Prince of Zhongshan Li Chenggan [619–645][37] and concurrently serve as an Erudite at the Grand Academy. In AD 625 when the Eminent Ancestor sacrificed to Confucius at the academy [the founding emperor of the Tang dynasty, r. 618–626, personal name of Li Yuan 李淵 (566–635)], he summoned erudite Xu Wenyuan,[38] Buddhist cleric Hui Sheng,[39] and Daoist priest Liu Jinxi to lecture on the classics.[40] Deming only then

[37] Li Chenggan 李承乾 was the heir apparent who died before he could succeed to the throne.

[38] Since the lectures were apparently held to settle the issue of the primacy of the three main intellectual schools in the empire, Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, the term "Classics" should be broadly understood to refer to "Confucian Classics," "Daoist Scriptures," and "Buddhist Sutras," with each participant endeavoring to argue from the point of view of each scriptural tradition the primacy of his tradition. Each chose a core text of the individual canons of their respective tradition. The Confucian representative was Xu Wenyuan 徐文遠, the first entrant in the twin Tang histories' "Grove of Confucians" collective biographies, *Tangshu* 189a.4942–44; *Xin Tangshu* 198.5637–39. (Lu Deming's biographies are the second entrant.) Like Lu Deming, Xu went by his style; his original name was Xu Kuang 徐曠. He rose from poverty and studied the books that his brother sold in the market to the extent that he eventually mastered the *Five Classics*. He became an Erudite of the Grand Academy and then an Erudite, and later Chancellor, of the Sons of State Academy. Among his students was Wang Shichong. His academic specialty was the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan*. He lectured on the *Laozi* at the event described previously according to the *Tangshu* biography of Lu Deming.

[39] Hui Cheng 慧乘 (555–630), the Buddhist representative, was from Pengcheng 彭城, Xuzhou 徐州, northwest Jiangsu, (modern Tongshan 铜山). He was active during the Sui and early Tang dynasties and gained eminence for his learned lectures. At the dispute in question, he lectured on the *Prajñāpāramitā sutra* according to his *Tangshu* biography. Another biography of Hui Cheng's is contained in the important compendium of Buddhist biographies of Dao Xuan 道宣 (596–667) comp., *Xu Gaosengzhuan* 續高僧傳, accessed 1 July 2017, http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/sutra/chi_pdf/sutra20/T50n2060.pdf.

[40] The Daoist representative was one Liu Jinxi 劉進喜 who lectured on the *Laozi*, according to the *Tangshu* reading. He is otherwise unknown. A much more detailed

expressed his own views, establishing his interpretations from various directions.[41] His Highness stated with delight, "These three persons debated with sincerity, yet Deming outdid them all with one stroke; he may be termed a worthy!" He was bequeathed 50 bolts of silk. He was transferred to be an Erudite of the Sons of the State Academy. He was enfeoffed as the Thane of Wu County, he then died. His compilations were many, which have been transmitted throughout the age. Later on Emperor Taizong perused his works, and praised Deming's erudition and discernment.[42] He bequeathed 200 bolts of cotton and silk to his family.[43]

陸元朗，字德明，以字行，蘇州吳人。善名理言，受學弘正。陳太建中，後主為太子，集名儒入講承光殿，德明始冠，與下坐。國子祭酒徐孝克敷經，倚貴縱辯，眾多下之，獨德明申答，屢奪其說，舉坐咨賞。解褐始興國左常侍。陳亡，歸鄉閭。

隋煬帝擢秘書學士。大業間，廣召經明士，四方踵至。於是德明與魯達、孔褒共會門下省相酬難，莫能詘。遷國子助教。越王侗署為司業，入殿中授經。王世充僭號，封子玄恕為漢王，以德明為師，即其廬行束脩禮。德明恥之，服巴豆劑，僵偃東壁下。玄恕入拜床垂，德明對之遺利，不復開口，遂移病成臯。世充平，秦王辟為文學館學士，以經授中山王承乾，補太學博士。高祖已釋奠，召博士徐文遠、浮屠慧乘、道士劉進喜各講經，德明隨方立義，遍析其要。帝大喜曰：三人者誠辯，然德明一舉輒蔽，可謂賢矣！」賜帛五十匹，遷國子博士，封吳縣男。卒。論撰甚多，傳於世。後太宗閱其書，嘉德明博辯，以布帛二百段賜其家。

It is curious that no details are provided in the *New History of Tang* 新唐書 biography concerning Lu's educational evolution or scholarly works; his accomplishments at court are clearly prioritized over his scholarly profile. His

record of this debate is preserved in Nian Chang 念常, *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1988), *juan* 11, pp. 160–61.

[41] The reading in the *Tangshu* is clearer here: "establishing his interpretations from following various points" 隨端立義.

[42] This passage is ambiguous, merely stating that the good monarch "perused his works." The equivalent passage in the *Tangshu* biography is more explicit: "He compiled *Jingdian shiwen*, 30 scrolls, *Clearing-up-the-meaning Commentary on Laozi*, 15 scrolls, *Clearing-up-the-meaning Commentary on the Changes*, 20 scrolls; they all circulated during the age. Later on, Taizong once perused Deming's *Jingdian shiwen* and praised it highly and bequeathed to his family 200 bundles of silk." 撰經典釋文三十卷、老子疏十五卷、易疏二十卷，並行於世。太宗後嘗閱德明經典釋文，甚嘉之，賜其家束帛二百段。

[43] *Tangshu* 198.5639–40, *Xin Tangshu* 198.5639–40

original biography in the *History of Tang* 唐書, a product of the Later Jin historian Liu Xu 劉昫 (887–946), is more explicit, perhaps reflecting more interest in the philological approach to classical scholarship as well as a more prolix prose style than the author of the *New History of the Tang*, Song scholar Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072). Yet Lu's individual oeuvre, according to the bibliographical monographs included in the *History of Tang* and *New History of Tang*, is adequate to establish him as a respectable classicist.[44] I have culled the following titles from the above mentioned bibliographies:

- *Clearying-up-the-Meaning Commentary on the Text and Sentences of the Zhou Changes* 周易文句義疏, 24 scrolls.
- *The Grand Meaning Beyond the Text of the Zhou Changes* 周易文外大義, 20 scrolls.
- *Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Works* 經典釋文, 30 scrolls.
- *Lu Deming's Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Works* 陸德明經典釋文, 30 scrolls.
- *Meaning of the Text and Sentences of Master Zhuang* 莊子文句義, 20 scrolls.
- *Lu Deming's Commentary Clearing-up-the-meaning of Master Lao* 陸德明老子疏, 15 scrolls.

Two additional titles are recorded in the bibliographic monograph of the *History of Sui*:

- *Zhou Changes Together with Pronunciations Annotated* 周易並注音, 7 scrolls.
- *Grand Meaning of the Zhou Changes* 周易大義, 2 scrolls.

Yet another title has been identified in a modern index of collected surviving passages of lost works:

- *Masters Elucidations of the Zhou Changes* 周易師說.[45]

Two editions of Lu Deming's signature work, *Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Works*, reach the same length of 30 scrolls and are obviously similar editions. Of the other seven works, five are concerned with the *Zhou Changes*, two philological and three interpretive. One work each on *Laozi* and *Zhuangi* are hermeneutic in purport. This inclination to deal with the interpretation of the texts of these Daoist works contrasts strongly with the philological foundation of Lu's treatment of a variety of classics in his *Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical*

[44] Accessed most conveniently at Liu Xu and Ouyang Xiu et al., eds., *Tangshu jingji yiwen hezhi* 唐書經籍藝文合志 (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1956).

[45] Sun and Chen, *Zhongguo guyishu jiben mulu jieti*, 15–16.

Works. In terms of methodology, his scholarly persona appears much more multifaceted than that of a mere compiler of ancient sound and meaning glosses: he treated both textual criticism and commentarial attention, and, in terms of scope, he incorporated both Confucianism and Daoism.

8.2.1. Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Works

At the beginning of this volume, I promised to detail the impact that Zheng Xuan's ritual-based school exerted on classical scholarship during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, as his intellectual heirs maintained his approach, and his intellectual rivals asserted their independence and stretched to create alternate approaches. Reaching the great work of Lu Deming, which was completed before the end of the fall of Chen to the Sui in AD 589, we can now complete this arc, as Zheng Xuan's impact became permanently embedded in the cannon. This is because Kong Yingda adopted Lu Deming's original selections of base texts utilized in the *Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Works* for Kong's own *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* as five of the 14 textual editions and commentaries were those of Zheng Xuan. The later officially sanctioned canon of *Thirteen Classics* maintained four of these texts, only substituting the imperial commentary composed in AD 743 under command of Li Longji 李隆基 (685–762), Emperor Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (r. 712–756), on the *Classic of Filial Piety* for the earlier one by Zheng Xuan. Thus, Sui and early Tang scholarship set the course of future classical scholarship by enshrining the Zheng school interpretations for the core texts of the *Poems*, the *Rites of Zhou*, the *Ceremonials and Rituals,* and the *Records of Ritualists*. Beyond these core texts, other classics were studied via Zheng Xuan's school. Hong Mingzhi points out that even after the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* canonized the commentaries and subcommentaries that are still normative today, Zheng Xuan's commentaries on the following texts were still authorized alternates to the canonized commentaries: *Zhou Changes*, along with Wang Bi's commentary; *Esteemed Documents*, along with Kong Anguo's commentary; *Analects*, along with He Yan's commentary; and *The Classic of Filial Piety*, along with the commentary of Kong Anguo. This constitutes a mini canon of eight out of the eventual total of 13 Classics, which transmitted the learning of Zheng.[46]

Another index of the impact of Zheng Xuan on Lu Deming's *Elucidations* is the overwhelming dependence on Zheng's glosses and exegesis for elucidating the Confucian classics Lu analyzes. For instance, let us compare the relative number of glosses adopted from Zheng Xuan versus his chief commentarial rival, Wang Su 王肅 (195–256). The total number of citations to Zheng's scholarship is 854; the total of Wang Su is 316. Note the data in the following table:

[46] Hong Mingji 洪銘吉, *Tangdai keju mingjing jinshi yu Jingxue zhi guanxi* 唐代科舉明經進士與經學之關係 (Taipei: Wenjin Chubanshe, 2013), 395.

Table 6. Comparison of Numbers of Classical Glosses of Zheng Xuan and Wang Su in the *Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Works*[47]

	Yi	*Shu*	*Shi*	*Zhouli*	*Yili*	*Liji*	*Xiaojing*	*Lunyu*
Zheng	174	41	355	46	18	71	6	104
Wang Su	151	28	95			27	3	2

Given its provenance as a compendium of glosses on the pronunciations of words in the classics, it is not surprising that authors of earlier *Sound Commentaries* contributed more citations than Zheng Xuan. The most prolific sound glossologist was Xu Miao 徐邈, whose ten *Sound Commentaries* yielded 2169 glosses; Liu Changzong 劉昌宗 (Eastern Jin) provided 1020 glosses; Li Gui 李軌 (d. AD 619) supplied 313.[48] Yet, the scope of Lu Deming's compendium exceeded the original narrow parameter of proper pronunciation to include glosses on the meaning of words, the parsing of sentences, the determination of variant characters, textual criticism, and classical interpretations, especially with regard to the Daoist scriptures of *Master Lao* and *Master Zhuang*.

A sound gloss by Xu Miao on a word in *Guliang's Commentary* reveals the breadth of his coverage of the polyphonic nature of this word, and it is worth detailing for a rare contextualized glimpse of such glosses during the Eastern Jin period; I add Lu Deming's later gloss:

> Spring and Autumn Annals:
>
> In autumn, in the seventh month, there was a star that became indistinct and entered the Big Dipper.
>
> 秋，七月，有星孛入于北斗。[49]
>
> Guliang's Commentary
>
> In autumn, in the seventh month, there was a star that became indistinct and entered the Big Dipper. As for the pronunciation of 'became indistinct,' it is just like *fu* (**pət*).[50]
>
> 秋，七月，有星孛入于北斗。孛之為言，猶茀也。[51]
>
> Xu Miao's gloss:

[47] Huang, "*Jingdian shiwen* yu Wei-Jin Liuchao jingxue," 787-88.
[48] Huang, "*Jingdian shiwen* yu Wei-Jin Liuchao jingxue," 787-88.
[49] *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 19b.13b; trans. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo tradition*, 1:535. Note 210 observes that "From the perspective of early Chinese viewers, a comet was a star that had become indistinct (*bo* 孛) and started to move."
[50] Reconstructed pronunciation of Minimal Old Chinese according to Axel Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 241.
[51] *Chunqiu Guliangzhuan zhushu* 11.7b.

> *Fu* is pronounced *fu* plus *wu* (*fu* **put*);[52] another pronunciation is *bu* plus *wu* (*bu* **ba*^{c}); an additional pronunciation is *fu* (**put*).
>
> 茀，扶勿反，亦音步勿反，又音弗。[53]
>
> Lu Deming Elucidation:
>
> "Star grows indistinct" is pronounced *bu* plus *nei* (*bei* * *bwəj*^{h}), it is also just like *fu* (**p*^{h}*ut*).[54]

Lu Deming's gloss on the word "star grows indistinct" was concise to the point of only including one main phonetic gloss, together with one alternative that derived from *Guliang's Commentary*. It also focused on the text of the classic, not Guliang's exegesis. This focus would be impossible to sustain however, since the bulk of *Guliang's Commentary* consisted of the author's exegesis, not quotes from the *Spring and Autumn Annals* itself. Xu Miao's treatment focused on the alternative word supplied by Guliang in his *Commentary*, an alternate wording for "stars grows indistinct." Xu also included three separate glosses on this alternate wording. Unfortunately, no other glosses by Xu seem to be extant to help discern a pattern in his commentarial approach to determine whether attention to providing multiple sound glosses was the norm.

Despite Huang Kunyao's assertion that Lu's great work was more important for its linguistic data than for its facts on classical scholarship, he nevertheless concedes its impact in this area for the Chen dynasty and synthesizes this impact into three categories. First, Lu expanded the ideals of classical scholarship, expanding the term to embrace canonical works such as the *Close to Standard* onomasticon before it was widely utilized and the twin pillars of Daoist scriptures, *Master Lao* and *Master Zhuang*. This incorporation of Confucian and Daoist texts into a single canon was a cultural imperative, to combine forces, as it were, to combat the onslaught of the foreign ideology conveyed by Buddhist texts. Second, Lu Deming ordered the classics into their present sequence, lending priority to the *Zhou Changes*, then the *Esteemed Documents*, the *Poems*, and so forth, thus forming the received order. He apparently followed his understanding of the historical development of these texts. And third, Lu Deming chose the best editions with appended commentaries of these classics which were adopted into the *Thirteen Classics* after a long developmental period through the Song and

[52] Reconstructed pronunciation of Late Han Chinese according to Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, 241. This formulaic method of expressing pronunciation is called *fanqie* and is explained below in conjunction with my treatment of Lu Fayan.
[53] This gloss in included in Fan Ning's 范寧 (339－401), *Jijie* 集解 *Collected Commentaries, Chunqiu Guliangzhuan zhushu* 11.7b.
[54] Reconstructions of Early Middle Chinese, which was the contemporary pronunciation employed by Lu Deming, are drawn from Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver: UCB Press, 1991).

Yuan dynasties under their final form ultimately promulgated by the throne in 1584. The editions of *Master Lao* and *Master Zhuang* that Lu accepted into the canon, annotated respectively by Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249) and Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. AD 312), are also regarded as the authoritative received versions today. And all of this is separate from the immeasurable contribution to classical scholarship that Lu Deming's treasure chest of sound glosses, definitions, textual parsing, textual criticism, and interpretive readings made to the establishment, parsing, and deciphering of classical texts. In all, he mentions some 239 works and 164 authors but quotes from only 108 works and 89 authors, which is still a bounteous harvest of texts and authorities.[55]

A final contribution to the history of classical scholarship is Lu Deming's preface, entitled "Preface and Register" 序錄; it explains Lu Deming's purpose and format and lists the contents and historical derivation *cum* transmission of the classics included in his great work. The lineages of classical masters who figured in the transmission of these texts sometimes differ considerably from the genealogies preserved in earlier historical texts such as the *Historian's Records* and *History of Han.* As such, Lu Deming's preface contributes much original information not available elsewhere, and his comparable data point to problems in the traditional narratives.[56]

Lu's work in 30 scrolls devotes each chapter or often multiple chapters to 11 Confucian classics, the two Daoist scriptures, and the *Close to Standard* onomasticon. Just as that other great *summa*, the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* of Kong Yingda preserves passages from lost commentarial works from the Han through the Northern and Southern period, which work will be treated in a later chapter, so too does this compendium compile lost pronunciation and meaning glosses from classicists from the same span of time. And the work of unifying interpretations by Kong's collection was paralleled by Lu Deming in the area of unifying orthodox pronunciation via the vehicle of "turning and cutting" readings.

"Turning and Cutting" (*fanqie* 反切) is the practice of isolating the initial of one word and combining it with the final and tone of another word to indicate the pronunciation and tone of the word being glossed.[57] For instance, the first such

[55] Huang, "*Jingdian Shiwen* yu Wei-Jin Liuchao jingxue," 786. On the same page, Huang characterizes the transmission of ancient learning by Lu's great work into three categories: First, it transmitted the unified learning of Zheng as codified during the late Eastern Han and Wei-Jin period. Second, it transmitted the important commentarial work on classical learning from the Han and Jin periods, which, I may add, became normative in the commentarial literature. And third, it transmitted recent work on classical scholarship up to the Liang and Chen dynasties.

[56] Wu Chengshi 吳承仕, ed., *Jingdian shiwen xulu shuzheng* 經典釋文序錄疏證 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2008).

[57] Good if general introductions to the *fanqie* phonetic spelling system is Deng, *Zhongguo gudai yuyanxueshi*, 66–70; P'an Ts'ung-kuei 潘重規 and Chen Shaotang

entry in the *Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Works* glosses the pronunciation of the word "change" 易 as in the *Zhou Changes*: "For *Changes* combines '*ying*' **jiajŋ* and '*zhi *tɕiajk*'" 易盈隻反. This gloss combines the initial of the first word *yi– *jia–* with the final and tone of the second word –I **–jk,* to yield the pronunciation of *yi *jiajk.*[58]

Lu further adumbrates the importance of pronunciation glosses for explicating the classics:

> Usually former classicists did not comment on older forms of pronunciation; but since such phonetic glosses elucidate the classics, the classics are clarified by glosses. If in reading glosses they are not understood, then the meaning of the classics is hard to discern. But if pronunciation glosses are intermixed [with the text], it becomes difficult to search them out. Now I write the text of the classics in black ink and utilize red characters to differentiate pronunciation glosses in order to distinguish them clearly and make them easily found.
>
> 先儒舊音，多不音注，然注既釋經，經由注顯。若讀注不曉，則經義難明。混而音之，尋討未易。今以墨書經本，朱字辯注，用相分別，使較然可求。[59]

As mentioned above, Lu Deming's pronunciation glosses most often consist of indicating the pronunciation via the *fanqie* system;[60] but he does not necessarily always provide meanings for each entry. One extended entry glossing the word *zi*

陳紹棠, *Zhongguo shengyunxue* 中國聲韻學 (Taipei: Dongda Tushu, 1981), 175–83; and Donghong Yuan, *A History of the Chinese Language* (Oxford and New York: Taylor and Francis, 2014), 46–48.

[58] Lu Deming, *Jingdian shiwen huijiao* 經典釋文彙校護, ed. Huang Zhuo 黃焯 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2006), 2.1a.

[59] Lu, *Jingdian shiwen huijiao* 1.2a. Chapter one of this work contains the "Preface and Register" 序錄, explaining Lu Deming's purpose and format and listing the contents and historical derivation *cum* transmission of the classics included in his great work. For a discussion of the preceding translated passage, see Wu, *Jingdian shiwen xulu shuzheng*, 8.

[60] Lu Deming also employed a less specialized form of sound gloss, the "just like graph x" (*ruzi* 如字), that is, "This graph should be pronounced like graph x." Jin Zhousheng isolates three fundamental criteria for employing this type of sound gloss: First, the graph selected as sound gloss must be a graph with a common written form; second, one must adopt its most common pronunciation; and third, it must be utilized to gloss the graph of an uncommon technical term or a rare graphic variant, a variant pronunciation, or a graph with multiple pronunciations. See Jin Zhousheng 金周生, "*Jingdian shiwen* 'ruzi' yongfa ji yindu kao" 經典釋文如字用法及音讀考, in Wang Jingshi et al., eds., *Xungu luncong*, 133–46; see also Huang Kunyao, "*Shiwen* ruzi bianyin" 釋文如字辨音, in *Yinyi chanwei* 音義闡微 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1997), 25–45.

梓 "joiner" (a woodworking tool) demonstrates the fecundity of this work: "The pronunciation of *zi *tsi'* is that of *zi *tsi'* ("son"), originally it was also written as *zi *tsi'* [alternate orthography]. Ma Rong states that anciently it was written as *zi* [original orthography]; an implement for working wood is called adze, that for working clay is called kiln; that for working metal is called foundry." 梓音子本亦作杼。馬云古作梓字，治木器曰梓，治土曰陶，治金器曰冶.[61]

Like Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 58–ca. 147) invoking Confucius's "Rectification of Names" theory in explaining the importance of his dictionary *Explaining Simple Graphs and Analyzing Compound Characters* 說文解字, Lu Deming also relies on this underpinning ideology. In his preface, Lu Deming quotes *Analects* 13.3 after explaining the change in language and pronunciation over time and how it differs from place to place:

> "What is necessary is to rectify names. . . . If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things. If language be not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success. . . . Therefore a superior man considers it necessary that the names he uses may be spoken appropriately, and also that what he speaks may be carried out appropriately." How rich indeed are these words, how great now, how flourishing now, it can only be praised now!
>
> 必也正名乎！。……名不正，則言不順；言不順，則事不成。……故君子名之必可言也，言之必可行也。斯富載言乎，大矣，盛矣，無得而稱矣！[62]

Lu's adoption of Confucius' programmatic statement about correcting language and his fulsome praise of this principle is of a piece with Lu's overall thinking about the purpose of classical scholarship; it is based on the support afforded from the lessons in the classics to impel self-cultivation and guide moral conduct.[63] It must be recalled that Lu Deming was heavily involved in educational matters at the Chen, Sui, and Tang courts, and classical scholarship was the foundation of his educational endeavors, including his lectures. His great compendium may, in fact, have been formed from his copious lecture notes. His work may have "corrected the language" on the micro-level of the minutiae of word glosses and definitions, but he also encapsulated the conclusions of the school of Zheng Xuan,

[61] Lu, *Jingdian shiwen huijiao*, 4.7a.

[62] *Lunyu* 13.3; trans. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:263–64.

[63] Huang, "Lu Deming de xuexing he jingxue sixiang," 222–27. For a discussion of Confucius's and Xunzi's development of the theory of "rectification of names" and its utilization by Xu Shen, consult *A History of Chinese Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2, chap. 6, sec. 6.3. See further Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717–1796), who cites Zheng Xuan to the effect that "rectification of names" referred to the correction of "characters used in writing" 正書字. See Lu Wenchao, *Jingdian shiwen kaozheng* 經典釋文考證, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985), 1:1.

cited a plethora of other classical commentators, and formed his own school by creating a holistic classical canon that added the twin pillars of Daoist texts on the foundation of Confucian classics. Ultimately, his personalized notion of a "comprehensive Confucian" 通儒 offered a new understanding of the term: it did not mean a comprehensive understanding of the entire Confucian canon but a comprehensive combination of Confucian and Daoist texts to fuse Confucian ethical behavior with Daoist personal spiritual freedom.[64]

Lu Deming's overall contributions to the development of classical studies are distilled by Li Weixiong into four broad categories: First, he synthesized the classical learning of North and South. (This conclusion must give us pause since Lu quoted no northern classicists, and his classical views were those current during the Chen dynasty.) Second, he preserved much of important pre–Tang scholarship on the classics. Third, he corrected the characters of the classics. And fourth, he provided the reading pronunciations of these characters. These contributions helped unite Tang dynasty classical scholarship and provided a solid foundation for classical scholarship to develop in later ages.[65] His sound glosses are still appended to many of the Thirteen Classics,[66] and his sponsorship of the *Close to Standard* onomasticon may have been induced for its educational value as much as its utility for critical research.[67]

Between Kong Yingda's *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* and Lu Deming's *Elucidation of the Texts of Canonical Works*, valuable examples of the ancient treasures of phonetic glosses, word explications, and commentaries on sentences and phrases—for some authors a large number of examples—have been preserved from oblivion.

[64] Huang, "Lu Deming de xuexing he jingxue sixiang," 217.

[65] Li Weixiong 李威熊, "Lu Deming zhi jingxueguan jiqi zai jingxueshishang zhi gongxian" 陸德明之經學觀及其經學史上之貢獻, in Fengjia University Dept. of Chinese Literature, ed., *Liuchao Sui–Tang xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 六朝隋唐學術研討會論文集 (Taipei: Wen Shi Zhe, 2004), 351–71.

[66] The *Gongyangzhuan, Guliangzhuan,* "with appended sound glosses" (fuyin 附音). The *Zuozhuan*, *Liji*, *Zhouli*, *Shijing*, and *Shangshu* express it as "with appended elucidations and sound glosses" 附釋音. This linguistic tag was a later development, since the first historical record of anyone noticing the *Jingdian shiwen*, apart from bibliographical entries, was Tang Taizong, who rewarded Lu's family after perusing it after Lu's death. See Lu's biography mentioned previously.

[67] Witness the sentiments of the author of the epexegesis (*shu* 疏), Xing Bing 邢昺 (932–1010), which commence his preface: "Now as for the *Close to Standard*, it contains the techniques that former Confucians employed in education and the methods of recent specialists to conduct research" 夫爾雅者先儒授教之術,後進索隱之方. *Erya zhushu* 爾雅注疏, Xing Bing preface, 1a.

small seal forms of characters employed by Xu Shen's and later dictionaries and adopt the modern "printed" (*kaishu* 楷書) forms. Each character is treated with a "turning and cutting" pronunciation gloss, a word definition, variant character forms, and is sometimes adorned with supplementary amplifications, including personal observations from the author, so-called "notes" (*anyu* 案語). Often the work reads like a chrestomathy of quotations, a compendium of historical usages of the words in question in full citation contexts, similar to the *Oxford English Dictionary* along historical lines, although this feature is not consistently employed. This added bonus adds great utility to the work, and is a major advance on the utility of the dictionary of Xu Shen.[79] William Baxter cautions that, due to later textual tampering, including revisions and abridgements, this work that is extant in several severely truncated versions is no longer "a reliable guide to Early Middle Chinese phonology." [80] But Xie Qikun (AD 1737–1802), while acknowledging its many admixtures and impurities, still considers it as "preserving the nonpareil of learning for Han and Wei sound glosses" 以存漢魏音訓絕學.[81]

Yong and Peng's analysis of the *Jade Chapters* reveals six categories of contributions to the development of rhyme dictionaries by this work: First, the head entry characters are written in modern form characters, not the small seal form traditional for all earlier dictionaries. It treats over 22,000 characters, a new high in tabulations thus far, including newly coined characters and variants, all presenting an authentic and comprehensive description of language change in this period. Second, it removed 10 radicals from Xu Shen's dictionary and added 12

between the two dictionaries and how the *Yupian* surpassed the former work, see Lu Guangzheng 路廣正, "Gu Yewang *Yupian* dui Xu Shen *Shuowen jiezi* de jicheng yu fazhan" 顧野王玉篇對許慎說文解字的繼承與發展. *Wen shi zhe* 1990. 4: 64–67.

[79] A wide variety of sources are cited. For instance, the following works provide enough quotations to allow modern specialist Su Peng 苏芃 to compose dedicated surveys of how they are utilized in this dictionary: *Guliangzhuan*, *Shiji*, *Yili*, *Zhouli*, and Zuozhuan. See Su Peng's personal bibliography at http://wxy.njnu.edu.cn/info/1115/1290.htm. His work on the *Zhouli* is found in an unpublished conference paper presented on July 18, 2019, at Academia Sinica, Institutue of Literature and Philosophy, Nangang, Taiwan.

[80] William H. Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 41. See additional details at Furuya Akihiro 古屋昭弘. "Ō Ninku Setsuin to Ko Yaō Gyokuhen" 王仁昫切韻と顧野王玉篇. *Tōyō gakuhō* 65.3 (1984): 1–35.

[81] Xie, *Xiaoxuekao*, 29.3b. The preservation of an ancient manuscript of the work in Japan has launched more refined phonetic and philological studies of the work. See Su Peng 苏芃, "Yuanben *Yupian* canjuan guonei yingyinben shuping" 原本玉篇残卷国内影印本述评, *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中国典籍与文化 4 (2008). He concludes that the best version of this manuscript to have been republished in China is the edition included in the *Xuxiu Siku Quanshu* 續修四庫全書, vol. 228 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2002).

new ones. The order of entries based on these radicals was changed from "formal ordering," based on the forms of small seal script orthography, to "semantic ordering" based on the meanings, not forms, of graphs. This change made the dictionary more user friendly. Third, "turning and cutting" phonetic glosses were exclusively used, rendering sound glosses more precise. Fourth, definitions became more detailed and specific, a move from the traditional focus on the forms of characters to the words they expressed, and these definitions stressed contemporary usage, not antiquated etymologies. Fifth, Gu Yewang often offered his private views on character formation, meaning, and pronunciation, often going on at length. Semantic analysis dominated his private comments and includes analysis by description, contrast, generalization, and synonyms. And sixth, he supplied an original appendix, called "Minute Differences in Character Forms" 分毫字樣, which consisted of contrasting pairs of characters to differentiate between form, pronunciation, and meaning.[82]

8.4. Lu Fayan

Lu Fayan 陸法言 (b. AD 562) went by his style; his original name was Ci 詞. He hailed from Linzhang 臨漳 (southcentral Hebei) and earned the rare distinction of being one of the few scholars whose masterpiece did not earn him a full-fledged biography in the histories; perhaps the dispersal of his authorial authority among several senior colleagues denied him any prominence in the pantheon of Sui scholars. The following brief mention in his dual-appearance in the *History of Sui* is part of the narration of the prolific Lu clan from Hebei, and merely describes the reason that no official career was open to him after a certain point:

> [Lu Shuang's 陸爽] son was Fayan, who was quick at his studies and possessed of the scholarly trends of his clan; he divested his commoner clothing and inherited the position of Gentleman-Attendant. Earlier, when Shuang was the Frontrunner of the Heir-Apparent, he memorialized Emperor Wen of Sui, stating: "His Royal Heir and the other princes all lack exalted names; please change their names according to the principles in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*." His Highness followed this recommendation. When the heir was dismissed, his Highness became enraged in retrospect at Shuang, and said: "My grandson had a name devised for him, why couldn't he have solved his own problem? Lu Shuang was nosy to this extent; inciting the heir to boldness was also due to this man. Although Shuang is deceased, it is suitable that his sons and grandson are proscribed from office, and continue their entire lives under disgrace." Fayan ended up being punished by the removal of his name from the list of candidates for office.

[82] Yong and Peng, *Chinese Lexicography*, 188–90.

子法言，敏學有家風，釋褐承奉郎。初，爽之為洗馬，常奏（隋）文帝雲："皇太子諸子未有嘉名，請依《春秋》之義，更立名字。"上從之。及太子廢，上追怒爽曰："我孫制名，寧不自解？陸爽乃爾多事！扇惑於勇，亦由此人。其身雖故，子孫並宜屏黜，終身不齒。"法言竟坐除名。[83]

This biography reveals two things. First, Lu Shuang was a member of the Lu clan from Hebei; his ancestors were members of the northern nomadic minority people Xianbei, as detailed earlier in this clan biography. His scholarship was the end result of the long course of sinification of his lineage. Second, Lu Favan's failure to reach office was not due to any defects in his persona or learning, but due to the missteps of his father, who had reached high office in the Northern Qi, Zhou, and Sui regimes. The rhyming dictionary that Fayan authored was not the product of his individual initiative, but rather a group effort that persisted on and off over some two decades.

The preface to this work explains its compositional process and its intent. I provide this annotated translation in lieu of a satisfactory translation by others. S. Robert Ramsey's translation is smooth reading, mainly because it runs over few speed bumps of details; its forte rather is free-flowing paraphrase.[84] Gòran Malmqvist translates Zhou Zumo's abbreviated Chinese text of the preface. (Passages in the Chinese text that are not preserved by Zhou and therefore not translated by Malmqvist are placed within brackets). Malmqvist's forte in his translation approach is a forceful, confident translation based on individual interpretations that he reads into the text with no indication that they are not always discernable in the original Chinese.[85] Granted, this is a challenge that all translators face as we seek to flesh out the implications that we see in a text (witness my expansion of the word *wen* 文 "literature" into "poetic composition" based on the context of the preface, not specific wording).[86] Therefore, this approach adopted by Malmqvist should be noted as a feature, not fault, of his translation. My own translation strives for accuracy if not elegance and translates

[83] *Suishu* 58.1420; *Beishi* 28.1023. For a brief analysis of this biography, see Ding Shan 丁山, "Lu Fayan zhuanlüe" 陸法言傳略, in Luo Changpei 羅常培 and Ding Shan 丁山, eds., *Qieyun yanjiu lunwenji* 切韻研究論文集 (Kowloon: Shiyong Shuju, 1972), 1–5.

[84] S. Robert Ramsey, *The Languages of China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 116–17.

[85] Gòran Malmqvist, "Chou Tsu-mo on the Ch'ieh-yün," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 40 (1968): 33–78; preface translated on pp. 35–36. For a comparison of these two standard English translations with personal insights on difficulties in translating certain problematic locutions, see W. South Coblin, "Marginalia on Two Translations of the 'Qieyün' Preface," *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 24 (1996): 89–97.

[86] Chang Kun early on adopted this reading; see Chang Kun, "The Composite Nature of the *Ch'ieh-yün*," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 50 (1979): 241–55; p. 252.

the complete text, including all persons mentioned, literary flourishes, and historical allusions. I provide annotations where appropriate. For the base text, I utilize the preface as preserved in the Song edition of the *Expanded Rhymes* 廣韻[87] and have consulted two important annotations of the preface.[88]

> Formerly, during the early part of the *Kaihuang* reign period [581–600], the Unequaled in Honor Liu Zhen,[89] External Secretary Yan Zhitui,[90] Lu Sidao from Wuyang,[91] Editor Wei Yanyuan,[92] Attendant-in-ordinary Li

[87] Chen Pengnian 陳彭 and Lin Yin 林尹, eds. *Songben Guangyun* 宋本光韻 (Taipei: Limin Wenhua Shiye Gufen Youxian Gongsi, 1976), 12–14.

[88] Feng Zheng 馮蒸, "*Qieyun* xu jinyi yu xinzhu" 切韻序今譯與新注, in Shi Feng 石鋒 and Peng Gang 彭剛, eds., *Dajiang Dongqu: Wang Shiyuan jiaoshou 80 sui heshou wenji* 大江東去:王士元教授 80 歲賀歲文集 (Hong Kong: Xianggang Chengshi Daxue Chubanshe, 2013), 85–95, and Luo Changpei 羅常培, "*Qieyun* xu jiaoshi" 切韻校釋, in Luo and Ding, eds., *Qieyun yanjiu lunwenji*, 6–25.

[89] Li Zhen 劉臻 (527–598) came from Xiang County 相縣 (modern Huaibei Municipality 淮北市, Xiangshan District, northern Anui), Peiguo Commandery 沛國郡 (which political administration included northern Anhui and parts of Northern Jiangsu). He was brilliant in his knowledge of the classics and histories; in fact, his expertise in the twin histories of the Han era, *Hanshu,* and *Hou-Hanshu* earned him the honorary epithet of the "Sage of the Han histories" 漢聖. However, he was somewhat forgetful and doddering as an administrator. He has an entry in the "Literati" collective biography in *Suishu* 76.1731–32 and at *Beishi* 83.2809–10. The title by which he called, *yitong* 儀同, is an abbreviation of *yitong sansi* 儀同三司, which was a merit title during the Sui when he was so honored.

[90] Yan Zhitui was introduced previously in chap. 4, sec. 4.2. It should be noted here that, in addition to the two chapters on phonetics in his *Yanshi jiaxun*, the *Suishu* bibliographic monographic notes one other related work: a *Xunsu wenzi* 訓俗文字 in one scroll.

[91] Lu Sidao 盧思道 (544–586) is not, as asserted by his biography from Wuyang, modern Liaocheng 聊城, in western Shandong, but from Fanyang 范陽, in modern Zhuo Commandery 涿州, southwest of Beijing. He did serve a spell as the Governor of Wuyang; I suspect that the place he served was mistakenly included instead of the title of his office of "governor" (*taishou* 太守). After preliminary studies, Lu borrowed books from noted historian Wei Shou 魏收 (506–572). His temperament was acidic and behavior unrestrained. Two *fu* are preserved in his *Suishu* biography, which expressed his Daoist views on life. Lu Sidao's biographies are included in *Suishu* 1397–1403 and *Beishi* 30.1075–77, in a foreshortened form.

[92] Wei Yanyuan 魏彥淵 is the style of Wei Dan 魏澹, whose style was changed to Yanshen 彥深 to avoid a royal Tang era taboo on the name Yuan 淵; he sometimes is referred to as Yanquan 彥泉. He was from Julu Commandery 鉅鹿郡, modern Xingtai 邢台 in southern Hebei. Orphaned at age 14, his drive for learning, talent, and skill at

Ruo,[93] Scion of State Xiao Gai,[94] Administrative Advisor Xin Deyuan,[95] and Ministry of Personnel Xue Daoheng,[96] eight men in all,[97] called on

composition eventually earned him a position with the Northern Qi as a compiler of the national history. During the Northern Zhou, he was an imperial advisor. With the Sui, he became an editor on the staff of the heir apparent and was tasked to compile a new history of the Wei which he completed in 92 chapters, which work greatly pleased His Highness. His individual anthology reached 30 scrolls. *Suishi* chapter 58 includes the biographies of Lu Shuang, Lu Fayan, Du Taiqing, who will appear later in Fayan's preface, and Xin Deyuan. Wei Dan's biography is on pp. 1416–20; it also appears in *Beishi* 56.2044–45. Both biographies include extracts of his interesting essays on historiography

[93] Li Ruo 李若 is otherwise unknown.

[94] Xiao Gai was introduced in cha 8, sec. 8.1.2. His title, Scion of State, is actually a nod to his office of Erudite of the Sons of State Academy, "sons" being my normal translation in this work for Hucker's "scion."

[95] Xin Deyuan 辛德源 was from Didao county 狄道縣, Longxi Commandery 隴西郡, southern Gansu. He was friends with Lu Sidao, and they travelled around together. Serving in a series of posts during the Qi, Zhou, and Sui polities, he assumed his post of administrative advisor during the Sui. When at leisure between official duties, he compiled a *Jizhu Chunqiu sanzhuan* 集注春秋三傳 in 30 scrolls and an annotated version of Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53–18 BC) *Fayan* 法言 in 22 scrolls. His personal anthology reached 20 scrolls, and he also composed a *Zhengxun* 政訓 and *Neixun* 內訓, each in 20 scrolls. His biographies are in *Suishu* 58.1422–23 and *Beishi* 50.1824–25.

[96] Xue Daoheng's 薛道衡 natal place was Fenyin 汾陰, modern Yuncheng 運城, in southwestern Shanxi, just south of Mount Lüliang. He was orphaned at age six but remained devoted to his studies until, at age 13, he was able to lecture on the *Zuozhuan.* He became friendly with Lu Sidao and enjoyed equal fame as a poet. Along with the other participants in Lu Fayan's workshop on phonology, he served a succession of posts under the Northern Qi, Northern Zhou, and Sui dynasties. Yet he was probably the best poet among them and depended as much on his ability to meditate as on his grasp of rhyme schemes for his success. Still his popularity among high officials was tempered by their misgivings at his odd behavior. He eventually was ordered to commit suicide for the crime of lèse-majesté by Emperor Yang. His individual anthology reached 70 scrolls. Consult his biographies at *Suishu* 57.1405–13; *Beishi* 36.1337–40. The former is fortified with a very lengthy panegyric to the founding monarch Emperor Wen, which with overly effusive praise of the previous reign, highly offended the current monarch and hence was the cause of his death.

[97] For more historical information on seven of these eight men through such additional sources as private histories, belles-lettres, grave epitaphs, stone monuments, and Dunhuang manuscripts, see Chen Yinque 陳寅恪, "Cong shishi lun Qieyun" 從史實論切韻, in *Jinmingguan conggao chubian* 金明館叢稿初編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1980), 342–66.

me, Fayan, at my abode for an evening soiree and to spend the night. We chanted poetry and when the wine was almost gone, the discussion got around to pronunciation and rhymes; we discovered that they all naturally differed in their use of modern tones, so we all accepted some and rejected others; but in the end divergences remained. In the Wu-Chu region [Hubei, Hunan, Anhui, and Jiangsu], sometimes the proper degree of lightness and shallowness is not observed. In Yan and Zhao [Hubei], most often the proper degree of heaviness and turbidity is traduced. In Qin and Long [Shaanxi and Gansu], the departing tone turns into the entering tone; in Liang and Yi [Sichuan], the level tone resembles the departing tone. Furthermore, the rhyme group *zhi* 支 and *zhi*, 脂 and the group *yu* 魚 and *yu* 虞 all formed one rhyme group.[98] The group *Xian* and *xian*, and *you* and *hou,* are all considered belonging to the same spelling. Those who desire to broaden the path towards poetic composition can interchange voiceless and voiced sounds; but if one wants to appreciate a knowledge of pronunciation, [99] one must differentiate between light and heavy.[100] Lu Jing's *Yunji*,[101] Xiaohou

[98] See Feng, "*Qieyun* xu jinyi yu xinzhu," p. 91, n. 17 for a discussion of the phonological issues at play here.

[99] Feng, "*Qieyun* xu jinyi yu xinzhu," 17 takes the word *shang* 賞, which I translate in the active voice, "to appreciate sounds"; Feng reads the word in the passive voice, which yields his translation of "If one wants to be appreciated by the connoisseurs who are masters of rhyme."

[100] According to Luo Changpei's tables, "light" sounds are finals that end in vowels, and "heavy" sounds are finals that end in nasals. There are also a variety of light and heavy sounds differentiated. See Luo Changpei, "Shi Zhongqing" 釋重輕, in his *Luo Changpei yuyanxue lunwen xuanji* 羅常培語言學論文選集. Zhongguo Kexueyuan Yuyan Yanjiusuo, ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1963), 80–86. Pan and Zhang explain that it is not so simple: "After the Tang dynasty, the concept of *deng* 等 'division' came up in the rhyme tables, that is, the four degrees of frontness, from *qing* 'light' to *zhong* 'heavy.' *Qing* means the tongue position is front; *zhong* means back. This notion applies both to consonants and vowels." Pan and Zhang, *The Oxford Handbook to Chinese Linguistsics*, 84.

[101] This work is discussed in chap. 8, sec. 8.3.

Gai's *Yunlue*,[102] Yang Xiuzhi's *Yunlue*,[103] Zhou Siyan's *Yinlue*,[104] Li Jijie's *Yinpu*,[105] Du Taiqing's *Yunlue*, and the like each displayed differences and similarities.[106] The rhyming practices in Jiangdong ["East of the Yangtze River"] and Hebei ["North of the Yellow River"]

[102] Xiahou Gai 夏侯該's phonetic work, *Sisheng yunlüe* 四聲韻略 in 13 scrolls, is attributed to Xiahou Yong 夏侯詠 in the *Suishu* bibliographic monograph. The name Yong is also used at *Suishu* 32.944. Chen, "Cong shishi lun Qieyun," 355, takes "gai" as an error for "yong." Yong is also attributed with a *Hanshu yin* 漢書音 in 2 scrolls. *Suishu* 32.953. He is otherwise unknown.

[103] Yang Xiuzhi 楊修之 (d. AD 582) was from Wuzhong 無終 (modern Ji County 薊县, Tianjian Municipality). He was noted for his love of a cultivated literary style but later in life opted for an elevated classical style. After he reached adulthood, he specialized in phonetics. He served the Northern Qi in Ye, Luoyang, and Chang'an, and also filled high posts in the Eastern Wei and Zhou dynasties. He participated in compiling several state histories, the daily court diary, and a biographical study, among other prose compilations; the biographical study and his personal anthology are noted in the *History of Sui* bibliographical monograph as is his phonetic dictionary in one scroll, under the surname of Yang 陽. *Suishu* 32.944. The entries in the two Tang bibliographies record his name in the original spelling of 楊. Yang's biography is preserved in *Bei-Qishu* 42.560–64, and under the orthography of Yang Xiuzhi 陽修之, *Beishi* 47.1724–28.

[104] This entry is not included in Zhou Zumo's text since it seems to be latter interpolation, according to Chen Yinque. Chen, "Cong shishi lun Qieyun," 354. This author appears in the original preface as reproduced by Chen Pengnian. Zhou Siyan is otherwise unknown.

[105] Li Jijie 李季節, under the name of Li Gai 李概, composed a *Xiuxu yinyun jueyi* 修續音韻決疑 in 14 scrolls in addition to the *Yinpu* 音譜 in four scrolls. *Suishu* 32.944. Lu Fayan called him by his style to avoid a family taboo on the name "Gai." He is otherwise unknown.

[106] Three of Du Taiqing's 杜臺卿 prose works, including his anthology in 15 scrolls, are registered in the *Suishu* bibliography, but no works on phonetics. He derived from Quyang County 曲陽, western Hebei, at the eastern foot of the Taihang mountains. He served the Northern Qi but retired to his home when the Northern Zhou conquered his state. At home he taught private disciples the *Liji* and *Chunqiu*. He was summoned to serve the Sui court, but with the onset of deafness, he preferred to work in private, compiling a history of the Qi, the *Qiji* 齊記 in 20 scrolls. His most notable work is titled *Yuzhu baodian* 玉燭寶典 in 12 scrolls. It was an almanac, with each scroll treating one month, which explained festivals, folk customs, and their underlying philosophies. It preserves many valuable quotations from lost works in a broad spectrum of literature. Lost after the Song, it was brought back in a five scroll version from Japan by Li Shuchang 黎庶昌 (1837–1896) and published in his *Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書. Du Taiqing's biography is found in *Suishu* 58.1421 and reproduced in *Beishi* 1990–91.

are even more disparate. Thereupon, we discussed the correct and erroneous rhyming practices of north and south, and the mutually consistent or inconsistent practices of ancient and modern. We desired to select even more precise examples of phonetic spellings, and to eliminate careless and loose ones; External Secretary Yan and Scion of State Xiao mostly made the decisions.[107]

Wei the Editor spoke to Fayan saying, "So far in our debates and challenges, doubtful points have all been treated; why not record them as we continue our discussion? Let us settle what we have already settled!" I, Fayan, immediately grasped my pen and, working under the light of a candle, somewhat recorded the outline of a record. Afterward, I broadly inquired of talented and discerning scholars and just about attained to the essence. Afterwards, I traversed other fields of study while engaged in my duties as a lowly official, and so for the space of ten years I enjoyed no leisure to compile this work.

Now, I resume my original shabby non-official clothing, and privately instruct my disciples, saying "All who aspire to attain to literary elegance must understand pronunciation and rhymes." While living in isolation amid the hills and wilds, my social interactions were difficult and sometimes ceased, so I had no options when it came to questions concerning my doubts and perplexities. As for those who have been lost,[108] the living and dead follow different paths; it is vain to sigh over what they could have done; as for those who are still alive, we are isolated by rituals that distinguish the honorable and base, and this isolation confirms my intention to cease social interactions. Subsequently, I drew from the phonetic studies of the various masters and character dictionaries, both ancient and modern, and what was recorded by previous worthies, and arranged them into the *Isolated Rhymes* in five scrolls, making fine distinctions in types of hair and observing minute differences between varieties of millet.[109] How can I

[107] Luo, "*Qieyun* xu jiaoshi," 21–22 goes on at length why these two worthies were the most qualified to decide on issues of phonetics. Luo even cites Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735–1815) to the effect that Yan Zhitui co-edited the work with Lu Fayan, despite, I may add, dying two years before the date of the preface.

[108] I assume this refers to those among the eight original attendees of the first soiree *cum* consortium, as reasonably asserted by Feng, "*Qieyun* xu jinyi yu xinzhu," 93, n. 41; and Luo, "*Qieyun* xu jiaoshi," 23. Luo identifies just who is deceased and who, while living, is unapproachable due to an exalted position—Xie Daoheng. Xin Deyuan was still alive, but inaccessible due to distance.

[109] Wuyun Pan and Hongming Zhang offer a smoother translation without delving into the original imagery of this line: "to set tiny segments apart and make a difference between minute weights." Wuyun Pan and Hongming Zhang, "Middle Chinese Phonology and *Qieyun*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Linguistics*, edited by

worry over "wept-over jade" or not obtaining "dangled gold"? [110] "Storing it in a famous mountain"—formerly I blamed Sima Qian for such grandiloquence,[111] as I blamed the phrase "use his work to cover a sauce jar"; now I sigh over Yang Xiong's stuttering.[112] It is not that I, this unworthy one, compiled it myself, I have merely transmitted the residual views of the collective worthies. Do I dare expect that this work will circulate in the world of men? I merely desire to stay within my own courtyard classroom. The time is a *xinyou* year [number 58 in the 60 year cycle], the first year of the *Renshou* reign period [601] of the Great Sui dynasty.

昔開皇初，有劉儀同臻、顏外史之推、盧武陽思道、魏著作彥淵、李常侍若、蕭國子該、辛諮議德原，薛吏部道衡等八人，同詣法言門宿。夜永酒闌，論及音韻。以古今聲調既自有別，諸家取捨亦復不同。吳楚則時傷輕淺；燕趙則多涉重濁；秦隴則去聲為入；梁益則平聲似去。又支脂魚虞，共為不韻；先仙尤侯，俱論是切。欲廣文路，自可清濁皆通，若賞知音，即須輕重有異。呂靜韻集、

William S-Y. Wang and Chaofen Sun, 80–90 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 80-90; p. 89.

[110] "Wept-over jade" is an allusion to a Mister He whose piece of rare jade was doubted as genuine. After two attempts at offering it to first one monarch and then his successor, one leg was cut off after each attempt. With yet a new monarch, his sorrowful weeping caught the royal attention, who then questioned him. Mr. He claimed that he was not weeping over his mutilation, but the fact that his jade, and by extension his own virtue, had not been recognized for its true value. See *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, sec. 13 "Heshi" 和氏, located in chap. 4. "Dangled gold" refers to Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (291–235 BC) who suspended 1,000 catties of gold over a copy of his encyclopedia, *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, offering this amount to anyone who could add or subtract a single word in this work. See *Shiji* 85.2510.

[111] A nod to historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145/135–86 BC) referring in his postface in the *Shji* to housing his great work of history in a famous mountain until the day it can be appreciated. *Shiji* 130.3320. The reference to using his dictionary to "cover a sauce jar" is borrowed from a jibe by Liu Xin 劉歆 (ca. 50 BC–AD 23) expressed in person to Yang Xiong concerning the reception of Yang's *Taixuanjing* 太玄經 by later readers. See *Hanshu* 87b.3585.

[112] The reference to Yang Xiong's problems with stuttering is used to highlight Lu Fayan's own inability to argue the merits of his work. The presence of the rhetorical structure of "formerly . . . at present" requires me to align the matter of covering a sauce jar with Sima Qian's hubris, not with Lu sighing over the stuttering of Yang Xiong. Hence Lu blames both the extreme hubris of Sima Qian concerning the value of his own work and the extreme attack on the importance of Yang Xiong's work. Ramsey and Feng group both sentiments of Yang Xiong together, something that violates the rhetorical structure.

夏侯該韻略、陽休之韻略、[周思言音韻]、李季節音譜、杜臺卿韻略等各有乖互。江東取韻，與河北復殊。因論南北是非，古今通塞。欲更捃選精切，除削疏緩，顏外史、蕭國子多所決定。

魏著作謂法言曰：向來論難，疑處悉盡，何不隨口記之？我輩數人，定則定矣！法言即燭下握筆，略記綱紀；後博問英辯，殆得精華。於是更涉餘學，兼從薄宦，十餘年間，不遑修集。今返初服，私訓諸弟子：凡有文藻，即須聲韻。[屏居山野，交游阻絕，疑惑之所，質問無從。亡者，則生死路殊，空懷可作之歎；存者，則貴賤禮隔，以報絕交之旨。]遂取諸家音韻、古今字書，以前所記者，定之為切韻五卷，剖析毫氂，分別黍累。[何煩泣玉，未得縣金。藏之名山，昔怪馬遷之言大；持以蓋醬，今歎楊雄之口吃]。非是小子專輒，乃述羣賢遺意。[寧敢施行人世？直欲不出戶庭。]于時，歲次辛酉大隋仁壽元年。

From the above personal account, it seems that during this meeting with like-minded literati, scholars, and poet-tasters, they established rhyming categories that Lu alone spent his post-retirement period filling out. But, practically speaking, it seems impossible that the group could have sifted through a mountain of evidence and establish 193 rhyme groups in a single evening of martini-lubricated chit-chat. Besides, the preface states "So far in our debates and challenges . . . ," implying a series of soirees over time. We therefore are entirely justified in supposing that multiple meetings of the coterie occurred over an admittedly unknown period of time. The phrase that I translated above as "Those who desire to broaden the path towards poetic composition . . ." could be rendered more literally as "broaden the path toward literature" in light of the notion expressed further along in the preface as "All who aspire to attain to literary elegance must understand pronunciation and rhymes." Granted, a knowledge of pronunciation is helpful in prose composition, revelling as it does in such pleasing phonetic features as assonance, alliteration, and the like; but a grasp of proper rhyming practice is the exclusive preserve of poetry. "Broadening the path" of course, refers to loosening up the linguistic requirements for composing poetry, to ignore subtle phonetic distinctions such as voiced and voiceless consonants, the lack of control of which could keep aspiring poets stuck in the ranks of amateurs. The focus of the discussion and of this work, therefore, we may confidently assert, was rhymes as used in poetic composition and only secondarily as a pronunciation guide for prose composition and proper chanting. A final point is that doffing his coarse, unofficial clothing refers to his quitting official life and turning his attention to private teaching.

Hisao Hirayama advocates an intriguing theory that Lu's father Shuang was the true presiding force behind the convening of periodic low-key soirees to discuss and categorize phonetics. After all, I may add, during the early *Kaihuang* period Lu Fayan was in his early twenties and in no position to lead such a gathering of luminati. Hisao asserts that out of respect for his father's reputation

and fall from grace, Fayan avoids mentioning him and thus avoids introducing a highly negative historical element into the course of production of the *Isolated Rhymes*.[113]

Isolated Rhymes translates the title of La Fayan's rhyming dictionary, *Qieyun* 切韻. The full title, to be clear, should be rendered as *Rhymes Isolated by the Cutting and Turning Method*. In this translation, I follow the lead of Chen Li 陳澧 (1810–1882), whose pioneering work *Study of the Qieyun* 切韻考 uses the word *qie* liberally as a verb throughout his preface in such locutions as "when we *qie* the first character in the word . . ." 切語上字 or "when we *qie* the last character in the word" 切語下字.[114]

8.4.1 Isolated Rhymes

This rhyming dictionary developed out of a long and fertile scholarly tradition that commenced with the Wei polity and flourished during the Jin dynasty, as sketched above. This dictionary is the only complete rhyme dictionary that remains integrally extant, and thus it automatically assumes a position of eminence. Furthermore, it was the product of a group effort of scholars, from both the north and the south, most with a backround in sound glossing, some possessed of impressive scholarly achievements in this field. This prosopographical group profile indicates that they brought a high degree of sophistication to the analysis of words and their rhymes, and a high gloss of organizational clarity and completeness of coverage.

The work comprises five scrolls; it includes 12,158 graphs, divided into 193 rhyme categories: 54 categories in the level tone (in scrolls one and two), 51 categories in the rising tone (scroll three), 56 in the departing tone (scroll four), and 32 in the entering tone (scroll five). Within each rhyme category, words that were identical in every part of the word in terms of phonology, including rhymes, vowels, finals and glides, were grouped together. The first character in each group was supplied with a "cutting and turning" phonetic gloss. The work was lost, or at least lost its place or paramountcy sometime in the late Tang or Song period after the appearance of later revised or expanded editions, most notably the *Expanded Rhymes* 廣韻, published in 1007 under imperial sponsorship by chief editors Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 (961–1017) and Qiu Yong 邱雍. It increases the number of rhyming categories to 206, and more than doubles the number of characters treated to 26,194. It is on this work that modern historical linguists have based their reseach until the discovery of old manusripts of the *Isolated Rhymes* in the twentieth century; the only complete manuscript of *Isolated Glosses* extant today is known as *Isolated Rhymes, Corrected and Supplemented* 刊謬補缺切韻

[113] Hisao Hirayama 平山久雄, "*Qieyun* 'xu' yu Lu Shuang" 切韻序與陸爽, *Zhongguo Yuwen* (1990.1): 54–58.

[114] Chen Li 陳澧, *Qieyunkao waipianfu* 切韻考外篇附 (Taipei: Xuesheng Shuju, 1971).

by Wang Renxu 王仁昫 (Tang), which was discovered in the Palace Museum in 1947.[115]

As in everything related to matters of Chinese language, even including modern language pedagogy in the oral idiom, the work is based on characters and is devoted exclusively to the reading sounds of characters as preserved in written texts, including belles-lettres and rhymes for the composition of poetry. Sometimes ancient pronunciations or dialectal variants are included, but the focus is on the readings of written forms, not characters as media for conveying speech. Jerry Norman sums up the crux as follows: "It should be pointed out that the *Qieyun* (and all other earlier dictionaries) were not records of a contemporary spoken language or dialect but rather guides to the proper recitation of literary texts, as such they were concerned only with the reading of Chinese characters, and it would be a serious mistake to regard the *Qieyun* as a reflection of the contemporary vernacular of any particular place. . . . We can see that the real issue concerning the language at the base of the *Qieyun* is really the question of what regional *reading* pronunciation it was based on."[116]

The case for the oral, not written, linguistic basis of the *Isolated Rhymes* was made by the first Western student of the issue, Bernhard Karlgren (1889–1978). He assumed that the language in question was "essentially the dialect of Chang'an in Shaanxi; during the lapse of the Tang era it became a kind of Koine, the language spoken by the educated circles in the leading cities and centres all over the country, except the coastal province of Fujian."[117] William Baxter endeavors to prove why this early assumption cannot be tenable, explaining that when the friends began their series of informal evening colloquia, the Sui had only recently reunified North and South, and the Chang'an dialect enjoyed no sort of extra prestige in comparison with other dialects; in fact, it was less reputable. Furthermore, the languages of prestige were the languages of the regional capitals of Luoyang and Ye in the North, and Jinling (Nanjing) in the South. Finally, three of the committee members were from Jinling, and the remaining five were from Ye. Ultimately, stresses Baxter, "the *Qieyun* preface itself strongly suggests that

[115] Published by Long Yuchun 龍宇純, *Tangxie quanben* Wang Renxu kanmiu buque Qieyun *jiaojian* 唐寫全本王人昫刊謬補缺切韻校箋 (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1968). For an initial study of its phonological system forcused on polysyllabic characters, see Kang Hee Wong (Jiang Xiyuan) 姜嬉遠, "Tangxie quanben *Wang Renxu Kanmiu buque Qieyun* duoyinzi chutan," 唐寫全本王人昫刊謬補缺切韻多音字初探, MA thesis, Fu Jen Catholic University, 1994. A convenient *entré* into the textual history of the *Qieyun*, its Tang and Song revisions, and the extant Tang manuscripts is the bibliographical entry by Meow Hui Goh in Chenault, et al. eds., *Early Medieval Chinese Texts*, 225-31.

[116] Jerry Norman, *Chinese*, Cambridge Language Surveys (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 24.

[117] Bernard Karlgren, "Compendium of Phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 26 (1954): 211–367; p. 212.

the intention of the authors was to establish a national standard which was not fully embodied in the speech of any single place."[118] With a firm grasp of linguistic history and the pull of political factors, E. G. Pulleyblank posits that the twin variants of the Luoyang dialect formed a single standard, one that developed locally and one that had been transported to Jinling with the fall of the north to nomadic invaders circa AD 311 and then brought back with the northward-bound migrants after the unification of the empire under the Sui in AD 589. It was just this dual-strained standard that the compilers of the *Isolated Rhymes* codified with their work.[119] The last word at this stage of the discussion on this research trajectory must be ceded to Zhou Zumo, whose conclusions are the most widely accepted: the phonological system of this work is the literary pronunciation of north and south in the late Nan-Beichao period, with the most important component being that of the Jinling dialect.[120]

However, the cyclical nature of history works in scholarly as well as political realms. A new book, essentially a PhD dissertation, returns—partially—to the theory of the Chang'an dialect. Chou Wen-hui (Zhou Wenhui) posits that, since Lu Fayan's residence in Chang'an was longer than any of the other members of the colloquia, and that he played a much more active role than that of passive amanuensis, elements of the local Chang'an dialect should be present in the *Isolated Rhymes*. I already demonstrated above from Lu's biography that he was a northerner from Hebei and not the scion of a southern clan. And Chou's research, together with many recent contributions to the literature in linguistic journals, found just that, the evidence of Chang'an phonology and dialect words.[121] Assuredly, this does not necessarily support Karlgren's thesis, but merely signifies that this admixture may represent the effort to codify the differences between northern and southern elevated languages and colloquial elements of the local patois. Thus the sources of the *Isolated Rhymes* went beyond the written

[118] Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, 36–37.

[119] E. G. Pulleyblank, *Middle Chinese: A Study in Historical Phonology* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 2–3.

[120] Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, "Qieyun de xingzhi he tade yinxi jichu" 切韻的性質和它的音系基礎, in *Wenxueji* 問學集, 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1966), 2:434–73. Almost 50 years later, an authoritative handbook published in 2015 reaffirmed Zhou's assertion in most respects: "The Middle Chinese phonology discussed here is basically the phonological system represented by *Qieyun*, which depicts the literary pronunciation in the areas around Luoyang and Nanjing in the 7th century B.C." Pan and Zhang, "Middle Chinese Phonology and *Qieyun*," in Wang and Sun, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Linguistics*, 81.

[121] Chou Wen-hui (Zhou Wenhui) 周玟惠, *Cong zhonggu yin fangyan ceng chongtan Qieyun xingzhi: Qieyun, Xuan Ying yinyi, Huilin Yinyi de bijiao yanjiu.* 從中古音方言層重探《切韻》性質：《切韻》，《玄應音義》，《慧琳音義》的比較研究. (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2005).

language of earlier rhyme books to include the living language of the participants in the colloquia.

The sophistication of the collective acuity of the committee is seen in two aspects, one of organization and one of approach. First, organization: according to Yong and Peng, the dictionary arranged phonetics that shared initial consonants in such a way as to display relationships between the meanings of characters; these were identified and differentiated on different levels and from different perspectives; for example, the relationships between different objects, different focuses, different degrees, different capacities or sizes, different shapes, and the like. In all, nine such levels or perspectives are identified.[122] Second, approach to definitions: Some 15 methods for defining characters are identified, such as descriptions, classifications, aliases, synonyms, loan words, archaic words, grammatical, and so forth.[123]

In conclusion, let me quote Pulleyblank. He summarizes the immense value of the work produced by the collective effort of the eight committed classicists over some twenty years as follows: "The *Qieyun* occupies a pivotal position in the history of Chinese phonology. It represents the earliest stage of the language for which there exists something approaching a complete phonological statement, that is, an inventory of all the distinct syllables classified by rhymes, and it has been the primary point of reference for all subsequent phonological studies in the native tradition."[124]

[122] Yong and Peng, *Chinese Lexicography*, 246–47.

[123] Yong and Peng, *Chinese Lexicography*, 247–48.

[124] Pulleyblank, *Middle Chinese*, 1.