

Introduction

"...what one says in abstractions about 'a tradition' finds its ultimate proof or disproof in the lives of men..."¹

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Jingxue lishi 經學歷史 (The History of Classical Scholarship) is a textbook that was written by a schoolteacher for the purpose of helping his students learn the subject that he taught. Of course, Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞 (1850-1908) was more than a schoolteacher. He was a son and a grandson, a father and a grandfather, a husband (twice a widower by age twenty-seven sui), a mentor, a friend, a patriot, a strong believer in reform and an activist, an accomplished poet, and a scholar of the Chinese Classics. And Jingxue lishi is more than a textbook--it is a rich repository that contains much valuable information about a very important part of Chinese culture and civilization, as well as insights into a traditional way of life.

Although Jingxue lishi is not about the Classics per se, but about

¹Arthur F. Wright, "Values, Roles, Personalities" in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., Confucian Personalities (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), p.3.

the history of scholarship related to the Classics,² an understanding of the Classics and their nature is fundamental if one is to understand the history of scholarship surrounding these texts. What follows is not intended to be comprehensive, but rather a short summary providing information about the Classics in general and information essential to understanding the nature of each text.³

The role the Classics or jing 經 have played in the cultural history, that is, the intellectual, literary, bureaucratic, and social history of traditional China looms as large as any single factor or influence. While the Classics certainly were not the sole source of all subsequent

²The term jingxue 經學 has other translations, such as "Classics Studies," "Classical Learning," "the Study of the Classics," etc., which are all perfectly acceptable. The term can be understood in its wider sense, i.e., any form of study, learning, or scholarship related or associated with the Classics. Pi Xirui's history touches on all of these aspects, but for the most part his focus is on scholarship, so I, for the most part, use the term "Classical Scholarship."

³For a book length study of the Classics, see: Michael Nylan, The Five "Confucian" Classics (New Haven: Yale University Press: 2001). In addition, one should consult the individual entries for the each of the Classics in Michael Loewe, ed., Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographic Guide (ECT) (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 1993) for additional information. I have based my summaries of the texts in part on

development and evolution, it is almost impossible to imagine what the history of Chinese culture and civilization would have been like without them, and it is accurate to describe them as one of the distinguishing features of Chinese culture. Early on, the Classics formed the core material that aspiring scholars and officials had to master if they were to gain entrance to government service, or for that matter, be regarded as learned. Children began committing the Classics to memory at a young age, and throughout one's life they would be referred to time and again in both writing and in verbal communication. As knowledge of the Classics was shared by all educated members of society, they functioned as intellectual as well as cultural common ground, and their contents constituted a shared knowledge base. Moreover, owing to their authority, citation from the Classics was a technique often used to strengthen one's argument or line of reasoning.

What are the Classics? It is common to think of the Classics as the "Thirteen Classics." The Thirteen Classics are the Songs (Shi 詩), the Changes (Yi 易), the Documents (Shu 書), the Zuo Commentary (Zuozhuan 左傳), the Gongyang Commentary (Gongyang zhuan 公羊傳), the Guliang Commentary (Guliang zhuan 穀梁傳), the Ceremonials and Rites (Yi li

the ECT entries.

儀禮), the Rites of Zhou (Zhouli 周禮), the Record of Rites (Liji 禮記), the Analects (Lunyu 論語), the Mencius (Mengzi 孟子), the Classic of Filial Piety (Xiaojing 孝經), and the Erya (Erya 爾雅). The Spring and Autumn Annals (Chunqiu 春秋), which is one of the "Five Classics" (Wujing 五經, i.e., the Songs, Changes, Documents, Rites, and Spring and Autumn Annals) now has its text included in its three commentaries, the Zuo, Gongyang, and Guliang commentaries, and is no longer a stand alone Classic. The "full set" did not include thirteen members until the Song dynasty.

We do not have any historical evidence or information about the specific time or circumstances when two or more of these texts, probably in an earlier form, were somehow associated with one another and thought of as parts of a greater whole, and were thought of as having a special status. However, early texts do give us some information. The Analects mentions shi 詩, shu 書, li 禮, and in the view of some, yi 易. Evidence supports shi being understood as the Songs and shu referring to the Documents. Confucius was certainly a strong supporter of li in the sense of the "rites," ritual, or contextually proper behavior, and urged his son Boyu 伯魚 to study the rites (li).⁴ However, it is not known whether or not Confucius

⁴Analects 16/13.

was referring to a text that has a direct relationship to the received Rites texts. As for the passage in the Analects that mentions yi 易 and is understood by some as referring to the Changes,⁵ many scholars understand 易 as a variant of the character yi 亦, and this negates any mention of the Changes in the Analects. In the Zhuangzi 莊子, the Six Classics are listed as the Shi 詩, Shu 書, Yi 易, Li 禮, Yue 樂 (Music), and the Chunqiu 春秋.⁶ The belief that four of these are mentioned in the Analects has led some to conclude that by Confucius' time, the Songs, the Documents, the Rites, and the Changes were already held in high esteem. And Confucius' regard for these texts, along with the belief that he selected them as the foundation of the core curriculum for his teachings certainly must have added to their prestige. In addition, there was the traditionally held view that Confucius had a hand in the composition or editing of the Classics and this certainly did nothing to diminish their stature in the eyes of many. But there have been other more skeptical, tough-minded scholars

⁵Analects, 7/17.

⁶The passage in the "Tian yun" 天運 chapter of the Zhuangzi reads, "I, Qiu (Confucius), have studied the Six Classics, that is the Songs, Documents, Rites, Music, Changes, and Spring and Autumn Annals, for what seems to me like a long time." 丘治詩書禮樂易春秋, 自以爲久矣. Cf. Graham, Chuang Tzu, p.133; Watson, Chuang tzu, p.165.

who have been of the opinion that although Confucius may have been aware of the poems and the writings that came to be included in the received texts of the Songs and Documents, had known about the Changes, and been a strong advocate of li 禮, he did not compose or edit the texts that have these titles.

The prestige of the Songs, Documents, Changes, Rites, and Spring and Autumn Annals was elevated and strengthened when in 136 B.C. Emperor Wu (reg. 141-87 B.C.) established Erudite (boshi 博士)⁷ positions in the Imperial Academy for each of the Five Classics. This raised the standing of the Classics in relation to other texts and schools.⁸ It also

⁷Hucker 4746.

⁸The term "school(s)" can be somewhat problematic as its range of definitions in English may suggest meanings which are inappropriate to the Chinese context. Usually it is a translation for the word jia 家. Some Sinologists prefer to use "scholastic lineages" or "scholastic filiations." When I use the term, I generally use it in the sense of one of its common definitions: "two or more people associated or held together by the same teachings, beliefs, opinions, methods, etc., or whose thought or writings reflect common conceptual, regional, or personal similarities or influence; followers or disciples of a teacher, leader, or creed." However, it is important to bear in mind that it is not necessarily the case that any members who are said to belong to the same "school" thought exactly the same about anything at any time. In addition, one should also to bear in

served to give an imperial stamp of legitimacy to the "editions" or versions of the texts considered standard at the time, as well as lending approval to the schools of interpretation and commentary on the Classics with which the individual Erudites were aligned. The number of Erudite positions would be increased to include different schools of interpretation for individual Classics.

Although the first six chapters of Jingxue lishi translated here only cover the period up through the Six Dynasties, a time several centuries before all thirteen members became known collectively as the "Thirteen Classics," all of the texts had already been extant (although not in all cases in a stable or final form) for hundreds of years.

The Yijing 易經 (Changes) was originally known as the Yi or Zhouyi 周易, as jing 經 became part of the title only when it was included in the Confucian canon during the Han dynasty. The Yi is believed to have had its origins in divination. The received text as we know it evolved into its present form over a period of perhaps a thousand years, and should not be thought of as the product of an individual author or age. The process by which the text developed into its present form is somewhat murky, and

mind that it is possible and permissible that people who are said to belong to different or separate "schools" shared similar views, opinions, and ideas about many things.

what the word yi originally meant in the title of the text is also not completely clear. It could be related to yi 蜥 gecko, the relationship lying in certain lizard's ability to change color. It could also be the yi of jianyi 簡易 "simple" as the divination process of the Yi which manipulated yarrow stalks was easier to carry out than turtle shell or bone divination. A third possibility is that it meant "change" bianyi 變易, specifically referring to the changing lines of the hexagrams from broken to unbroken and vice versa and/or the change from one hexagram to another that results from this process. The traditional authorship of the Yi has Emperor Fu Xi 伏羲 (24th century B.C.) inventing the eight trigrams, and King Wen 文王 (ca. 1140 B.C.) combining the eight trigrams with one another in pairs during his imprisonment at Youli 羑里 to yield the sixty-four hexagrams. Zhou gong (Duke of Zhou) 周公 (d. 1104 B.C.) is credited with appending the earliest text to the hexagrams, the "Judgment Texts" of the hexagrams and the "Line Texts." The "Ten Wings" commentaries to the Yi were said to have been edited by Confucius.

While the traditional account of the composition of the Yi is not credible in the judgement of modern scholars, it nevertheless, like more modern theories, expresses the view that the Yi was composed by different hands over an extended period of time.

The Yi is divided into two parts, the "basic text" (benjing 本經) and the "commentaries" (zhuan 傳) to the basic text. The basic text is composed of the hexagrams themselves, that is, the guaxing 卦形 ("form of the hexagram"), the hexagram names which in certain cases appear to have been linked to a word that occurs in the line texts, and the hexagram statement, a short text composed of divination formulae that relate to the hexagram in a general way. This text is often terse and cryptic. The final part of the "basic text" is the "line text" (yaoci 爻辭). There are various kinds of line texts that can be classified as omens, poetic lines, historical events, etc.

The commentaries to the basic text were traditionally ascribed to Confucius, but scholarship over the years has given strong evidence to the contrary, as they are believed not to pre-date the Warring States period. The "Ten Wings" include the following: the "Commentary on the Decision" ("Tuanzhuan" 彖傳; in two parts shang 上, xia 下) are explanations of the hexagram name (guaming 卦名) and the hexagram statement (guaci 卦辭). The "Commentary on the Image" ("Xiangzhuan" 象傳; also in two parts) provide explanations of the images symbolized by the top and bottom trigrams (three line sets) of the hexagrams, as well as the images of the lines. When this commentary explains the trigram images, it is referred to

as the "Commentary on the Greater Images" ("Da xiang zhuan" 大象傳), and it is referred to as the "Commentary on the Lesser Images" ("Xiao xiang zhuan" 小象傳) when it comments on the lines. The "Commentary on the Words of the Text" ("Wen yan" 文言) only discusses the first two hexagrams, "Qian" 乾 and "Kun" 坤 along the lines of moral philosophy. The "Great Treatise" ("Xi ci" 繫辭 or "Xi ci zhuan" 繫辭傳, also known as the "Da zhuan" 大傳), another two part commentary, describes and discusses the function of the Yi. It also describes in a mythological-historical manner the creation of the Yi and expresses the world view current at the time of its composition.

The "Explaining the Trigrams" commentary ("Shuogua" 說卦) as its name clearly states, explains the trigrams, the main focus being on the imagery and symbolism of the individual trigrams. In addition, it assigns correlations and abstract attributes to the individual trigrams. The "Ordering the Hexagrams" commentary ("Xugua" 序卦) attempts to give a short explanation of each hexagram according to the order in which the hexagrams are found in the text. The final member of the "Ten Wings," the "Miscellaneous Notes on the Trigrams" ("Za gua" 雜卦) are short descriptions of the hexagrams in random order.

The Shijing 詩經 (Songs) is a collection of 305 poems dating from as

early as the eleventh century B.C. to about 600 B.C. Tradition has it that Confucius edited a collection of about 3,000 poems and the present anthology is the result. While there is little hard evidence that Confucius is responsible for the present form of the anthology, the Analects tells us that shi 詩 or "songs" were part of the material which made up the course of study for his disciples. In the Lunyu he is quoted as saying, "If you do not study Shi, you will have nothing to use as a basis for discussion."⁹ This statement clearly shows that during Confucius' time, shi--very possibly the same songs or poems in the Songs--were known and quoted among the educated, and were part of the core knowledge necessary to be considered literate.

The pieces that make up the Songs were in the beginning aligned with music. It is important to remember that music is a biologically based emotional language and the human voice was the first musical instrument. The voice and its musical qualities, the content, the mode of personal expression, along with spirit and feeling combined to form a complete whole. The music to which the shi were performed has not, of course, come down to us, although we do know something about early Zhou music theory and the names of musical instruments. The standard line length of

⁹Lunyu 16/13: "不學詩無以言."

the Shijing poems is four syllables, but there are variations.

The received version of the Songs is divided into four sections, the "Guo feng" 國風 or "Odes of the States" (poems 1-160), the "Xiao ya" 小雅 or "Lesser Eligantiae," (161- 234), the "Daya" 大雅 or "Greater Eligantiae" (235-265), and the "Song" 頌, or "Eulogies" (266-305). The "Odes of the States" poems are, in turn, divided into sections, each section containing poems from an individual state or geographical area, with certain thematic distinctions between the songs of various states. The differences between the "Lesser Eligantiae" and the "Greater Eligantiae" are not distinct, the content of both sections being comparable. They contain ritual and banquet songs, sacrificial poems, prayers, and poems of political criticism. The "Greater Eligantiae" also contains some early Zhou heroic pieces. The "Eulogies" are divided into three sections, the "Zhou song" 周頌 ("Zhou Eulogies"), the "Lu song" 魯頌 ("Lu Eulogies"), and the "Shang song" 商頌 ("Shang Eulogies"). Many of the "Song" are praise poems. The "Zhou song" are considered to be the oldest pieces in the Songs, some of the poems dating from as early as the eleventh century B.C., and many are laudatory pieces for the founders of the Zhou.

During the Western Han, there were three officially recognized versions of the Songs, the Lu 魯, the Qi 齊, and the Han 韓, later to be

referred to as "Modern Script" (jinwen 今文, aka "New Text") versions. In addition, there was the version of Mao gong 毛公, later to be considered an "Old Script" (guwen 古文, aka "Old Text") version,¹⁰ and was without official recognition until the reign of Emperor Ping (reg. 1 B.C.-6 A.D.), when it was successfully promoted by Liu Xin. Only the Mao version (Mao shi 毛詩) has survived intact.

The themes of the Shijing poems vary, as one might expect. Arthur Waley, in his translation of the Shijing, The Book of Songs, arranged the poems thematically, and his arrangement provides a general idea of the main theme found in the poems. His section titles are "Courtship," "Marriage," "Warriors and Battles," "Agriculture," "Blessings on Gentle Folk," "Welcome," "Feasting," "The Clan Feast," "Sacrifice," "Music and Dancing," "Dynastic Songs," "Dynastic Legends," "Building," "Friendship," "Moral Pieces," and "Lamentations." Waley did not translate all of the 305

¹⁰For a thorough and detailed study of the jinwen/guwen designation, distinction, and related topics, see: Michael Nylan, "The Chin wen/Ku wen Controversy in Han Times," T'oung Pao, 80 (1994), p.83-145; for a study that addresses the views of modern scholars, see: Hans Van Ess, "The Old Text/New Text Controversy: Has the 20th Century Got It Wrong?," T'oung Pao, 80 (1994), p.146-170.

poems, and omits fifteen pieces which he describes as "political laments."¹¹ While there are certainly other ways to classify the contents of the Songs, Waley's classification certainly offers an accurate insight into the themes expressed by the contents of the Shijing.

The Shangshu 尚書 (Documents), which is also known as the Shujing 書經, has had its title translated as The Book of Documents or Documents Classic in English. Like the Yijing and Shijing, it was also elevated to the position of "Classic" in the Former Han by virtue of it having a Erudite position established for it in the Imperial Academy. Its contents played an important role in forming the basis of early Chinese political philosophy.

While the Shujing is a collection of historical documents, the greater part of its content is comprised of the records of the speech of the elite, as opposed to being the historical records of occurrences. The records are usually in the form of addresses or proclamations by nobility or their ministers, and these generally fall into five categories, mo 謨 or "Consultations," xun 訓 or "Instructions," gao 誥 or "Announcements," shi

¹¹See: Arthur Waley, trans. The Book of Songs (Rpt. New York: Grove Press, 1960), p.11. In 1996, a revised edition was published, with additional translations done by Joseph Allen. In the revised edition, the poems appear in their traditional order.

誓 or "Declarations," and ming 命 or "Commands."

The Documents exists in two "versions," the authentic Modern Script (New Text) version and the forged Old Script (Old Text) version.¹² The Modern Script version is supposedly that which was sequestered away by the Qin Dynasty Erudite Fu Sheng 伏勝 (or 伏生). It is divided into three parts, the "Yu Xia shu" 虞夏書, the "Shang shu" 商書, and the "Zhou shu" 周書, following the order of early Chinese history. In all, the Modern Script version of the Documents contains twenty-eight chapters (twenty-nine when "Guming" 古命 and "Kang wang zhi gao" 康王之誥 are counted separately). The chapters of the Modern Script version are not all from the same hand or from the same time. "Pan Geng" 盤庚 is considered by many scholars to be the oldest chapter in the text. While some believe that it could pre-date the Shang oracle bone inscriptions, there is evidence to suggest that it is in fact a product of the early Zhou dynasty. On the other end of the spectrum, the "Tai shi" 泰誓 chapter is considered a product of Han times, a "forgery" in the minds of some.

¹²Instead of "versions," perhaps it is more accurate to refer to the Documents as having two "parts," one part being made up of the authentic jinwen chapters, and the other part being comprised of the forged guwen chapters. On the Old Script Documents, see: Michael Nylan, "The Ku Wen Documents In Han Times," T'oung Pao 81 (1995), p.25-50.

The Old Script version of the Documents contains an additional sixteen chapters supposedly found in the wall of Confucius' family home and turned over to Kong Anguo 孔安國 (fl. 126 B.C.). It was said that Kong copied the text into jinwen 今文 or "modern script" so it could be understood by those not versed in guwen 古文. However, it was still known as the guwen version, and it was studied up until the end of the Later Han when it was lost. After the Jin dynasty was established in 317 A.D., texts for the new imperial library were solicited. A scholar by the name of Mei Yi 梅頤 (or Mei Ze 梅蹟; fl. 317-322) supposedly rediscovered a copy of the Old Script version of the Documents with the title Kong Anguo Shang shu 孔安國尚書 and presented it to the library. Little doubt seems to have been cast on the authenticity of this text, and it later became the basis for the Shang shu zhengyi 尚書正義, edited by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648), which was published in 653. For over a thousand years, the authenticity of this text was rarely in doubt. However, during the Qing dynasty the scholar Yan Ruoqu 閻若璩 (1636- 1704), after thirty years of painstaking research, demonstrated that the Mei Yi "Old Script" version was little more than a reconstruction of the "fragments" found in other sources, such as the Zuozhuan 左傳, Shi ji 史記, and Guo yu 國語.

The Chunqiu 春秋 or Spring and Autumn Annals is primarily a

record of political events which took place in the state of Lu 魯 from 722 to 481 B.C. It probably is representative of the way state events were recorded during the Zhou period, and other texts which are assumed to be similar in their format are mentioned in Zhou dynasty sources. However, only the Chunqiu and sections of the annals of Wei 魏 have come down to us, the others probably being lost in the Qin book burning and the turmoil which followed.

From the time of Mencius (372-289 B.C.), the Spring and Autumn Annals has been believed to have been composed by Confucius. In the Mencius, it states, "Confucius was apprehensive and composed the Spring and Autumn Annals." The Mencius continues, quoting Confucius as stating, "Those who understand me will do so through the Spring and Autumn Annals; those who condemn me will do so through the Spring and Autumn Annals."¹³ As a direct result of this statement, a tradition of commentary evolved, its main purpose being to uncover the subtle messages which embodied great significance (weiyang dayi 微言大義), and was known as the baobian 褒貶 ("praise and blame") theory. Disregarding such an interpretation, the Spring and Autumn Annals can be read as a

¹³See: Mencius IIIB.9; D.C. Lau, trans., Mencius (New York: Penguin Books, 1983), p.114.

clear account of political events, which, in the opinion of many modern scholars, is what it is.

There are three commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals: the Zuozhuan 左傳, the Gongyang zhuan 公羊傳, and the Guliang zhuan 穀梁傳, and these three works are all considered "Classics." The Zuozhuan has traditionally been ascribed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (or Zuoqiu Ming), sometimes said to be a contemporary of Confucius, or perhaps one of Confucius' disciples, based on a passage in the Analects (5/25). However, that Zuo Qiuming authored the Zuozhuan or that the text was authentic and not a forgery, has often been called into question. Certain irregularities exist between the Chunqiu and the Zuozhuan. The Zuozhuan covers a slightly longer period than the Chunqiu, this being from 722 through 468 B.C. Thus, there is speculation that the Zuozhuan was originally a work separate from the Chunqiu that was recast in such a way so as to match up with the Chunqiu entries. However, some of the information in the Zuozhuan does not match anything found in the Chunqiu, but it is possible that earlier versions of these two texts were much closer, and perhaps significantly different from the versions which have come down to us.

The Zuozhuan was one of the Old Script Classics promoted by Liu

Xin 劉歆 (ob. A.D. 23) during the Wang Mang 王莽 (43 B.C.-A.D. 23) era.

Some scholars have tried to make a case for Liu Xin forging the Zuozhuan, but Bernhard Karlgren has given evidence that the text is not a forgery and was probably written between the years 468 and 300 B.C.

The Gongyang zhuan is aligned with the Modern Script school. As a commentary to the Chunqiu, it is in the form of catechism, that is, a question and answer format. This serves to illuminate the baobian or "praise and blame" theory of Confucius' authorship of the Chunqiu, where subtle stylistic variations signal approval or disapproval of the historical information being recorded. It comments on the moral and political implications the Chunqiu text.

Early tradition has it that the Gongyang zhuan began with Confucius' disciple Zixia 子夏 as an oral commentary, and that it was eventually transmitted to Gongyang Gao 公羊高 (or Gongyang shi 公羊氏), who copied it down sometime during the reign of Emperor Jing 漢景帝 (reg. 157-141 B.C.) of the Han. However, the Gongyang Commentary already existed as a written text during the end of the Warring States era. It probably suffered the same fate as did many other texts during the Qin, and was subsequently restored in the early Han. The version that has come down to us is that which was used by He Xiu 何休 (129-182), and it is

this version, along with his commentary, that is contained in the Shisan jing zhushu.

The Guliang zhuan another so-called Modern Script Classic also comments on the Chunqiu in the question and answer, or catechism format. Supposedly, it is from the hand of a man by the name of Guliang Chu 穀梁俶 or (Guliang Chi 穀梁赤) who was a student of Zixia. However, because the Guliang draws from as well as expands upon the Gongyang, it is believed to be later than its counterpart, and modern scholars, for the most part, consider it to be a product of the Han dynasty which post-dates the Gongyang zhuan. Like the Gongyang, its commentary is on the political and moral implications of the Chunqiu. The received version of the Guliang zhuan is that of Fan Ning 范甯 (or 范寧; 339-401), the Chunqiu Guliang jijie 春秋穀梁集解, which is included in the Shisanjing zhushu.

The Rites Texts or Ritual Texts include the Zhou li 周禮, Yi li 義禮, and Li ji 禮記. The Zhou li, which originally had the title Zhou guan 周官 and was also referred to as the Zhou guan li 周官禮, supposedly describes in detail the organization of the government and administration of the state of Zhou. It was believed at least by some to be written by Zhou gong 周公, the first hard evidence of this belief being Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127-200) statement at the beginning of his commentary to the text. However,

even during Zheng Xuan's time, there were those who did not share in this opinion, such as He Xiu 何休(129-182), and few modern scholars consider Zhou Gong to be the author of the text. Reasons for doubting Zhou Gong's authorship are that it is written in the language of the late Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods and not that of the Zhou dynasty, and that the institutions and practices described in the Zhou li, match those of Warring States times, and not those of Zhou Gong's time.

The text is divided into six sections which correspond to the six offices of the Zhou hierarchical system. These are 1) "Tian guan zhongzai" 天官冢宰 (Heavenly Offices, Royal Household); 2) "Diguan situ" 地官司土" (Earthly Offices, Minister of Education); 3) "Chun guan zongbo" 春官宗伯 (Vernal Offices, Department of the Cult); 4) "Xia guan sima" 夏官司馬 (Aestival Offices, Minister of War); 5) "Qiu guan sikou 秋官司寇" (Autumnal Offices, Minister of Justice); 6) "Dong guan" 冬官 / "Kaogong ji" 考工記¹⁴ (Hiemal Offices, Artisans' Records). The six sections cover areas of general administration, education, ritual and rites, the military, laws and punishments, and the records of artisans. In every section but the last, officials and staff titles are listed, followed by their particular duties and

¹⁴The original "Dong guan" section of the text was lost. When no one was able to locate a copy of this section, it was replaced by the "Kao gong ji."

responsibilities. In the remaining section, the "Kao gong ji," the various court artisans are listed, along with the particulars of their individual crafts.

The Zhou li is considered one of the Old Script Classics. It supposedly was discovered and presented to the King Xian of Hejian 河間獻王 (reg. 155-129 B.C.), Liu De 劉德, who was the younger brother of Emperor Wu (reg. 141-86 B.C.). Liu De in turn presented it to the imperial archives in the imperial court. It seems to have received little attention, and it was only during the Wang Mang period when it was considered to embody the Zhou system of governmental administration, that Liu Xin as an advocate of the Zhou li, was able to establish an Erudite position for the text.

The Yi li (Ceremonials and Rites) as it is now known, was known by various titles during the Han, the title Shi li 士禮 being the one which most closely reflects its content.¹⁵ For the most part, the Yi li contains the descriptions of the ritual ceremonies and rites as they pertain to officials from the level of shi 士, sometimes conveniently translated as the "Elite," but referring to a class of "Scholar-Bureaucrats" or "Scholar-Officials"¹⁶

¹⁵Other titles include: Qu li 曲禮, Li gu jing 禮古經, and Li (jing) 禮(經).

¹⁶See: William Nienhauser, ed. The Indiana Companion to Traditional

who were at the lower level of the government hierarchy, up to the level of gong 公. With the exception of descriptions of the ritual and ceremony that relate to a gong's 公 visit to the imperial court, the contents of the Yi li do not include the ritual and ceremony of the imperial court.

During the Han, there were two versions of the Yi li, a Modern Script version that supposedly originated with Gaotang Sheng 高堂生 (fl. ca. 200 B.C.) a scholar of the early Han, and an Old Script version which was reportedly discovered in the wall of Confucius' residence and acquired by the King Xian of Hejian, who in turn presented it to the imperial archives. The received version of the Yi li is that which was edited by Zheng Xuan, who in producing the text compared both the jinwen and guwen versions. There is a tradition which considers the Yi li, like the Zhou li, to be the product of the hand of the Duke of Zhou, but few modern scholars hold to this view. There is evidence in both the Shi ji and Han shu that the Yi li pre-dated the Qin burning of the books, but we know nothing of its pre-Han origins.

The received version contains seventeen pian and this number matches that of the Han jinwen versions. The Han guwen version contained an additional 39 lost pian, for a total of 56 pian. The jinwen

version was transmitted from Gaotang Sheng to Hou Cang 后倉 (or 蒼, fl. 70 B.C.) and subsequently to Dai De 戴德, Dai Sheng 戴聖, and Qing Pu 慶普. The individual interpretations of these three scholars were sufficiently different so that each was appointed to positions in the Imperial Academy.

The Li ji 禮記 (Record of Rites; alternative title: Xiao Dai Li ji 小戴禮記 Record of Rites of the Younger Dai) was, according to the traditional view, edited by Dai Sheng 戴聖 in the first century B.C. and contains forty-nine pian. The forty-nine pian actually contain only forty-six titles, as three of the titles are each divided into two pian. The forty-nine pian of the Xiao Dai Li ji were originally part of a larger collection of material, which contained eighty-five pian, and which was the product of the editorial hand of Dai Sheng's older cousin, Dai De 戴德. However, only forty of the eighty-five sections have survived, and these are known collectively as the Da Dai Li ji 大戴禮記 (Record of Rites of the Elder Dai).

The Li ji contains a diverse and varied body of material, unlike the Zhou li and Yi li texts which are relatively uniform in content. Its materials date from the late Warring States period through the early Han dynasty. The Li ji contains information regarding the rituals and ceremonies for marriages, funerals, banquets, and the like. However, there

are other sections that are "philosophic" in nature such as the "Zhong yong" 中庸 ("Doctrine of the Mean") which a late Warring States or early Han period discourse on human nature. In addition, the "Da xue" 大學 ("Great Learning") is another philosophic piece which argues that a well ordered state begins with self-cultivation. Traditionally, the "Zhong yong" was attributed to Zisi 子思, Confucius' grandson, and the "Da xue" to Confucius' himself, recorded by his disciple Zengzi. However, few modern scholars hold to this attribution, as both pieces are thought to be products of the late Warring States period. During the Song, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) took both the "Da xue" and "Zhong yong" from the Li ji and established them, along with the Lunyu and Mengzi, as two of the Sishu 四書 (Four Books).

The Lunyu 論語 (Analects) is probably the best known of the Classics, and perhaps the most influential book in all of Chinese history. It is a compilation of the sayings of Confucius (551-479 B.C.), his dialogues with his disciples, and anecdotes about him and his disciples. The text most likely took form in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and as both Confucius and his disciples are referred to in the text as zi 子, the compiler or compilers were probably several decades, if not several generations, removed from Confucius' death. While the text is loosely arranged

according to topic, the terse and somewhat mixed nature of the entries does not allow the content, which is philosophic in nature, to reach the stage of development that is found in later texts. It is likely that the sources of the material for the Analects were the notes written down by Confucius' students.

Like other texts, there were several versions of the Lunyu in circulation during the Western Han. In the case of the Lunyu the number was at least four. Two New Script versions were known by their geographical origins. The Qi Lunyu 齊論語, in twenty-two pian, was transmitted in the state of Qi, and the Lu Lunyu 魯論語, in twenty pian, was transmitted in the state of Lu. There was an "Old" ("Script"?) version, known as the Gu Lunyu 古論語, in twenty-one pian, which was supposedly found in the wall of Confucius' residence. In addition, there existed the Lunyu of Zhang Yu 張禹 (ob. 4 B.C.), Marquis of Anchang 安昌, in twenty pian. The differences in the number of chapters between versions was due to the last chapter of the Lunyu being split into two chapters in the Gu Lunyu. Furthermore, the Qi Lunyu contained two additional pian, the "Wen wang" 問王 and "Zhi dao" 知道 chapters. Later, when Zhang Yu prepared a critical edition after examining both the Lu and Qi texts, these two additional pian were excluded.

During the Eastern Han, Zheng Xuan (127-200) edited an edition of the Lunyu that was based on the Lu Lunyu, while selectively bringing in readings from the Qi Lunyu and Gu Lunyu. Zheng Xuan's text, along with the best available commentaries of the Han and Wei were drawn from and the results brought together in the Lunyu jijie 論語集解 by He Yan 何晏 (190-249) and three other scholars in 242. The Lunyu jijie constitutes the modern received version of the text, and it is found in the Shisanjing zhushu.

The Mengzi 孟子 or Mencius is a record of the sayings of Mencius (Meng Ke 孟軻; 372-289 B.C.), along with the conversations he had with various rulers, his disciples, as well as with others. The subject matter is primarily that of moral and political philosophy. The Mengzi did not become part of the Classical canon until the Song dynasty, but the text enjoyed much attention prior to this time. The earliest commentary which survives is to the text edited by Zhao Qi 趙岐 (ob. 201 A.D.), in seven pian. Zhao Qi states in the preface to his commentary that the Mengzi consisted of seven pian of "inner" material and four pian of "outer" material, the "outer" material having no similarity to the "true" Mengzi.¹⁷ Consequently, Zhao Qi removed the "outer" material from the text, and the seven pian

¹⁷Mengzi, Shisan jing zhushu edition, "Tici" 題辭, p.7b.

which remain have survived in considerably good condition. Zhao Qi's arrangement of seven "inner" pian has seen each individual pian divided into two sections, probably as a result of their length. Thus, most modern editions consist of either seven or fourteen juan 卷.

The Xiao jing 孝經 (Classic of Filial Piety) is a work of about 1800 characters, its contents focused on xiao 孝 or "filial piety," that is, the respect and reverence one should show toward one's parents and other elders as well as that towards one's ruler or lord. The format is that of a discourse between Confucius and his disciple, Zengzi 曾子 (Zeng Can 曾參). It begins with Confucius lecturing on the basic nature of filial piety. During Confucius' discourse Zengzi makes comments or poses questions, and Confucius follows up addressing or answering them.

The origins and the textual history of the Xiao jing are somewhat complex. What follows is only a brief outline of a few of the important points in its complicated history. Because of the nature of the Xiao jing, it was originally thought that Confucius, or possibly Zengzi authored the work. Later opinion shifted somewhat and it was thought that Zengzi was the sole author of the work. By the Song dynasty, it was felt by some that the Xiao jing was not written by Confucius or by Zengzi, but was the work of their disciples. Zhu Xi (1130-1200), based on the fact that the Xiao jing

contains passages from the Zuozhuan and Guoyu 國語, texts that supposedly were not in existence at the time of Confucius, concluded that the material in the Xiao jing came from two separate periods. The first, that of Confucius and Zengzi, and the second, the post Zuozhuan and Guoyu period, as Zhu Xi determined that the shared lines originated in the these two texts, and not in the Xiao jing. Both the Han shu and Sui shu¹⁸ state that the Xiao jing existed at the beginning of the Han. Furthermore, the Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋, which was compiled circa 239 B.C. contains two sizable quotes from the Xiao jing, and thus the Xiao jing must have existed at this time.

The "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 chapter of the Han shu lists both Modern Script and an Old Script versions of the Xiao jing.¹⁹ Ban Gu states that there were five "schools" for the jinwen version, and that the text was the same for all. It was only the guwen version reputedly found in the wall of Confucius' residence that differed, containing twenty-two sections (zhang 章), four more than the eighteen sections of the jinwen version. The additional sections in the guwen version being the result of individual zhang being divided into two and three parts, as well as guwen version

¹⁸See: Han shu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), p.30.1718- 19; Sui shu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), p.32.933-35.

containing a section not found in the jinwen version. In the "Yiwen zhi," Ban Gu also tells us that the guwen version of the Xiao jing was found together with the guwen versions of the Shang shu, Li ji, and Lunyu.²⁰ When exactly the guwen version of the text was presented to the court during the Han is not entirely clear, but this might not have occurred until the reign of Emperor Zhao 昭帝 (reg. 86-74 B.C.).

The first edited version of the text was the product of Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8 B.C.) who compared both the jinwen and guwen versions. Towards the end of the Eastern Han, a version of the jinwen text with a commentary by a person by the name of Zheng was in circulation. This text was known as the Xiao jing Zhengzhu 孝經鄭注. It, along with its guwen counterpart, the Kong Anguo zhuan Xiao jing 孔安國傳孝經, had official support during the Liang dynasty. However, the guwen version is supposed to have been lost at the end of this period. After the Sui dynasty was established, a copy of the Kong Anguo commentary, along with the Guwen Xiao jing appeared and was afforded official recognition. During the Tang, in 719, the emperor Tang Xuan zong 唐玄宗 (reg. 712- 56) ordered the two texts to be examined and the results presented to the

¹⁹See: Han shu, 30.1718-19.

²⁰See: Han shu 30.1706. The discovery of the guwen texts could not have

court. After hearing both sides, the emperor, unimpressed by the results of the inquiry, decreed that both versions should continue to be studied. In 722, and again in 743 in a revision, Tang Xuan zong wrote and put into circulation his own preface (xu 序) and commentary (zhu 注) to the Xiao jing. These two works, along with the text of the Xiao jing, were carved on stone tablets two years later in 745, and became the basis for all modern editions.

The Er ya 爾雅 is an early lexicographic text, resembling a thesaurus or compendium more than it does a true dictionary. It is a collection of glosses on words in various Zhou texts. It is possible that the contents of the Er ya were originally annotations which were collected and assembled over time. While the exact authorship of the Er ya is unknown, modern scholars believe it to date from the Qin or Former Han. The first mention of the Er ya occurs in the "Yi wen zhi" chapter of the Han shu.²¹

The version that has come down to us is in nineteen sections, the first section being divided into two parts in most editions. The contents of the first three sections "Shi gu" 釋詁, "Shi yan" 釋言, and "Shi xun" 釋訓 deal with more abstract terms, while the contents of the other sixteen

been later than 128 B.C., the year Lu Gong wang 魯恭王 died.

²¹See: Han shu, 30.1718.

sections contain explanations of categories such as yue 樂 (musical instruments and other musical terminology), qiu 丘 (hills), shan 山 (mountains), mu 木 (trees and shrubs), chong 蟲 (insects), niao 鳥 (wildfowl), etc., in other words, names of concrete things.

The majority of the modern editions of the Er ya are based on editions from the Song and Yuan dynasties. Ruan Yuan, in compiling the Er ya jiaokan ji 爾雅校勘記, based his critical edition of the text along with Guo Pu's 郭璞 (276-324) commentary on the Ming Wu yuan gong fang Song ke Er ya jing zhu 明吳元恭仿宋刻爾雅經注, which he took to be the best edition available. In addition to Guo Pu's commentary, Ruan Yuan's Shisanjing zhushu edition of the Er ya also includes a subcommentary, the Er ya shu 爾雅疏 by Xing Bing 邢昺 (931-1010).

A Biographical Sketch of Pi Xirui²²

²²Although I have translated part of Pi Xirui's nianpu 年譜 or chronological biography, I have written this brief biographical sketch to introduce the reader to Pi Xirui. It is based on the entry in Arthur Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1943-44) (Rpt. Taipei: Cheng-wen, 1967), pp. 625-26; and Pi Mingju 皮名舉 "Pi Lunmen Xiansheng zhuanlüe" 皮鹿門先生傳略 in Jingxue lishi, pp.386-389, as well as on the nianpu, and Wu Yangxiang 吳仰湘, Tongjing zhiyong yidai shi--Pi Xirui shengping he

Pi Xirui (zi Lumen 鹿門, alt. zi Luyun 麓雲; hao Shifu 師伏) was born on December 17, 1850 and died on March 6, 1908. He was a native of Shanhua 善化 in Hunan, and was the oldest son of Pi Hequan 皮鶴泉, who held the position of district magistrate in Xuanping 宣平 County, Zhejiang in the course of his official career.

It is said that in his youth Pi Xirui received encouragement from his father, and was fond of study and learning, often losing himself in thought. At age six he began studying with a tutor, at age eight was able to compose poetry and prose, at fourteen he took part in the examination for underage youth (tongshi 童試) and was appointed to the ranks of state sponsored students in Shanhua District. At age sixteen he became a Stipend Student.²³

In 1867, at age seventeen, Pi Xirui married Miss Peng 彭. The following year she gave birth to a son, Pi Jiafu 皮嘉福, but tragically Ms. Peng died twelve days after the birth of their son. Pi Xirui would remarry two years later in 1870 to Miss Huang 黃. During this time he continued

sixiang yanjiu 通經致用一代師--皮錫瑞生平和思想研究 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe 岳麓書社, 2001).

²³Cf. Hucker 3728.

his studies and in 1873 he was selected to be a Graduate of Preeminence.²⁴ In the autumn of 1875, he and his wife, Ms. Huang, traveled to Hangzhou, where they resided. However, tragedy would strike again when Ms. Huang died on the fourteenth day of the first month of the following year (1876).

Pi Xirui's father was appointed to a position in Zhejiang. During this time his father was also involved with the revising and re-editing of the Xuanping District Gazetteer (Xuanping xian zhi 宣平縣志), and he had his son assist him with the local history project.

Pi Xirui attempted the exams for the juren degree in 1875, 1876, 1879, and in 1882 at the exam given in Shuntian Prefecture, where he finally passed. He would attempt the metropolitan exam on three occasions, but would fail on each try (1883, 1889, 1894), and thus never attained the jinshi degree.

According to his nianpu, Pi Xirui began to seriously focus on the study the Classics in 1879. Also at this time Pi Xirui's poetry begins to reveal his interest in and reaction to the political and military events in which China found herself involved. In the 1880s, Pi Xirui traveled and also spent time with his father in the locale where he was posted. In 1887, he wrote the Shangshu dazhuan jian 尚書大傳箋, his first book length

²⁴bagong 拔貢--Hucker 4372

work. Two years later, he was tested and selected by the Secretaries in the Grand Secretariat.²⁵ He was also anonymously presented to the emperor, and he remained in the capital and prepared for the Examination by Grace²⁶ to be given the following year. However, later that year his father died at his residence in Changsha, and he returned to Hunan.

In 1890, he was appointed to the Longtan shuyuan 龍潭書院 located at Guiyang 桂陽 in Hunan and began teaching there. Two years later, he moved to the Jingxun shuyuan 經訓書院 at Nanchang 南昌 in Jiangxi, where he taught from 1892 until 1898. Because Song scholarship was held in high regard in the Jiangxi area, there was an emphasis on Neo-Confucian xingli 性理 (human nature and reason) philosophy, and with some, Buddhism was also popular. However, Pi Xirui when teaching students emphasized the "subtle words with profound meaning" (weiyandayi 微言大義) approach of the Western Han, held that in explaining the Classics one should adhere to a particular school's rules for teaching the text, and in writing commentary, one must hold to a particular school's understanding of the text. He was said to be an extremely popular teacher, with many talented students seeking to study with him. His approach to

²⁵neige zhongshu 內閣中書--Hucker 4194

²⁶enke 恩科 or enshi 恩試--Hucker 1820

the instruction of the Classics did not change throughout the seven years he taught there. Throughout the 1890s, Pi Xirui would continue to write on classical literature and related subjects.

After the war with Japan in 1894-95, reforms were advocated both within and outside the court. Pi Xirui thought that with respect to the current state of affairs, China should first clear up its domestic problems, severely punish those guilty of bribery, apply the appropriate penalties under the law to corrupt officials, and arrive at the proper course of action by seeking the truth in objective concrete reality, not in abstract and idealized theoretical discourse. In addition, he felt that it was necessary to first change the undesirable practices that had been inherited from the Song and the Ming periods, and that in reform it was not necessary for China always to follow Western ways.

In 1897, reform efforts in Hunan led to the Shiwu xuetaang 時務學堂 (School of Current Affairs) being set up in Changsha and an affiliated newspaper, the Shiwu bao 時務報 began publication. Later that year, a reform oriented study society, the Nan xuehui 南學會 (Southern Study Society) was established. Pi Xirui returned to Hunan to participate in the Nan xuehui, serving as resident director and lecturing on twelve occasions at the Society's weekly meetings. However, in late spring of 1898, as the

Society became more radical in its approach to reform and the reform movement in Hunan began to unravel, he left Changsha and returned to Nanchang.

The "Hundred Days Reform" came to an end in September of 1898 with the Empress Dowager forcing the Guangxu Emperor into seclusion and taking over control of the government. Subsequently, owing in part to his participation in the reform movement in Hunan, Pi Xirui was accused of certain improprieties by those jealous of his successes in Jiangxi where he taught, and as a result, Pi Xirui was stripped of his juren degree and his supervisory responsibilities in early 1899. (The degree would be restored to him in 1902.) He returned to his native Changsha, devoted himself to study and writing, and worked as a private tutor.

In 1902, he was asked and agreed to assist the establishment of the Shanhua xiaoxue tang 善化小學堂. The following year, the Gaodeng xuetang 高等學堂 and the Hunan shifan guan 湖南師範館 were established in Hunan, and Pi Xirui began teaching at these schools. He would also serve as Director of both the Shanhua xiaoxuetang and the Gaodeng xuetang in 1903 and into 1904, but in the third month of 1904 he left the position of Director at the Gaodeng xuetang, apparently because he opposed the dropping of traditional Chinese ethics and morals from the curriculum. However, he would continue to lecture there and at the Hunan

shifantang until his death in 1908. In 1905, he would resign his directorship at the Shanhua xiaoxuetang because of a strike by a relatively small number of students that developed into large scale unrest. The same year, Hunan established a provincial library at Changsha, with his friend Wang Xianqian in charge of the project. Pi Xirui was given the responsibility of compiling the collection and he would continue to work on this until his death. In the seventh month of 1905, Pi Xirui completed Jingxue lishi. The following month, the civil service exams were abolished. He also took a teaching position at the Changsha fuzhong xuetang 長沙府中學堂.

In 1906, in addition to his other duties, he taught at the Hunan zhonglu shifantang 湖南中路師範學堂. In 1906, he would again decline an invitation to come and teach at the Metropolitan University (Jingshi Daxuetang 京師大學堂) in Beijing. (He had previously been invited and declined in 1904 and 1905). In 1907, he was asked to serve as the Director-in-charge of Instructional Materials (tushu kezhang 圖書課長) at the Division of Educational Affairs (xuewu gongsuo 學務公所) for Hunan Province. In this capacity he had the responsibility of checking and approving teaching materials for the schools in the entire province. He would serve in this position until his death. He finished his other well

known work on the Classics, the Jingxue tonglun 經學通論 in the second month.

Up until the day of his death on March 6, 1908, Pi Xirui continued to teach, be active in his administrative roles, work on compiling the collection for the provincial library, and also pursued his scholarly interests, studying and writing.

With respect to his scholarly output, Pi Xirui's chronological biography provides a timeline for his writings and their publication dates. In retrospect, Jingxue lishi appears to have been written relatively late in his life, but this is because he died about two and one-half years after its completion. Had he lived another twenty years, as did some of his contemporaries such as Liao Ping, it would be viewed as a mid-career work.

In Jingxue lishi, Pi Xirui covers the entire temporal span of Classical Scholarship. The chapter divisions reflect a certain "periodization," which will become clear when we read through the text. When he wrote it, the nature of education perhaps made including annotations unnecessary. However, when it was published with annotations in the late 1920s, education had changed in China. Zhou Yutong's 周予同 (1898-?) notes and commentary now provided the background that was necessary if one was to gain control of the material.

At the same time, it increased the text's effectiveness and efficiency as a resource for learning about Classical Scholarship.

When we read the text and critically evaluate Pi Xirui's presentation and treatment of the material, we should bear in mind that it reflects Pi's subjective view of the history of Classical Scholarship. But understanding Pi's scholarly bent, trying to discern what his assumptions and presuppositions were, and speculating as to what predisposed him to write what he did, etc., is part of what makes studying intellectual history both interesting and challenging, as well as rewarding and enjoyable. Had Pi Xirui been born one hundred years later, lived in different times and under different circumstances, he would have written or would write a different history of Classical Scholarship. But then he wouldn't be Pi Xirui and Jingxue lishi wouldn't be Jingxue lishi.

Before we turn to the translation of Jingxue lishi, we should first try to get a sense of the history and background, as well as the context, in which Pi Xirui lived and his text was written. In addition, we should also attempt to get a sense of Pi Xirui's life, so we can get a better understanding of the personal context in which Jingxue lishi came about. Thus, the next chapter will be a survey of the main events in Qing dynasty history as well as that of some of the major figures in its intellectual history. This will be followed by a chapter on Pi Xirui's life, in the form of a

partial translation of his nianpu.