

Chapter Three

經學昌明時代

The Period of Advancement of Classical Scholarship

[3/1 SVA Introductory Comments: In the opening section of Chapter Three, Pi Xirui quotes extensively from the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji so as to support his position that during the reign of Emperor Wu (141-87 B.C.), Classical Scholarship was in its purest and most orthodox form. He also uses the lack of information in the "Rulin zhuan" regarding the Old Script Documents, Zhouli, Mao Shi, and Zuozhuan to argue that Sima Qian did not have access to these texts, which are texts of the "Old Script" school.]

3/1¹ The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "When the present emperor² ascended the throne, there were men such as Zhao Wan 趙綰 and Wang Zang 王臧³ who clearly understood Confucian learning and the

¹[SVA: Section 3/1 corresponds to pp.69-72 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.60-64 of the Yiwen ed.]

²(3/1, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese jinchang 今上, "the present emperor," refers to Emperor Wu of the Han.

³(3/1, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhao Wan 趙綰 was a native of Dai 代 and Wang Zang 王臧 was a native of Lanling 蘭陵. They both studied the Lu

emperor himself was also inclined toward it.⁴ He thereupon issued an order recruiting scholar-officials in the recommendation categories of Straightforward and Upright, Worthy and Excellent, and Learned.⁵ After this, as for giving instruction in the Songs, in Lu it was Master Shen Pei 申培公, in Qi it was Master Yuan Gu 轅固生, and in Yan, it was Grand Tutor Han Ying 韓(嬰)太傅. Instruction in the Documents came from Master Fu 伏生 of Ji'nan. Instruction in the Rites came from Master Gaotang 高堂生 of

version of the Songs with Master Shen, and proposed that Emperor Wu construct the Luminous Hall (Mingtang 明堂) to receive the feudal lords. Later, because they incurred the wrath of Empress Dowager Dou 竇太后, they were thrown in prison where they committed suicide. For a more specific account, see Master Shen's (Shen Gong 申公) biography in the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji (121.3120-2).

⁴(3/1, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Xiang 鄉 is a phonetic loan for xiang 向. In the commentary (zhu 注) to the "Zhongni" chapter 仲尼篇 of the Xunzi it states, 鄉讀爲向 "Xiang is read as xiang ('inclined towards'). (See: Xunzi, Sbck, 3.23b)

⁵[SVA: On "Straightforward and Upright" (fangzheng 方正), see Hucker 1896; on "Worthy and Excellent" (xianliang 賢良), see Hucker 2715. I have rendered wenxue 文學 ("Learned") as a separate category, although it may be the case that 賢良文學 is a single category, "Worthy, Excellent, and Learned." 賢良方正 is also a single category, "Worthy and Excellent, Straightforward and Upright."]

Lu. Instruction in the Changes came from Master Tian 田生 of Zichuan 蓄川]. As for instruction in the Spring and Autumn Annals, in Qi and Lu it came from Master Humu 胡毋生, and in Zhao it came from Dong Zhongshu."⁶ The biography of Master Shen Pei states, "Master Shen was a native of Lu...he only used the Songs and his explanation of the text when teaching. He did not pass on anything about which he was in doubt; if he came upon something suspect, he left it out and did not pass it on...over ten of his students rose to the position of Erudite...and those who served as Grandee, Gentleman of the Interior, or Authority on Ancient Matters⁷ numbered in the hundreds. Although they differed with one another in their discussions of the Songs, for the most part they had their roots in the teachings of Master Shen."⁸ The biography of Master Yuan Gu states, "Master Yuan Gu was an native of Qi. Because he had a strong command of the Songs, during the reign of Emperor Jing, he served in the position of

⁶Shi ji 121.3118.

⁷(3/1, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The office of the Authority on Ancient Matters (zhanggu 掌故) was under the office of the Grand Master for Ceremonials (taichang 太常-- Hucker 6137) during the Han, and was in charge of ancient matters. [SVA: Grandee = daifu 大夫, cf. Hucker 5939; Gentleman of the Interior = langzhong 郎中--Hucker 3565; Authority on Ancient Matters = zhanggu 掌故--HB, cf. Hucker 140.]

Erudite...those who discourse on the Songs in the tradition of the Qi school all have their roots in the teachings of Master Yuan Gu. All the men of Qi who rose to attain prominence and honor due to their command of the Songs were all disciples of Master Yuan Gu."⁹ The biography of Han Ying states, "Master Han was a native of Yan. During the reign of Emperor Wen, he served in the position of Erudite...he advocated the ideas found in the Songs and composed the "Inner" and "Outer" commentaries to the Songs, the words of which numbered in the tens of thousands. His interpretation of the Songs differed somewhat from that of the Qi and Lu schools, but they all share the same fundamentals...those who discoursed on the Songs in the regions of Yan and Zhao owed their understanding of the Songs to Master Han."¹⁰ The biographies in their discussion of the Songs only mention the schools of Lu, Qi, and Han, but they do not mention the Mao Version of the Songs (Maoshi 毛詩).¹¹ The biography of Master Fu states, "Master Fu was a

⁸Shi ji 121.3121-2.

⁹Shi ji 121.3122-4.

¹⁰Shi ji 121.3124.

¹¹(3/1, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The first extant reference to the Mao Shi (Mao Version of the Songs) appears in "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu. In the chapter it states, "Master Mao was a native of Zhao. He had a strong command of the Songs and served King Xian of Hejian 河間獻王 in the capacity of Erudite. (See: Han shu 88.3614). The "Rulin zhuan" chapter

native of Ji'nan. Formerly, during the Qin, he had served in the position of Erudite. During the reign of Emperor Wen, the emperor sought someone who was expert in the Documents, but no one who met the qualifications could be found in the empire. He then heard that Master Fu possessed such expertise and wished to summon him to court, but at that time Master Fu was over ninety, aged, and unable to travel. He thereupon ordered the Chamberlain for Ceremonials¹² to send Chao Cuo who served in the position of Authority on Ancient Matters to go and receive instruction from him. During the Qin's Burning of the Books, Master Fu hid away texts in the walls of his home. Later there was a military uprising on a grand scale and people were displaced and forced to flee. After the Han restored stability,

of the Hou Han shu states, "Mao Chang 毛萇, who was a native of Zhao, transmitted the Songs. This is the Mao Version of the Songs 毛詩." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2569.) The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu states, "In the early years of the Han, Mao Chang, who was a native of Zhao, was well versed in the Songs. He said that the tradition of interpretation he followed came from Zixia, and he composed a Guxunzhuan 詁訓傳, and this is the Old Script school of learning of the Mao Shi." (See: Sui shu 32.918) There is a differentiation between the Modern Script school and Old Script school of the Songs. The Lu school, Qi school, and Han school were aligned with the Modern Script [school] and the Mao Shi school was aligned with the Old Script [school].

¹²[SVA: Chamberlain for Ceremonials = taichang 太常-- Hucker 6137]

Master Fu sought out his text, but several tens of chapters (pian) had been lost, and he was only able to recover twenty-nine chapters,¹³ and he used these to instruct students in the areas of Qi and Lu. Due to this, scholars are able to discourse on the Documents. Of the great masters in Shandong, there was none who did not use the Documents to teach students...The Kong family had a copy of the Old Script Documents, and Kong Anguo 孔安國 used modern script when reading it [i.e., he probably rewrote the old script

¹³(3/1, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The twenty-nine chapters (pian 篇) of the Modern Script version of the Shangshu (Documents) are as follows: 1) "Yao dian" 堯典 (continuing through the section beginning with the phrase "慎徽"), 2) "Gao Yao mo" 皋陶謨 (continuing through the section beginning with the phrase "帝曰來禹"), 3) "Yu gong" 禹貢, 4) "Gan shi" 甘誓, 5) "Tang shi" 湯誓, 6) "Pan geng" 盤庚, 7) "Gao Zong rong ri" 高宗彤日, 8) "Xibo kanli" 西伯戡黎, 9) "Weizi" 微子, 10) "Tai shi" 泰誓, 11) "Mu shi" 牧誓, 12) "Hong fan" 洪範, 13) "Jin teng" 金縢, 14) "Da gao" 大誥, 15) "Kang gao" 康誥, 16) "Jiu gao" 酒誥, 17) "Zi cai" 梓材, 18) "Shao gao" 召誥, 19) "Luo gao" 洛誥, 20) "Duo shi" 多士, 21) "Wu yi" 無逸, 22) "Jun Shi" 君奭, 23) "Duo fang" 多方, 24) "Li zheng" 立政, 25) "Gu ming" 顧命 (continuing through the section beginning with the phrase "王出"), 26) "Fei shi" 費誓, 27) "Lü xing" 呂刑, 28) "Wen hou zhi ming" 文侯之命, 29) "Qin shi" 秦誓. Master Fu (Fu Sheng) originally only passed on twenty-eight chapters by means of oral transmission. Later the "Tai shi" chapter was "recovered" and combined with the twenty-eight chapters, and for the first time the number of

style characters into modern script forms when reading through and explaining the text]. This [in turn] gave rise to his own school of interpretation, and in addition over ten chapters of Lost Documents¹⁴ were recovered, and the number of versions of the Documents increased on account of this."¹⁵ The biography in its discussion of the Documents only mentions Master Fu. Although it includes information about the Old Script version of the Kong family, it does not say that Kong Anguo wrote a commentary.¹⁶ The biography of Master Gaotang states, "Numerous

chapters was twenty-nine.

¹⁴(3/1, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The Lost Documents (Yi Shu 逸書) refers to Old Script Documents, the chapters of which numbered sixteen in all. They include 1) "Shun dian" 舜典 (another "Shun dian," not the one that was presented by Mei Ze 梅賾 of the Eastern Jin), 2) "Gu zuo" 汨作, 3) "Jiu gong" 九篇 (in nine pian), 4) "Da Yu mo" 大禹謨, 5) "Qi Ji" 棄稷 (another "Qi Ji"), 6) "Wu zi zhi ge" 五子之歌, 7) "Yin zheng" 胤征, 8) "Tang gao" 湯誥, 9) "Xian you yi de" 咸有一德, 10) "Dian bao" 典寶, 11) "Yi xun" 伊訓, 12) "Si ming" 肆命, 13) "Yuan ming" 原命, 14) "Wu cheng" 武成, 15) "Lu ao" 旅獒, 16) "Bi ming" 畢命.

¹⁵Shi ji 121.3124-5.

¹⁶(3/1, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu it states, "The Old Script Documents (Guwen Shangshu) came from the walls of Confucius' residence. ...Kong Anguo was a descendent of Confucius, he obtained all of this text, examining twenty-nine pian, and obtaining an additional sixteen pian." (See: Han shu 30.1706) It does not say that Kong

scholars discoursed on the Rites, but Master Gaotang of Lu was the best. Originally¹⁷ the Rites [texts] were fixed from the time of Confucius, but as canons or Classics they were not complete. When the Qin burned the books, the texts that were scattered and lost became even more numerous. At the present time, there is only the Shili 士禮,¹⁸ which Master Gaotang discoursed upon."¹⁹ The biography only mentions the Shili, but doesn't

Anguo composed a commentary (zhuan 傳). Statements to the effect that Kong Anguo composed a commentary begin with the Jingdian shiwen and "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu. The "Preface" to Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen states, "Furthermore Kong Anguo received a command to compose the Guwen Shangshu zhuan." (See: Jingdian shiwen 1.15b). The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu states, "Furthermore, Anguo composed a commentary to the fifty-eight chapters" (referring to the combined number of Modern Script and Old Script Documents chapters). (See: Sui shu 32.915) The Documents has both Modern Script and Old Script versions, with the version transmitted by Fu Sheng being the Modern Script version, and the version obtained by the Kong family being the Old Script version.

¹⁷[SVA: The Shi ji and Jingxue lishi texts differ in their punctuation of this line. "...而魯高堂生最本, 禮固自孔子時而其經不具," for the Shi ji vs. "...而魯高堂生最. 本禮固自孔子時而其經不具;" for Jxls. I would translate the Shi ji version's "最本" as "closest to the original."]

¹⁸(3/1, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The Shili 士禮 is none other than the current Yili 儀禮.

¹⁹Shi ji 121.3126.

make mention of the Rites of Zhou.²⁰ The biography of Tian He states, "Beginning from when Shang Qu 商瞿 of Lu received instruction in the Changes from Confucius...and its transmission...passed through six steps²¹

²⁰(3/1, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: The Zhouguan 周官 is the Zhouli 周禮. Mention of the discovery of the Zhouli does not appear in Liu Xin's "Yi Taichang boshi shu" ("Letter Reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain of Ceremonials"), the "Rulin zhuan" or "Yiwen zhi" chapters of the Han shu. Only in the "Biography of King Xian of Hejian" in the Han shu do we read, "The texts obtained by King Xian were all old pre-Qin texts written in Old Script such as the Zhouguan..." A detailed account of the discovery of the texts first appears in Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen and the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu. The Rites texts are classified as either Modern Script or Old Script, with the Shili belonging to the Modern Script category and the Zhouguan being its Old Script counterpart.

²¹(3/1, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Biographies of Confucius' Disciples" chapter in the Shi ji states, "Confucius transmitted the Changes to Qu 瞿, Qu transmitted it to Hanbi Zihong 馯臂子弘 (Han Bi) of Chu 楚, and Hong transmitted it to Jiaozi Yongci 矯子庸疵 (Jiao Ci) of Jiangdong 江東. Ci transmitted it to Zhouzi Jiashu 周子家豎 (Zhou Shu) of Yan 燕, and Shu transmitted it to Guangzi Shengyu 光子乘羽 (Guang Yu) of Chunyu 淳于. Yu transmitted it to Tianzi Zhuanghe 田子莊何 (Tian He) of Qi 齊." (See: Shi ji 67.2211) It is fitting that from Confucius to Tian He there are six steps in the process of transmission. In addition the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Shangqu 商瞿...instructed Qiaobi Ziyong 橋庇子庸 of Lu. Ziyong instructed Hanbi Zigong 馯庇子弓 of Jiangdong. Zigong instructed

before it was passed on to Tian He of Qi, whose zi was Zizhuang 子莊. Then the Han arose. Tian He instructed Wangtong Zizhong 王同子仲 of Dongwu 東武, and Wangtong Zizhong in turn instructed Yang He 楊何 of Zichuan 菑川...those who discoursed on the Changes had their roots in the scholastic lineage of Yang He."²² The biographies [chapter] only mentions Yang He in its discussion of the Changes, and does not mention the Old Script version of Fei 費.²³ The biography of Dong Zhongshu states, "Dong Zhongshu was a

Zhouchou Zijia 周醜子家 of Yan. Zijia instructed Sunyu Zisheng 孫虞子乘 of Dongwu 東武. Zisheng instructed Tianhe Zizhuang 田何子裝 of Qi." (See: Han shu 88.3596-7) Although there are also six steps in the process of transmission or instruction, there are some minor variations in the sequence and in the surnames and given names of the individuals involved.²²Shi ji 121.3127.

²³(3/1, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Fei Zhi 費直 (zi Changweng 長翁) was a native of Donglai 東萊. He had a strong command of the Changes. He served in the capacity of Court Gentleman (Lang 郎) and attained the position of Director (Ling 令) of Danfu 單父. He excelled in divination, did not engage in 章句 zhangju ("detailed analysis of phrases and passages") exegesis, but explained and interpreted both parts of the Classic by means of the "Tuan" 象 ("Judgment"), "Xiang" 象 ("Image"), "Xici" 繫辭 ("Appended Words") in ten pian, and the "Wenyan" 文言 ("Words on the Text"). (See: Han shu 88.3602) In addition, in the "Liuyi lue" section of the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han

native of Guangchuan 廣川. Because of his command of the Spring and Autumn Annals Emperor Jing appointed him to the position of Erudite...from the rise of the Han throughout the reigns of the five emperors²⁴ only Dong Zhongshu made a name for himself owing to his clear understanding of the Spring and Autumn Annals. As for what he transmitted, it was the Gongyang (公羊氏)."²⁵ The biography of Master Humu states, "Master Humu 胡毋生 was a native of Qi. During the reign of Emperor Jing he was promoted to the position of erudite...many of those from Qi who are well versed in the Spring and Autumn Annals received instruction from him. Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 for his part also learned a great deal from him. Master Jiang 江生 of Xiaqiu 瑕丘 studied the Guliang

shu it states, "Only Fei's Classic was the same as Old Script." (See: Han shu 30.1704) In the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu it states, "In the early Han there was also Fei Zhi of Donglai who transmitted the Changes. His copy was written entirely in old characters and was called the Old Script Changes." (See: Sui shu 32.912) Scholastic lineages associated with the Changes were also differentiated into Modern Script and Old Script schools, with Yang He belonging to the Modern Script school and Fei belonging to the Old Script school.

²⁴(3/1, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Five reigns" (wushi 五世) refer to Emperor Gao 漢高祖, Emperor Hui 惠帝, Emperor Wen 文帝, Emperor Jing 景帝 and Emperor Wu 武帝.

commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals. After Gongsun Hong was appointed to office, he collected and compared the interpretations [of Master Jiang and Dong Zhongshu] and finally decided to use those of Dong Zhongshu."²⁶ The biography, in its discussion of the Spring and Autumn Annals, only mentions Dong Zhongshu and Master Humu as specialists in the Gongyang, touches briefly on the Guliang, but does not make mention of the Zuoshi²⁷ (Zuozhuan). At the time, the Grand Historian Sima Qian [who

²⁵Shi ji 121.3127-8.

²⁶Shi ji 121.3128-9.

²⁷(3/1, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: The scholastic lineages associated with the Spring and Autumn Annals also are differentiated into the Modern Script school and the Old Script school. The Gongyang commentary and Guliang commentary belong to the Modern Script school and the Zuozhuan commentary belongs to the Old Script school. However, in recent years there have been those who suspect that the Guliang commentary was also aligned with the Old Script school. The origins of the Zuozhuan are discussed in detail in the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu. It states, "Zuo Qiuming feared that each of Confucius' disciples would give his own interpretation of the Spring and Autumn Annals and thus it's (the original Spring and Autumn Annals) true meaning would be lost. Therefore he discoursed on the original events and composed commentary, making clear that the Master did not explain the Classic by means of meaningless words." (See: Han shu 30.1715) With respect to the discovery of the Zuozhuan text, there are several different explanations. In the "Anshu" 案書

compiled the Shi ji] probably did not have the Mao Version of the Songs, the Old Script Documents, the Rites of Zhou, or the Zuozhuan, which were all texts of the Old Script school. Classical Scholarship began to flourish during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han, and the Classical Scholarship of the Emperor Wu period was the purest and most orthodox.

[3/2 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui opens with a quote from the Kunxue jiwen that covers the establishment of Erudite positions for each of the Five Classics through the reigns of Emperors Wen, Jing, and Wu. He points out discrepancies between the information given by Wang Yinglin, and that found in the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji. Another quote from the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu is used to illustrate how a clear understanding of the Classics became a qualification for serving in an official position. He then addresses the early Qing scholar Fang Bao's contention that the prospect of official position and the salary

篇 chapter of Wang Chong's 王充 Lunheng 論衡 he states that it came from the wall of Confucius' residence. (See: Lunheng, Sbck, 28.1b) In the "Preface" ("Xu" 序) of Xu Shen's 許慎 Shuowen jiezi he states that it was presented by Zhang Can 張蒼. (See: Shuowen jiezi zhu 15A.16a) The "Biography of Liu Xin" in the Han shu states that it was hidden away in the imperial archives, and that it was discovered by Liu Xin. (See: Han shu 36.1967)

that went with it essentially brought an end to the ideal way of the classicist. For Pi Xirui, as being thoroughly versed in the Classics was now a qualification for officialdom, it was inevitable that salary and position found its way into the complex of factors involved in the study of these texts.]

3/2²⁸ The Kunxue jiwén 困學紀聞 states, "Zhai Pu 翟圃 of the Later Han said, 'Emperor Wen first established an Erudite position for one Classic.'²⁹ Examining the history of the Han, we see that during the reign of Emperor Wen, Master Shen 申公 and Han Ying 韓嬰 were appointed to the position of Erudite due to their strong command of the Songs. But with respect to [Erudite positions for the Classics] being established in the Academy (Xueguan 學官) for the Five Classics, there was only one established for the Songs. Emperor Jing appointed Master Yuan Gu 轅固生 to the position of Erudite, but there were no appointments for the other Classics. During the

²⁸[SVA: Section 3/2 corresponds to pp.73-75 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.64-67 of the Yiwen ed.]

²⁹(3/2, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: The present edition of the Hou Han shu reads "wu 五" for "yi 一" in the phrase "一經博士." This is an error. See: Hou Han shu 48.1606 for the original passage and Hou Han shu 48.1624 for collation notes on this passage.

fifth year of the Jianyuan 建元³⁰ reign period of Emperor Wu (136 B.C.), in the Spring, for the first time Erudite positions for each of the Five Classics were established. The "Appraisal" of the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, 'Emperor Wu established the Erudite positions for the Five Classics, there was only Ouyang 歐陽³¹ for the Documents, Hou 后³² for the

³⁰(3/2, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Jianyuan 建元 is the first reign period of Emperor Wu of the Han. It spans six years, from 140 B.C. through 135 B.C. The fifth year of the Jianyuan reign period is 136 B.C. [SVA: Dates corrected]

³¹(3/2, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Master Ouyang 歐陽生 (zi Hebo 和伯) was a native of Qiansheng 千乘. He served Master Fu 夫生 and taught Ni Kuan 兒寬...Ni Kuan instructed Master Ouyang's son and after several generations the tradition was passed on to his great-grandson Gao Ziyang 高子陽 who became an Erudite. Gao's grandson, Gao Changbin 高長賓 of Diyu 地餘 ...later became an Erudite and participated in the Shiqu 石渠 discussions... owing to this, the Documents has a tradition of learning derived from the teachings of Master Ouyang." (See: Han shu 88.3603) The Erudite position established by Emperor Wu for the Documents interpreted in the Ouyang tradition is none other than [the interpretation of] Master Ouyang 歐陽生.

³²(3/2, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Meng Qing 孟卿...instructed Hou Cang 后倉...Cang's explanation of the Rites numbered in the tens of thousands of words, and was titled Houshi Qutai ji 后氏曲臺記." (See: Han shu 88.3599) The person

Rites, Yang 楊 for the Changes, and Gongyang 公陽 for the Spring and Autumn Annals and that was all.' Erudite positions for the Five Classics were established, but only four are mentioned. It was probably the case that an Erudite position was already established for the Songs during the reign of Emperor Wen, and at the time of writing, together with the Songs the number [of Classics with Erudite positions] was five."³³ According to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji, owing to their strong command of the Spring and Autumn Annals, Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 and Humu Sheng 胡毋生 were both appointed to the position of Erudite during the reign of Emperor Jing. If this was the case, then during the reign of Emperor Jing, Erudite positions were already established for the Spring and Autumn Annals, not just for one Classic, the Songs. Only during the reign of Emperor Wu were Erudite positions first established for all of the Five Classics. This was a great event in the rise and development of Classical Scholarship, but it is not recorded in the Shi ji. However it does state, "Tian

"Hou for the Rites" mentioned here is none other than Hou Cang.

³³(3/2, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The quoted passage appears in juan eight, the "Jing shuo 經說" section of Wang Yinglin's 王應麟 Kunxue jiwen 困學記聞. (See: Kunxue jiwen, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935, p.761-2) On the Kunxue jiwen, see 1/3, n.8 above.

Fen 田蚡,³⁴ who was the Marquis of Wuan 武安侯, served in the position of Councilor-in-Chief. He dismissed from the court [the teachings] of Huang, Lao,³⁵ the Xingming 刑名 Legalists, and the Hundred Thinkers. He expanded the ranks of the Ruists who were versed in refined learning to several hundred, and moreover Gongsun Hong, owing to his understanding of the Spring and Autumn Annals, was elevated from commoner status to that of one of the Three Dukes³⁶ in the service of the Son of Heaven and was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Pingjin 平津侯, and from this time on the

³⁴(3/2, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Tian Fen 田蚡 was the younger brother of Empress Wang 孝景王皇后 [who was the consort of Emperor Jing]. Empress Wang and Tian Fen were offspring of the same mother. He held the position of Councilor-in-Chief (chengxiang 丞相--Hucker 483), employed Ruist learning, and was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Wuan 武安侯. For his biography, see: Shi ji 107.2839-2856; Watson, Records, Vol. II, pp.112-29; and Han shu 52.2377- 2407.

³⁵(3/2, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Legend has it that Huang 黃 and Lao 老 refer to the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi 黃帝) and Laozi 老子. The modern era scholar Xia Zengyou 夏曾佑 (1861-1924) in the second chapter of his Zhongguo gudai shi 中國古代史, "Huang Lao zhi yiyi 黃老之疑義" suspects that "Huang" is Huangzi 黃子, the teacher of Sima Tan 司馬談 (ob. 110 B.C.), and who studied the words of the Taoists during the early years of the Han dynasty.

³⁶[SVA: Three Dukes = san gong 三公--Hucker 4871]

scholars of the Empire [were drawn to the study of the Classics] as if they were blown by the wind. Gongsun Hong in his capacity as an Education Official³⁷ lamented that the Way had become obstructed, and thereupon [submitted a memorial that] requested...that for the offices of Erudite there be positions established for fifty students [in the Imperial Academy]...In the commanderies, kingdoms, counties, districts, and cities, those who have a love of refined learning, respect their elders and superiors, abide by government instructions, and follow village customs and practices,...they are able to go see the Grand Master for Ceremonials³⁸ and receive instruction as if they were students. In a year's time, they would be able to take the exams, and those who demonstrated that they were thoroughly versed in one or more of the Classics could fill the vacancies in the ranks of the Literary Instructor or Authority on Ancient Matters.³⁹ Among them, the highest ranking can attain the position of Gentleman of the Interior,⁴⁰ the Grand Master for Ceremonials submitting a recommendation for them.

³⁷[SVA: Education Official = xueguan 學官--Hucker 2696]

³⁸[SVA: Chamberlain for Ceremonials = taichang 太常 Hucker 6137]

³⁹[SVA: Literary Instructor: (wenxue 文學--Hucker 7704); Authority on Ancient Matters (zhanggu 掌故 [Clerk]-- Hucker 140, Authority on Ancient Matters--HB)]

⁴⁰[SVA: Gentleman of the Interior = langzhong 郎中-- Hucker 3565]

Those whose talent is exceptional will immediately achieve renown."⁴¹ In the Han, this was a great event when the selection of officials was [first] based on their clear understanding of the Classics, and [this] was also the start⁴² of the practice of selecting officials based on their clear understanding of the Classics which [continued throughout] later ages. The historian praises this event, writing, "From this time on, the various high ranking officials, the Dukes, Chamberlains, Grandees, Elite, and Clerks,⁴³ were all scholar-officials, solid in both appearance and character and versed in refined learning."⁴⁴ Fang Bao 方苞 (1668-1749) said that in the ancient past it was not the case that scholarship was studied for the purpose of attaining an official position, however once the motivation was enhanced

⁴¹(3/2, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: For entire text of this passage, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji (121.3118-19). Pi Xirui omits sections in his quotation of the passage.

⁴²(3/2, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The following gloss is found in the "Shigu" 釋詁 chapter of the Erya: 權輿, 始也 (quanyu means "the beginning"). See: Erya Yinde 1/1A/1; Erya Yishu 1A.1a.

⁴³[SVA: On the following official titles, see the corresponding entries in Hucker, Official Titles: Duke = gong 公--Hucker 3388; Chamberlain = qing 卿--Hucker 1255; Grandee = daifu 大夫--Hucker 5939; Elite = shi 士--Hucker 5200; and Clerk = li 吏--Hucker 3586.

⁴⁴(3/2, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: For the original passage, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu (88.3596).

with salary, the Ruist path was opened, but its [ideal] Way was lost.⁴⁵ In my

⁴⁵(3/2, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Fang Bao 方苞 (zi Linggao 靈皋; hao Wangxi 望溪; 1668-1749) was a native of Tongcheng 桐城. He became a jinsi during the Kangxi period in 1706. He held several official positions, including Attendant Gentleman in the Ministry of Rites (libu shilang 禮部侍郎, cf. Hucker 3631, 5278). In his discourses on learning, he held the Song Confucians in high esteem. In the field of literature he favored Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu, and was strict in his adherence to yifa 義法 ("purpose and mode of expression"). He is considered the founder of the Tongcheng School 桐城派. His writings are collected in the Wangxi quanji 望溪全集. For his biography, see juan twenty-five of Qian Yiji's 錢儀吉 Bei zhuan ji 碑傳集. In the "Shu Rulinzhuan hou" 書儒林傳後 of the [Fang] Wangxi wenji 方望溪文集 he writes, "In ancient times it was not the case that men served in office based on their refined learning. They advanced owing to the quality of their character, were promoted based on their performance, and known to others owing to their words. The Songs, the Documents, and the Six Arts were only used to penetrate the principles which are located within and among things, along with cultivating the six virtues, and make complete the six actions ...The use of refined learning in selecting officials began with the disciples of Shusun Tong 叔孫通 who, because they assisted in determining the rites, were selected first [for positions in the government]. This process became complete when Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 requested that potential scholar- officials be examined by the office of the Grand Master for Ceremonials (taichang). Moreover, the decline and rise of Ruist learning from this point on became differentiated." "Gongsun Hong's elevation of Ruist learning then was brought about by enhancing motivation by means

opinion, although Fang Bao's views are lofty, beginning from the Sandai 三代 period, it was already the case that the master teachers were not venerated. For example, even though Emperor Wu sent bolts of silk, carved jade, and a carriage with a team of four horses to carry Master Shen Pei⁴⁶ [to the imperial court], this event was unparalleled during these times. If one desired to elevate Classical Scholarship, it had to be done by the means

of salary...and owing to this the Ruist Way stagnated, the significance of the rites was lost, and that which is referred to as refined learning for its part took on a meaning that was different from what it had been in the past." (See: Fang Wangxi wenji, Sbck, 2.14b-15a) In the "Shu Rulinzhuan hou" he goes on to say, "Before Gongsun Hong, although the Ruist Way was obstructed, it still was not lost. But after Gongsun Hong, although the Ruist Way was now open, the ideal Way of the Ruists had been lost." (See: Fang Wangxi wenji, Sbck, 2.16a) Pi Xirui's paraphrase of Fang Bao's views is probably drawn from these two passages. [SVA: For Fang Bao's biography, see: ECCP, pp.235-237.]

⁴⁶(3/2, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "Zhao Wan and Wang Cang requested that the emperor establish the Luminous Hall in order to hold audiences with the feudal lords, but the emperor did not go along with their request. They then spoke to the emperor about their teacher Master Shen Pei. Thereupon the emperor sent an envoy with bolts of silk and carved jade along with a fine carriage with a team of four horses to transport Master Shen to the court. His two disciples went and accompanied him in smaller horse drawn carriages." (See: Shi ji 121.3121; Watson, Records, Vol. II, p.402.)

of salary. As for the methods for selecting and promoting talented individuals in both ancient and modern times, arriving at the point of this single change, was also something that was [the result] of forces in an ongoing process that could not be avoided.

[3/3 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui begins this section with the establishment of the Erudite positions for the Five Classics during the Jianyuan period, and describes how the number of positions was increased to fourteen in order to accommodate the interpretations of various masters of the individual Classics. However, he holds the view that with the exception of the Songs, establishing additional positions for individual Classics should not have been done as it represents a student's divergence from the original rules for reading the text as taught by his teacher.]

3/3⁴⁷ Liu Xin stated that the first masters all appeared during the Jianyuan 建元 period (140-135 B.C.).⁴⁸ From the time that the Erudite positions for

⁴⁷[SVA: Section 3/3 corresponds to pp.75-77 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.67-70 of the Yiwén ed.]

⁴⁸(3/3, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: See Liu Xin's "Yirang Taichang boshi shu" 移讓太常博士書 ("Letter Reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain of Ceremonials") which is contained in the biography of Liu

the Five Classics were established during the Jianyuan period, each master gave instruction using his particular school's rules [for teaching the text]. Based on the "Appraisal" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter, four of the Classics, the Documents, the Rites, the Changes, and the Spring and Autumn Annals were each limited to the interpretation of a single school. Only the Songs was represented by the Lu, Qi, and Han schools, thus indicating that in the early Han there were already divisions. Master Shen Pei, Yuan Gu, and Han Ying all already held the position of Erudite in the early Han. It was the case that these three men were not born in a single location, nor did they study with a single teacher. And it follows that the separation of the Songs into three schools of interpretation and the establishment of Erudite positions for each school, that is for the Lu, Qi, and Han schools, was certainly due to the fact that they could not but be separated. Later, the Erudite positions for the Five Classics were further differentiated into fourteen positions. There were four Erudite positions for the Changes reflecting the schools of interpretation of Master Shi 施, Master Meng 孟, Master Liangqiu 梁丘, and Master Jing 京.⁴⁹ For the Documents, three

Xin 劉欣傳 in the Han shu (36.1967-71).

⁴⁹(3/3, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: For the Changes, the Modern Script School was further separated into four "sub-schools" of interpretation for individual specialists: 1) the school of Shi Chou 施讎, 2) the school of Meng

Erudite positions were established, one for Master Ouyang 歐陽, one for the Elder Xiahou 大夏侯, and one for the Younger Xiahou 小夏侯.⁵⁰ There were three Erudite positions established for the Lu, Qi, and Han schools of the Songs. For the Rites, two Erudite positions were established, one for the Elder Dai 大戴, and one for the Younger Dai 小戴.⁵¹ For the Spring and Autumn Annals, two Erudite positions were established, one for the school

Xi 孟喜, 3) the school of Liangqiu He 梁丘賀, and 4) the school of Jing Fang 京房. For a detailed account, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu (88.3598-2602).

⁵⁰(3/3, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: For the Documents, the Modern Script School was further separated into three "sub-schools" of interpretation for individual specialists: 1) the school of Master Ouyang 歐陽生, see 3/2, n.2); 2) the school of the Elder Xiahou 大夏侯 (Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝); and 3) the school of the Younger Xiahou 小夏侯 (Xiahou Jian 夏侯建). For a detailed account, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu (88.3603-4).

⁵¹(3/3, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: For the Rites, the Modern Script School was further separated into three "sub-schools" of interpretation for individual specialists: 1) the school of the Elder Dai 大戴 (Dai De 戴德); 2) the school of the Younger Dai 小戴 (Dai Sheng 戴聖); and 3) the school of Master Qing 慶氏 (Qing Pu 慶普). An Erudite position was not established in the Academy (Xueguan 學官) for the school of interpretation of Qing Pu. Thus, only Erudite positions were established for the schools of the Elder Dai and the Younger Dai. For a detailed account, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu (88.3615).

of Master Yan 嚴 and one for the school of Master Yan 顏, for a total of fourteen.⁵² The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "For the Songs there were Qi, Lu, Han, and Mao."⁵³ Thus, [when including Mao] the number of positions was not limited to fourteen, but totaled fifteen. The "Rulin zhuan" clearly states, "In addition, there was the learning of Master Mao 毛公 which he said was what had been passed down from Zixia 子夏. Moreover, King Xian of Hejian 河間獻王 was fond of it, but an Erudite position was not established for [the Mao school of interpretation]."⁵⁴ This [is evidence that] during the Han an Erudite position was not officially established for the Mao Version of the Songs. In his Rizhilu 日知錄,⁵⁵ [Gu

⁵²(3/3, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals belongs to the Modern Script School and it is separated into two "sub-schools" of interpretation for individual specialists: 1) the school of Yan Pengzu 嚴彭祖; and 2) the school of Yan Anle 顏安樂. For a detailed account, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu (88.3616-17).

⁵³[SVA: See: Hou Han shu 79A.2545. The Zhonghua shuju edition does not contain the character Mao 毛 which the editors consider an interpolation. See the collation note for "二五四五頁 六行" on 79A.2566.]

⁵⁴[SVA: Pi Xirui cites the "Rulin zhuan" as the source of this quote, but it is actually from the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu (30.1708).]

⁵⁵(3/3, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The Rizhilu 日知錄 in thirty-two juan was compiled by Gu Yanwu (1613-1682) who was born at the end of the

Yanwu 顧炎武] thinks that the character Mao 毛⁵⁶ was inserted into the text, and his research into and conclusions regarding this matter are very accurate and precise. During the Han, when people mastered a Classic they maintained the integrity of their individual school's rules of interpretation,⁵⁷ and the Erudites in giving instruction focused on and

Ming dynasty. Gu Yanwu was the founder of Qing Dynasty Kaozhengxue 考證學 ("Scholarship Based on an Examination of the Evidence"). In the "Ziji" 自記 chapter of the Rizhilu, he states, "From when I was young I read books, and that which I took from my readings I immediately wrote down. If there was something that didn't quite fit, I would take the opportunity to go back and correct it. If perhaps it was the case that someone in the past had noted it prior to myself, I would then remove it. I took what I had accumulated over thirty plus years and collected it into a single volume. These are the notes and annotations of the energy of a lifetime [devoted to scholarship]." See: Gu Yanwu, Rizhilu 日知錄 (Taipei: Shangwu, 1978), Vol. 1, "Muci" 目次, p.1. See the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, pp.2502-3 for a detailed evaluation. [SVA: For the biography of Gu Yanwu, see: ECCP, p.421-6]

⁵⁶(3/3, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: See juan twenty-six of the Rizhilu under the section "史文衍字." (See: Rizhilu, Vol. 4, pp.103-4)

⁵⁷(3/3, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: During the Western Han, Classical Scholarship had that which was referred to as jiafa 家法 [SVA: my "school's rules of interpretation and instruction"], this refers to maintaining the integrity of an individual school's learning and method of interpretation,

adhered to an individual school's interpretation. However, among the various schools, only the Lu, Qi, and Han schools of interpretation of the Songs had their roots in the teachings of different masters, so it was necessary and also appropriate that separate Erudite positions be established. In the case of Shi Chou 施讎, Meng Xi 孟喜, and Liangqiu He 梁丘賀, all were students of the same teacher, Tian Wangsun 田王孫.⁵⁸ Both the Elder Xiahou 大夏侯 and the Younger Xiahou 小夏侯 studied with Master Zhang 張生, and Master Zhang and Master Ouyang 歐陽生 had the same teacher, Master Fu 伏生. Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝 and Xiahou Jian 夏侯建 also both came from the same [scholastic tradition, that of] Xiahou Shichang 夏侯始昌.⁵⁹ Dai De 戴德 and Dai Sheng 戴聖 both had Hou Cang 后

during the process of instruction and learning between teacher and student.
⁵⁸(3/3, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Tian Wangsun 田王孫 was a native of Dang 礪, had a firm command of the Changes, and was a second generation disciple of Tian He 田何. Tian He instructed Ding Kuan 丁寬, Ding Kuan instructed Tian Wangsun, Tian Wangsun instructed Shi Chou 施讎, Meng Xi 孟喜 and Liangqiu He 梁丘賀. (See: Han shu 88.3597-99)

⁵⁹(3/3, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Master Fu 伏生 Instructed Master Zhang 張生 of Ji'nan and Master Ouyang 歐陽生...Commandant Xiahou 夏侯都尉 received instruction in the Documents from Master Zhang of Ji'nan, and then passed this learning on to his clan nephew Xiahou Shichang 夏侯始昌 and Xiahou

倉⁶⁰ as their teacher, and Yan Pengzu 嚴彭祖 along with Yan Anle 顏安樂 both had Sui Meng 眭孟⁶¹ as their teacher. In every case where there were students who studied together with the same teacher, but each student went on to give instruction in his own individual, specialized⁶² way, I do not know how or why there were divisions into separate categories, as these are all cases where there were divisions of [interpretive traditions] which

Shichang instructed Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝...Xiahou Sheng then passed on the learning to the son of his cousin, Xiahou Jian 夏侯建. (See: Han shu 88.3603-4)

⁶⁰(3/3, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Meng Qing 孟卿 was a native of Donghai 東海. He served Xiao Fen 蕭奮 and instructed Hou Cang 后倉...Hou Cang's explanations of the Rites numbered in the tens of thousands of words and the title of it was the Houshi Qutaiji 后氏曲臺記. He instructed...Dai De 戴德 (Tingjun 廷君) and Dai Sheng 戴聖 (Cijun 次君), who were both from Liang 梁. (See: Han shu 88.3615)

⁶¹(3/3, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: The Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals was taught by Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 to Ying Gong 嬴公, Ying Gong instructed Sui Meng 眭孟, and Sui Meng instructed Yan Pengzu 嚴彭祖 and Yan Anle 顏安樂. For the details, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu (88.3615-17) and the biography of Sui Meng in the Han shu (75.3153-54).

⁶²(3/3, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, zhuan 顛 has the meaning of zhuan 專 ("specialize"). (See: Han shu 64B.2834, n.4)

should not have been divided.

[3/4 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui continues his argument that additional Erudite positions should not have been established for the Classics by giving examples of how in each case, this represented a divergence from one's teacher's original explanation and interpretation of the text.]

3/4⁶³ During the Han, people placed the utmost importance on a teacher's rules [for instruction and interpretation of a text]. What the teacher taught, the students learned, and they did not dare change a single word. It was of no use to go against the teacher's explanation. A teacher's rules of instruction and interpretation were strictly adhered to in this way. However, if we examine the division [of a single school into several] Erudite positions, there are things that cannot be explained. In the early years of the Han, for the Documents there was only Ouyang, for the Rites there was only Hou Cang, for the Changes there was only Yang He, and for the Spring and Autumn Annals there was only Gongyang. They held to the [interpretation of] the Classics solely in the way in which the Classics had

⁶³[SVA: Section 3/4 corresponds to pp.77-81 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.70-74 of the Yiwén ed.]

been passed down to them and did not consult different interpretations, and this was the best method. The Documents was taught to Master Fu 伏生, Master Fu instructed Ouyang, and thus installing Ouyang as an Erudite would have been sufficient. The Elder Xiahou and the Younger Xiahou both studied under Master Zhang, and thus their learning had a common origin with Master Fu. If their learning was virtually identical, then it was not necessary to establish separate Erudite positions for them. If it was the case that their learning was not the same, this was because they had gone against the explanations of their teacher, and therefore it was especially the case that they should not have had separate positions established for them. I will attempt to cite two examples from the Documents to serve as evidence. In Master Fu's Shangshu dazhuan he takes dalü 大麓 to be the wilds of a dalü (forest at the foot a mountain) and clearly this is a forest at the foot of a mountain.⁶⁴ The Shi ji takes it to be a mountain forest [located

⁶⁴(3/4, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Legend has it that the Shangshu dazhuan was composed by Fu Sheng 伏生 (Master Fu). At present it is extant in four juan, with a one juan supplement of missing material. For a detailed evaluation, see the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, pp.257-8. Chen Shouqi 陳壽祺 (1771-1834) compiled the Shangshu dazhuan jijiao 尚書大傳輯校 which is contained in the Xu Huang Qing jingjie 續皇清經解, juan 354-356, and is relatively complete and an excellent piece of scholarship. The "Yao dian" 堯典 chapter of the "Tang zhuan" 唐傳 section of the

at the foot], using Ouyang's explanation.⁶⁵ The Han shu "Biography of Yu Dingguo" 于定國傳 takes it to be dalü 大錄 or "great record," using the explanation of the Elder Xiahou.⁶⁶ This is evidence that the Elder Xiahou

Dazhuan states, "Yao admired and respected Shun, moreover honoring him, he assembled the feudal lords, convening all under Heaven at the wilds at the forest at the foot of the mountain." (See: Shangshu dazhuan, Sbck, 1B.12a) Lu 麓 in this context means "forest at the foot of a mountain."

⁶⁵(3/4, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Basic Annals of the Five Emperors" 五帝本紀 chapter of the Shi ji states, "Yao sent Shun into the mountain forests, rivers, and swamps, violent winds gusted and there was thunder and rain, but Shun never lost his way, and thus Yao knew he was a sage." (Shi ji 1.22) In addition, "Shun entered the great forest at the foot of the mountain, even with the violent wind blowing, thunder and rain, he did not lose his way. Yao then knew that Shun had what was required for him to turn over the empire to him." (See: Shi ji 1.38) This also explains lu 麓 as the forest at the foot of a mountain. This is the same as the Shangshu dazhuan.

⁶⁶(3/4, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Biography of Yu Dingguo" 于定國傳 in the Han shu states, "The sovereign issued a report to Dingguo in which he said, '...The affairs of the myriad directions are all recorded with the sovereign.'" (Han shu 71.3045) This draws from the Documents, explaining lu 麓 as lu 錄 "to record," considers dalü 大麓 to be dalü 大錄 ("record"), and is not the same as the Shangshu dazhuan. Chen Qiacong 陳喬樞 in his Jinwen Shangshu jingshuokao 今文尚書經說考 states, "Examining the 'Rulin zhuan,' we see that Zhou Kan 周堪 and Kong Ba 孔霸 both served the

went against the explanations of his teacher. In the Shangshu dazhuan Master Fu takes menghou 孟侯 to mean "to greet and welcome the feudal lords"⁶⁷ and the "Chaobin" section 朝聘篇 of the Baihutong follows his explanation.⁶⁸ However, the "Dilizhi" 地里志 chapter of the Han shu states

Elder Xiahou Sheng 大夏后勝....Kong Ba in his capacity as Superior Grand Master of the Palace (da/tai zhong daifu 大中大夫--Hucker--6155) instructed the heir designate. After Emperor Yuan 元帝 ascended the throne,...because Kong Ba had been his tutor, he had the title of nobility 'Baochengjun' 褒成君 conferred upon him. Based on the document in which Emperor Yuan issued a report to Dingguo, the phrase 'The affairs of the myriad directions were recorded with the sovereign' allows us to know that this interpretation utilized the Elder Xiahou's explanation."

⁶⁷(3/4, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Kang gao" 康誥 chapter of the Documents it states, "The King spoke thus, 'Leader of the feudal lords, my younger brother...'" (See: Shangshu zhushu, Ssjzs, 14.3a; Karlgren, Documents, p.39; Legge, Shoo king, p.383. Fu Sheng's Shangshu dazhuan states, "When the heir designate of the Son of Heaven is in his eighteenth year, we say 'Menghou' 孟侯. As for 'Menghou,' when the feudal lords come to court from the four directions, he is the one who welcomes them at the suburbs, and inquires about what is not known." Zheng Xuan's commentary states, "meng 孟 means ying 迎 'to greet,' 'to welcome.'" The Shangshu dazhuan takes Menghou to refer to King Cheng 成王. (See: Shangshu dazhuan, Sbck, 5.8a)

⁶⁸(3/4, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Baihu tong 白虎通 is an abbreviation for

that the Duke of Zhou enfeoffed his younger brother Kang Shu 康叔, his title

the text Baihu tongyi 白虎通義, which is also known by the title Baihu tong delun 白虎通德論. It was compiled by the Han scholar Ban Gu 班固 (32-92), in four juan and is extant. The "Preface" 序 to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "During the Jianchu 建初 period (A.D. 76-84) of the reign of Emperor Zhang 章帝 (reg. 76-88), a great conference of Ruists was convened at the White Tiger Hall for the purpose of examining in detail questions pertaining to the similarities and differences between the Classics, and it lasted several months before it was finished. Suzong 肅宗 (Emperor Zhang) personally oversaw the discussions, rendering imperial verdicts, as in the case of the Shiqu 石渠 discussions. He ordered the historians to compile and write the Tongyi." (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2546) For a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.2468-69. The "Chaobin" section of the Baihu tong states, "What about court ritual? When the feudal lords are about to enter the capital, they dispatch those to convey their mission to the Son of Heaven. The Son of Heaven dispatches a Grandee to greet them in the suburbs one hundred li away, and he dispatches the Shizi 世子 (eldest son, heir designate) to greet them in the suburbs fifty li away....the Shangshu dazhuan states, 'When the Heir Designate of the Son of Heaven reaches the age of eighteen years, he is referred to as Menghou, and when the feudal lords come to court from the four directions, he greets them at the suburbs.'" (See: Baihu tong, Congshu jicheng ed., "Qewen" 闕文, p.7; Tjan, Po Hu T'ung, Vol. 2, p.654) The Baihu tong is using the interpretation of the Shangshu dazhuan.

being Menghou (Leader of the feudal lords),⁶⁹ thereby using the explanation of the Younger Xiahou. This is evidence that the Younger Xiahou went against his teacher's explanation. The Younger Xiahou was the nephew of the Elder Xiahou and followed him in receiving instruction, but he said that the Elder Xiahou was inaccurate, vague, and had difficulty responding to criticism. The Elder Xiahou, for his part, said the Younger Xiahou had

⁶⁹(3/4, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Dili zhi" 地理志 chapter of the Han shu states, "King Wu died, the three Directors (jian 監) rebelled, the Duke of Zhou killed them, took all their territory and enfeoffed his younger brother Kangshu 康叔, whose title was Menghou, and thereby supported and assisted the Zhou royal house. (See: Han shu 28B.1647) Yan Shigu's note to the "Biography of Wang Mang" 王莽 chapter of the Han shu states, "Meng 孟 means chang 長, "leader." Menghou 孟侯 means 'leader of the feudal lords.'" (See: Han shu 99A.4094, n.7) In his Jinwen Shangshujing shuokao 今文尚書經說考, the Qing scholar Chen Qiaocong 陳喬縱 states, "In my opinion, the "Dilizhi" chapter of the Han shu takes Menghou to be the title of Kangshu, and this meaning is not the same as Fu Sheng's, and its probably the explanation of the Younger Xiahou...Ban Gu's forbearer Ban Bo 班伯 received instruction in the Documents [interpretation] of the Younger Xiahou from Zheng Kuanzhong 鄭寬中. Ban Gu's generation in receiving their education, should have also studied the learning of the Younger Xiahou." (See: Chen Qiaocong, Jinwen Shangshu jing shuokao, in the Huang Qing jingjie xubian 皇清經解續編, 17.4b-5a)

smashed the Great Way to bits.⁷⁰ This is evidence that the younger Xiahou was seeking to be different from the Elder Xiahou, and that in addition, the Elder Xiahou was attempting to be different from Ouyang. Not adhering to and maintaining the teachings of one's teacher should be strictly prohibited according to the rules, and moreover going against it by separately establishing them in the position of Erudite, isn't this what is referred to as "sheep being lost on a great road with many forks?"⁷¹ The Shi ji states,

⁷⁰(3/4, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The biography of Xiahou Jian 夏侯建傳 states, "Xiahou Jian was the nephew of Xiahou Sheng, and his zi was Changqing 長卿. He personally studied with Xiahou Sheng and Ouyang Gao, selecting and obtaining different aspects of learning from both teachers. In addition, he arranged a zhangju 章句 ("section and line") commentary which consisted of material dragged in from the inquiries made of various scholars of the Five Classics and [their] inconsistencies and discrepancies regarding the Documents, which was no more than empty words with ornamental language. Xiahou Sheng criticized it saying, 'That which Jian calls zhangju 章句 commentary is that of a petty Ruist, and he has smashed the Great Way to bits.' Jian for his part criticized Sheng saying that his scholarship was sloppy and wide of the mark and that he had difficulty responding to his critics. Jian finally established his own specialized faction, known for [it's study of] the Classics." (See: Han shu 75.3159)

⁷¹(3/4, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Shuofu" 說符 chapter of the Liezi 列子 states, "One of Yangzi's neighbors lost a sheep. He had already led his

"those who discourse on the Changes have their roots with Yang He."⁷² In establishing an Erudite position for the Changes, one for Yang He was already sufficient. Shi Chou, Meng Xi, and Liangqiu He all took Tian Wangsun as their teacher [for the Changes], and as the learning of these three individuals was the same, how is it that they were split into specialized schools? If their interpretations were different, it must be the case that they went against the explanations of their teacher. Thus we clearly know that Meng Xi altered the rules of interpretation of his teacher.

own retainers and now he was asking Yangzi's servants to chase after it. Yangzi said, 'My God! You've only lost one sheep. Why chase it with a whole flock of people?' The neighbor said, 'There are many forks in the road.' After a while they returned and Yangzi asked, 'Did you catch the sheep?' The neighbor replied, 'No, we lost it.' Yangzi asked, 'How did you lose it?' The neighbor said, 'In the forks of the road there were even more forks. We did not know which way to go, so we turned back and came home.' The passage continues, "Xindouzi said, 'Because the great road had many forks a sheep was lost, because there were many methods, the students lost their lives.'" (See: Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 ed. and comm. Liezi jishi 列子集釋, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979, p.265-6; A.C. Graham, trans. The Book of Lieh-tzu, New York: Columbia University Press, p.175-6)

⁷²(3/4, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "The prominent individuals who discourse on the Changes have their roots in the school of Yang He." (See: Shi ji 121.3127; Watson, Records, Vol. II, p.409)

He was not employed, but later he was appointed to the position of Erudite.⁷³ What is the explanation for this? Jing Fang received instruction in the Changes from Jiao Yanshou 焦延壽, but he (Jiao Yanshou) ascribed it to Meng Xi. Meng Xi's disciples were not willing to accept this and they all considered it wrong, but he (Jing Fang) too was appointed to the position of

⁷³(3/4, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Meng Xi was fond of fabricating his own reputation. He obtained texts from specialists in the Changes that dealt with Yin and Yang, and portentology relating to natural disasters. He lied, saying that when his teacher Tian Wangsun 田王孫 was dying, he used Meng Xi's knee as a pillow and passed on his secrets to Meng Xi alone. Because of this, the Ruists glorified him. Liangqiu He 梁丘賀, who was a student of the same master, cleared away the deception and brought the truth to light. He said, 'Master Tian's Way ended in the hands of Shi Chou 施讎. At the time, Meng Xi had returned to Donghai 東海. How could such a thing have occurred?'...An Erudite position was vacant, and many people recommended Meng Xi. But the sovereign learned that he had altered his teacher's rules of interpretation, and consequently Meng Xi was not selected." In the "Appraisal" (zan 贊) of the same chapter there is the passage, "During the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (reg. 73-49 B.C.) positions were established for the interpretations of the Changes of Shi 施, Meng 孟, and Liangqiu 梁丘." (See: Han shu 88.3597) Based on this, an Erudite position for Meng's interpretation of the Changes, along with those for Shi's and Liangqiu's interpretations of the Changes were established at the same time.

Erudite.⁷⁴ Again, what is the explanation for this? At present there is no way for us to examine the scholarship of Shi Chou, Meng Xi, or Liangqiu He, and only a rough outline of Jing Fang's scholarship is still extant.⁷⁵

⁷⁴(3/4, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Jing Fang received instruction in the Changes from Jiao Yanshou 焦延壽 (zi Yanshou 延壽, ming Gan 贛) who was a native of Liang 梁. Jiao Yanshou stated that he had learned the Changes from Meng Xi. When Meng Xi died, Jing Fang thought that Jiao Yanshou's interpretation of the Changes was none other than the interpretation of Meng Xi. Zhai Mu 翟牧 and Master Bai Guang 白光 were not willing to accept this and both said, "This is wrong." The "Appraisal" ("Zan" 贊) to the same chapter states, "During the reign of Emperor Yuan 元帝 (reg. 48-33 B.C.) a position for Jing Fang's interpretation of the Changes was again established." Zhai Mu and Bai Guang were both students of Meng Xi.

⁷⁵(3/4, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu it states, "[The interpretations of] Liangqiu 梁丘, Shi 施, and Gao 高 disappeared during the Western Jin. There were texts for the interpretations of Meng 孟 and Jing 京, but no teachers." (See: Sui shu 27.913) At present, the interpretations of the Changes of Shi, Meng, and Liangqiu are all lost. Ma Guohan's Yuhan shanfang jiyishu contains a compilation, the Zhouyi Shishi zhangju 周易施氏章句 in one juan, a Mengshi zhangju 孟氏章句 in two juan, and a Liangqiushi zhangju in one juan. Huang Shi's 黃奭 Huangshi yishu kao 黃氏逸書考 contains a compilation, the Meng Xi Yi zhangju 孟喜易章句. With respect to Jing Fang's [interpretation of] the Changes, in addition to the Yuhan shanfang jiyishu

[Jing Fang's] ideas about the appearance of a hexagram and the relationship between the hexagram lines⁷⁶ border on numerology, and in all

compilation, the Zhouyi Jingshi zhangju 周易京氏章句 in one juan, and the Huangshi yishukao compilation, the Jing Fang Yi zhangju 京房易章句, at present the Jingshi Yizhuan 京氏易傳 in three juan is still extant. The notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao states, "Although his text has Yizhuan in its title, it in no way is a commentary on the text of the Classic, and in addition it absolutely should not be combined with the meaning of the Changes." (See: Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.2252-3)

⁷⁶(3/4, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: Feifu 飛伏 refers to the appearance or not of a hexagram. Zhu Zifa 朱子發 states, "Generally, in the case when a hexagram appears, this is referred to as fei 飛, and in the case when a hexagram does not appear, this is referred to as fu 伏. Fei means 'just arrived;' fu means 'already gone.'" Shiying 世應 refers to the mutual interaction between the lines of the hexagram. In Jing Fang's Yiji suanfa 易積算法 it states, "The Changes of Confucius' states that there are four changes. One/the first shi 世 and two/the second shi, these are the changes of Earth. Three/the third shi and four/the fourth shi, these are the changes of Humankind. Six/the sixth shi and eight/the eighth chun 純, these are the changes of Heaven. Youhun 游魂 and guihun 歸魂, these are the changes of Spirits (gui 鬼)." The Yi Qian zudu 易乾鑿度 states, "Three horizontal lines form the Qian 乾 trigram and six horizontal lines form a hexagram. The third line and those below it represent Earth and the fourth line and those above it represent Heaven. The qi 氣 of change is produced from below. If there is movement in the lower strata of the Earth (first line), then there is

cases these are the establishment of [Erudite positions] that should not have been established. The Elder Dai, the Younger Dai, Yan Pengzu and Yan Anle should not have had separate Erudite positions established for them, and the above [reasoning] can also be used to infer and support this [conclusion].

[3/5 SVA Introductory Comments: This section begins with a quote from Liu Xin's "Letter Reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain of Ceremonials" and is followed by a quote from the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu. Pi Xirui's purpose is to show how additional Erudite positions were set up and to question the reasons behind Liu Xin's request that positions be established for the Zuozhuan, Mao Shi, Yili 逸禮, and Guwen

response in the lower strata of Heaven (fourth line). If there is movement in the middle strata of the Earth (second line), then there is response in the middle strata of Heaven (fifth line). If there is movement in the upper strata of the Earth (third line), then there is response in the upper strata of Heaven (sixth or top line). The beginning line with the fourth line, the second line with the fifth line, and the third line with the top line, this is referred to 'response.'" Feifu and shiyang are both techniques that Jing Fang used to explain the Changes, the specifics of which cannot be examined in very much detail. Hui Dong 惠棟 (1697-1758) wrote a book, the Yi Hanxue 易漢學, can be consulted. In its fourth section he covers Jing Fang's Changes, and gives a special explanation of feifu and shiyang.

Shangshu. He goes on to quote Fan Sheng who, in Pi's opinion, gives good reasons for not establishing additional positions. Pi then addresses the information given in Zhao Qi's preface to the Mencius in which he states that the Lunyu, Xiaojing, Mengzi, and Erya had positions established in the court of Emperor Wen, and questions the accuracy of Zhao Qi's account.]

3/5⁷⁷ In Liu Xin's "Letter Reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain of Ceremonials" ("Yi Taichang boshi shu")⁷⁸ he writes, "In the past, with respect to the Erudite positions, for the Documents there was [one for] Ouyang 歐陽, for the Spring and Autumn Annals there was [one for] the Gongyang 公羊 tradition, and for the Changes there were [ones for] Shi 施 and Meng 孟. However, Emperor Xuan 孝宣皇帝 (reg. 73- 49 B.C.) expanded the number of positions still further by setting up ones for the Guliang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, Liangqiu's 梁丘 interpretation of the Changes, and for both the Elder Xiahou's 大夏侯 and Younger Xiahou's 小夏侯 interpretations of the Documents. Although their exegesis was almost the opposite of one another, still they were set up side by side. Why? Rather than abandoning them because of their shortcomings,

⁷⁷[SVA: Section 3/5 corresponds to pp.81-83 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.74-77 of the Yiwén ed.]

it would be better to preserve⁷⁹ them in spite of their shortcomings." In the "Appraisal" ("Zan" 贊) to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu, it states, "In the beginning, there was only a position for Ouyang's interpretation of the Documents, a position for Hou's interpretation of the Rites, a position for Yang He's interpretation of the Changes, and a position for the Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals. During the reign of Emperor Xuan, additional positions were established for the Elder Xiahou's and the Younger Xiahou's interpretations of the Documents, the Elder Dai's and the Younger Dai's versions of the Rites, the interpretations of the Changes of Shi, Meng, and Liangqiu, as well as for the Guliang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals. During the reign of Emperor Yuan, an additional position was established for Jing's interpretation of the Changes. During the reign of Emperor Ping (reg. A.D. 1-5), additional positions again were established, this time for the Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, the Mao Version of the Songs, the Lost Rites, and the Old Script Documents. Because a wide net was cast to retrieve⁸⁰ what had been scattered and lost, and [the texts that

⁷⁸(3/5, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: See: 2/6, n.8.

⁷⁹[SVA: The Han shu and Wen xuan read li 立 ("to establish," "to set up") for Jxls cun 存 ("to preserve").]

⁸⁰(3/5, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese wang 罔 ("retrieve") is

were retrieved] were brought together and preserved, these works [such as the Mao shi, Zuo zhuan, Lost Rites, and Old Script Documents] were among them." In my opinion, the above two explanations with respect to the establishment of the Erudite positions during the Han, are roughly the same in recounting the facts, although there is a slight difference in the times [when positions were established] for the Shi, Meng, and Liangqiu [interpretations of the Changes]. Liu Xin wanted to establish Erudite positions for the various Old Script Classics and therefore he took the addition of Erudite positions in the past as a precedent. However, as their exegesis was the opposite of one another, how could they be established side by side? As he already knew of their faults, why was it again necessary to preserve them? Rather than preserving them in spite of their shortcomings, would it not be better to abandon them because of their shortcomings? As for this forced explanation and elaborate discourse, it was appropriate that the Erudites were unwilling to establish additional positions in response.⁸¹

none other than ancient variant for wang 網 ("a net," "to net, to retrieve").

⁸¹(3/5, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The biography of Liu Xin in the Han shu states, "Liu Xin wanted to establish Erudite positions in the Hall of Learning for the Zuo version and interpretation of the Spring and Autumn Annals, the Mao version and interpretation of the Songs, the Lost Rites, and the Old Script edition of the Documents. Emperor Ai 哀帝 (reg. 6 B.C.-1 A.D.) ordered Liu Xin to discuss the implications and significance with the

The increase of the number of Erudite positions during the reigns of Emperor Xuan and Emperor Yuan was not strongly disputed. It was only Liu Xin's proposal of establishing additional positions that was forcefully disputed and not followed. This was probably due to fact that the various specialists [in the Classics] all belonged to the Modern Script school and although there were slight differences among them, these differences were still not as severe as [those which separated them from] the eccentric and unconventional nature of the Old Script [texts and interpretations]. In this way they checked potential problems at the outset, and at the time it was the case that they had few deep concerns. Fan Sheng 范升 stated, "Recently there was a request by an official in charge to establish an Erudite position for Jing's 京 interpretation of the Changes. Of those below in charge of the matter, no one is able to base his decision on an established rule or norm. After the position for Jing's interpretation is established, the faction aligned with Master Fei's 費 interpretation will become resentful. The circumstances surrounding Master Zuo's [Commentary to the] Spring and Autumn Annals is also similar to this, as there are those who want to establish a position for it. After [positions for] Jing's and Fei's interpretations of the Changes are established, [establishing] a position for

Erudites of the Five Classics. Of the Erudites, some were not willing to set

Gao's 高 interpretation will be next. As for specialists [in the interpretive lines of] the Spring and Autumn Annals, there are also those of Master Zou 騶 and those of Master Jia 夾.⁸² If at present, the [interpretive traditions] of Master Zuo and Master Fei are able to have Erudite positions established for them, there will be those who seek to have additional positions established for the widely variant interpretations of the Five Classics, Master Gao, Master Zou, and Master Jia."⁸³ According to Fan Sheng's

up positions in response." (See: Han shu 36.1967)

⁸²(3/5, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: During the Western Han, in addition to the texts aligned with the Modern Script schools of interpretation for the Spring and Autumn Annals, the Gongyang and Guliang, and the Old Script version and interpretation, the Zuozhuan, there were also the schools of interpretation of Zou and of Jia. In the "Liuyi lue" 六藝略 section of the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu it states, "Coming to the later part of the age, oral transmission flourished, and therefore there were the interpretations of Gongyang, Guliang, Zou, and Jia...among the four, the Zou school was without teachers, and the Jia school lacked a written text." (See: Han shu 30.1715) Accordingly, at this time in the Han, the Zou and Jia interpretations were no longer being passed on.

⁸³(3/5, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Fan Sheng 范升 (zi Bianqing 辯卿) was a native of Dai commandery 代郡. When he was young, he became thoroughly versed in the Analects, and when he was older he studied Liangqiu's interpretation of the Changes and the Laozi text. He was appointed to the position of Court Gentleman for Consultation (yilang 議郎--Hucker 2972)

explanation, it is obvious that during the Han, those who contended to have Erudite positions established for their particular school of learning held views that were very narrow, each holding to what was their own. If one school had a position added, the other schools would be angry and jealous. Those who were deeply concerned about it, should have stopped it in its earliest stages, as starting the process was not something to be taken lightly. During the reign of Emperor Ping 平帝, positions were established for the Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, the Mao Version of the Songs, the Lost Rites, and the Old Script Documents.⁸⁴ This was done by Wang Mang and Liu Xin and thus does not merit further

and then promoted to the position of Erudite (boshi 博士). During the Yongping 永平 period (58-75 A.D.) he served as the Prefect (ling 令) of the city of Liao 聊城, but because of wrongdoing, he was forced to leave his position. He was a famous scholar of the Modern Script school of the Classics during the Later Han. During the Jianwu 建武 period (25-55 A.D.) of the reign of Emperor Guangwu (reg. 25-57 A.D.), he, together with scholars of the Old Script school of the Classics, Han Xin 韓歆, Xu Shu 許淑, and Chen Yuan 陳元, et al., engaged in heated debates over various points. For his biography, see Hou Han shu 36.1226-9. For the source of the quote, see: Hou Han shu 36.1228.

⁸⁴(3/5, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: For the origin of this passage, see the "Appraisal" ("Zan" 贊) to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu (88.3620-21).

discussion. After Emperor Guangwu arose, they all were done away with. These schools of interpretation for the Classics did not have positions established for them throughout the Han. In his "Preface" ("Tici" 題辭) to the Mengzi, Zhao Qi 趙岐 writes, "Emperor Wen 文帝 (reg. 179-157 B.C.) desired to broaden the path of learning and established Erudite positions for the Analects, Classic of Filial Piety, Mencius, and Erya."⁸⁵ From the Song dynasty on, the Changes, the Documents, the Songs, the three Rites, the three commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals, along with the Analects, Classic of Filial Piety, Mencius, and Erya, formed the canon of the Thirteen Classics. If what Zhao Qi writes is true, then four of the Classics were already established as official learning during the early years of the Han. That in a later age these four Classics were combined with the others to make thirteen, perhaps was something that had its beginnings in the words of Zhao Qi. However, there is something very doubtful about his words. The "Rulin zhuan" chapters of the Shi ji and Han shu both state, "Emperor Wen was fond of Xingming 刑名 legalism, and an Erudite position was established for this school of learning,⁸⁶ but no one was appointed to fill

⁸⁵See: Mengzi zhushu, Ssjzs, "Tici," 8a.

⁸⁶(3/5, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, juguan 具官 is like saying "only create the position." See the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu, 88.3592-3, note 5 which reads, "具官, 謂備員而已."

it."⁸⁷ As it had been stated that this position already existed, how could it be established again? As Erudite positions had yet to be established for all of the Five Classics, how could positions for the texts referred to as "commentaries" (zhuan 傳) and "records" (ji 記) even be mentioned? During the Han, no one even mentions this. Only in Liu Xin's letter is there any mention of positions for the commentaries and interpretations of various thinkers being established in the Academy. These words of Zhao Qi most probably had their origins with Liu Xin, and I fear are not a record of actual facts.

[3/6 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui begins this section with quotes from Liu Xin's "Letter Reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain of Ceremonials" in which Liu Xin attempts to make a case for the Lost Rites, Old Script Documents, and Zuozhuan. Pi then cites other texts to show that counter evidence exists to cast doubt on the grounds for Liu Xin's argumentation. Note that part of Pi's argument against the Zuozhuan was that originally it was not a commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals. Another point that he makes is that although various texts were either discovered or were known to exist, during the Former Han the master teachers of the Classics did not place faith or confidence in them,

⁸⁷See: Shi ji 121.3117; Han shu 88.3592.

and did not accord them any special status.]

3/6⁸⁸ In his "Letter Reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain of Ceremonials" Liu Xin also states, "[With respect to] the Old Script texts recovered by King Gong of Lu 魯共王, that is, the Lost Rites 逸禮 in thirty-nine pian, the Documents in sixteen pian, and along with the Spring and Autumn which was reworked by Zuo Qiuming (Zuo zhuan), they were all old texts in Old Script." He goes on to discredit the Erudites and says, "To ignore these three learned works is to consider the Documents complete, and to say that Zuo Qiuming did not transmit his version of the Spring and Autumn." In my opinion, this is clear evidence that in the Former Han, masters of the Classics had little or no faith in the authenticity of the Old Script texts. As for considering the Documents complete, there is a line in Wang Chong's Lunheng which bears this out: "There are some who explain the twenty-nine pian of the Documents as follows, 'Follow as a rule (I suspect the character yue 月 is an error for bei 北) [the Pole Star of] The Dipper (Dou 斗) and seven Lunar Mansions. Four (times) seven (equals) twenty-eight pian, with the other one being [the Pole Star of] The Dipper.

⁸⁸[SVA: Section 3/6 corresponds to pp.83-87 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.77-82 of the Yiwen ed.]

Therefore, the number twenty-nine is correct."⁸⁹ The order of the one-hundred pian of Documents can roughly be seen in the Shi ji;⁹⁰ the number of pian Master Fu passed down was limited to twenty-nine, and during the Han people considered this to already be sufficient, and as a result there came about the explanation of the matching of the Dipper with the twenty-eight Lunar Mansions. As for the sixteen chapters of the Lost Documents, their titles appear in the commentaries of Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan, and [other than this] there was absolutely no explanation by an

⁸⁹(3/6, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: See juan 28, pian 81, the "Zhengshuo" 正說 chapter of the Lunheng 論衡. (See: Lunheng, Sbck, 28.3a)

⁹⁰(3/6, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Legend has it that the Shu "Xu" 書序 was composed by Confucius, but whether it is authentic or a forgery is a topic hotly debated by scholars. However, the explanation that a person or persons of a later age composed it based upon historical anecdotes and/or materials is considered relatively reliable. Material in it which appears in the Shi ji in chapters such as the "Wudi benji" 五帝本紀, the "Xia benji" 夏本紀, the "Yin benji" 殷本紀, the "Zhou benji" 周本紀, the "Qin benji" 秦本紀, the "Lu shijia" 魯世家, and the "Jin shijia" 晉世家, is substantial. In the "Yin benji" it states, "Yi Yin 伊尹 entered the north gate and saw Nü Jiu 女鳩 and Nü Fang 女房 and composed 'Nü Jiu and Nü Fang.'" This is one example. However, modern scholars think that this kind of material from the Shu "Xu" found in the Shi ji is all the result of interpolations of Liu Xin and should not be considered reliable. For a detailed treatment, see Cui Shi 崔

acknowledged master.⁹¹ Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan had their roots in the thought of Du Lin 杜林⁹² and I do not know if what Liu Xin was referring to

適, Shi ji tanyuan 史記探原, juan one, the "Shu Xu" section (pp.12-14).

⁹¹(3/6, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu states, "During the Later Han, Du Lin 杜林 transmitted the Guwen shangshu, Jia Kui 賈逵 who was from the same commandery wrote an explanation of the words, Ma Rong composed a commentary, and Zheng Xuan also wrote notes to it. However, what was transmitted only consisted of twenty-nine pian, and there was also text from the Modern Script edition mixed in with it and this was not the Old Script edition of Kong Anguo.

Other than this there was absolutely no explanation or commentary by an acknowledged master." (See: Sui shu 27.915) In the "Preface" to Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen, it states, "At present, that which Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan have written notes to and that which Master Fu Sheng recited [to his students] is not the Old Script version. Kong Anguo's edition had been lost and for this reason, the students of Ma Rong, Zheng Xuan, and Du Yu all refer to it as the Lost Documents (Yishu 逸書)." See: Jingdian shiwen, 1.16a. On the Lost Documents in sixteen pian, see: 3/1, n.7.

⁹²(3/6, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Du Lin (zi Boshan 伯山) was a native of Maoling 茂陵 in Fufeng 扶風 commandery. He was very knowledgeable and conversant in many subjects and during his lifetime he was known as a scholar of wide and comprehensive learning. During the reign of Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (reg. 25-57) he held the position of Attendant Censor (shi yushi 侍御史--Hucker 5350), and he attained the position of Grand Minister of Works (da sikong 大司空--Hucker 6037). Previously in Xizhou 西州 he

were the Old Script texts found in the wall of the Kong residence or not.⁹³

The contents (chapter titles) of the forged Kong Anguo Documents does not tally with that given by Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan, and that it is forged does not require further examination.⁹⁴ With respect to the statement that the

obtained a copy of the Old Script Documents in one juan which was written in lacquer and which he constantly treasured and adored. In the early years of the Eastern (Later) Han, he was a famous scholar of the Classics who was aligned with the Old Script school. For his biography, see: Hou Han shu 27.934-39.

⁹³(3/6, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Xin's "Yi Taichang boshi shu" states, "King Gong of Lu demolished Confucius' residence because he wanted to build a palace, and in the process found texts written in Old Script in the rubble. These included the Yili 逸禮 in thirty-nine pian, and the Documents in sixteen pian. After the Tianhan 天漢 period (100-97 B.C.) Kong Anguo [planned to] offer up the text, but he encountered the difficulties surrounding the witchcraft incident, and he did not carry it out." (See: Han shu 36.1969)

⁹⁴(3/6, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: During the Eastern Jin, Mei Ze 梅賾 presented a forged Kong Anguo Guwen Shangshu in twenty-five pian to the throne. The twenty-five pian (chapter titles) are 1) "Da Yumou" 大禹謀, 2) "Wuzi zhige" 五子之歌, 3) "Sizheng" 嗣征, 4) "Zhonghui zhigao" 仲虺之誥, 5) "Tang gao" 湯誥, 6) "Yi xun" 伊訓, 7) "Taijia" (part 1) 太甲上, 8) "Taijia" (part 2) 太甲中, 9) "Taijia" (part 3) 太甲下, 10) "Xianyou yide" 咸有一德, 11) "Yue ming" (part 1) 說命上, 12) "Yue ming" (part 2) 說命中, 13) "Yue ming" (part 3) 說命下, 14) "Tai shi" (part 1) 泰誓上, 15) "Tai shi" (part 2) 泰誓中, 16) "Tai

Zuoshi 左氏 (Zuozhuan) was not a transmission of and commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals, it was none other than Fan Sheng 范升 who wrote, "The Zuoshi did not have its origins with Confucius, but came forth from the hand of Qiuming, and was passed along from teacher to student, and furthermore there was no one else."⁹⁵ This is proof for this claim. (The "Preface" ("Xulu" 序錄) of the Jingdian shiwen states that Zuo Qiuming composed a commentary and instructed Zeng Shen 曾申, and [in turn] the commentary [by means of instruction] was passed along until it reached Zhang Cang 張蒼 and Jia Yi 賈誼.⁹⁶ In this manner, the process of

shi" (part 3) 泰誓下, 17) "Wu Cheng" 武成, 18) "Lü Ao" 旅獒, 19) "Weizi zhiming" 微子之命, 20) "Cai Zhong zhiming" 蔡仲之命, 21) "Zhouguan" 周官, 22) "Jun Chen" 君陳, 23) "Bi ming" 畢命, 24) "Jun ya" 君牙, and 25) "Jiong ming" 冏命. These chapter titles differ from those of the Guwen Shangshu text to which Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan wrote commentary. Two noteworthy studies of the forged Kong Anguo Shangshu worth consulting are the Guwen Shangshu shuzheng 古文尚書疏證 by the Qing scholar Yan Ruoqu 閻若璩 and the Guwen Shangshu kao 古文尚書考 by the Qing scholar Hui Dong 惠棟.

⁹⁵(3/6, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: This passage draws from the dispute between Fan Sheng and Liu Xin. See the biography of Fan Sheng in the Hou Han shu (36.1228).

⁹⁶(3/6, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" ("Xulu") to Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen states, "Zuo Qiuming composed the zhuan and used it to

transmission and instruction are distinct and clear. How can it be said that it was passed along by no one in particular? Moreover, with respect to the words of Fan Sheng, it is sufficient to see that the "Preface" to the Jingdian shiwen was indeed an explanation that came forth at a later time and something that was not seen by the people of the Han.) The Shi ji refers to the text as the Zuoshi chunqiu not as the Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan,⁹⁷ [as it

instruct Zeng Shen 曾申. Zeng Shen transmitted it to Wu Qi 吳起 who was a native of Wei 魏. Wu Qi transmitted it to his son Wu Qi 吳期. Wu Qi 吳期 transmitted it to Duo Jiao 鐸椒 who was a native of Chu 楚. Duo Jiao transmitted it to Yu Qing 虞卿 who was a native of Zhao 趙. Yu Qing transmitted it to Xun Qing 荀卿 who name (ming 名) was Kuang 況 and was from the same commandery. Kuang (Xun Qing) transmitted it to Zhang Cang 張蒼 who was a native of Wuwei 武威. Zhang Cang transmitted it to Jia Yi 賈誼 of Luoyang 洛陽. (See: Jingdian shiwen, 1.26b)

⁹⁷(3/6, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The "preface" to chapter fourteen of the Shi ji, "The Chronological tables of the Twelve Feudal Lords" 十二諸侯年表, states, "Zuo Qiuming, who was a nobleman from the state of Lu, was afraid that as each of Confucius' disciples had a different way of explaining the Master's teachings and each taught according to his individual opinion, the true meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals would be lost. Therefore, basing himself on Confucius' historical records, in detailed and expanded discourse he addressed every word, composing the Zuoshi chunqiu." (See: Shi ji 14.509-10) According to this passage in the Shi ji, the text is not referred to by the title Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan.

was] probably like texts such as the Yanzi chungiu 晏子春秋⁹⁸ or the Lüshi chungiu 呂氏春秋,⁹⁹ and thus it treats it as a separate text, not patterned after or dependant upon to the Classic of the Sage (the Spring and Autumn Annals). The "Biography of Liu Xin" in the Han shu states, "In the beginning the Zuoshizhuan 左氏傳 was for the most part old script characters and archaic expressions and those learned in the text limited their instruction to what the words meant. When Liu Xin gained command of the Zuoshi, he drew from the text of the commentary to explain the Classic (the Chunqiu). The texts were used to illuminate each other, and

⁹⁸(3/6, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Legend has it that the Yanzi chungiu 晏子春秋 in eight juan was composed by Yan Ying 晏嬰 who was a native of Qi 齊 and lived during the Spring and Autumn period. The Song compilation, the Chongwen zongmu 崇文宗目 says that someone of a later age adopted Yan Ying's method and composed it, and that it was not composed by Yan Ying. This is probably close to the actual facts. Bibliographers of earlier times placed it in the zi 子 ("Thinkers" or "Masters") section of their catalogs. However the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao diverges from this practice and places it in the "Zhuanji" 傳記 subsection of the "Shi" 史 ("Histories") section.

⁹⁹(3/6, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The Lüshi chungiu 呂氏春秋 in twenty-six juan was written by scholars assembled under the patronage of the Qin dynasty personage Lu Buwei 呂不韋. It is extant and for a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.2458-9.

owing to this the interpretations and reasoning of the zhangju 章句 commentaries became complete." According to Liu Xin's biography, prior to Liu Xin, the text of the Zuoshi (Zuoshi zhuanwen 左氏傳文) originally was not used to explain the [text of the] Classic (the Chunqiu), and therefore the Erudites thought that the Zuoshi was not commentary to the Chunqiu. The recent scholar Liu Fenglu 劉逢祿 (1776-1829) thought that the structure and writing style of the Zuoshi were all the result of changes and alterations made to the text by Liu Xin,¹⁰⁰ and he deduced this from explanations in the

¹⁰⁰(3/6, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Fenglu 劉逢祿 (zi Shenshou 申受; 1776-1829) was a native of Wujin 武進. During the Jiaqing 嘉慶 period (1796-1820) of the Qing dynasty, he received the jinshi degree (1814), and he held the post of libu zhushi 禮部主事 (Secretary in the Ministry of Rites). His scholarship was in the tradition of the Modern Script School study of the Classics of [his grandfather], Zhuang Cunyu 莊存與 (zi Fanggeng 方耕; 1719- 1788), and he was a famous scholar who actively participated in the revival of the Modern Script School of Classics Studies during the Qing Dynasty. His writings include the Gongyang Heshi shili 公羊何氏釋例, the Gongyang Heshi jieguqian 公羊何氏解詁淺, the Zuoshi chunqiu kaozheng 左氏春秋考證, the Lunyu shu He 論語述何, and the Liu Libu ji 劉禮部集, along with other works. For his biography, see the second section of the "Ruxue zhuan" 儒學傳 chapter in juan seventy-two of Miao Quansun's 繆荃孫 Xubei zhuanji 續碑傳集. What Pi Xirui is referring to is probably the Zuoshi chunqiu kaozheng. This text in two juan is contained in the Huang Qing

Shi ji and Han shu. The "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu states, "King Gong of Lu 魯共王 obtained the Old Script Documents along with the Record of Rites, Analects, and Classic of Filial Piety, all in old style characters."

According to this, the Old Script texts obtained by King Gong from the walls of the Kong residence were not limited to the Lost Rites 逸禮 and

Documents, but also included the Record of Rites, Analects, and Classic of

Filial Piety. A Shangshu guwen jing 尚書古文經 (Documents Old Script

Classic) in forty-six juan, a Lunyu gu 論語古 in twenty-one pian, a Xiaojing

jingjie 皇清經解, in juan 1294-5. [SVA: correcting Zhou Yutong's 1295-6] In his first juan, he states, "When I was twelve, I studied the Zuoshi chungiu, and I suspected that the moral judgments expressed by the text in many instances had lost their greater meaning and significance. I continued and studied the Gongyang and the writings of Dong Zhongshu, and then suddenly I realized that with respect to the Chunqiu, it was not a text which recorded events, and that it was not necessary to wait [to read] Zuo Qiuming for its significance to be clear. Zuo Qiuming lived during the Warring States period, therefore his text ends with the three families dividing up the state of Jin 晉. Moreover, as a supplement to the Classic, this was a rash creation by Liu Xin." (See: Zuoshi Chunqiu kaozheng, 1294.1b) He goes on to say, "In every case of passages in the text reading "書曰," these were all added by Liu Xin, but perhaps some where there prior to Liu Xin." (See: Zuoshi Chunqiu kaozheng, 1294.2b) [SVA: For the biography of Liu Fenglu, see: ECCP, p.51-520; for the biography of Zhuang

gu Kongshi 孝經古孔氏 in one pian, are all clearly listed in the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu.¹⁰¹ The "Yiwen zhi" with respect to Rites 禮 texts

Cunyu, see: ECCP, p.206-8.]

¹⁰¹(3/6, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: All these texts appear listed in the "Liuyi lue" section of the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu. With respect to the Shang shu guwen jing 尚書古文經 in forty-six juan, in his Han shu buzhu, Wang Xianqian states, "As for the text in Old Script characters that Kong Anguo recovered from the wall, he examined [and compared] it against Fu Sheng's text in twenty-nine pian, [and found that he had] obtained an additional sixteen pian, the total number of pian being forty-five. Adding the 'Preface' ('Xu'序) written by Confucius in one pian, and the total number of pian becomes forty-six. Therefore, it states there are forty-six juan." (See: Hanshu buzhu 30.5b)

In addition, with respect to the "Gu" version of the Lunyu, Ban Gu states in his notes, "Two Zizhang 子張 [texts] came forth from the wall of Confucius' residence." (See: Hanshu 30.1716) Ru Chun 如淳 states in his notes, "Beginning with the passage which follows the 'Yao yue' 堯曰 pian, 'Zizhang inquired as to what a person's qualifications must be before he can participate in government' this is divided into a separate pian, the chapter title being 'Congzheng' 從政 ('Participating in Government')." (See: Han shu 30.1716-7, n.1; Cf. Lunyu 20/2; Lau, trans., p.159) If we add the 'Congzheng' pian to the twenty pian of the modern Lunyu, the total number of pian becomes twenty-one. Furthermore, with respect to the "gu" 古 version of the Xiaojing in one pian, Ban Gu states in his notes that it is "Twenty-two zhang 章." Yan Shigu states in his notes to this passage, "Liu Xiang stated,

only lists a Ligujing 禮古經 in fifty-six juan, a Jing 經 in seventy pian (This should read seventeen pian and refers to the present day received version of the Yili 儀禮), a Ji 記 in one hundred and thirty-one pian, but no mention of the Record of Rites (Liji); however, the present day received version of the Record of Rites for its part lacks any differentiation between an Old Script and a Modern Script version.¹⁰² When the "Yiwen zhi" mentions a Liji 禮記 [SVA: or "Li 禮 and ji 記"], it is [in the form of] a/the Ligujing 禮古經 and a/the Ji 記. There is a differentiation between the Modern Script and Old Script versions of the Yili 儀禮. Zheng Xuan states in his notes, "The Old Script version writes 'such and such,' the Modern Script version writes 'such and such.'" This [is evidence]. As for Zheng Xuan using the Gu Lunyu 古論語 to collate the Lulun 魯論, this appears in the Jingdian shiwen which

'It is in old script characters.'" (See: Han shu 30.1718 and n.1)

¹⁰²(3/6, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: In this context, the title Liji 禮記 is a broad term referring to the Xiao Dai Liji and the Da Dai Liji. The traditional account has it that there has been no differentiation with regard to Modern Script and Old Script classification between these two texts. However, the modern scholar Liao Ping has written the Liang Dai ji zhangju fanli 兩戴記章句凡例 in which he puts forth the opinion that the two texts mix material from the Modern Script and Old Script schools. Based on this, he has differentiated the material and sorted it out. See: Siyiguan jingxue congshu 四益館經學叢書.

states, "The Lu version reads such and such as such and such, the Modern [Script version] follows the Old [Script version]." As for the Xiaojing Gu Kongshi, when Xu Shen 許慎 (30-124) sent his son Xu Chong 許沖 to present the Shuowen to the emperor, he also presented his (Xu Shen's) explanation of Old Script (guwen).¹⁰³ Huan Tan 桓譚 (23 B.C.-50 A.D.) said in his Xinlun that there was a difference of about four-hundred plus characters with the Modern Script version.¹⁰⁴ His text is lost and cannot be examined. During

¹⁰³(3/6, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: At the end of juan fifteen of Xu Shen's Shuowen jiezi there is appended a letter by Xu Shen's son, Xu Chong 許沖, whom he sent to present the Shuowen to the emperor. It reads, "Xu Shen is a profound scholar with wide learning,...and has compiled the Shuowen jiezi....at present Shen is ill and he has sent me to bring it to the imperial palace. Shen has also studied the Old Script explanations of Mr. Kong of the Xiaojing. As for the Guwen Xiaojing, during the reign of Emperor Zhao 孝昭帝 (reg. 86-74 B.C.) it was presented to the throne by the Three Elders (san lao 三老, cf. Hucker 4876) from the state of Lu. During the Jianwu 建武 period (25-55), it was critically studied by Wei Hong 衛宏 who held the position of Gentleman Consultant Serving Within the Palace (jishi zhong yilang 給事中議郎--following Bielenstein; cf. Hucker 587, 2972). In all cases [their studies] were orally transmitted and thus there is no copy of his explanation. I have written it down in one pian and also respectfully submit it." (See Shuowen jiezi 15B.7a-13a)

¹⁰⁴(3/6, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: Huan Tan 桓譚(zi Junshan 君山; 43 B.C.-A.D. 28) was a native of Xiang 相 in Peiguo 沛國. During the reign of

the Sui, Liu Xuan 劉炫 forged the Guwen Xiaojing 古文孝經, and during the Tang and Song, many people were taken in by it.¹⁰⁵ Shallow minded people

Emperor Guangwu (reg. 25-57 A.D.), he was appointed to the position of Court Gentleman for Consultation (yilang 議郎--Hucker 2972). However, soon after, he found himself at odds with the emperor and was exiled to become an Aide (cheng 丞--Hucker 457) in Liu'an Commandery 六安郡. On the way there, he became sick and died. He was a famous scholar of the early Eastern Han. In his study of the Classics, for his part he favored the Old Script school. His writings include the Xinlun 新論 in seventeen juan, which is listed in the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu, but is no longer extant. For his biography, see Hou Han shu 28A.955-962. In the "Liuyi lüe" section of the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu, Yan Shigu in his notes quotes from the Xinlun, "The Gu Xiaojing contained 1,871 characters, a difference of more than four-hundred characters exists with the modern edition." See Han shu 30.1719, n.1.

¹⁰⁵(3/6, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu states, "In addition, there is a Guwen Xiaojing,...Kong Anguo wrote a commentary to it,...but it was lost during the turmoil in the Liang dynasty...During the Sui dynasty, the Director of the Palace Library (mishujian 祕書監--Hucker 4588; both Hucker and Bielenstein give the pronunciation for 祕 as bi) Wang Shao 王劭 searched throughout the capital district and obtained a copy of Kong Anguo's Commentary (zhuan 傳) and he sent it to Liu Xuan 劉炫 of Hejian 河間. Based upon this, Liu Xuan wrote a preface about what had been obtained and what was lost, put forth his evaluation of the material and his commentary, and discussed it with

only saw the two words "Old Script," were startled by it, and did not dare offer up an opinion. They did not understand that the masters of the Classics of the Former Han had no confidence in the Old Script texts.

[3/7 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui discusses "Old Script" and "Modern Script" (as writing styles, as texts written in one or the other of these two particular scripts, and in the sense of "schools") in the historical context of the Former and Later Han dynasties. After stating that the Classics of Confucius' as well as Fu Sheng's Documents were by necessity written in Old Script, he uses a common sense argument based on common experience to make the case that it was necessary for these texts to

various people. Gradually word traveled to the imperial court and later an order was issued that established a position for this text along side that of Zheng 鄭. The Ruist scholars were boisterous in their reaction to this and all claimed that this text was written by Liu Xuan and was not the ancient Kong Anguo text." (See: Sui shu 32.935.) During the Qing dynasty, Sheng Dashi 盛大士 composed a preface ("Xu" 序) to Ding Yan's 丁晏 Xiaojing zhengwen 孝經徵文 in which he writes, "This must be a forgery by Wang Su 王肅...Liu Xuan obtained it from Wang Zhao, and Wang Zhao and Liu Xuan were both deceived by Wang Su." (See: Ding Yan, Xiaojing zhengwen in the Huang Qing jingjie xubian, "Xu" 序 1b) Previously everyone thought that the Guwen Xiaojing Kongzhuan 古文孝經孔傳 was a forgery by Liu Xuan, but Sheng Dashi and Ding Yan considered it to be the work of Wang Su.

have been copied into Modern Script in order for them to be used to instruct beginning students who would have only known the writing style in current usage at the time. He points out that in mentioning certain texts, the Shi ji does not speak of the "Modern Script School(s)." This was something that would develop later, after certain "Old Script Classics" had Erudite positions established for them following the recommendation of Liu Xin. Explanations and interpretations for these texts were written by scholars of the Later Han.]

3/7¹⁰⁶ During the Former and Later Han dynasties, there was a division in Classical Scholarship between Jinwen 今文 or "Modern Script" and Guwen 古文 or "Old Script." The reason for the division was first owing to the difference between the written form of characters [of certain texts]. "Modern Script" is that which we refer to today as lishu 隸書 ("official" or "clerical" script),¹⁰⁷ and this is what has come down to us in the Xiping 熹平 Stone

¹⁰⁶[SVA: Section 3/7 corresponds to pp.87-89 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.82-84 of the Yiwen ed.]

¹⁰⁷(3/7, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu states, "Lishu 隸書 (clerical script) was first created during this time (the Qin). It arose among the officials who were overwhelmed with legal matters. If they were in a hurry to reduce the workload and make things

Classics¹⁰⁸ and in the Han stele inscriptions found at the Confucian Temple and at other various locations. "Old Script" is that which we refer to today as zhoushu 籀書 (Zhou script),¹⁰⁹ and this is what has come down to us on

easier, they would distribute it among the apprentice clerks (tuli 徒隸)."

(See: Han shu 30.1721) During the Tang, Zhang Huaiguan 張懷瓘 in his Shuduan 書斷 said lishu was created during the Qin by one Cheng Miao 程邈 who was a native of Xiagui 下邳, but this is unreliable. (See: Zhang Huaiguan, Shuduan [liezhuan] in the Baichuan xuehai 百川學海, Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1969, p.2589)

¹⁰⁸(3/7, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Biography of Cai Yong" 蔡邕傳 chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "In 175 A.D., the fourth year of the Xiping 熹平 period (172- 177)...a memorial was submitted to the emperor which sought to correct and determine in a fixed form the characters of the Six Classics. Emperor Ling 靈帝 (reg. 168-189) consented to it. Cai Yong then wrote the characters in red on a stone slab, and had artisans then chisel and carve the characters. The stones were then placed in an upright position outside of the gate of the Imperial Academy." (See: Hou Han shu 60B.1990) These are none other than what is referred to as the Xiping Stone Classics, and are also called the Han Stone Classics. Xiping is a reign period (172-77) of Emperor Ling and the fourth year of the Xiping period is 175 A.D.--[the year they were finished]. In the Chinese, "to take the Classics and carve them into stone" (以經刻石) therefore refers to the Stone Classics.

¹⁰⁹(3/7, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The traditional account is that zhoushu 籀書 was created by the Grand Scribe (or Grand Historian) Zhou 太史籀 who served King Xuan of Zhou 周宣王 (reg. 827-782), and thus the name.

the stone drums of Qiyang 岐陽¹¹⁰ and what is written in the Shuowen as

Sometimes it is referred to as dazhuan 大篆 or "Large Seal Script" to differentiate it from xiaozhuan 小篆 or the "Small Seal Script" of Qin times. The "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu states, "The Shi Zhou pian 史籀篇 was a text that was used during the Zhou dynasty by the History Office to instruct young students. The form of its script differs from that of the guwen script of the texts found in the walls of the Kong residence." (See: Han shu 30.1721) The "Preface" ("Xu" 序) of the Shuowen states, "...Grand Historian Zhou who served King Xuan of Zhou composed a work in fifteen pian using dazhuan script and it was somewhat different from guwen." (See: Shuowen jiezi zhu, 15a.8b) Based on the information given in these two sources, guwen existed prior to zhoushu, and in addition had a different form from that of zhoushu. Pi Xirui's explanation does not accord with this. I do not know what Pi Xirui bases his explanation on. [SVA: on zhouwen 籀文 /zhoushu, see: Jerry Norman, Chinese, p.64, 65, 67.]

¹¹⁰(3/7, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The ten stone drums were [tablets] made in the shape of drums with characters carved on the sides. They were discovered during the Tang dynasty and the traditional account has it that they record the results of an imperial hunt from the time of the reign of King Xuan of Zhou. At the time of this writing they were preserved in the Old Imperial Academy (舊國子監) in Beijing, but only about half of the original inscriptions remain. The authenticity and dating of the drums is a topic which has been hotly debated by scholars. At the time of this writing, modern scholars have determined that these stone carvings to be a product of Qin times.

guwen 古文.¹¹¹ Clerical script (lishu) was in common use during the Han and therefore was referred to as "Modern Script." It was like kaishu 楷書 of the present as it was completely understood by everyone. As for zhoushu, by the Han dynasty it had already fallen out of common use and as a result, at the time it was referred to as "Old Script." The situation was like that of zhuanshu 篆書 (seal script) and lishu today, where they are forms that are not able to be completely understood by everyone. Generally speaking, it is necessary for the written word to be completely understood by everyone as only then can it be used to instruct beginning students. Xu Shen said that Confucius used Old Script exclusively in his writing and editing of the Six Classics.¹¹² Thus it was certainly the case that the texts that were hidden

¹¹¹(3/7, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The Shuowen takes the xiaozhuan form to be primary. If the guwen and zhouwen forms differ from the xiaozhuan form, then the guwen and zhouwen forms appear below the xiaozhuan form. For example, in juan one, under the classifier (radical) yi 一, below the character yi 一, it states, "弌, 古文一" (弌, is the guwen form of 一) (See: Shuowen jiezi zhu, 1A.1a-b). Under the classifier shang 上, below the character pang 旁, it states, "𠂔, 古文旁. 𠂔, 籀文." (𠂔 is the guwen form of 旁. 𠂔 is the zhouwen form.) (See: Shuowen jiezi zhu, 1A.3a-b)

¹¹²(3/7, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" to the Shuowen states, "When Confucius penned the Six Classics and Zuo Qiuming composed his history (chunqiu), they both used Old Script (guwen)." (See: Shuowen jiezi

away by the Kong clan and by Fu Sheng were also written in this Old Script. In the early years of the Han dynasty when the books that had been hidden were brought forth and used to instruct students, it was necessary that they be copied into Modern Script which was in common use, thus making it easier for students to recite and study them. Therefore, when the Han established the fourteen Erudite positions, they were all for specialists in the Modern Script [texts]. However, prior to the rise of the Old Script [texts and school], the term "Modern Script" had not been separately established. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "The Kong family had a copy of the Old Script Documents, and Kong Anguo 孔安國 used modern script when reading it [i.e., he probably rewrote the old script style characters into modern script into modern script forms when reading through and explaining the text.]"¹¹³ Thus, this passage is talking about the Old Script and Modern Script characters of the Documents. Moreover, with respect to the Lu, Qi, and Han versions of the Songs, and the Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, the Shi ji makes no mention of Modern Script schools. Liu Xin was the first to establish additional [Erudite positions for the] Old Script Documents, Mao Version of the Songs, Rites of Zhou, and Master Zuo's Spring and Autumn (Zuozhuan). After they were

zhu, 15A.9a)

¹¹³Shi ji 121.3124-5.

established in the Academy, it was necessary to create interpretations and explanations. In the Later Han, Wei Hong,¹¹⁴ Jia Kui,¹¹⁵ and Ma Rong¹¹⁶ in turn added to and supplemented [these commentaries and interpretations],

¹¹⁴(3/7, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Wei Hong 衛宏 (zi Jingzhong 敬仲; alt. zi Cizhong 次仲) was a native of Donghai 東海. During the reign of Emperor Guangwu (reg. 25- 57) he held the position of Court Gentleman for Consultation (yilang 議郎--Hucker 2972). He had a firm command of the Mao shi and the Guwen Shangshu, and was a famous scholar aligned with the Old Script School. For his biography see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu (79B.2575-76).

¹¹⁵(3/7, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Jia Kui 賈逵 (zi Jingbo 景伯; 30-101) was a native of Pingling 平陵 in Fufeng 扶風. He was a famous scholar of the Old Script School who lived during the first part of the Eastern Han. He was well versed in the Old Script Documents (Guwen Shangshu), Mao Version of the Songs (Mao shi), Rites of Zhou (Zhouguan), Zuozhuan (Zuoshi chungiu), and the Guliang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals (Guliang chungiu). During the Yongping 永平 period (58-75), he submitted two works, the Zuoshi zhuan jiegou 左氏傳解詁 in thirty pian and the Guoyu jiegou 國語解詁 in twenty-one pian. During the reign of Emperor He 和帝 (reg. 89-105) he held successive positions attaining the rank of Palace Attendant (shizhong 侍中--Hucker 5229), but because of his advanced age and illness, he begged to be allowed to return home. The Jingzhuan yigu 經傳義詁 and Lunnan 論難 which he wrote contained in excess of one million words. For his biography, see: Hou Han shu 36.1234-41.

¹¹⁶(3/7, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: On Ma Rong, see: 1/3, n.16.

and as they became widely circulated, the Old Script [School] subsequently split [with the Modern Script School] and followed its own path.¹¹⁷ In Xu Shen's Wujing yiyi 五經異義¹¹⁸ there are explanations of an Old [Script] Documents (Gu Shangshu 古尚書), along with explanations of the Xiahou and Ouyang versions of the Modern [Script] Documents (Jin Shangshu 今尚書), explanations of the Old [Script] Mao Version of the Songs (Gu Mao Shi

¹¹⁷(3/7, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese "fen dao yang biao" 分道揚鑣 means to split off from the road and travel [one's own path]. Biao 鑣 is a bridle bit for a horse. See Shuowen jiezi zhu 14A.23a.

¹¹⁸(3/7, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Xu Shen 許慎 (zi Shuzhong 叔重; ob. 120) was a native of Shaoling 召陵 in Runan 汝南. He held official positions, attaining the positions of Defender-in-Chief (taiwei 太尉--Hucker 6260) and Libationer of the Southern Chambers (nange jiju 南閣祭酒). He was thoroughly versed in the Five Classics and extremely skilled in the study of characters, their historical development, and their definitions. He compiled the Shuowen jiezi in fifteen juan. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu (79B.2588). Xu Shen composed the Wujing yiyi 五經異義 in ten juan which is listed in the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu, but is no longer extant. The Qing scholar Chen Shouqi 陳壽祺 (1771-1834) wrote the Wujing yiyi shuzheng 五經異義疏證 the compilation and notes of which are relatively complete, and can be consulted. It is contained in the juan 1248-50 of the Huang Qing jingjie.

[SVA: On the Wujing yiyi, see: Roy Andrew Miller, "The Wu ching i-i of Hsü Shen," MS 33 (1977-78), p.1-21.]

古毛詩), explanations of the Han and Lu versions of the Modern [Script] Songs (Jin Shi 今詩), explanations of the Old [Script] Rites of Zhou (Gu Zhouli 古周禮), explanations of the Dai version of the Modern [Script] Rites (Jin Li 今禮), explanations of the Old [Script] Spring and Autumn by Master Zuo (Gu Chunqiu Zuoshi 古春秋左氏), explanations of the Modern [Script] Spring and Autumn by Gongyang (Jin Chunqiu Gongyang), explanations of the Old [Script] Classic of Filial Piety (Gu Xiaojing 古孝經), and explanations of the Modern [Script] Classic of Filial Piety (Jin Xiaojing 今孝經). In every case he discussed them separately, as it was not only the case that the script in which they were written was not the same, but also that the interpretations and explanations [which went along with each text] were different.

[3/8 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui explains the differences between the so-called "Modern Script" and "Old Script" schools of Han learning as well as the rise of Song learning and its defining features. Pi of course favors the Modern Script school of the Han, and he gives historical examples of the practical application of Classical learning. He laments the fact that many of the writings of the Han Modern Script school were lost, but points to the value of the texts that have survived as

they help us to understand the Classics. In Pi Xirui's opinion, one should study the Classics so that one can apply in a practical sense the lessons embodied in their content. He closes the section with a quote by Liu Xin in which he derides the time consuming fixation on, and absorption in, philological minutiae. For Pi there is a certain irony at work here, as the so-called "Old Script" school began with Liu Xin, but at the same time Liu Xin was critical of certain aspects of this kind of scholarship.]

3/8¹¹⁹ In the study of the Classics it is necessary to venerate as the progenitor Han scholarship, however within Han scholarship there were also marked differences. During the Former Han, Modern Script explanations were focused on making clear the "sublime words with profound implications." In the Later Han, scholarship became intermixed with that of Old Script [texts and the ideas associated with them], and for the most part [concentrated on] detailed analysis of sections and lines (zhangju 章句) and explanations of the meanings of words (xungu 訓詁). Analysis of sections and lines and explanations of the meanings of words alone were not able to completely satisfy the hearts and minds of scholars. As a result, Song Ruists arose and addressed reason and principle. This is

¹¹⁹[SVA: Section 3/8 corresponds to pp.89-91 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.85-87 of the Yiwen ed.]

what differentiates the Classical Scholarship of the Han from that of the Song. Only the Modern Script scholarship of the Former Han was able to bring together both the strengths of reason and principle and those of explaining the meaning of words. From the reign of Emperor Wu (reg. 141-87 B.C.) through the reign of Emperor Xuan (reg. 73-49 B.C.)¹²⁰ was a time of great prosperity for Classical Scholarship. Schools and scholastic lines had yet to split, learning was pure, correct and unadulterated, and as a result, its scholarship and learning were extremely refined and at the same time, very useful. The "Yu gong" 禹貢 chapter of the Documents was utilized in the control of the Yellow River,¹²¹ the "Hong fan" 洪範 chapter of

¹²⁰(3/8, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Wu 武 and Xuan 宣 refer to Emperor Wu and Emperor Xuan of the Western Han. Emperor Wu was on the throne for fifty-four years, from 140 to 87 B.C. Emperor Xuan was on the throne twenty-five years, from 73 to 45 B.C.

¹²¹(3/8, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The "'Yugong' 禹貢 chapter of the Documents was utilized in the control of the Yellow River" most probably refers to Ping Dang 平當. The biography of Ping Dang 平當傳 in the Han shu states, "Because Ping Dang clearly understood the "Yugong" chapter of the Classic, he was sent to work on controlling the Yellow River, held the position of Commandant of Calvary (ji du wei 騎都尉--Hucker 606), and led the work building the dikes and embankments on the Yellow River." Yan Shigu comments, "The 'Yugong' chapter of the Documents records one episode after another of Yu's controlling the waters, [on the] mountains,

the Documents was used in the investigation of unusual occurrences,¹²² the

[along the] rivers, both in high places and down below, and because Ping Dang clearly understood this Classic, he was sent to work on controlling the Yellow River." See: Han shu 71.3050 and n.3.

¹²²(3/8, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: That the "Hongfan" 洪範 chapter of the Documents was used in the investigation of unusual occurrences, is most probably a reference to Xiahou Sheng. The "Biography of Xiahou Sheng" in the Han shu states, "When Emperor Zhao 昭帝 (reg. 86-74) died, the King of Changyi 昌邑王 was the successor to the throne, and he went out traveling several times. Xiahou Sheng, before he got into the imperial carriage, admonished him saying, 'When the sky has been cloudy for a long time, but it has not rained, the ministers below are plotting against their superior. Where does your majesty wish to go?'...At this time, Huo Guang 霍光 and Zhang Anshi 張安世 who held the position of Chariot and Horse General (cheji jiangjun 車騎將軍--Hucker 352) were plotting, as they wished to do away with the King of Changyi. Huo Guang blamed Zhang Anshi, thinking that Zhang Anshi had leaked word [of the plot]. Actually Zhang Anshi had said nothing, and they then summoned and inquired of Xiahou Sheng. Xiahou Sheng replied saying, 'In the commentary to the "Hongfan" chapter of the Documents it states, 'As for the sovereign's not adhering to the highest standards, his punishment is usually hidden. At the time then, of the men below there are those who attack the sovereign.' And as this is taboo, they are very guarded in their speech." [SVA: Following the punctuation in the Han shu.] Therefore it says that the ministers below are plotting. Huo Guang and Zhang Anshi were greatly shocked, and because of this increased the importance of officials with expertise in the Classics. See:

Spring and Autumn Annals was used in deciding legal cases,¹²³ the Songs with its 305 pieces was used as a text suitable for admonition,¹²⁴ and in

Han shu 75.3155.

¹²³(3/8, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Pi Xirui's statement that "the Spring and Autumn Annals was used in deciding legal cases" is most probably a reference to Dong Zhongshu. Under the Chunqiu jia 春秋家 heading of the "Liuyi lue" section of the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu there is listed a Gongyang Dong Zhongshu zhiyu 公羊董仲舒治獄 in sixteen pian. Wang Xingqian comments in his Buzhu 補注, "In 'Ying Shao's Biography' 應劭傳 in the Hou Han shu it says that because Dong Zhongshu of Jiaoxi 膠西 was aged, ill, and had left his position, on occasions when there was deliberation at the court, there were several instances when Zhang Tang 張湯 who held the position of Chamberlain for Law Enforcement (tingwei 廷尉--Hucker 6767) was dispatched and went personally to the lane where [Dong Zhongshu lived] to inquire about the merits and faults [of the various proposed solutions]. Thereupon the Chunqiu jueshi 春秋決事 was composed which addressed 232 different matters." (See: Hanshu buzhu, 30.16a) This text (the Chunqiu jueshi) is no longer extant.

¹²⁴(3/8, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Pi Xirui's phrase "the Songs with its 305 pieces was used as a text suitable for admonition" most probably refers to Wang Shi 王式. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Wang Shi served as the teacher of the King of Changyi. When Emperor Zhao 昭帝 died, the King of Changyi was heir to the throne, but because his conduct was wanton and included sexual excesses, he was dismissed. Numerous officials in Changyi had been put in prison and sentenced to death....Wang

mastering a single Classic a person obtained the [full] benefits of one Classic. Unfortunately, the texts of that time have been, for the most part, scattered and lost. As for what has been passed down to the present, we only have Fu Sheng's Shangshu dazhuan.¹²⁵ It preserves much [information] about the ancient rites, and while it differs from the "Wangzhi" 王制 ("Royal Regulations") chapters of the Liji, it is the oldest with respect to providing explanations for the meaning found in the Documents; Dong Zhongshu's Chunqiu fanlu¹²⁶ expounded upon the sanke jiuzhi 三科九旨¹²⁷ system of

Shi was bound in prison, sentenced to die. The commissioner in charge of affairs upbraided him and asked, 'As his teacher, why didn't you submit a letter of admonition?' Wang Shi replied, 'Morning until evening I used the 305 poems of the Songs to instruct the king. When it came to the pieces about loyal ministers and filial sons, its not that I did not have the King recite them repeatedly; and when it came to the ones about the leaders who had abandoned and lost the Way, it was not that I didn't shed tears narrating and explaining [its significance] so the King would have a profound understanding of it. I used the 305 pieces to admonish him, and for this reason I did not submit a letter of admonition.' The commissioner after hearing this, was also able to secure a letter of reprieve for him." (See: Han shu 88.3610-11)

¹²⁵(3/8, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: On Fu Sheng's Shangshu dazhuan, see: 3/4, n.1.

¹²⁶(3/8, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The Chunqiu fanlu 春秋繁露 in fifteen juan was composed by Dong Zhongshu and is still extant. This text brings

ideas of the Gongyang and moreover had a penetrating understanding of the relationship between Heaven and Man, his nature and destiny. Of the Han Version of the Songs 韓詩, only the Outer Commentary (Waizhuan) 外傳¹²⁸ is extant, which examines and expounds upon the intent of the creators of the Songs, and is sufficient to provide evidence as to the ancient meaning [of the Songs]. If scholars first study these three books, and give some serious thought to their implications, then they will understand that the reason that Han learning has utility lies in its being precise and incisive, and not in its breadth. If one desires to become versed in the

into full play the main ideas of the Chunqiu, and for the most part follows the Gongyang. In addition, it frequently brings together both Yinyang and Five Phases theory. Because the Chunqiu fanlu is not listed in the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu, later scholars subjected it to critical attack. However, for the most part its words convey the voice of a single individual, and although it is not necessarily entirely from the hand of Dong Zhongshu, it certainly is not a forgery by later writers attributed to him. For a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Sibu quanshu congmu tiyao, p.598. In addition, the modern scholar Kang Youwei wrote the Chunqiu Dongshi xue 春秋董氏學 in which he develops and expands upon Dong Zhongshu's ideas. It is worth consulting.

¹²⁷(3/8, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: On the sanke jiuzhi 三科九旨 in the Gongyang, see: 1/8, n.8.

¹²⁸(3/8, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: On the Hanshi waizhuan which is still extant, see: 2/3, n.10.

Classics to the extent that they have practical application, one must first seek out the profound implications [which lie in their] subtle words. If one takes a close look at the scholarship which solely focuses on giving detailed analysis of sections and lines (zhangju 章句) and explanations of the meanings of words (xungu 訓詁), like that which Liu Xin ridiculed when he said, "In picking apart the written word and the analysis of meaning, with words overloaded with trivial details and language that is overelaborate and dull at best, scholars become weary and aged, and they still were not able to thoroughly study a single Classic,"¹²⁹ one can judge the ease or difficulty and advantages or disadvantages of the various methods. (The Old Script School sprung forth from Liu Xin, but the shortcomings of Old Script exegesis were first ridiculed by Liu Xin, and thus the scholarship of later times which was piecemeal and occupied with unimportant details, was also that which was not approved of by Liu Xin.)

[3/9 SVA Introductory Comments: In the last section of chapter three, Pi Xirui begins by quoting from the Shi ji, a text he considers to have been

¹²⁹(3/8, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: See Liu Xin's "Yirang taishi boshi shu," ("Letter Reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials"). In the original text, yi 義 is written as zi 字. I suspect that this is an occasional error on Pi Xirui's part.

written at a time when Classical Scholarship was in its purest and most orthodox form. He does so to provide evidence to support his argument that the Classical Scholarship of the Former Han is superior to that which followed, and that certain later theories and explanations were wrong. He goes on to focus on Confucius' creation of the Spring and Autumn Annals and how Confucius alone is responsible for its unique writing style. In Pi's view, it was not the case that the principles of composition were created by the Duke of Zhou and merely reworked by Confucius, as Du Yu had stated in his "Preface" to the Zuozhuan. For Pi Xirui, Confucius holds a very special place in Chinese history by virtue of his creation of the Classics. To assign the creation of the underlying principles of composition of the Spring and Autumn Annals to the Duke of Zhou is an act of sacrilege and not to be tolerated. He uses evidence in the form of quotations to construct the case that Confucius' achievement in creating the Spring and Autumn Annals should be seen as following in the tradition of the great sage rulers of the past. It follows that in order to fully appreciate Confucius and his great achievements, one must follow the Classical Scholarship of the early Former Han, and not be confused and led astray by divergent theories and explanations that came later, such as those of Du Yu.]

3/9¹³⁰ The text of The Grand Historian¹³¹ was compiled during the reign of Emperor Wu (140-87 B.C.), a time when Classical Scholarship began to flourish, an age when it was in its purest and most orthodox form, and whenever it speaks of Classical Scholarship, in every case we can be confident in of its reliability. It states, "Confucius in his later years took pleasure in the Changes, organized the "Tuan" 彖 ("Judgment Texts"), the "Xici" 繫辭 ("Great Treatise"), "Xiang" 象 ("Image Texts"), "Shuogua" 說卦 ("Discussion of the Trigrams"), and "Wenyan" 文言 ("Commentary on the Words of the Text"),¹³² and thus those who consider Confucius to be the author of the "Xugua" 序卦 ("The Structure of the Hexagrams") and "Zagua" 雜卦 ("Miscellaneous Notes on the Hexagrams") are wrong. It states, "When King Wen was imprisoned at Youli 羑里, he placed the eight trigrams on top

¹³⁰[SVA: Section 3/9 corresponds to pp.92-100 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.87-97 of the Yiwen ed.]

¹³¹(3/9, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Text of the Grand Historian" refers to the Shi ji which was compiled by Sima Qian. The original name of the Shi ji was Taishi gong 太史公. See the "Chunqiuji" 春秋家 subsection of the "Liuyi lue" section of the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu (30.1714). Records of writings after the Jin dynasty first changed it to the present title, thus in the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Suishu it is called the Shi ji.

¹³²(3/9, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: For this passage, see the "Hereditary House of Confucius" chapter of the Shi ji (47.1937).

of one another thereby making the sixty-four hexagrams,"¹³³ and thus those who think that it was Fu Xi 伏羲 who composed the hexagrams, or that it was Shen Nong 神農, or that it was Yu of Xia 夏禹, are mistaken. It states, "Fu Sheng only recovered twenty-nine pian,"¹³⁴ and therefore other than these twenty-nine pian, there was nothing passed on by a master [of this Classic]. Where [the Shi ji] draws from the Documents, its compiler considers dalü 大麓 to be shanlü 山麓 (a mountain forest),¹³⁵ xuanji yuheng

¹³³(3/9, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Basic Annals of Zhou" 周本紀 chapter of the Shi ji, it states, "During his (referring to King Wen) imprisonment at Youli, he combined the eight trigrams into sixty-four hexagrams." See: Shi ji 4.119.

¹³⁴(3/9, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: For this passage see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji (121.3124).

¹³⁵(3/9, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Basic Annals of the Five Emperors" 五帝本紀 chapter of the Shi ji it states, "Shun entered the great mountain forest and through violent wind, thunder and rain did not lose his way. Yao then knew that Shun was capable of taking over responsibility for the realm." (See: Shi ji 1.38) In addition, "Yao sent Shun into the mountain forests, along the rivers, and through the marshes. Through violent wind, thunder and rain, Shun, traveling on, did not lose his way and Yao knew he was a sage." (See: Shi ji 1.22) The "Yao dian" ("Canon of Yao") chapter of the Documents contains the passage "He was sent into the mountain forest," 納於大麓. (See: Shangshu, Ssjzs 3.2b) Modern Script school scholars explain lu 麓 as shanlü 山麓 or "mountain forest" which agrees with the Shi ji. See: 3/4,

旋機玉衡 to be beidou 北斗 (the Northern Dipper),¹³⁶ Wenzu 文祖 to be Yao

n.1 and n.2.

¹³⁶(3/9, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Basic Annals of the Five Emperors" 五帝本紀 chapter of the Shi ji incorporates passages from the Documents. It states, "Shun then examined the jade encrusted astronomical instrument (sometimes referred to as an armillary sphere--xuanji 璇璣 -- following the modern edition of the Shi ji), thereby aligning the Seven Administrators (qizheng 七政: the sun, moon, and five planets)." (Shi ji, 1.24; cf. Shangshu 3.4b; Karlgren, Book of Documents, p.4) Chen Qiacong 陳喬樞 wrote in his Jinwen Shangshu jingshuokao 今文尚書經說考, "Fu Sheng's Modern Script text only writes xuanji 旋機, Ouyang's Shangshu is the same, and the Elder Xiahou's Shangshu is also the same. As the both modern texts of the Shi ji and Han shu write it as xuanji 璿璣, it was therefore the case that it was changed at a later time by people copying the text." The Shangshu dazhuan states, "Xuan 旋 is glossed as xuan 還 (to revolve); ji 機 is glossed as ji 幾 and as wei 微 (slight, subtle). Its changes are slight or subtle, but what it moves is great, so we refer to it as xuanji 旋機. For this reason, xuanji 旋機 refers to beiji 北極 (Northern Pole)." (See: Shangshu dazhuan, Sbck, 1B.5a) According to the above explanations, the Shi ji was based on the Jinwen Shangshu 今文尚書, originally wrote it as xuanji 旋機 and glossed it as beiji 北極, beiji 北極 being none other than Beidou 北斗 (Northern Dipper). This explanation agrees with that of the Modern Script school. However this differs from the Old Script school which writes it as xuanji 璿璣 and glosses it as huntianyi 渾天儀 (astronomical device). For a detailed examination, please refer to Chen Qiacong's study.

taizu 堯太祖 (The Yellow Emperor),¹³⁷ Dan Zhu 丹朱 to be the eldest son Zhu 朱,¹³⁸ Peng Zu 彭祖 to be among the twenty-two people [employed at the

¹³⁷(3/9, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Basic Annals of the Five Emperors" chapter of the Shi ji, quoting from the "Yaodian" chapter of the Documents, states, "On the first day of the first month Shun received the rulership in the temple of Wenzu." It continues, "Wenzu is the Great Ancestor of Yao." In juan two of his Shiji tanyuan 史記探原, Cui Shi says that Yao Taizu 堯太祖 refers to the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi 黃帝) and that this explanation agrees with that of the Modern Script school. The Jijie 集解 commentary to the Shi ji quotes Zheng Xuan's notes in which he says that "Wenzu" is an honorific name for the wufu 五府, like the Mingtang 明堂 ("Luminous Hall") of the Zhou. The Suoyin 索隱 commentary quotes from the Shangshu wei dimingyan 尚書緯帝命驗 says that the wufu are the temples of the Five Heavenly Emperors. The temple of the Cang 蒼 Emperor is called "Lingfu" 靈府, the temple of the Chi 赤 Emperor is called "Wenzu" 文祖, the temple of the Huang 黃 Emperor is called "Shendou" 神斗, the temple of the Bai 白 Emperor is called "Xianji" 顯紀, and the temple of the Hei 黑 Emperor is called "Xuanju" 玄矩. These are the explanations of the Old Script school and do not accord with the Modern Script school. (See: Cui Shi, Shiji tanyuan, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986, p.25) For a more detailed explanation, see Cui Shi's text. [SVA: Wufu = temples of the emperors of the five quadrants (sic); according to Cui Shi it was a system which had its basis in the correlative thinking of the wei texts.]

¹³⁸(3/9, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Canon of Yao" chapter of the Documents, it states, "Fang Qi said, 'Your son Zhu, the heir apparent, is

time of Yao],¹³⁹ the eight characters beginning with "Kui yue" 夔曰 in reality

enlightened.' The emperor said, 'Ah, but he is deceptive and contentious. Is this acceptable?'" The "Basic Annals of the Five Emperors" chapter of the Shi ji states, "Fang Qi said, 'Your son Dan Zhu, the heir apparent is enlightened.' Yao said, 'He is thick headed and evil-hearted and cannot be employed.'" The Shi ji takes Zhu 朱 to be Dan Zhu 丹朱, Yao's son and the heir apparent. This explanation is in agreement with that of the Modern Script school. However, it differs from that of the forged Kong Anguo commentary, (Wei Kong zhuan 偽孔傳) which explains it as follows, "Yin 胤 is the state, zi 子 is a feudal rank, and Dan 丹 is his given name." (See: Shi ji 1.20, n. 2; Shangshu Ssjsz, 2.19a; Karlgren, Book of Documents, p.3)

¹³⁹(3/9, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Basic Annals of the Five Emperors" chapter of the Shi ji states, "Yu 禹, Gao Yao 皋陶, Qi 契, Hou Ji 后稷, Bo Yi 伯夷, Kui 夔, Long 龍, Chui 垂, Yi 益, and Peng Zu 彭祖 were all employed from the time of Yao, but their responsibilities were not differentiated." (See: Shi ji 1.38) In addition, there is a passage based on the following line from the "Canon of Yao" chapter of the Shangshu, "The Emperor said, 'Yo! You twenty-two men, you must be respectful and conscientious. You must at all times engage in endeavors which are in accord with the will of Heaven.'" which is written "Ah! You twenty-two men, be respectful. You must at all times carry out the work of Heaven." (See: Shangshu, Ssjsz, 3.28a-b; Shi ji, 1.38) In juan two of his Shi ji tanyuan, Cui Shi writes that as for the number of men being twenty-two, the number mentioned from Yu through Peng Zu totals ten. Adding the twelve mu 牧 (assistants), the total becomes twenty-two. This does not accord with the Old Script explanation put forth by Ma Rong who takes six men, Yu, Chui,

to be an interpolation,¹⁴⁰ that the "Pan Geng" 般庚 chapter was written

Yi, Bo Yi, Kui, and Long, and combines them with the four yue 岳 (associates), and the twelve mu 牧 (assistants), for a total of twenty-two men. The Shi ji, which counts Peng Zu as one of the twenty-two men differs from the Old Script school which does not count Peng Zu.

¹⁴⁰(3/9, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Gao Yao mo" 皋陶謨 chapter of the Documents states, "Kui then struck the jade chimes, plucked the strings of the zither and sang, and the ancestral spirits descended and looked on. Yu's guests have taken their positions and the various feudal lords, owing to personal character, yield to one another. Below there are flutes, hand drums, standard drums, and they harmonize with the wooden percussion instruments, with the reeds and bells between them and the birds and beasts dance in time. When the Shao tune in nine parts was played on the flute, a pair of phoenixes arrived for the occasion. Kui said, 'Ah! I tap and beat the stone chimes, all the animals start to dance in time, and all the officials become harmonious.'" (Shangshu zhushu, Ssjzs, 5.14b-15a; Karlgren, Book of Documents, p.12) The "Basic Annals of Xia" 夏本紀 chapter of the Shi ji which was based on this writes, "Thereupon Kui began the music, the ancestral spirits descended, the various feudal lords yielded to one another, and the birds and beasts spread their wings and began to dance in time. When the Shao tune was played on the flute, a pair of phoenixes arrived and all the animals danced together in unison, and all the officials were trusting and harmonious." (See: Shi ji, 2.81) It lacks the eight character passage, "Kui said, 'Ah! I tap and beat the stone chimes'" (夔曰於予擊石拊石). As the Shi ji is missing these eight characters, and the modern edition of the Shangshu contains these eight characters, then in reality it

during the time of Xiaoxin 小辛,¹⁴¹ that Weizi 微子 did not make statements to Bigan 比干 and Jizi 箕子,¹⁴² that the "Jun Shi" 君奭 was composed during

was the case that this passage was interpolated into the text from the "Canon of Yao" chapter. (See: Shangshu zhushu, Ssjzs, 3.26a)

¹⁴¹(3/9, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Basic Annals of Yin" 殷本紀 chapter of the Shi ji states, "After Emperor Pan Geng 盤庚 died, his younger brother Xiao Xin 小辛 ascended the throne, and this is who we refer to as Emperor Xiao Xin. After Emperor Xiao Xin had been on the throne, the Yin fell into decline and the common people thought of Pan Geng, and they composed the work the Pan Geng in three pian." The Shi ji considers the Pan Geng in three pian to have been composed during the reign of Emperor Xiao Xin. This differs from the theory of the Old Script school that Pan Geng wanted to move the capital to Yin, but the people were unwilling to relocate, and because of this composed the Pan Geng in three pian in order to explain himself to them. (See: Shi ji 3.102)

¹⁴²(3/9, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: The Documents contains a "Weizi" 微子 chapter in one pian on which chapter thirty-eight of the Shi ji, "The Hereditary House of Song Weizi" 宋微子世家 is based [in part]. "In Weizi's estimation, Zhou 紂 would never be able to accept admonition. He thought of dying [to become a martyr] and was on the verge of leaving, but was not able to decide by himself [on what course of action to follow], so he then asked the Grand Master (Taishi 太師) and Lesser Master (Shaoshi 少師). He said..." (See: Shi ji 38.1607) In juan five of his Shi ji tanyuan, Cui Shi says that the Shi ji embodies the explanations of the Modern Script school; Taishi and Shaoshi are none other than Taishi Ci 太師疵 and Shaoshi Qiang

the time of Zhou Gong's regency,¹⁴³ that the "Jin Teng" 金滕 was opened

少師彊 mentioned in the "Basic Annals of Zhou" 周本紀 chapter of the Shi ji. They are titles of officials in the Music Bureau who, clutching musical instruments, fled from Yin to Zhou. (See: Shi ji, 4.121) This does not accord with the explanation of the Old Script school which takes Jizi 箕子 to be Taishi 太師 (the Grand Master) and Bigan 比干 to be Shaoshi 少師 (the Lesser Master). For a detailed examination, see Cui Shi's Shi ji taoyuan, p.125.

¹⁴³(3/9, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Hereditary House of Yan" 燕世家 chapter of the Shi ji states, "King Cheng 成王 was still young and the Duke of Zhou was acting as regent and controlled the affairs of the state. The Duke of Shao 召公 was suspicious of his motives, and so [the Duke of Zhou] composed the 'Jun Shi' 君奭." (See: Shi ji 34.1549) The "Preface" ("Xu" 序) of the Documents states, "The Duke of Shao held the position of Guardian (bao 保) and the Duke of Zhou held the position of Mentor (shi 師), as Chief Councilors to King Cheng, they were his closest attendants. The Duke of Shao was unhappy with the situation, and the Duke of Zhou composed the 'Jun Shi.'" (See: Shangshu zhushu, Ssjzs, 16.17a) These two explanations are not the same. The Shi ji considers the "Jun Shi" to have been composed during the Duke of Zhou's regency and this is the Modern Script school's view. The "Preface" to the Shangshu considers the "Jun Shi" to have been composed after the Duke of Zhou returned control of the government to King Cheng and was serving in the position of Mentor (Shi). This is the view of the Old Script school. For a detailed treatment of the topic, see Chen Qiaocong's 陳喬樞 Jinwen Shangshu jingshuokao. (See: Jinwen Shangshujing shuokao 今文尚書經說考, 30.1a-7a)

after the death of the Duke of Zhou,¹⁴⁴ that the "Wenhou zhiming" 文侯之命 chapter was about the order given to Chong Er 重 of Jin 晉,¹⁴⁵ and that Lu

¹⁴⁴(3/9, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Hereditary House of Lu" 魯世家 chapter of the Shi ji states, "After the death of the Duke of Zhou, that Autumn there was no harvest, there was a violent storm with severe wind, thunder and rain which blew down all the grain and uprooted even the largest trees, and the people of the state of Zhou were greatly afraid. King Cheng along with his Grandees donned their ceremonial court attire and opened the "Jin Teng" document..." (See: Shi ji 33.1522) The Shi ji considers the [opening of the] "Jin Teng" to have occurred after the death of the Duke of Zhou. This is the theory of the Modern Script school. This does not accord with that of the Old Script school which held that it occurred while the Duke of Zhou was living in the east where he had fled due to being slandered and that King Cheng opened the "Jin Teng" [and as a result] invited him to return. For a detailed examination, see chapter five of Cui Shi's Shi ji tanyuan (p.114-7).

¹⁴⁵(3/9, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Hereditary House of Jin" 晉世家 chapter of the Shi ji states, "The Son of Heaven sent Wang Zihu 王子虎 to command the Marquis of Jin 晉侯 (Chong Er 重耳) to accept the rank of Earl (Bo 伯)...The Marquis of Jin refused three times, but later knelt and bowed his head and accepted. [The King of] Zhou then composed the 'Jin Wenhou ming' 晉文侯命." (See: Shi ji, 39.1666-7) The Shi ji states that the "Wen Hou zhiming" chapter of the Documents contains the words used by King Xiang of Zhou 周襄王 (reg. 651-619 B.C.) to command Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公, Chong Er 重耳. This is the explanation of the Modern Script school. This

Gong 魯公 composed the "Bishi" 費誓 when he first took over responsibility for the security of the state [prior to the death of Zhou Gong].¹⁴⁶ All of these are actual historical occurrences, and there is clear evidence provided in every case. Thus, in cases when people of later ages offered up explanations

differs from the explanation of the Old Script school which considers the "Wen Hou zhiming" chapter to contain the words used by King Ping of Zhou 周平王 (reg. 770-720 B.C.) to command the Marquis Wen of Jin 晉文侯 Qiu 仇. For a detailed examination of this topic, see Chen Qiacong's Jinwen Shangshu jingshuokao and juan five of Cui Shi's Shi ji tanyuan. In the Chinese, Pi Xirui abbreviates the "Marquis of Jin, Chong Er 晉侯重耳" as "Jin Chong 晉重."

¹⁴⁶(3/9, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Hereditary House of Lu" chapter of the Shi ji states, "After the Duke of Lu, Bo Qin 魯公伯禽...had ascended the throne, there were rebellions by Guan 管, Cai 蔡 and others, and the Yi 夷 of Huaipu 淮浦 along with the Rong 戎 of Xuzhou 徐州 also rose up in rebellion. Thereupon Bo Qin led a military campaign against them at Xi 胙 (胙), and composed the 'Xi shi' 胙誓 (胙誓)." (See: Shi ji, 33.1524) The "Xi Shi" is none other than the "Bi Shi" 費誓. The Shi ji dates the "Bi Shi" prior to the death of the Duke of Zhou, and says that it was composed during the time when Bo Qin first came to the state. This differs from the explanation of the Old Script school which dates the "Bi Shi" after the death of the Duke of Zhou, and thinks it was written when Bo Qin attacked the Yi of Xuzhou. [SVA: The text reads "the Yi of Xuzhou" (徐夷), but I suspect that this is an error. Following the cited passage in the Shi ji, it should probably read "the

of the Documents based on guesswork and conjecture, confusing and distorting the facts, in every instance they were in error. The Shi ji states, "Confucius sang the three hundred pieces of the Songs, accompanying himself with strings, and did it in harmony with the tunes of Shao 韶, Wu 武, the ya 雅, and song 頌."¹⁴⁷ Thus Zhu Xi's opinion that they were the self-expression of individuals given to sexual excesses,¹⁴⁸ or Wang Bo's opinion that the pieces in the Zheng and Wei sections were deliberately mixed into

Rong and the Yi."]

¹⁴⁷(3/9, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Hereditary House of Confucius" chapter of the Shi ji states, "Confucius sang the three hundred pieces of the Songs, accompanying himself with strings, and did it in harmony with the tunes of Shao 韶, Wu 武, the ya 雅, and song 頌." (See: Shi ji, 47.1936)

¹⁴⁸(3/9, n.18) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhuzi 朱子 is none other than Zhu Xi 朱熹, see: 1/4, n.4. Zhu Xi wrote the Shi jizhuan 詩集傳, which was originally in twenty juan, but the present edition has combined them into eight juan. At times he employs the explanations of Zheng Qiao 鄭樵, and he is very forceful in his attack on the "Prefaces" to the Songs. Examples of his commentary are as follows: Regarding Song 76, "Jiang Zhongzi" 將仲子 in the "Airs of Zheng" section, he comments, "These are the words of those who elope." On Song 77, "Shu Yutian" 叔于田, he comments, "I suspect that these are words that express the mutual pleasure between male and female." (See: Zhu Xi, Shi jizhuan, Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1982, pp.48-9). Both of these comments are different from the old explanations.

the collection,¹⁴⁹ were simply wrong. It states that, "'Guanju' 關雎 begins the 'Feng' 風 section and 'Luming' 鹿鳴 is the first piece in the 'Xiaoya' 小雅 section;"¹⁵⁰ and it also states, "When the Way of the Zhou showed itself to be wanting, the poets taking the 'sleeping mat' as their basis, composed 'Guanju,' and when Humanity and Propriety fell into disuse, they composed

¹⁴⁹(3/9, n.19) Zhou Yutong comments: On Wang Bo 王柏 see: 1/2, n.11. Wang Bo wrote the Shi yi 詩疑 in two juan in which he removed thirty-two poems including the piece "Ye You Si Jun" 野有死麋 because he considered them to be poems of Zheng and Wei about elopement [the relationships between male and female that were not in accord with prescribed social conventions]. He thought that they had already been excised by the sages, and were only preserved orally by unsophisticated villagers. For the details, see the end of juan A. (See: Wang Bo, Shi yi 詩疑, Beijing: Pushe, 1935, pp.26-8)

¹⁵⁰(3/9, n.20) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Hereditary House of Confucius" chapter of the Shi ji it states, "'The last verse (luan 亂) of Guanju' 關雎 is taken to begin the 'Feng' 風 section, and 'Luming' 鹿鳴 is the first piece in the 'Xiaoya' 小雅 section." (See: Shi ji, 47.1936) [SVA: In this line, the words zhiluan 之亂 are considered by some to be an interpolation. Thus the line would read, "'Guanju' is the first piece in the 'Feng' section." See: Takikawa Kametaro 瀧川龜太郎, Shiki kaichu kosho 史記會注考證 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daikagu Toyo Bunka Kenkyujo 東京大學東洋文化研究所, 1956-1960), Vol. 6, 47.72; This work has been reprinted numerous times and is usually listed by the title Shiji huizhu kaozheng.]

'Luming' in criticism."¹⁵¹ Having its basis in the Lu Version of the Songs, it considers "Guanju" and "Luming" to be drawing examples from the past so as to criticize the present,¹⁵² and thus the Mao interpretation, along with Zheng Xuan and all those that follow them who think "Guanju" was composed during the time of King Wen and who consider it to be about

¹⁵¹(3/9, n.21) Zhou Yutong comments: For the source of this passage, see the "Preface" ("Xu" 序) to the "Chronological Tables of the Twelve Feudal Lords" 十二諸侯年表 chapter of the Shi ji (14.509).

¹⁵²(3/9, n.22) Zhou Yutong comments: The Lu Version of the Songs considers "Guanju" to be a poem of criticism written during the reign of King Kang of the Zhou 周康王 (reg. 781-771 B.C.). King Kang was late coming to the court, so therefore the poets composed (賦) "Guanju" in order to criticize him. The Shi ji considers the explanation, "In Zhou the Way was deficient" (周道缺) to have its origins in the Lu Version of the Songs. In addition, the Lu Version of the Songs also considers "Luming" to be a poem of criticism of the decline of the Zhou. The Way of the king had fallen into decline, the ruler had his attention focused on music and sex, the preparation of wine, food, and fine delicacies, and was not able in any substantial way to support the wise and worthy. Because of this the high ranking ministers composed "Luming" in order to criticize him. The Shi ji takes the phrase "when Humanity and Propriety fell into disuse" (仁義凌遲) to have its origin in the Lu Version of the Songs. For a detailed examination, see Chen Qiacong's Lu Shi yishuokao 魯詩遺說考. [SVA: This text is located in the Huang Qing jingjie xubian and is sometimes listed under the title Sanjia Shi yishuokao 三家詩遺說考.]

seeking a fine young woman as the Royal Mate,¹⁵³ are mistaken. [Based on the Lu interpretation,] the Shi ji states, "Zheng Kaofu 正考父 composed the 'Shangsong' 商頌 in praise of Duke Xiang of Song 宋襄公,"¹⁵⁴ and therefore

¹⁵³(3/9, n.23) Zhou Yutong comments: The Shi guxun zhuan 詩故訓傳 by Mao Gong 毛公 and Zheng Xuan's Mao Shi zhuanjian 毛詩傳箋 are both Old Script school texts and date "Guanju" to the time of King Wen of the Zhou. The "Preface" to the Mao Version of the Songs states, "'Guanju' is about the virtue of the Royal Mate." (See: Mao Shi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 1之1.3b) It also states, "'Guanju' delights in finding a fine young woman as a mate for the ruler." (See: Mao Shi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 1之1.18b) The Zheng Shipu 鄭詩譜 states, "King Wen was a model to his wife, to his brothers older and younger, and in running his home and the state. [SVA: Cf. Mao # 240] For this reason in the songs of the two states (Zhounan 周南 and Shaonan 召南), the piece about the virtue of the Royal Mate is placed first." (See: Wu Qian 吳騫 1733-1813 comm. Shipu buwang houding 詩譜補亡候訂, Baijinglou congshu 拜經樓叢書 ed., Shanghai: Boguzhai, 1922, p.3b) Later, those who explained the Songs, in each case adopted the explanations of Mao Gong and Zheng Xuan.

¹⁵⁴(3/9, n.24) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Hereditary House of Song" chapter of the Shi ji it states, "During the reign of Duke Xiang 襄公 (reg. 651-619), he cultivated and practiced humanity and propriety, and acted as the leader [of the feudal lords]. His Grandee, Zheng Kaofu, praised him, and thereupon recalled the grand endeavors of Qi 契, Tang 湯, Gaozong 高宗, and Yin 殷, and composed the 'Shangsong' 商頌." (See: Shi ji 38.1633) The Shi ji considers Zheng Kaofu to be the author of the "Shangsong" and this

the opinion of the Mao school and Zheng Xuan that Zheng Kaofu obtained the 'Shangsong' from the Grand Tutor of Zhou 周太師¹⁵⁵ is wrong. The Shi ji states, "Confucius finished the Chunqiu and Zixia could not add¹⁵⁶ another word."¹⁵⁷ Thus Du Yu's opinion that it was "the [structure of the] records of

has its origins with the Lu Version of the Songs.

¹⁵⁵(3/9, n.25) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" to the Mao Songs states, "Weizi 微子 came to see Duke Dai 戴公 and there the Rites and Music had fallen into disuse could not be performed. There was one Zheng Kaofu who had obtained the 'Shangsong' in twenty pian from the grand master of Zhou, and had taken the poem 'Na' 那 and placed it first." (See: Maoshi zhushu, Ssjzs, 20-3.4a) The Zheng Shipu states, "During the reign of Duke Dai, who ruled as King Xuan, there was one Grandee, Zheng Kaofu, who compared the twenty pian of the well known eulogies of Shang from the grand master of Zhou, and he took the poem 'Na' and placed it first." (See: Ding Yan 丁晏, 1794-1875, Zhengshi Shipu kaozheng 鄭氏詩譜考正, in the Shaowu Xushi congshu 邵武徐氏叢書, Hangzhou: Zhejiang tushuguan, 1917, p.40b) Mao Gong and Zheng Xuan both thought that Zheng Kaofu had obtained the "Shangsong" from the grand master of Zhou. This is the explanation of the Old Script school.

¹⁵⁶[SVA: or "assist with even a single word." See: 2/1, n.15]

¹⁵⁷(3/9, n.26) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Hereditary House of Confucius" chapter of the Shi ji states, "When it came to writing the Spring and Autumn Annals, he wrote what he deemed appropriate, deleted which he considered unsuitable, so that even his disciples such as Zixia could not add a word." (See: Shi ji 47.1944)

Zhou Gong which Confucius followed and clarified,"¹⁵⁸ is mistaken. The Shi ji states, "Seventy disciples received oral instruction," and goes on to say that later, Zuo Qiuming who was a nobleman of the state of Lu appeared on his own, separately and apart from the disciples, etc.,¹⁵⁹ and therefore we

¹⁵⁸(3/9, n.27) Zhou Yutong comments: For this quotation, see Du Yu's Chunqiu Zuozhuan jijie, "Xu," in the Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjsz, 1.10b.

¹⁵⁹(3/9, n.28) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" (序) to the "Chronological Tables of the Twelve Feudal Lords" chapter of the Shi ji states, "Confucius...went west and examined the [materials of] the Zhou ruling house, he deliberated about the historical records and what was heard about times past, began with the records of the state of Lu, arranging them in chronological order so as to compile the Spring and Autumn Annals...Seventy of Confucius' students received oral instruction from the master, and this was because there were words of satirical criticism, praise, or depreciation that could not be written down. Zuo Qiuming who was a nobleman of Lu was afraid that Confucius' disciples all diverge from the original teachings, each following his own individual interpretation, and that Confucius' original meaning would be lost. Therefore, basing himself on Confucius' historical records, and narrating in complete detail his (Confucius') words, he composed the Zuoshi chunqiu." (See: Shi ji 14.509-10) In juan four of his Shi ji tanyuan, Cui Shi writes, "The one hundred and twenty-six characters which follow "魯郡子左丘明" are all interpolations by Liu Xin, et al., and should be deleted." (See: Shi ji tanyuan, p.70) Compared to Pi Xirui, Cui Shi's view is somewhat stronger.

know that Zuo Qiuming was not among the disciples, and that he never received oral instruction, and Xun Song's opinion that Confucius compiled the Spring and Autumn Annals, and that Zuo Qiuming personally received it, writing it down in lacquer,¹⁶⁰ is wrong. Xun Yue's 荀悅 (148-209)

Shenjian 申鑒 states, "Confucius created the Classics, and thus they had a single origin and that was all; the Modern Script and Old Script versions were not the same, but both [schools] claimed that theirs were the authentic and original versions of the Classics. The first teachers of the Modern Script

¹⁶⁰(3/9, n.29) Zhou Yutong comments: Xun Song 荀崧 (zi Jingyou 景猷; 4th cent.) was a native of Lingyin 臨潁 in Yingzhou 潁州, who lived during the Jin dynasty. He was a man of personal integrity and high moral character who had a passion for literature and scholarship. During the Taining 太寧 period (323-325) he held the positions of Grand Master of Splendid Happiness of the Right (youguang ludaifu 右光祿大夫--Hucker 3349) and Overseer in the Department of State Affairs (lushang shushi 錄尚書事--Hucker 3857). For his biography, see Jin shu 75.1975-80. He submitted a memorial which stated, "In the past when the Zhou was in decline, with inferiors ascending and superiors replacing them [below--'a condition of decline and disarray at every level'],...Confucius became apprehensive and composed the Spring and Autumn Annals....at the time Zuo Qiuming and Zixia recorded in lacquer the teachings that they had personally received, and there was nothing they did not examine in detail." (See: Fang Xuanling 房玄齡, et al. comps., Jin shu 晉書, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974, 75.1978)

and Old Script versions [and schools] had a single interpretation and that was all; different specialists and their respective schools had different explanations, but they all claimed that theirs alone was the authentic and original explanation."¹⁶¹ According to this, the Modern Script and Old Script [schools] both transmitted the Classics of the Sage, venerated Confucius' teachings, and it was only their script and explanations that differed and that was all. However, as for the wild interpretations of members of the Old Script School of later times,¹⁶² this was then something that could not be

This is roughly what appears in his biography.

¹⁶¹(3/9, n.30) Zhou Yutong comments: Xun Yue 荀悅 (zi Zhongyu 仲豫; 148-209) was a native of Yingyin 穎隱 who lived during the Later Han. He was a man of quiet and poise, and was an especially good writer. During the reign of Emperor Xian (reg. 190-220), he held successive positions, including that of Director of the Palace Library (mishu jian 祕書監--Hucker 4588) and Palace Attendant (shizhong 侍中-- Hucker 5229). His works include the Shen jian 申鑒 and Han ji 漢記. For his biography, see Hou Han shu 62.2058-63. The Shenjian contains five pian and each pian makes up one juan. The quoted passage appears in juan two, the "Shishi" 時事. (See: Shen jian, Han Wei congshu 漢魏叢書, n.p., n.d., 2.7b) Pi Xirui has changed the quoted passage somewhat. [SVA: Cf. Ch'i-yün Ch'en, Hsün Yüeh and the Mind of Late Han China (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p.145 for a translation of this passage.]

¹⁶²(3/9, n.31) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, hengjue 橫決 is like

followed. The entry for the second year of the reign of Duke Zhao 昭二年 in the Zuoshi (Zuozhuan) states, "Han Xuanzi 韓宣子 came to pay a courtesy call. He saw the Changes 易, [its] Images 象,¹⁶³ and the Spring and Autumn of the state of Lu 魯. He said, 'The rituals of Zhou are all here in Lu. Now I understand the power of the virtue of the Duke of Zhou and the reason that the Zhou House ruled as king.'¹⁶⁴ In the case of the Spring and Autumn of the state of Lu being mentioned together with the Sheng 乘 and the Taowu 橈杙 by Mencius, [it is because] they only contain events and words, but they lack any interpretation or significance. Since it lacks the meaning or significance [of what happened], extensive study is not necessary. However, Du Yu, based on this single piece of evidence alone, concludes that fifty examples which served as precedents [and the underlying the principles of composition] within what has been transmitted all come from the Duke of Zhou, and the kind of [principles of composition which the commentaries

saying hengliu 橫流, which means that when water does not follow its proper course, it overflows its embankments and creates a new channel. It is a metaphor for scholarly explanations straying off course and becoming heterodox and farfetched.

¹⁶³[SVA: Cf. Yang Bojun's comments on 象 as an abbreviation of 魏象 in his Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu 春秋左傳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), p.1226-7.]

identify and note with words] such as shu 書 ("it is written"), bushu 不書 ("it is not written"), xianshu 先書 ("it is written first"), gushu 故書 ("therefore it is written"), buyan 不言 ("not speak of"), bucheng 不稱 ("not referred to as"), and shuyue 書曰 ("what is written [i.e. the Chunqiu] says") were then all new examples [which served as precedents, i.e. the actual manifestations of the principles of composition] created by Confucius.¹⁶⁵ In this way then, the examples [i.e. the principles of composition] contributed by the Duke of

¹⁶⁴[SVA: cf. Legge, p.582-3; Yang Bojun, pp.1226-7.]

¹⁶⁵(3/9, n.32) Zhou Yutong comments: In Du Yu's "Preface" (Xu 序) to the Chunqiu Zuozhuan jijie 春秋左傳集解, he states, "It (referring to the Spring and Autumn Annals) expounds general principles by narrating examples which serve as precedents, and in all cases these serve as standard methods for governing the state, it is the model handed down by the Duke of Zhou, and is an old system used in historical texts. Zhongni 仲尼 followed this system and reworked it, and used it to achieve the overall form of one of the Classics....the phrasing formulae which uses devices such as shu 書, bushu 不書, xianshu 先書, gushu 故書, buyan 不言, bucheng 不稱, and shuyue 書曰, is that which was used to introduce (起 "to begin") new and old [examples and precedents], and expressed profound implication, and these are referred to as the revised examples (bianli 變例). (See: Chunqiu Zuoshi zhengyi, Ssijz, 1.12b-14b) Kong Yingda's Subcommentary quotes from the last chapter in Du Yu's Chunqiu shizhuan 春秋釋傳 which states, "The precedents [and examples] using the term cheng 稱 number fifty, and the

Zhou were many, while the examples [i.e. the principles of composition] contributed by Confucius were few, and thus the Duke of Zhou's achievements were great, while the achievements of Confucius were meager. The [unique contributions] Confucius made in his revisions were snatched away and bestowed upon the ruler of a previous era. The writings of the Minister of State¹⁶⁶ are decorated, while the Sage of a later era was defamed and vilified. Therefore, during the Tang, the Duke of Zhou was considered to be the First Sage, while Confucius was taken to be the First Teacher. Confucius could only be sacrificed to alongside of the Duke of Zhou. He could not face the south and enjoy the grand sacrifice alone. In the "Huoqing" 惑經 and "Shen Zuo" 申左 chapters of Liu Zhiji's 劉知幾 Shitong 史通, he demeans the Spring and Autumn Annals as being sketchy and incomplete, as it is inferior to¹⁶⁷ the detailed nature of the (Zuoshi) Zuozhuan.¹⁶⁸ He criticized the Sage as lacking a method or model, and from

others number forty-nine." (See: Chunqiu Zuoshi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 1.13a)

¹⁶⁶ (3/9, n.33) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Minister of State" (zhongzai 冢宰) refers to the Duke of Zhou. The Duke of Zhou acted as the minister of state for the Zhou ruling house, therefore the reference.

¹⁶⁷[SVA: Reading ru 如 for zhi 知. Both the Zhonghua and Yiwén editions are in error, printing zhi 知 for ru 如. See: Jingxue lishi (Changsha: Sixian shuju, 1908), 20.a.]

¹⁶⁸(3/9, n.34) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (zi Zixuan 子玄;

661-721) was a native of Pengcheng 彭城 who lived during the Tang dynasty. Recommended and promoted as a Metropolitan Graduate with Honors (jinshi di 進士第--Hucker 1149). He held several positions including Secretary in the Phoenix Hall or Secretariat (fengge sheren 鳳閣舍人--Hucker 1998/5136) and concurrently served as State Historiographer (xiu guoshi 修國史--Hucker 2626). During the early Kaiyuan 開元 period, he was appointed to the position of Policy Advisor of the Left (zuo sanqi changshi 左散騎常侍--Hucker 4834) and because of his achievements was enfeoffed as the Viscount of Juchao County 居巢縣子. Later, because of trouble, he was demoted to the position of Administrative Aide (biejia 別駕--Hucker 4623) of Anzhou 安州. His posthumous name was Wen 文. For his biography, see: Tang shu 132.4519-22 and Jiu Tang shu 102.3168-3174. Liu Zhiji was thoroughly versed in history and composed the Shitong in twenty juan. There were ten juan of "Inner Chapters" containing thirty-nine pian. However, three pian are listed only as chapter titles, and contain no content. There are "Outer Chapters" (wai pian 外篇) in ten juan, containing thirteen pian. It discusses well known historical works and writings. For a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.1828-30. The Qing scholar Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (1679-ca.1762) wrote a critical commentary to the text, which is titled Shitong tongshi 史通通釋, and is relatively thorough and detailed. The "Huo jing" 惑經 and "Shen Zuo" 申左 are titles of the fourth and fifth pian of the "Outer Chapters" of the Shi tong. In the "Huo jing" chapter, Liu states that the Chunqiu is incomplete, that there are twelve things that are not explained (未諭者), and that there are five reasons why people of later times gave it undeserved praise. In the

this these kinds of ridiculous theories and explanations began. Kong Yingda's sub-commentary states, "Previous Ruists' theories and explanations of the Spring and Autumn Annals are numerous, all consider Zuo Qiuming to have composed the commentary (zhuan 傳), to have explained the Classic of Confucius, and general precedents or no general precedents, there is no differentiation of examples [i.e. principles of composition] into 'new' and 'old.'"¹⁶⁹ Based on this then, there was no one prior to Du Yu who said that the Duke of Zhou was responsible for creating the examples which served as precedents [i.e. the principle of composition]. Lu Chun 陸淳 stated, "Accordingly, the example it transmits says: in the

"Shen Zuo" chapter, he says that the Zuozhuan has three strengths, but that the Gongyang and Guliang have five shortcomings. His writing is somewhat complex and will not be repeated here. One is best served by consulting the original text. (See: Shitong tongshi, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935, sec. 3, juan 14, p.63-88)

¹⁶⁹(3/9, n.35) Zhou Yutong comments: For this passage, see: Kong Yingda's Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi (Ssjzs, 1.12b), located under the following line in Du Yu's "Preface" to his jijie 集解, which begins, "He set forth general principles (precedents) by speaking about specific examples." (其發凡以言例) However, where Pi Xirui writes "皆以," the original reads "皆云," and above the two characters "作傳" the original has the characters "以意." Pi Xirui has made a slight error of omission in his quotation. [While the text is not clear, "He" is probably referring to the Duke of Zhou.]

case of a ruler being murdered, when he is referred to by his name, it is because he was lacking the Way¹⁷⁰...In this way then was it really the case that the Duke of Zhou first established the principle of [the significance of the wording used to name] a murdered ruler [thus suggesting the underlying circumstances]?"¹⁷¹ Refuting its criticism is extremely clear, and there is no need to await clarification of Du Yu's erroneous explanations. In the case of the Images of the Changes, Fu Xi first drew the trigrams, King Wen then combined the trigrams so as to form the hexagrams, and

¹⁷⁰[SVA: Zuozhuan 184/宣4/4; Legge 296, par. 3]

¹⁷¹(3/9, n.36) Zhou Yutong comments: Lu Chun 陸淳 (zi Bochong 伯冲; ob. ca. 805) was a native of Wu Commandery 吳郡 who lived during the Tang dynasty. Later, because of the taboo on his personal name, he changed it to Zhi 質. For his biography, see the Tang shu 168.5127-8 and the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Jiu Tang shu 189B.4977-8. He served Dan Zhu 啖助 as his teacher and was friends with Zhao Kuang 趙匡 whose Chunqiu scholarship he transmitted. His writings include the Chunqiu jizhuan zuanli 春秋集傳纂例 in ten juan, the Chunqiu weizhi 春秋微旨 in three juan, and the Chunqiu jizhuan bianyi 春秋集傳辨疑 in ten juan, which began the trend during the Tang of scholars raising doubts about the commentaries, and discussing the Classic texts proper. For the quoted passage, see section five, "Zhaoshi sunyi yi diwu" 趙氏損益義第五 in juan one of his Chunqiu jizhuan zuanli. [SVA: I was not able to locate the quoted passage in this section of the Chunqiu jizhuan zuanli. Cf. Du Yu's notes--see: Yang Bojun,

Confucius appended the words (ci 辭), and therefore they are called "the Three Sages [the hands of which] the Changes passed through." However, Zheng Zhong 鄭眾, Jia Kui 賈逵, Ma Rong 馬融, and others all thought that the Duke of Zhou composed the line texts (yaoci 爻辭), and others for their part base themselves on the theories of Han Xuanzi,¹⁷² which does not

Chunqiu Zuoshi zhu, p.678; Ccyd 宣4/4].]

¹⁷²(3/9, n.37) Zhou Yutong comments: Zheng Zhong 鄭眾 (zi Zhongshi 仲師) was a native of Kaifeng 開封 who lived during the Later Han dynasty. He held various official positions, including that of Chamberlain for the National Treasury (da sinong 大司農--Hucker 6042), and as a result he was referred to as Zheng Sinong in order to differentiate him from the eunuch Zheng Zhong. For his biography, see Hou Han shu 36.1224-26. Zheng Zhong passed on his father's (Zheng Xing 鄭興) learning regarding the Zuoshi chungqiu 左氏春秋, and in addition was thoroughly versed in the Changes, and Songs, and was a famous scholar of the Old Script school during the early part of the Eastern Han. On Jia Kui, see: 3/7, n.8. On Ma Rong, see: 1/3, n.16. Kong Yingda's sub-commentary to the second year of Duke Zhao (昭二) in the Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi states, "In the past, some of the great scholars such as Zheng Zhong and Jia Kui thought that the Judgment Texts (彖辭) under the hexagrams were composed by King Wen, and that the Image Texts (象辭) below the lines were composed by the Duke of Zhou." (See: Ssjzs, 42.2b) In addition, under the section heading "論卦辭爻辭誰作" ("A Discussion on Who Composed the Hexagram Texts and Line Texts") in Kong Yingda's "Preface" to the Zhouyi zhengyi 周易正義 he states, "There is

accord with the "Three Sages who created the Changes" theory. Liu Xin considered the Rites of Zhou (Zhouguan 周官) to be the legacy of the great peace achieved by the Duke of Zhou.¹⁷³ Consequently the Rites of Zhou (Zhouli 周禮), as one single text, became the highly venerated grand progenitor of the Old Script school, and [accorded an authority] equal to the Modern Script [texts]. As a result, the Duke of Zhou for his part became the equal of Confucius, and furthermore he even went on to surpass Confucius and was placed above him. The Grand Historian [Sima Qian] states, "Those who discourse on the Six Arts look to [the judgments of] Confucius to reconcile their differences."¹⁷⁴ Xu Fang 徐防 stated, "The [final form of the]

the view that the Hexagram Texts were composed by King Wen and the Line Texts were composed by the Duke of Zhou. Ma Rong and Lu Ji 陸績 were both in agreement with this view." (See: Ssjzs, "Xu" 10a-b)

¹⁷³(3/9, n.38) Zhou Yutong comments: Under the section heading "序周禮廢興" ("A Preface Discussing on the Demise and Revival of the Zhouli") in Jia Gongyan's "Preface" to the Zhouli zhengyi 周禮正義 he states, "Liu Xin alone recognized,...then knew that the [Zhouli] contained the legacy of the great peace achieved by the Duke of Zhou, and that the legacy is completely contained within." (Ssjzs, "Xu," 10.b)

¹⁷⁴(3/9, n.39) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Hereditary House of Confucius" chapter of the Shi ji states, "Those in the central states who discourse on the Six Arts look to [the judgments of] Confucius to reconcile their differences." (See: Shi ji 47.1947)

Songs, Documents, Rites, and Changes was determined by Confucius."¹⁷⁵

The Six Classics were all edited by Confucius' own hand and no one ascribed them to the Duke of Zhou. The Spring and Autumn Annals in particular was created by Confucius' writing brush alone, and from Mencius to the Ruists of both the Former and the Later Han there were no dissenting opinions. Mencius considered Confucius' composition of the Spring and Autumn Annals to be the equal of Yu's bringing the flood waters under control, or the Duke of Zhou's subjugation of the Yi 夷 and the Di 狄 tribes and his driving away of the vicious beasts. In addition, Mencius quotes Confucius [where he says,] "I have appropriated the didactic principles therein."¹⁷⁶ He followed in the wake of Shun, Yu, Tang, King Wen, King Wu, and the Duke of Zhou,¹⁷⁷ and it is sufficient to see that his achievement continues in the tradition of the sages, and that it all lies in one single work, the Spring and Autumn Annals. Those who venerate Confucius must follow the earliest [explanations] of the ancient meaning of the Former Han and

¹⁷⁵(3/9, n.40) Zhou Yutong comments: On Xu Fang, see: 2/1, n.20. The quoted passage is from a memorial Xu Fang submitted. For the text of the original, see Xu Fang's biography in the Hou Han shu 44.1500-02 (quoted line on 44.1500).

¹⁷⁶[SVA: See: Mengzi yinde 31/4B/21; Lau, trans. Mencius, pp.131-2.]

¹⁷⁷(3/9, n.41) Zhou Yutong comments: On Mencius' veneration of the Spring and Autumn Annals, see: 1/1, n.8 and 1/8, n.7.

not be confused by the divergent theories and the explanations that later arose. Rather than putting one's faith in Du Yu's remarks and lowering Confucius to the level where he is sacrificed to alongside of the Duke of Zhou, it is better to place one's stock in the words of Mencius and respect Confucius' achievement as a continuation of the heritage of Yu the Great and the Duke of Zhou.