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Stuart V. Aque

Pi Xirui and Jingxue lishi

Stuart V. Aque

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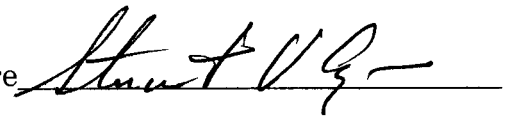
Signature 

Date June 2, 2004

University of Washington

Abstract

Pi Xirui and Jingxue lishi

Stuart V. Aque

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
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Jingxue lishi 經學歷史 (The History of Classical Scholarship) is a textbook that was written by a schoolteacher for the purpose of helping his students learn the subject that he taught. Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞 (1850-1908) was more than a schoolteacher. He was a son and a grandson, a father and a grandfather, a husband, a mentor, a friend, a patriot, a strong believer in reform and an activist, an accomplished poet, and a scholar of the Chinese Classics. And Jingxue lishi is more than a textbook--it is a rich repository that contains much valuable information about a very important part of Chinese culture and civilization, as well as insights into a traditional way of life. This dissertation contains a partial translation of Jingxue lishi along with Zhou Yutong's annotations to the text, as well as a partial translation of Pi Xirui's chronological biography. The purpose is to provide the reader with a vehicle for acquiring facility with the language and familiarity with the source materials, as well as gaining a greater understanding and appreciation of what it was like to be a traditional Confucian scholar at the end of the imperial era.

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At the University of Washington, Prof. Wang Ching-hsien, Prof. Jerry Norman, Prof. Anne Yue, and Prof. Fred Brandauer all taught me in a way that was extremely interesting, rewarding, and enjoyable. Tom Ridgeway shared his knowledge of and expertise in computer matters. In the early years of working through Jingxue lishi, Chris DeLucia was a

solid teammate, and Laura Hess was generous in sharing her materials with me. My old friend and classmate, Su Jui-lung, was always ready, willing and able to answer any question and help solve any problem, as was Ms. Stella Chen Norman, whose door was always open. (They made it seem so easy.)

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DEDICATION

For my father, Victor S. Aque (June 11, 1919-August 5, 1997)

My mother, Virginia F. Aque (September 11, 1916-June 25, 1999)

My son, Victor Aque (March 27, 1984-)

My daughter, Anne Marie Aque (April 5, 1986-)

And for MJH (July 3, 1893-November 2, 1966) who, although I never met him personally, taught me how to do things.

Introduction

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

Arthur F. Wright

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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the ECT entries.

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

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

[4]Analects 16/13.

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

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[5]Analects, 7/17.

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

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

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

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[7]Hucker 4746.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[9]Lunyu 16/13: "不學詩無以言."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Chunqiu 春秋 or Spring and Autumn Annals is primarily a

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

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

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

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

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

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

Xin 劉歆 (ob. A.D. 23) during the Wang Mang 王莽 (43 B.C.-A.D. 23) era. Some scholars have tried to make a case for Liu Xin forging the Zuozhuan, but Bernhard Karlgren has given evidence that the text is not a forgery and was probably written between the years 468 and 300 B.C.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Chinese Literature (Rpt. Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1984), p.312.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

contains passages from the Zuozhuan and Guoyu 國語, texts that supposedly were not in existence at the time of Confucius, concluded that the material in the Xiao jing came from two separate periods. The first, that of Confucius and Zengzi, and the second, the post Zuozhuan and Guoyu period, as Zhu Xi determined that the shared lines originated in the these two texts, and not in the Xiao jing. Both the Han shu and Sui shu[18] state that the Xiao jing existed at the beginning of the Han. Furthermore, the Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋, which was compiled circa 239 B.C. contains two sizable quotes from the Xiao jing, and thus the Xiao jing must have existed at this time.

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

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

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

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

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[19]See: Han shu, 30.1718-19.

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

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

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

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

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

[21]See: Han shu, 30.1718.

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

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

A Biographical Sketch of Pi Xirui[22]

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

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

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

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

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

[23]Cf. Hucker 3728.

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

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

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

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

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[24]bagong 拔貢--Hucker 4372

work. Two years later, he was tested and selected by the Secretaries in the Grand Secretariat.[25] He was also anonymously presented to the emperor, and he remained in the capital and prepared for the Examination by Grace[26] to be given the following year. However, later that year his father died at his residence in Changsha, and he returned to Hunan.

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

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[25]neige zhongshu 內閣中書--Hucker 4194

[26]enke 恩科 or enshi 恩試--Hucker 1820

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

partial translation of his nianpu.

History, Background, Context

The history of the Qing dynasty is of course the history of hundreds upon hundreds of millions of people. The volume, density, and complexity of the information contained in this history--"history" in the sense of the totality of what really happened and why--even if it were available would be beyond the capacity of any single individual to comprehend. Thus what follows is "history" in another sense--a selective recreation of the past in written form--in this case a sketch of basic facts about major episodes and events drawn from secondary sources which hopefully will provide a little historical background and allow the reader to place Pi Xirui and Jingxue lishi within a historical context.

While the history of the Qing dynasty proper begins in 1644, history is continuous. The Jurchen (who would later call themselves Manchus), a northeastern tribal people, had fought together with the Chinese against the Japanese in the 1590s when the Japanese invaded Korea. However in 1609, after a decade of increasing military strength, their position towards the Chinese changed, becoming one of antagonism. Nurhaci[1] 努爾哈赤 (1559-1626), a leader who had united the Jurchen tribes, proclaimed himself to be their chieftain or Khan in 1616 and also proclaimed the

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[1]See: ECCP, p.594-9, for his biography.

founding of a new dynasty, the Jin 金 (also Hou Jin 後金 or Later Jin), signifying that it was a continuation of the earlier Jurchen dynasty which ruled from 1115-1234. In 1618, Nurhaci led an army of 10,000 with the intent of invading China. He seized control of Fushun 撫順 along with other cities in his advance to the Chinese border. His army was victorious over Chinese troops in several head to head battles, with many prisoners taken. In 1619, Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (reg.1573- 1620) sent the general Yang Hao 楊鎬 (ob. 1629) and a large force to engage Nurhaci and his army, but Yang's forces were decisively defeated. In May 1621, Nurhaci captured Shenyang 瀋陽 and Liaoyang 遼陽, and in 1625, changed the name of the former to Mukden and established it as the capital. In early 1626 he attacked Ningyuan 寧原, but this time was defeated by forces under the Chinese general Yuan Chonghuan[2] 袁崇煥 (1584-1630). He was wounded in the fighting, although not seriously. However, he died on September 30 of the same year.

There is no documented evidence that Nurhaci named a specific successor. It has been suggested that he hoped that a group of eight princes, each in charge of one of the primary military units or "banners," would equally share power, while naming one of their own to serve as Khan.

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[2]See: ECCP, p.954-5, for his biography.

Nurhaci's second son, Daisan 代善 (1583-1648), and two of Daisan's sons decided to name Abahai[3] 阿巴亥 (1592-1642; officially known as Huang taiji 皇太極), who was Nurhaci's eighth son, to the position of Kahn. It does not appear that Abahai ever intended to equally share power, and by the early 1630s he had gradually consolidated personal control of power and authority, his successes in the realm of government owing to his outstanding ability as a leader of the military. In 1635, Abahai forbid the use of the names Jurchen and Jianzhou 建州 and issued a decree that the name Manchu (Manzhou 滿洲) should be used instead. On May 14, 1636, he changed the name of the dynasty to Qing 清, and proclaimed himself emperor.[4] Over the next several years, the Manchus under his leadership gained control of the entire Amur region, subjugated Korea, and carried out successive invasions of northern China. To a certain degree, successes during his reign were owing to the Chinese who surrendered to him, and who later came to surround the leader and serve the government in the capacity of advisors and administrators. It has been said that the Manchu leadership organized their state on the structure of the Chinese model.[5]

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[3]See: ECCP, p.1-3, for his biography.

[4]See: ECCP, p.2.

[5]See: Cambridge History of China (CHC), V.7, p.558.

In September 1643, Abaḥai died and was succeeded by Fulin[6] 福臨 (1638-1661), who was his ninth son. As he was only six sui at the time, Jirgalang[7] 濟爾哈郎 (1599-1655) and Dorgon[8] 多爾袞 (1612-1650) served as regents. Later, Jirgalang was lowered in rank and eventually discharged as regent while Dorgon was elevated to the position of Imperial Father Regent (皇父攝政王), which reflected the power he commanded.

From the 1590s through the 1640s events occurred in China which set the stage for the Manchu takeover. To paraphrase William Atwell's astute comments, to have the simplistic view that the last years of Ming were just another version of the final phase of another Chinese dynastic cycle would be to ignore the important, unique, and specific features of this period of Chinese history.[9]Nevertheless, this was a period that can accurately be described in general terms as one of deterioration.

While the Wanli 萬曆 emperor (reg. 1573-1620) was a minor, the country was effectively governed by Zhang Juzheng[10] 張居正 (1525-1582), but when he died in 1582 control was regained by the eunuchs. Although

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[6]See: ECCP, p.255-9, for his biography.

[7]See: ECCP, p.397-8, for his biography.

[8]See: ECCP, p.215-9, for his biography.

[9]See: CHC, V.7, p.585.

[10]See: Dictionary of Ming Biography, V.1, p.53-61.

Zhang had been able to keep the emperor's spending habits under control, no one stepped in to fill this role and the state's finances quickly fell into decline. In addition to the court's undisciplined expenditures, military actions such as the war in Korea took their toll on the empire's financial reserves. The support paid in the form of allowances to family members was excessive, and the taxes levied on commerce and the peasants were extremely burdensome.

Political problems existed as well. Jacques Gernet summarizes the years 1615-1627 as "marked by the serious conflict between a group of upright civil servants and loyalist intellectuals on the one hand and the insolent power of the eunuchs on the other, a power based on their familiarity with the emperor, on complicities gained inside and outside the palace, and on the passivity of an administration rendered docile by corruption and fear."[11]The nexus around which the officials and intellectuals centered themselves were Confucian moral and political ideals. In addition, they were associated with the Donglin Academy 東林書院 in Wuxi 無錫, Jiangsu, which originally had been established in the twelfth century.[12] It was reestablished in 1604 and after its revival,

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[11]See: Jacques Gernet, A History of Chinese Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.432.

[12]On the Donglin 東林, see: Heinrich Busch, "The Tung-lin Academy and Its

although there was the hope of its partisans regaining power at the court, it also became a place for local study and lecture groups to meet.[13] While members of the Donglin Academy were part of the "movement," anyone with shared ideals could be considered affiliated. In essence, the officials and other intellectuals aligned with the Donglin stood in opposition to the corrupt practices at the court and many paid dearly for it.

During this period, the person history has deemed most responsible for problems at the court is the eunuch Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (1568-1627).[14] The center of corruption and abuse, he used whatever means were at his disposal to nullify those who opposed him. It was only after the death of the Tianqi 天啓 emperor (reg. 1621-1627) in September of 1627 and the subsequent installation of his successor, the Chongzhen 崇禎 emperor (reg. 1628-1643) in early October, that Wei Zhongxian's world began to unravel. Numerous memorials were submitted criticizing Wei and his supporters. He was ordered to assume a minor post in Bei Zhili 北直隸. Once there, he learned that he was going to be arrested and interrogated about various crimes named in the memorials and as a result, committed suicide in early

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Political and Philosophical Significance," MS, 16.1, p.1-163.

[13]Pi Xirui mentions the Donglin group or "party" in his first Nan xuehui lecture.

[14]See: ECCP, p.846-7, for his biography.

December. Members of Wei's group were purged from the government and members of the Donglin group were appointed to important positions. Yet the hope for a government without factional conflicts was not to be realized, as while one set of problems disappeared, another set, albeit not as severe, arose to take their place.

Economic hardships and resulting discontent led to rebellion in the northwest during the years 1628-31. There was rebellion in the northeast as well, with Ming military leaders Kong Youde[15] 孔有德 (ob. 1652) and Geng Zhongming[16]耿仲明 (ob. 1649) eventually defecting to the Manchus. During the years 1632-36 there was drought, famine, and rebellion in northern and central China.[17] Overall, Ming forces were able to defeat the rebels or contain their activities, but they were not able to completely suppress or defeat them. 1634 through 1638 was a period of economic stagnation and social instability in the southeast.[18] The gulf between the wealthy and those lacking adequate resources was exacerbated by tax increases which were driven in part by rising military expenditures. Corruption on the local level added to the tension. In the capital the situation was unstable, with some

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[15]See: ECCP, p.435-6, for his biography.

[16]See: ECCP, p.416-7, for his biography.

[17]See: CHC, Vol.7, p.621-3.

[18]See: CHC, V.7, p.623-7.

important positions having a very high turnover rate. While rebel groups were active, the Ming forces made progress against them and were at the point of finally gaining the upper hand when the Manchus attacked in the northeast. This required government forces to be redeployed and as a result, their gains against the rebels were erased.

External factors contributed to the problems at home. In 1639, the Japanese authorities stopped merchants from Macao from trading at Nagasaki. Problems in the Philippines caused trade to virtually cease between the Chinese and the Spanish. These two factors greatly reduced the amount of silver entering China. This led to deflation and hoarding, and the situation was made even worse by tax increases.[19] On top of this, natural occurrences such as floods, droughts, and insect infestations took their toll on food production. The famines that resulted from this were often followed by outbreaks of epidemic diseases. All of these calamities contributed to the deterioration of society as a whole. Given the interdependent nature of the social structure, no one was really immune to or protected from the consequences. In the early 1640s famine and unrest had led to the almost complete breakdown of the social order in some regions of China.

1641-1644 were the years during which the political and military

collapse of the Ming dynasty took place. Rebel groups under the leadership of Zhang Xianzhong 張獻忠 (1605- 1647) and Li Zicheng 李自成 (ca. 1605-1645) were successful in capturing sections of the country. In 1643, Li Zicheng was ready to move on the capital. During this period the Manchu forces were again attacking in the northeast, and drawing Ming forces away from a defense against Li. In Xi'an, Li proclaimed the establishment of a new dynasty, the Shun 順. Eleven weeks later, on April 25, 1644, with Li's troops outside the city, the Chongzhen emperor committed suicide. Li's forces entered the city and what began as an orderly takeover turned into breakdown of civility, with torture, looting, and terror being carried out against the population by their "liberators." On May 18, Li left the capital to lead military actions, but returned two weeks later after being defeated by forces under the control of Wu Sangui[20] 吳三桂 (1612-1678) and Dorgon (1612-1650). On June 5, 1644, Dorgon's army entered the capital and he took over the Forbidden City. On October 19, Fulin entered the palace and eleven days later he was proclaimed emperor of China.[21]He would reign for eighteen years during the Shunzhi 順治 (1644-1661) reign period. Manchu forces would continue to pursue and do battle with the Ming forces during

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[19]See: CHC, V.7, p.631-2.

[20]See: ECCP, p.877-880, for his biography.

the early years of the new dynasty. It took almost forty years for the new rulers gain complete control of China.

Later, the primary cause for fall of the Ming to the Manchus would be given by some as following the abstract philosophy of Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism, as opposed to adopting and following a way of thinking that was focused on examining and solving practical problems, based on the evaluation of substantive evidence and the review of hard facts and applying this in the day-to-day world of hands on, practical statecraft. In hindsight, ideal circumstances could have been envisioned and the case certainly could have been made for this explanation, but in reality, whether or not a different general philosophic orientation on the part of those who held to Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism would have prevented the problems that led to the fall of the Ming is highly questionable.

After the fall of the Ming, many educated Chinese refused to serve the new regime. However, the empire could not be effectively governed from the back of a horse. Thus, while the bureaucracy and institutions of the former dynasty were maintained unchanged, it was also necessary to gain the trust and confidence of the educated Chinese whose expertise was

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[21]See: ECCP, p.216.

needed to staff the government and effectively run the country. The civil service exams resumed in 1646 to recruit new talent for government positions, a government which the Manchus now controlled. As time went on, the new dynasty took steps to gain the support of the literati. Salaries were raised, but there was also the concrete support of literature, scholarship, and other aspects of Chinese culture.

During the reign of the Kangxi 康熙 emperor (Xuanye 玄曄; Emperor Shengzu 聖祖; reg. 1662-1722),[22] an emperor characterized by his love of learning, projects such as the writing and compilation of works such as the Ming shi 明史, the Kangxi zidian 康熙字典, the Peiwen yunfu 佩文韻府, the Yuanjian leihan 淵鑑類函, and the Quan Tang shi 全唐詩 provided employment for many scholars.

The Kangxi emperor was succeeded by the Yongzheng 雍正 emperor (Yinzhen 胤禛; Emperor Shizong 世宗; reg. 1723- 1735).[23] He is characterized as a person of ability, as well as cautious and attentive to the affairs of state. Under his rule national finances were reformed, there was an attempt to enforce laws, and the actions and behavior of officials were closely monitored. He also consolidated power in the hands of the emperor

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[22]See: ECCP, p.327-331, for his biography.

[23]See: ECCP, p.915-920, for his biography.

by making the princes who still were in control of banners (the major Manchu military unit) subservient to him. In addition, his trusted friends were appointed to important positions, those who posed a potential threat were closely watched, and opponents were eliminated. His reign has been said to be cruel and unjust by some, but the overall assessment of his time on the throne is generally positive.[24] The Yongzheng emperor was a follower of Chan Buddhism and also had an interest in Taoism. He published works on Buddhism which included his own opinions, and also began reprinting the sutras.

The Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (Hongli 弘歷; Emperor Gaozong 高宗; reg. 1736-1796)[25] was the fourth emperor of the Qing dynasty. Fang Chao-ying in his biographical entry in ECCP divides the reign of the Qianlong emperor into three periods. This division is based on the emperor's choice on ministers. During the first period he was assisted primarily by Eertai[26] (O-er-t'ai) 鄂爾泰 (1680-1745) and Zhang Tingyu[27] 張廷玉 (1672-1755). This period is described as one of "peace and prosperity." The next period begins with the retirement of Zhang Tingyu in 1745 and covers a thirty year

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[24]ECCP, p.917.

[25]See: ECCP, p.369-373, for his biography.

[26]See: ECCP, p.601-603, for his biography.

[27]See: ECCP, p.54-56, for his biography.

period. During this time his brother-in-law Fuheng[28] 傅恆 (ob.1770) and Yu Minzhong[29] 于敏中 (1714-1780) served as the emperor's close advisors. It appears that neither of these men strongly disagreed with the emperor which led to a habit of free spending that was to soon extend far beyond the court.

Around 1775, a young imperial bodyguard caught the Qianlong emperor's attention. He would gain the emperor's complete confidence and remain one of his closest advisors until the emperor's death in 1799. This person was the notorious Heshen[30] 和珅 (1750-1799). Over the next few years Heshen rose through various positions, establishing himself as an extremely powerful person. He was able to place many of his cronies in powerful positions which created a network of corruption and allowed them to enrich themselves through underhanded means. It has been said that his ascension to power marks the beginning of the decline of the Qing dynasty.

During the reign of the Qianlong emperor, the court sponsored the Siku quanshu project, which gave employment to several hundred scholars throughout the length of the project. It was begun in 1772, with the first complete set of texts finished in 1882. While this huge collection of texts was

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[28]See: ECCP, p.252-253, for his biography.

[29]See: ECCP, p.942-944, for his biography.

[30]See: ECCP, p.288-290, for his biography.

gathered together, reviewed, collated, and recopied to preserve China's ancient writings, it also served to censor and eradicate any writings that were either directly or indirectly critical of the Manchus and their regime.[31]

From the first year of the reign of the Kangxi emperor (1662), to the last year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1794), one hundred and thirty-three years passed and much happened during that time. With respect to the interior of China, this was a time generally described as one of relative peace, stability, and development, but one that was under a very harsh and controlling regime. It was also a time of conflicts and expansion in the outlying areas and border regions. In 1673, the Kangxi emperor decided that the feudatories in south China should be abolished. When the decision was made to have the garrisons withdrawn, they rebelled. The rebellion was countered by military force and fighting went on until 1681, when the Qing forces were victorious. Two years later, the Qing took control of Taiwan, which had been under the control of the Zheng family. The Russians had taken control of Siberia and were making incursions into the Heilongjiang 黑籠江 (Amur River) valley. In 1685, the emperor sent his army to remove them. In 1689, a peace treaty was concluded between Russia and China, the result being friendly diplomatic relations between

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[31]For more on the Siku quanshu project, see: R. Kent Guy, The Emperor's

the two countries as well as the growth and development of trade. In 1690, the Qing army defeated the Eleuthes[32] who were led by Galdan 噶爾丹 (1644 [1632?]-1697)[33] at Ulan-butung, after the Eleuthes had invaded the territory of the Khalkas, a Mongol people. In 1696, the Kangxi emperor led a military expedition against the Eleuthes and Galdan after they had again invaded the Khalkas, and defeated them at Ningxia 寧夏. The following year the emperor led another expedition against the Eleuthes, which resulted in a their defeat and the death of Galdan. Conditions in the north and northwest border regions were relatively stable until 1715 when fighting again erupted with the Eleuthes. It was to continue until almost forty years later when the Ili River valley (Yilihe) 伊犁河 came under control of Qing forces. In 1717, the Eleuthes invaded Tibet, murdered Latsan Khan and put the Lama in prison. In 1720, the Qing formed two armies to drive out the invaders and gain control of Tibet. One was led by Yenxin[34] 延信 and the other by Garbi 噶爾弼. They were successful in securing Tibet for the

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Four Treasuries (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

[32]The Eleuthes are also referred to as the Olot, or the Oelots, and sometimes the Kalmuks, or the Choros. See: ECCP, p.265; and Rene Grousset; Naomi Walford, trans., Empire of the Steppes (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994), p.520-1.

[33]See: ECCP, p.265-8, for his biography.

Qing.

During the reign of the Yongzheng emperor military actions against non-Chinese peoples continued. During 1723-4, uprisings of the Khoshotes in the Kokonor area were put down and the area brought under Qing control. In Yunnan, the people known collectively as the Miao were ruled by chieftains in the capacity of hereditary administrators. However, this was problematic for the Qing. The governor of Yunnan, Eertai (O-er-t'ai), addressed this problem by doing away with the hereditary chieftainships and bringing the tribes under the control of the provincial government. Rebellions occurred from 1727-31, but were quickly suppressed. Eertai left his position in 1731, and in 1735 the Miao tribes again rebelled, virtually cancelling out the results of his previous efforts. In 1731, Qing forces led by Furdan were drawn into a trap by the Eleuthes near Hoton Nor and suffered a devastating defeat. However, a force led by Xibao 錫保 (ob. 1742) engaged and defeated the Eleuthes which served to quell their aggressive activities.

The reign of the Qianlong emperor was marked by many military campaigns and victories. From 1755 through 1757, Qing forces defeated the Sungars (Dzungars) during two campaigns and gained control of the Ili

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[34]See: ECCP, p.907-8 for his biography.

(Yili) valley. In 1758-1759 Qing armies conquered the Islamic peoples of the Tarim basin area (Turkestan). In 1747-1749 and again in 1771-1776, the rebels in Jinchuan 金川, an area northwest of Sichuan whose local inhabitants had a Tibetan-like culture, were defeated. During the years 1787-1788, armies were sent to Taiwan to crush a rebellion by the indigenous aboriginal people. In the years 1766-1770, problems along the border between Yunnan and Burma resulted in Chinese forces being sent to fight in the Irrawaddy valley which resulted in the Burmese recognizing the authority of China. In 1789, after defeating Chinese forces under Sun Shiyi[35] 孫士毅 (1720- 1796), the Annamese government asked to be pardoned and recognized as a tribute state. In a landmark military campaign, Chinese forces led by Fu Kangan[36] 福康安 (ob.1796) marched to Tibet to do battle with the Gurkas who had been able to plunder the lamaseries with almost no opposition. After winning a string of victories, they drove the Gurkas back through the Himalayan passes, where the Gurkas negotiated a peace which resulted in their sending tribute to Beijing. The military victory also served to shore up the Qing's control over Tibet.

Thus, in general terms of political and military history, this was a

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[35]See: ECCP, p.680-2 for his biography.

period when the Manchus (who were previously the Jurchen tribespeople and who now ruled China) expanded the territory under their control and used military means to thwart any challenges to their rule. In social and economic terms, the undisciplined excesses of the last part of the eighteenth century started a pattern, that along with other factors, would lead to the undoing of the peace and stability of the reigns of the century's emperors.

The peasant uprisings that occurred in the northwest and in Henan in 1795 were indications that sufficient concern had not been given to the details of administration and its effects on the lives of the population. An increase of the tax burdens on the person engaged in agriculture could only increase the poverty and sense of unfairness that serve to unify and push people to the point where rebellion is seen as the only way to improve a severely degraded existence. Groups that had remained dormant (such as the White Lotus Society 白蓮教), were to have new causes, and these new causes led to the formation of other groups such as the Triads. In addition, when economic growth and productivity failed to keep up with the increase in population, the resulting effects on the distribution of resources such as land, pushed many into straightened circumstances. Another factor that had an adverse effect on the economy was the decline in the supply of silver.

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[36]See: ECCP, p.253-5 for his biography.

The payments for opium were made in silver and this placed a continuous drain on China's silver supply which led to its increasing in value in relation to anything that it was a medium of exchange for. In the case of land taxes which were paid by farmers in copper cash or grain, the increase in the price of silver had the effect of doubling the tax rate which led many landowners into financial ruin.[37] While some local officials were able to work the system to lessen the burden on the taxpayer, the problem was not addressed by the central government until the 1860s. Deflation and the resulting decline in one's material well-being provided the basis for tax rebellions. The first revolt, that of the White Lotus Society, began in 1795 and was not completely suppressed until 1803. Problems again erupted in 1811 and would continue to arise in one form or another throughout the first half of the 1800s. While these insurrections would be put down by the government, the underlying causes were never resolved.

In terms of major historical events, the mid-nineteenth century was marked by the opium war and the Taiping rebellion. Opium had been used in China for medicinal purposes since the Tang dynasty. In the 1620s, it was imported by the Portuguese into Taiwan where it was mixed with tobacco and smoked. As an addictive drug, its use spread to the eastern coastal areas of China. It was officially banned by the government in 1729,

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[37]See: CHC, Vol.10, p.130.

the prohibition against it covering the whole of China two years later. However, it continued to be used and smuggled into the country.

After the British occupied India, the East India Company (EIC) secured a monopoly on the Opium trade in 1773. In 1796, due to the Chinese anger over the opium problem, the EIC decided to limit the risk to their tea monopoly and sell opium in Calcutta to private English merchants who would in turn sell it to the Chinese. It entered China through Macao from 1800 to 1818 at the annual rate of about 650,000 pounds annually. In 1819 however, the opium trade took off. Lower prices led to increased use which led to higher demand. In 1820, Ruan Yuan in his official capacity as the governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi, took measures to curb the opium trade. Chinese involved with the illegal activities were arrested and interrogation revealed the system, methods, and corruption inherent in the trade. With trade at Macao shut down, the trade shifted its base of operations to Lingding Island 零丁, where opium was off-loaded onto smaller and faster well-armed boats that carried it into the Canton waterway system. Annual imports reached a little over two and one-half million pounds per year during 1822-30. However, the abundant supply meant that there were still opportunities for profit, so in 1832 one of England's major traders, Jardine, sent his ships north to sell opium along the coasts of Fujian and Zhejiang. Opium flowed into China, and the silver

needed to pay for it flowed out. Prior to opium, the balance of payments favored China simply because the British could not sell the Chinese enough of anything to offset their consumption of tea, porcelain, silks and other goods. Chinese addiction to a foreign import changed all that.

In 1833, the monopoly of the EIC was abolished by British lawmakers and free trade was now the rule, at least on the English side. During the next several years, specific events would unfold that would contribute to eventual conflict. Suffice it to say that the motive of more money to be made drove the British desire for an open Chinese market.

The Chinese recognized the seriousness of the problems that opium caused. Not only were there the so-called "moral" consequences suffered by the individual addict, and the consequent breakdown of social relationships and the social order, but there were also the problems of organized criminal networks, corruption among officials, and the above mentioned economic impact of the drain on silver reserves and its effects on the overall economic and social system. But how to best effectively deal with the problem? One group favored legalization under government control. They felt that prohibition did not work and only led to corruption and crime. A government monopoly would also bring in revenue. However, if addiction were a moral problem in itself, legalization would not eliminate it. Those who argued for strict and vigorous enforcement of existing laws did so on

moral grounds. Opium was causing moral decay, laws were on the books banning its import and use, so the resolute course of action was to enforce the laws. The emperor agreed with the latter argument and ordered his officials in Canton to crack down on Chinese smugglers and dealers.

The move was very successful, with trading almost completely halted and around 2,000 dealers arrested and their smoking dens shut down. The British had a surplus of opium in stock, which drove the price down. They felt that they were, for the most part, immune to prosecution and that the Chinese would in the end see the advantages of legalization. The emperor, for his part, was anxious for a complete and final resolution to the problem. The suggestion was made that users be subject to the penalty of death, but this proposal was countered as containing too much uncertainty and potential for abuse. Nevertheless, even with the arrest of smugglers and dealers, opium still found its way into China.

The solution to the problem was offered by Lin Zexu 林則徐 (1785-1850).[38] He recognized that the problem of the user had to be effectively addressed (by state sponsored rehabilitation) and that the supply had to be cut off (by also applying the laws banning opium to foreign traders and smugglers and strictly enforcing it). The emperor put Lin in charge of

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[38]See: ECCP, p.551-514, for his biography.

dealing with the opium problem and sent him to Canton with broad, but unspecific, authority. The hope and expectation being that in the end the soundness of moral reason would put an end to the opium problem.

Working through the merchants of the trading house, Lin had them inform the foreigners that they must turn over any opium and sign bonds guaranteeing that there would be no further importation of the drug. About 150,000 pounds were surrendered, a fraction of the total available were turned over. He then ordered the arrest of the British merchant, Lancelot Dent, whom he considered to be the major supplier. Two Chinese merchants were held and were to be executed if Dent refused to turn himself in. Lin also put a stop to trade, removed the Chinese workers from the British factory, and confined roughly 350 British there for six weeks. The full amount (about three million pounds) of opium was eventually turned over to Lin, which he had destroyed. (The owner's loss was minimal as it was in effect insured by the British government). Once the British who had been detained were released, they along with Captain Charles Elliot of the British Navy and the rest of the British community went to Macao at the end of May, 1839.

But there were other problems as well. When a Chinese was killed as the result of a fight with several British seaman in July of 1839, Lin Zexu demanded that the sailors be turned over to the Chinese for trial. However,

Captain Elliot refused and tried them himself. Angered by this, Lin then had the Portuguese who controlled Macao force the British to leave, and the British subsequently relocated to Hong Kong. The British authority, Charles Elliot, refused to agree with the principal of signing the above mentioned "bond," which carried the death penalty for the merchants if they were found to be involved in the opium trade. However, some British traders questioned Elliot's authority over them, and signed it, which allowed them to trade with the Chinese. In November, when one ship, the Royal Saxon, attempted to go trade with the Chinese, a British naval vessel fired a warning shot. When the Chinese navy attempted to assist the Royal Saxon, its ships were attacked by the British, who inflicted heavy damage. The opium war had begun.

Over the next two years, until August 29, 1842 when the Treaty of Nanjing was concluded, the mechanics of war and negotiation were carried out by both sides. Lin Zexu was removed from his position and exiled to Yili (Ili). He was replaced by Qishan 耆善 (ob. 1854)[39] who was able through negotiations, have the British return to Canton from the areas they occupied or blockaded along the coastal areas north of Canton, all the way to the Zhoushan 舟山 Islands. The British had made Qishan very much aware

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[39]See: ECCP, p.126-9, for his biography.

of their military superiority and used this as leverage in their negotiations with him. In order to prevent destruction of Canton, he agreed to the terms of the Convention of Chuanbi 穿鼻 with Captain Elliot. However, the imperial court was not so aware of the force they faced and Qishan soon found himself out of office, in chains, and facing a death sentence for this move. Back in England, the treaty was rejected as well.

More forces were sent by both sides, and new leadership appointed, Henry Pottinger for the British, and for the Qing, Yang Fang[40] 楊芳 (1770-1846), a Chinese general who arrived first, Yishan[41] 奕山 (ob.1878), who was the emperor's cousin, and Longwen 隆文, a Manchu noble. Yang Fang, realizing that the city could be quickly overwhelmed by the British, opened it up to trade. When the other two members of the ruling trio arrived, they vetoed his earlier move and prepared to do battle. Fighting began on May 21, and defeated within a week, the Chinese agreed to the victor's terms on May 27 (Charles Elliot was still in command) in order to save Canton from being destroyed.

Henry Pottinger arrived in Hong Kong in August of 1841. With warships, support ships, and troopships, he made his way up the coast,

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[40]See: ECCP, p.884-5, for his biography.

[41]See: ECCP, p.391-3, for his biography.

capturing Amoy, Zhoushan, among other places, and occupying Ningbo. A Qing counter-strike against Ningbo failed, and the British continued up the Yangtze. With the British on the verge of attacking Nanjing, Qing emissaries with the authority to negotiate a treaty for the imperial court arrived. They were Qiying[42] 耆英 (ob. 1858) who was an imperial clansman, Yilibu[43] 伊里布 (ob. 1843), and Niu Jian 牛鑑 (jinshi 1814, ob. 1858) who was governor-general at Nanjing. Negotiations--in this sense a polite term for agreeing to the foreigners' demands--yielded the Treaty of Nanjing. In it the Chinese agreed to pay an indemnity of $21,000,000, open five trading ports, allow Chinese and British officials to interact as equals, allow British consuls at the treaty ports, do away with the Co-hong monopoly on trade, impose fixed tariffs on both imports and exports, and cede Hong Kong Island to Great Britain. On October 8, 1843 a supplementary treaty was signed at Humenzhai 虎門寨 (Treaty of the Bogue). It gave details regarding the administration of the Nanjing accord, specifically consular jurisdiction and extra-territorial rights, as well as granting most favored nation status. the British. Neither treaty prohibited the import of opium. In addition, the treaty system would be expanded upon and modified over the coming years. France and the United States would also sign treaties granting them

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[42]See: ECCP, p.130-4, for his biography.

similar rights and privileges. In the years leading up to 1860, other conflicts between the Chinese and foreigners would occur (the so-called "second opium war") that would result in further expansion of foreign trade and extraterritorial rights and power in China.

The other major event of the mid-1800s was the Taiping rebellion. The conditions that made the rebellion possible were primarily due to a deterioration of the economic base which allowed people to live without extreme want. This was owing to several factors, one being a great increase in the population, and the resulting decrease in cultivatable land distribution on a per capita basis. The ability to derive a living from one's arable land was greatly compromised, this forced people to sell their land and into the role of tenant farmer, or into other occupations, or into no occupation at all. Estimates put 60-70 percent of land under the ownership of rich families or Qing bannerman. Thus, only thirty percent of the land was available to the individual small farmer. As mentioned above, the increase of opium imports, especially after 1842, caused the value of copper coinage to be devalued against silver, effectively doubling the land tax. In addition, the government bureaucracy and the officials who served in it did not have the best interest of the common person at heart and there were no significant attempts to address the underlying problems. The national

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[43]See: ECCP, p.387-9, for his biography.

army, the Qing banners, had become an ineffective force at best and the opium war had shown this ineffectiveness. There were also natural disasters during this period, i.e., the drought in Henan, the flooding of the Yangtze, a famine in Guangxi, and the shifting of the course of the Yellow River in the north. The lack of significant assistance from the government did nothing to inspire confidence on the part of the people affected.

Every organization requires leadership and for the organization known as the Taipings, it was in the person of Hong Xiuquan[44] 洪秀全 (1813-1864). The son of a Hakka farming family who lived about thirty miles north of Canton, he nevertheless managed to receive an education and sit for the provincial exams on four occasions. At the time of his second try at the exam in Canton in 1836, he was given a set of religious tracts written by Liang Afa 梁阿發 (1789-1855) by two Protestant missionaries. At the same time, he was influenced by the Confucian ideas on which the scholar Zhu Ciqi 朱次琦 (1807-1882) was lecturing in Canton, the concept of "Datong" 大同 ("Great Unification"), in particular.[45]After failing the exams again the following year, he fell ill and became delusional. He later would

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[44]See: ECCP, p.361-7, for his biography.

[45]See: Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, The Rise of Modern China (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.266. The concept of the "Datong" had its source in the "Liyun" 禮運 chapter of the Liji.

interpret his dreams and delusions as religious visions. He recovered from his illness a changed person and for the next six years continued to work as a teacher. After failing the exams again in 1843, a cousin urged him to read the religious tracts that he had been given earlier. They were a revelation, providing a clear explanation of his earlier "visions," as well as a vision for a well-ordered ideal world. Believing himself to be God's second son, he and his cousin baptized themselves and began to convert family members and friends, such as Feng Yunshan 馮雲山 (1822- 1852), a neighbor, friend and schoolmate who would be instrumental in the organization. They increased their religious study and activities, and their actions led to them both losing the teaching jobs they held in 1844.

It appears that neither Hong Xiuquan nor Feng Yunshan clearly understood many of the religious concepts they encountered. Their own misinterpretations, distortions of, and limited knowledge of the faith they embraced did not prevent them from preparing their own religious tracts or teaching others. Their ideals such as equality, sufficient resources to guarantee everyone a decent life, and their strong stand against opium, gambling, drinking and other vices were attractive and offered hope to others in troubled times. Both Hong and Feng began to attract a following in the form of organized groups. In 1847, after a falling out with members of a church in Canton, Hong returned to Guangxi. Things began to take off, as

the membership in the organization expanded, leadership formed a hierarchy, and Hong issued "Ten Commandments." Many of the members in Guangxi were Hakka, who although they were the descendants of people who had come to the area during the Southern Song, due to cultural differences were never fully accepted as part of the local population. They were looked upon and treated by the local people as "outsiders," which led to conflicts and even armed fighting, and this was one of the reasons they sought safety in the Christian organization. Once converted, there was another element that added to the rift between the Hakka and the local people--religious intolerance. During the years of the Taiping insurgency, it's ranks would also include many members of the secret societies that had formed during the Qing.

After the famine of 1849-50 when members of the group rose up Guangxi, membership grew as people sought refuge and hope. Hong and other members of the leadership made plans for rebellion, and in January 1851, Hong Xiuquan was given the title "Tianwang" 天王 and the realm which he lorded over, the name "Taiping tianguo" 太平天國, and the "revolution" was launched. Consumed by moral purpose and religious zeal, the Taipings were fierce warriors. The went north and set up headquarters at Yongan 永安 in northern Guangxi were they remained until April of

1852, when breaking out of a six month siege, moved north into Hunan with plans to take Changsha. Sweeping further north, they then seized a large cache of military material at Yuezhou 岳州. They moved up to the Yangtze where they captured even more supplies. By this time their ranks had increased to half a million. They moved into Nanjing 南京 in March of 1853. The imperial forces were only able to camp on two sites in the vicinity of Nanjing.

Hong sent an expedition north under the leadership of two of his generals, and another expedition was sent westward through Anhui, Jiangxi, Hubei, and Hunan. The northern expedition got almost as far as Tianjin, but ultimately failed. The westward one was to run up against the Hunan army, which had been organized by Zeng Guofan[46]曾國藩 (1811-1872) in early 1854, in the middle lower Yangtze valley. In May, Zeng's forces beat back the Taiping invasion of Hunan at Xiangtan 湘潭, south of Changsha. But in 1856, the Taiping army handed Zeng's forces significant defeats on both land and water as well as defeating Qing imperial troops outside of Nanjing in June. 1856 was also a year of internal chaos for the Taipings as Hong Xiuquan had an ambitious top level leader,

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[46]See: ECCP, p.751-6, for his biography.

Yang Xiuqing[47] 楊秀清 (ob. 1856) killed, and then feeling threatened by Wei Changhui 韋昌輝 (ob. 1856) whose forces killed Yang, joined with Shi Dakai[48] 石達開 (1821/1831?-1863) and killed Wei and 200 members of his contingent. These events marked a loss of leadership, cohesiveness, and organization. Shi and his forces left on a campaign to the west and southwest, effectively leaving the Taipings proper. The Qing armies were able to secure several important victories and recapture key positions. By the middle of 1858, Qing forces were able to return to their positions outside Nanjing.

The Taipings were hardly finished however, and as so often happens men of talent and ability rose to find their place in leadership positions. Chen Yucheng[49] 陳玉成 (ob. 1862) and Li Xiucheng[50] 李秀成 (ob. 1864) became commanders in the field in 1857 and were able to return the Taiping forces to the offensive, where they were able to score a victory over the Hunan army in northern Anhui and defeat the regular Qing forces in the vicinity of Nanjing in the fall of 1858. While the Taiping forces had achieved military success in certain areas, they had neither secured a stable

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[47]See: ECCP, p.886-8, for his biography.

[48]See: ECCP, p.655-8, for his biography.

[49]See: ECCP, p.104-6, for his biography.

[50]See: ECCP, p.459-63, for his biography.

economic base, nor had they been able to substantially reduce the strength and capability of the Hunan army. After their defeat of the Qing at Jiangnan, their next move would be to move to take control of the Yangtze river delta. This began with a series of victories with the Taipings getting as far as Suzhou. The next step would be to gain control of the cites along the coast and hopefully gain the support or of the foreign powers, but the latter was not meant to be as they were now viewed as a threat to foreign interests in China.

In June of 1860, after the defeat of the Qing forces and the deaths of two of their leaders, the decision was made to make Zeng Guofan the head of the entire operation against the Taipings and be appointed governor-general of the Liangjiang 兩江 region. Zeng's leadership and strategic skills would soon manifest themselves in the capture of Anqing 安慶 in Anhui, which set the stage for the ultimate defeat of the rebels. At the same time, Zeng was able to organize new military units on the model of his Hunan army and appoint talented men, such as Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901),[51] to lead them. Another top choice was that of Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-1885),[52] who was put in charge of the southern front.

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[51]See: ECCP, p.464-71, for his biography.

[52]See: ECCP, p.762-67, for his biography.

Foreign involvement took place with foreign interests in mind. The foreign powers remained neutral until the summer of 1861 when the British began to side with the Qing government, agreeing to several of their requests. Foreign involvement took the form of providing arms and training to Qing forces, foreign leadership of mercenary troops, and the engagement of the Taiping forces by British and French troops. In January of 1862, the Taipings attacked areas around Shanghai and in the following months they were engaged by British troops, finally being driven out beyond a thirty mile radius by mid-May. However, the Taiping forces mounted a major attack on Shanghai in June. Given the relatively small number of British and French forces, they withdrew from the outlying towns, but Li Hongzhang's army was more than a match for the Taipings, who withdrew or were defeated by the end of August.

Fragmentation and disintegration of unified leadership contributed to their ultimate defeat. On the other side, there was the organization and strengthening of Qing forces under the leadership of highly capable individuals. In 1863, Li Hongzhang's forces systematically defeated the enemy in eastern Jiangsu and northern Zhejiang and eventually drove them from the coastal region. Zuo Zongtang's army cleared them from the

rest of Zhejiang, and forces under Zeng Guoquan 曾國荃 (1824-1890),[53] the younger brother of Zeng Guofan, surrounded the Taiping capital at Nanjing. One of the keys to Li Hongzhang's success was his decision to use western style firearms and munitions. He was also aided by the "Ever Victorious Army," a force made up of foreign trained and equipped Chinese mercenaries. In July of 1864, Zeng Guoquan's forces entered Nanjing, killing those inside, and burning it to the ground. Leaders, as well as some remaining military units, were pursued and killed. One Taiping leader, Lai Wenguang 賴汶光 joined forces with the Nian 撚 movement, and was able to hang on until 1868.

There is no easy way to sum up the Taiping movement beginning with the initial factors that led to its rise through to its end. Perhaps what made it attractive was that it provided hope and a better alternative for those who joined and fought for it, when compared to relying on traditional ways and waiting for one's conditions to improve. As Philip Kuhn points out, the Taiping idealogy did address the severe problems of the day and offered real solutions.[54] However, in terms of the concrete effects that were the result of the movement and the rebellion, i.e., the degree of social upheaval, destruction and loss of resources, and death--of perhaps over thirty million

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[53]See: ECCP, p.749-51, for his biography.

people--while certainly not the only effects, may be the best measure of its profound significance.

The period following the Taiping rebellion is in general terms sometimes referred to as a "restoration," "revival," or "recovery." Given all that had taken place over the previous fifteen years, and what was necessary to return the affected areas and China as a whole to some state of "normalcy," all three terms have appropriate application. As an agrarian society, it was necessary to restore the farming system and its production. The schools and libraries that had been affected were reopened, and the civil service exams resumed in the areas where they had been interrupted, and there was an increase in emphasis on practical problems.

The Tongzhi 同治 emperor (reg. 1862-1874; Emperor Muzong 穆宗, Zaichun 載淳)[55] was six years old when he ascended the throne. Thus, the "Tongzhi restoration"[56] was not carried out by the force of will of a strong and capable ruler, and it is certainly was not a restoration on par with other periods that have carried the label. His mother, the Empress Cixi 慈禧

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[54]See: CHC, p.317.

[55]See: ECCP, p.729-731, for his biography.

[56]For a book length study of the Tongzhi restoration, see: Mary Clabaugh Wright, The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration, 1862-1874 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957).

(Xiaoqian Xian Huanghou 孝欽顯皇后, 1835- 1908),[57] controlled the throne, and the high ranking officials and advisors were men of ability. They gained power in the palace coup of 1861.

During this period, (referred to as the first period of self-strengthening by Immanuel Hsu),[58] China took steps to better deal with and learn from the foreign powers. In 1861 the government set up the Tsungli Yamen (Zongli yamen 總理衙門), a foreign affairs office, in Beijing, as well as offices at Tianjin and Shanghai to deal with the Western powers. The following year a school to train interpreters was established in the capital, and in Shanghai gun factories were built and Chinese soldiers received instruction in the use of firearms and cannon from German and British officers respectively. In 1863, a foreign language school was set up in Shanghai and Chinese were sent to the United States to purchase machines. Additional language schools and translation offices would continue to be set up in the coming years. In 1865, the Jiangnan Arsenal was built at Shanghai and the following year, the Fuzhou dockyard was set up along with an on-site naval school. In the succeeding years of Tongzhi's reign, more factories and arsenals would be built, Chinese would travel to

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[57]See: ECCP, p.295-300, for her biography.

[58]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.282-4. I will follow Immanuel Hsu's periodization for the second and third periods below.

Western countries both as envoys and on fact-finding missions, mining would be developed and students would be sent abroad to study. However, in attempting to develop industry and military production the Chinese trusted expertise of foreigners who were not specialists, and this, combined with corruption and mismanagement, led in many cases to inferior products, military and otherwise.

During this period, the Nian rebellion, which had its origins in the early 1800s, continued, but was eventually completely suppressed in 1868.[59] In 1862, Moslems in Shaanxi and Gansu had begun to rebel. By 1868 the affected areas had reached the Mongolian border northeast of Qinghai 青海. Two years earlier, the central government had called on Zuo Zongtang to take back control of the two provinces, but he and his forces were diverted to deal with the Nian rebels. In 1868, he was able to redirect his attention to the Moslem uprising, with the result being that the rebellion was completely suppressed in Shaanxi and Gansu by 1873.

An notable event that occurred during this period and is somewhat illustrative is the Tianjin massacre. At this time foreign missionaries had a presence in China. Regardless of the actual motives, practices, and behavior of individual missionaries, Christianity was view by some Chinese as a

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[59]For a general assessment of the Nian movement, see: CHC, Vol.10,

heterodox belief system whose followers were suspect, with anti-missionary sentiments and activities being encouraged. In 1870, the practice of a French Christian orphanage of offering compensation for children turned over to its care as well as its taking in sick and dying children led to rumors that the sisters were practicing witchcraft and removing the children's organs in order to make medicine. Tensions rose and an official was assigned to investigate. Finding nothing, he tried to calm and disperse an angry mob. The French consul and his assistant arrived on the scene, and in the confusion, fired on the official, but missed him and killed his subordinate. Violence erupted, the church and the orphanage were torched, ten French sisters, two priests, and three Russians merchants (by mistake) were killed, along with the two French officials. The Western powers sent gunboats to anchor off Tianjin, and foreign officials delivered protests and demands to the Tsungli Yamen. The imperial court sent Zeng Guofan to investigate, but when his recommendations for a resolution were deemed unacceptable by Woren[60] 倭仁 (ob. 1871) who held the position of Grand Secretary, he was replaced by Li Hongzhang, who quickly resolved the matter. Four hundred thousand taels of silver were paid to the French as compensation, a mission was sent to France to offer an apology in the form

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p.310-316 and p.456-477.

of a letter from the emperor and those who were found culpable were punished.

The second period of self-strengthening (1872-1885) saw Li Hongzhang take a leading role in advocating modern industries and enterprises. In addition to national defense, it was recognized that shipping, railroads, mining and the telegraph must be developed as they would generate much needed revenue for the state. Commercial enterprises that were privately funded and owned, but supervised by the government, arose in shipping, mining, textiles and the telegraph. As they were supervised by the government, they were far from the ideal of free market efficiency, with corruption, nepotism, suppression of competition, and the problems inherent in any bureaucracy.[61]

In 1872, the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company was founded, and in 1875-6 students from the Fuzhou dockyard were sent to study in France, Germany and Great Britain. In 1877-8 Li Hongzhang established the Bureau for the Kaiping Coal Mines at Tianjin, a machine factory was set up in Sichuan, and textile factories were established in Gansu and Shanghai. The following year a telegraph line was begun between Dagu and Tianjin and in 1881 the Imperial Telegraph

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[60]See: ECCP, p.861-3, for his biography.

[61]The above paragraph is based on The Rise of Modern China, p.285-6.

Administration was set up and the first telegraph line between Shanghai and Tianjin was opened. 1880 also saw a naval academy set up at Tianjin, and the implementation of a plan for a modern navy, along with the purchase of foreign ships. During the years up through 1884, naval students were sent to study shipbuilding and navigation abroad, work was started on a harbor and shipyard at Lushun (Port Arthur). Permission was sought for the building of railroads, with one being built north of Tianjin in 1881.[62]

The third period covers the years 1885-1895. While military enterprises remained at the fore, other industries continued to be developed. In 1885, a military academy was set up in Tianjin and in the capital, the Board of Admiralty was established. The following year a textile mill was set up in Canton, and in 1887 mints were established in Canton and Tianjin and work on the Mohe 漠河 gold mines was started in Heilongjiang. In 1888, the Beiyang 北洋 fleet was established under the control of Li Hongzhang, and in 1889, a cotton mill and an iron factory were built in Canton. The next year the Daye Iron Mines, the Hanyang Ironworks, and the Pingxiang Coal Mines were started by Zhang Zhidong[63] 張之洞 (1837-1909). In 1891, the Longzhang Paper Mill was built in Shanghai and the Guizhou Ironworks established by Li Hongzhang. Two

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[62]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.285-6.

years later, four cotton and textile plants were built in Wuzhang and a general office for machine textile manufacturing was opened. In 1894, a joint venture between the government and private interests, the Hubei Textile Company, was created.[64]

These undertakings are clear evidence that there were Chinese who were aware of the necessity to adopt and utilize technological developments such as the railway system for transport and the telegraph for communication. Given the strategic importance of seapower for defense, the development of a modern navy along with training people with the expertise to make it function properly, was given a high priority. Mining and ironworks were also recognized for their importance, as was a modern domestic textile industry. However, as Immanuel Hsu points out, "lack of coordination,... limited vision,... shortage of capital,... foreign imperialism,... technical backwardness and moral degradation,... [along with] social and psychological inertia"[65] prevented the so-called self-strengthening movement from being anything but a "superficial attempt at modernization." But if we pause for a moment and think about what would have been required for a thorough "modernization" of every aspect of

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[63]See: ECCP, p.27-32, for his biography.

[64]The Rise of Modern China, p.286-7.

[65]The Rise of Modern China, p.287-90.

Chinese culture and civilization from the mid-nineteenth century onward, we gain an appreciation that such a monumental undertaking was something beyond the abilities and resources of even the most capable and resourceful individuals alive in China--or anywhere else--at the time. Nevertheless in retrospect, we see that these initial steps led to the evolution and development of commerce and industry all that goes with it, however imperfect.

During this time there were numerous instances of foreign imperialism and aggression towards China. In 1871, China concluded a commercial treaty with Japan that included five main provisions.[66] Late in the same year, native peoples on the island of Taiwan killed fifty-four shipwrecked sailors who were from the Ryukyu (Liuqiu 琉球) Islands north of Taiwan. The status of the Islands was less than clear, as it was a Chinese tribute state, but from 1609 it had been under the control of Satsuma Hanto (feudatory--located in southern Kyushu) and also paid tribute to Japan, which had it continue its tribute state status with China, as this was to Japan's economic benefit. When Chinese missions came to oversee the succession of the Liuqiu king, the Japanese took measures to conceal their presence and influence, which led the Qing court to assume that the status

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[66]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.315; CHC, Vol.11, p.86.

of the Islands was solely one of a Chinese tributary state. In 1873, the Japanese foreign minister Soejima went to Beijing with the intent to try to determine the Chinese position on the killing of the sailors, and used the opportunity to claim the right to represent the people of the Liuqiu Islands. Arguments were given by both sides and negotiations ensued. Japan sent its military to Taiwan, and China realizing it was no match for the Japanese forces, entered into an initial agreement with the Japanese minister, which the commander of the Japanese forces in Taiwan rejected. Further negotiations followed with Thomas Wade, the British minister acting as mediator. The ultimate outcome was that China paid Japan 500,000 taels and the agreement carried the implication of Japanese control of the Liuqiu Islands. In 1879, Japan would formally annex the Islands, now the Ryukyu Islands, and the chain would become Okinawa Prefecture.[67]

Ili is the name of a river located to the south and southeast of Lake Balkhash (Lake Balqash in Kazakstan), the region around the river, and was a prefecture that governed nine cities. It is located in the north of Xinjiang near its border with Russian Turkestan. Rich in natural resources, it is also important strategically. In 1851, Russia entered into a treaty with China which allowed it to trade duty-free at Ili and at Tarbagatai (Chuguchak) to the north, as well as set up consulates at these locations.

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[67]Rise of Modern China, p.314-7.

Over the coming years the volume of trade would increase and the Russian presence in central Asia would grow.

The Qing conquered Xinjiang in 1759 and their rule of the indigenous Moslem Uighurs was anything but benevolent. The administration was headed by Manchus who in turn controlled the local people through 270 chieftains (begs). The Manchu officials levied heavy taxes and also forced the local people to make other payments which went to support their lavish and wasteful lifestyle. Their leaders had been exiled to Khokand, but had never given up the hope of recovering their rule and encouraged rebellion. There had been revolts over the previous century which had been suppressed, and in 1864 another revolt took place. At this time the Taiping and Nian rebellions were still the focus of the government and the regional forces were not able to put down the rebellion. Yakub Beg (1820-1877) invaded Xinjiang in 1865, and after various maneuvers set himself up as ruler of the Kashgar region and a part of northern Xinjiang. The British in India cultivated friendly relations with Yakub and supplied him with arms in order to check Russian expansionism. To counter this, the Russians occupied the Ili valley, claiming that this was only a temporary measure necessary to protect their own interests until China was able to resume effective control of the region. In 1872, the Russians entered into a treaty with Yakub and the next year the British did so as well.

The Qing court's intent was to regain control of Xinjiang, but it was also faced with the task and expense of building up naval power for the defense of its coastal regions. A debate ensued over which region should get priority, with advocates of both sides presenting well reasoned arguments. In the end, the fact that there was a rebellion and territory to be recovered led the government to assign Zuo Zongtang to the Xinjiang campaign in April of 1875. Zuo's forces had crushed the rebellion by the end of 1877 and returned Xinjiang to Chinese control.

Now that the region was back under Chinese control, it was time for Russia to return Ili prefecture. The Russians initially stalled and eventually the Chinese sent a Manchu of little diplomatic talent to St. Petersburg to negotiate the return of the territory controlled by Russia. The result was that a treaty that greatly favored Russia was signed in 1879. The Chinese court and ranking officials were outraged. Debates raged over the proper course of action--from accepting the treaty to renouncing it and preparing for war. The Russians made a show of naval force and for a while it seemed that war was inevitable. However, cooler heads prevailed and another diplomat, Marquis Zeng, traveled to St. Petersburg to re-negotiate the terms of the treaty. Much better prepared than his predecessor, he was able to leave with a treaty with much more favorable terms, in part owing to the Russians' reluctance to engage in another war far from home. This was the

Treaty of St. Petersburg.

The successful treaty negotiations led to an increase in pride and a greatly exaggerated sense of confidence on the part of the conservative faction. They felt that holding to a hard line would allow success in matters of foreign relations. In addition, Xinjiang was accorded the full status of a province in 1884. Previously, it had been a frontier region, but now it was part of China proper.

The next major event in history's timeline was the war with France over Annam (Viet Nam) during the years 1884-1885. With a history of Chinese influence that stretched back to the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty (reg. 141-87 B.C.), it was a tributary state during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Western presence was minor, with the Jesuits first arriving in 1615. In 1802, the Nguyen dynasty began when the sole survivor of the old regime that had been overthrown fourteen years earlier took the throne. The rulers of Annam were Confucians who, in their own xenophobia, encouraged violence against foreign missionaries and those they converted. In 1859, French forces were sent to Saigon in retribution for the attacks on missionaries, but with the underlying motive of expanding French influence and control. In 1862, France dictated terms of a treaty to the Annam court which included an indemnity, trading rights, control of foreign relations and cession of Cochin China which were three eastern

provinces in the south. Seeing that there were additional advantages to be gained, another treaty was concluded in 1874 which expanded French control to the point that Annam was little more than a French protectorate. By 1880, the French had troops in Hanoi, Haiphong and at other strategic locations. In response, the government of Annam attempted to strengthen its relationship with China by sending tribute missions in 1877 and 1881. It also sought the assistance of the Black Flags, an army left over from the Taiping era that was located north of the border with Annam. By 1882, the Black Flags had engaged in skirmishes with French forces. In 1883, China sent army regulars into the Tongking region of northern Annam.

As in the past when there was the prospect of conflict with a foreign power, there were those who advocated a cautious and diplomatic approach, especially when dealing with an adversary who was superior militarily, and those who advocated taking forceful action, in spite of the odds, as if rhetoric and argumentation could guarantee victory on the field of battle. This group was referred to as the Qingliu dang 清流黨, and its two most vocal members were Zhang Zhidong and Zhang Peilun[68] 張佩綸 (1848-1903). A British report convinced the Qing court that the French would not start a major war and that a resolution could be achieved by opening up the Red River. Li

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[68]See: ECCP, P.48-9, for his biography.

Hongzhang was ordered to negotiate with the French. The initial agreement was rejected by the French government in Paris which sent a military expedition to Annam. Both the Black Flags and Chinese regulars suffered defeat at the hands of the French. This led the Empress Dowager to fear a French attack on China and as a result she dismissed several high ranking members of the government and sent Li back to the bargaining table. The subsequent agreement proved to be unacceptable to both Paris and members of the Qingliu dang. Without clear orders to withdraw from Tongking, the Chinese troops again engaged the French forces. As negotiations were still in progress, the French took this as an indication of Chinese disingenuousness, and made further demands. Further negotiations failed to resolve the problem and on August 23, 1884, twelve French warships attacked Fuzhou, destroying the Fuzhou Dockyard and sinking or severely damaging eleven Chinese warships. Fighting continued in Tongking, the French navy blockaded the Yangtze and other Chinese ports. The Empress, who had initially supported the war, began to waver in her resolve in December of 1884. In France, political concerns and the problems inherent in waging war over a significant distance swung the mood towards peace. British intermediaries were able to work out a peace agreement in Paris by which the Chinese accepted the terms of the earlier agreement negotiated by Li and the French imposed no new conditions. The

final agreement was concluded in June of 1885. The Chinese recognized all of the treaties between the French and Annam, while the French withdrew their forces from Taiwan and the Penghu Islands. In addition to the Fuzhou Dockyard and Fujian naval fleet, the war cost China more than one hundred million taels in economic losses and an additional twenty million taels in debt. The following year, the British were able to follow the French and bring Burma under its influence, while allowing it to retain symbolic tributary status with China.[69]

Korea was also a tributary state during the Ming and Qing dynasties. As was mentioned above, in 1592 the Chinese aided by the Jurchen defended it against the Japanese. There was some contact with the West in the 1600s and from the mid-1700s Christianity had gained a foothold and expanded its reach, but as it was officially proscribed in 1786, missionaries and their converts were subject to attack and execution. Korea, by its own design was a closed society and resisted any attempt by the Western nations to "open it up." In October 1866, following the killing of foreign priests, the French sent forces to avenge their deaths. The French were successful at capturing the city of Kanghwa, but lost three men and had 32 wounded in a defeat outside of the city. In August of 1866, an American merchant ship sailed to P'yongyong with the intent of forcing the issue of trade. After it ran

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[69]The Rise of Modern China, p.330.

aground, it was burned and its entire crew was killed. Five years later, in 1871, a United States minister in China went with five warships to investigate the incident. When their diplomatic overtures were snubbed, they sailed toward Seoul, but were fired upon by gun emplacements. They responded by shelling the city of Kanghwa on two successive days, and then left as they had no clear orders to engage the Koreans. On both occasions, Korea interpreted the outcome as a defeat of the foreigners. However, the Chinese, basing themselves on their own experiences with the foreign powers, tried to convince the Koreans that it was in their best interest to negotiate treaties with the Western nations due to another factor--as the Japanese were becoming a force in their own right and treaties with Western nations would serve as a counter-balance against Japan.

In the years following 1873, Japan sent several missions to Korea with the intent of informing the Koreans of the changes that were taking place in Japan as well as modifying the formal relations between the two countries. The Japanese were rudely rebuffed by the Korean leadership. Two years later, in 1875, a surveying party was sent to Korea escorted by warships. It was fired upon at Kanghwa Bay and the warships responded by destroying the emplacements. The Japanese government sent more warships to Korea and also sent diplomats to China to ascertain the Qing position on the matter. China distanced itself from the Korean actions and

urged Korea to negotiate with Japan. The result was a treaty the following year that established relations between two sovereign states, opened three ports, and granted Japan consular jurisdiction. In 1882, under the direction of Li Hongzhang, Korea concluded a similar treaty with the United States and this was followed over the next several years with treaties with the Britain, Germany and France.

Internal problems plagued Korea as well. Taewongon 太阮君 (Yi Si-eung 李昰應; 1820-1898), the father of King Kojong and who once ruled as regent, became involved in a power struggle with Queen Min who supported reform and relations with Japan. In a coup, the Queen barely escaped with her life, members of the Japanese legation were killed, and Taewongon was returned to power. Ding Ruchang 丁汝昌 (ob. 1895) and Ma Jianzhong 馬建忠 (1844-1900) went to Korea where Ma had Taewongon arrested and sent to China. King Kojong was advised by Ma to resolve the matter with Japan, which in addition to monetary compensation and other actions, permitted Japan to station military personnel in Korea. On the Chinese side, Li Hongzhang moved to shore up China's position. A treaty was concluded, Yuan Shikai was sent to train the Korean army and Chinese troops were based in Korea as well.

There was now both a Chinese and Japanese presence in Korea and

there were factions aligned with China and with Korea. Yuan Shikai was allied with the queen, while King Kojong received advice from the Japanese. In the interest of fostering better relations, Japan scaled down its military presence and sent back a portion of the indemnity paid by Korea. However, the Korean government was heavily influenced buy the pro-Chinese group, and especially Yuan Shikai. In 1884, the pro-Japan faction attempted to carry out a coup. With help from the Japanese troops, they captured King Kojong and killed members of the pro-Chinese faction. Chinese forces under Yuan Shikai put down the coup and rescued the king, defeating the Japanese troops in the process. The Japanese minister Takezoe Shinchiro and the leader of the coup attempt, Kim Ok-kyun, were able to escape. Japan quickly moved to compel Korea to apologize for the incident and compensate Japan for its losses. In addition, the Japanese sent Ito Hirobumi to meet with Li Hongzhang in Tianjin, the result being an agreement that called for both Japan and China to withdraw their troops from Korea, effectively ended Chinese political control, and gave the Japanese the right to dispatch forces to Korea to maintain order.

Other factors arose to complicate the situation. Both Russia and Britain took control of coastal ports. Realizing the implications, Japan thereupon urged China to fortify its presence, as a counter to the Western countries. Li Hongzhang charged Yuan Shikai with the responsibility of

overseeing matters both commercial and diplomatic, as well as overseeing domestic administration. Yuan came to control many areas in the government, trade and commerce, and used his position to increase Chinese influence at every opportunity. It has been stated that during the years 1885-1893 Yuan wielded more power than anyone else in Korea.

Several incidents led up to the war with Japan. First, in March 1894, Kim Ok-kyun was lured to China where he was murdered by another Korean, a man whose father had been killed in the coup attempt ten years earlier. When his body was returned to Korea it was mutilated as a deterrent to those who might be plotting against the government. While the Japanese were greatly offended by this, legally it could not be used as a pretext for war. The same year the Tonghak rebellion occurred. Tonghak (Dongxue dang 東學黨 in Chinese or "Eastern Learning") was started by Ch'oe Che-u (1824-64) in part as a response to the cultural inroads made by Christianity. It was a mixture of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism and obviously had a religious focus, but the belief system also included a divinity similar to the Christian concept, and this contributed to the proscription of the Tonghak and the execution of its founder. The organization was forced underground, but its membership continued to grow and some of the new members had motives that were political in nature. The group requested that it be given legitimate status in 1892, but in addition to its request

being denied, the group was ordered to disband. The Tonghaks then rebelled, the Korean government requested assistance from the Chinese, and the Japanese minister in Korea also persuaded Yuan Shikai to intervene with military aid. Contrary to appearances, however, the Japanese were waiting for an excuse to move their own forces into Korea. After Chinese forces succeeded in putting down the Tonghaks, Japan sent in 8,000 of its troops and insisted that government reforms be carried out. Li Hongzhang tried to buy some time by having the removal of Japanese forces be a prerequisite for reform.

Li first attempted to resolve the matter through diplomatic means, contacting the Russians and the British, but this proved futile and in the end only impeded China's war-readiness. When troops were finally sent to Korea, the Japanese sank one of the troop transport vessels killing almost 1,000 Chinese troops. This occurred on July 25, 1894, and On August 1, China and Japan declared war. The Japanese defeated Chinese ground forces at Pyongyang and put a puppet regime in place. In October, November, and December, they gained control of strategic locations in Manchuria. At sea, the Chinese navy was no match for the Japanese fleet, even after efforts at so-called modernization, and suffered a crushing defeat at the mouth of the Yalu River 鴨綠江. The Japanese took control of Dalian 大連 (Dairen) and Lüshun 旅順 (Port Arthur) in November, and in February

of 1895 captured and took control of the military installations at Weihaiwei 威海衛. The war was effectively over.

Different entities within the Japanese government made different demands on China as the conditions for peace. These were brought together under a ten point plan which included territory, monetary compensation, navigational and trade rights, as well as Korean independence. Li Hongzhang was sent to negotiate for the Chinese, and although he did his best to try to negotiate more favorable terms for China, the Japanese held firm to their demands. However, an unexpected twist of fate altered the course of the negotiations somewhat: Li Hongzhang was shot by a Japanese radical. Li's wounds were not fatal and his adopted son, Li Jingfang 李經方 (1855?-1934), replaced him as the chief negotiator. In the end, however, Japan went away with most of the initial demands. It took control of Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Liaodong peninsula, received a large indemnity, had seven new ports open to trade, was granted the right for Japanese to set up factories and manufacturing enterprises in China, and saw the status of Korea change to that of an independent, non-tributary state. The agreement, known as the Treaty of Shimonoseki, was signed on April 17, 1895. In spite of strong opposition to the terms of the treaty in China, it was ratified on May 8, 1895.

On April 23, 1895, Russia, France, and Germany sent a joint letter to

Japan in which they took exception to the occupation of the Liaodong Peninsula. The leader of the opposition was Russia who did not want a Japanese presence on the continent of Asia proper and also had its own sights on the ports of Dalian (Dairen) and Lüshun (Port Arthur). Japan agreed to return Liaodong to China for 50 million taels, which was reduced to 30 million after the three countries applied additional pressure. The Russians were also viewed favorably for the role they played in guaranteeing loans to China made through a consortium of French and Russian banks, loans that were needed to pay off the indemnity to Japan. In the years to follow, loans would be arranged through a consortium of British and German banks as well.

The Chinese thought that some sort of alliance with Russia would be to their benefit as it would serve to keep the other Western powers and Japan in check. The Russians, for their part, saw as one of the benefits of the alliance, gaining the right to build an extension of the trans-Siberian railway through Mongolia and Manchuria to Vladisvostok. When Li Hongzhang traveled to St. Petersburg in 1896 for the coronation of Tsar Nicholas II, he met with the Russian government minister Count Witte, and they agreed in principle to the railway line along with a mutual defense pact against the Japanese.

Owing to their assistance in reducing the terms of the Treaty of

Shimonoseki, the Germans made a request of the Qing government for a naval base. Their request was turned down. After they had sounded about Russia about establishing a German base in Jiaozhou, Germany seized the opportunity afforded by the murder of two German missionaries in November 1897, in Shandong to take control of Jiaozhou. It secured a 99 year lease from the Chinese as well as the right to build railways in Shandong. The Russians followed by taking control of Dalian and Lushun along with the area surrounding each port, and secured railway rights as well, thus putting them in control of the Liaodong peninsula. The British then secured leases on Weihaiwei and the New Territories in Jiulong 九龍 (Kowloon). Two years later, in 1899, the French leased Guangzhou Bay. Each foreign power was granted what was known as a "sphere of influence," an agreement that its control would not be transferred to another foreign power.

Reform and the Reform Movement[70]

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[70]Much has been written on reform and the reform movement. Two good places to start are The Rise of Modern China, p.355-384 and Hao Chang's chapter "Intellectual Change and the Reform Movement, 1890-8," in The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 11, p.274-338. I have drawn extensively from both of these works for the following brief sketch.

Reform in its broadest sense had been practiced in China since time immemorial, but in the history of the Qing dynasty, it has come to refer to the trends and tendencies in thought and action which led up to the organized and concerted efforts known as the "Reform Movement of 1898" (also called "the Hundred Days Reform"). It has been said that the conscious recognition of the need for institutional reform in the late Qing begins with Feng Guifen[71] 馮桂芬 (1809-1874) and his Jiaobinlu kangyi 校邠盧抗議 in which he advocates improvements in many areas, such as education and industry, as well as the adoption of Western sciences.[72] Guo Songdao[73] 郭嵩燾 (1818-1891), who had served in England and France, was also in favor of adopting Western institutions and methods. Wang Tao[74] 王韜 (1828-1897), perhaps best known to Western students as James Legge's collaborator, published articles and editorials on reform after his return to Hong Kong from England in 1870.

Exposure to foreign institutions, methods, technology--military and otherwise--and to foreigners themselves, either by travelling abroad or by contact in China (primarily in the areas surrounding the treaty ports), could

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[71]See: ECCP, p.241-3, for his biography.

[72]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.276-7, 356 ff.

[73]See: ECCP, p.438-9.

[74]See: ECCP, p.836-9, for his biography.

serve as a catalyst for reformist ideas. Another way Western ideas, methods, and institutions were introduced to China was by missionaries who thought that they should not limit what they transmitted to their target audience to religion alone. The curriculum of some of the mission schools, as well as the content of their publications and public talks, etc., included a range of subjects, and were designed to promote a broader knowledge and understanding of the West. While some may characterize all missionary work as cultural imperialism, in the secular areas the intent was to broaden knowledge and understanding on the part of the Chinese so that it could be used for their benefit. One of the best known missionaries was Timothy Richard (1845-1919), who was at times in contact with high ranking members of the government such as Prince Gong 恭親王 (Yixin 奕訢; 1833- 1898),[75] Weng Tonghe[76] 翁同龢 (1830-1904) who was the emperor's tutor, and Li Hongzhang, as well as leaders of the reform movement, such as Kang Youwei 康有爲 (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873-1929).

Up until about 1890, it appears that most members of the educated class, as a general rule, had little interest in Western learning.[77] As the

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[75]See: ECCP, p.380-4, for his biography.

[76]See: ECCP, p.860-1, for his biography.

[77]Both Hao Chang and Immanuel Hsu use the term "Western learning" which is a translation of "Xixue" 西學. This is obviously a term with a wide

range of meaning. It can refer to information in Chinese about any aspect of the West (another general inclusive term) in a print format or in the form of lectures or talks. In a narrower sense, it can also refer to the Western counterpart to "traditional Chinese learning," and it can also refer to the "learning" on which led to the modern technical achievements of the Western nations was based, or works on scientific, political and social theory, etc.

When we consider what was necessary for the Chinese educated class to embrace and actively pursue Western learning in its narrower sense, we see that it would have required a concentrated effort on the part of many to make it into something that was actually viable. It would have required a sufficient number of highly educated people with language skills that would enable them to read, thoroughly understand, and critically evaluate a considerable volume of materials written in more than a few Western languages. Decisions would have to be made as to what constituted the "best of the West." It also would have required people with knowledge in a specific subject area, in addition to language and translation skills, to accurately translate the material into Chinese. In addition to publication and distribution, it would have required a campaign to convince the potential audience of the benefits of purchasing and reading the translated texts. This would have required much more than the writing of texts about certain aspects of the West. And this would not have not have been possible overnight. An alternative would have been for the educated Chinese to attain the requisite language skills that would have enabled them to read Western language texts in the original. This would have required competent teachers, appropriate teaching materials, and a course of study that would have allowed learning to be efficient and effective. This would eventually

academies focused on traditional Chinese education which was essential for success in the civil service exams, they had little incentive to include so-called "Western subjects" in their curricula, thus limiting their students' exposure.

There were, however, highly talented and educated men in high ranking positions who realized that changes were needed. In 1856, Weng Tonghe ranked first in the jinshi examinations, and after holding several official positions, was appointed to the position of Imperial Tutor in 1865. In addition to being the emperor's teacher, he also taught historical works to the two empress dowagers and as a result was in a position to make his views known to the rulers of China. He understood that reforms were necessary and that China had to change. He was also politically savvy and knew that court politics would dictate that any reforms would have to be grounded in Chinese teachings and values. Zhang Zhidong who had been ranked third in the jinshi exams of 1863 also strongly held to traditional Chinese institutions and values. While he was behind various modernization projects, they were to be carried out in order to strengthen the traditional Chinese order and not at the expense of it. Both men were moderate reformers who saw the advantages of adopting the scientific and

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happen, but prior to 1890, conditions were not yet at that point where it did happen.

technical knowledge of the West. They thought that limited institutional changes could be made for China's benefit. Zhang pointed to examples in Chinese history to demonstrate that reform and learning from others had precedents within the Chinese tradition.[78]

As was mentioned above, missionary work was not restricted to spreading the gospel. In 1887, the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese (SDK) was formed. After Timothy Richard took the position of general secretary in 1891, the organization focused on convincing the educated Chinese that the Western world did in fact have positive qualities. Hao Chang has written that the SDK influenced the literati in two ways: First, its structure as a voluntary organization and its focus on aims that were intellectual and political served as an example or model; and second, its intellectual influence was owing to a wide range of published materials concerning the West as well as current world affairs. The Wanguo gongbao 萬國公報 (The Globe Magazine) began publication again in 1889 after being dormant since 1883. It, like other publications, was a venue for social criticism and open discourse, and it was also a place for the introduction and development of new ideas.[79] Apart from the missionary sponsored publications, the early 1890s saw the appearance of

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[78]The Rise of Modern China, p.360-1.

writings by Chinese who recognized the need for reform. For the most part, their proposals were not new or radical, but centered on ways of improving the nation through constructive change. However, observing the relative strength and wealth of the Western nations, and the fact that the form of government of some nations was a parliamentary system in which the population had a degree of participation, led to the conclusion that this was a factor that contributed to their wealth and strength. In the late 1890s certain writers would come to praise democracy for what they saw as its inherent moral value and go on to take the next step, questioning the legitimacy of the traditional Chinese political system. However, most never called into question its Confucian moral basis.[80] The ones who did questioned the value of Confucianism and the Classics with respect the ability to solve the real problems facing China. They felt that there were political and moral lessons to be learned from the West, as well as scientific and technical ones. Regardless of the degree of criticism or the advocacy of reform, the reform-minded individuals shared the awareness that reform was necessary owing to what they perceived and understood, but were not a consciously organized political movement per se.[81]

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[79]See: CHC, V.11, p.278-9.

[80]See: CHC, Vol.11, p.281-2.

[81]See: CHC, Vol.11, p.282-3.

The reform movement of 1898 and its catalyst and leader, Kang Youwei, are virtually inseparable. Kang was from a family of means in Nanhai in southwest Guangdong. His grandfather and uncles were learned men from whom he received a thorough classical education. In 1876, after an unsuccessfully attempt at the provincial exams, he began studying with Zhu Ciqi 朱次琦 (1807-1882). Zhu Ciqi placed importance on a strong sense of moral and political purpose in traditional Confucian learning and this made a significant mark on his student. Kang's learning was not limited to the Confucian tradition, however, as he also studied Taoism and Mahayana Buddhism, withdrawing and living in Xiqiao Shan 西樵山 for two years. In 1879, he visited Hong Kong, and in 1882, he traveled to Beijing and went through Shanghai, where he observed the order that he had seen earlier during his trip to Hong Kong. Kang took advantage of the availability of Chinese translations of Western books as well as books in Chinese about the West and read whatever he could get his hands on. His proximity to Canton and Hong Kong also afforded him first-hand experience of the Western powers and their attitude toward China.

Thus, there was a wide range of personal experiences and written materials that contributed to the world view of Kang Youwei. On the one hand there was an idealistic, spiritual concern with the problems of the human condition, a concern which could easily be called concrete and

practical as "chaos, suffering and injustice" (to use Hao Chang's words) are concrete problems that demand practical solutions. On the other hand, there was his concern with the problems on the national level, problems which could only be addressed effectively through reforms. Although he held no official position, in 1888 he took the bold and unauthorized step of submitting a memorial to the throne calling for reforms in the imperial administration. It was never approved and passed on by the Directorate of Education[82] to which Kang had sent it for forwarding. Kang went back home and devoted himself to teaching and writing. One of his students, Liang Qichao, would become another driving force in the reform movement.

In 1886, Liao Ping's[83] 廖平 (1852-1932) Jingu xue kao 今古學考 was published. Later, after being revised, it was published as two separate works, the Pi Liu pian 批劉篇 (Refuting Liu Xin) and the Zhi sheng pian 知聖篇 (On Knowing the Sage [Confucius]). In these works he held that the Old Script Classics were forged by Liu Xin 劉歆 (ob. 23), a view in part in accord with some members of the Qing Modern Script (Modern Text, New Text) school which promoted the Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and

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[82]Guozi jian 國子監 = Hucker 3541.

[83]See: Howard L. Boorman, ed., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China (BDRC) (New York: Columbia University Press:1967), p.367-8 for his biography.

Autumn Annals at the expense of the Zuo zhuan, and that Confucius was a proponent of institutional change. Kang Youwei would appropriate Liao Ping's ideas for his Xinxue weijing kao 新學僞經考 (An Examination of the Forged Classics [That Were a Product] of Xin Dynasty Scholarship) which was published in 1891 and subsequently banned in 1894, and his Kongzi gaozhi kao 孔子改制考 (A Study of Confucius as an Institutional Reformer) published in 1897 and also later banned. In the Datong shu 大同書 (completed in 1902; The Universal Commonwealth), a work which may have had its beginnings in the mid-1880s, he set forth his utopian vision for an ideal world.

In 1893, Kang passed the provincial exams, and in 1895 became a jinshi and subsequently received an appointment in the Ministry of Works.[84] During this time, the Qing government had just negotiated the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Kang was outraged at the terms of the treaty and sent a memorial (the "Candidate's Memorial") to the emperor signed by some 600 provincial graduates and calling for the government to reject the treaty, move the capital inland, continue the war, and begin the process of institutional reform. Their demands were not carried out as the memorial never made it past the Censorate. His memorial of May 29, 1895, in which

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[84]Gongbu 工部 = Hucker 2462.

he recommended ways of improving the country was forwarded to the throne and favorably received, but the one which followed on June 30 in which he recommended reform measures did not make it past the Censorate or the Ministry of Works.

Public sentiment at what was a time of national humiliation, coupled with the public's concern with the seriousness of China's situation, spurred on Kang to advance his crusade. The next step was making members of the educated class aware of problems facing China and how reform measures could solve them. This took two forms, the setting up of "study societies" (xuehui 學會) which performed a variety of functions, and the publication of newspapers which served to transmit and disseminate information relating to the study societies and to reform. Both Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao were very much involved in these activities, establishing the Qiang xuehui 強學會 (Self-strengthening Study Society) in Beijing in August 1895 and starting a daily newspaper, the Zhongwai gongbao 中外公報 (Sino-Foreign News), under the auspices of the Qiang xuehui, with Liang Qichao and another one of Kang's students, Mai Menghua 麥孟華, editing the publication. The society's activities included lectures, the translation of foreign language writings into Chinese, and the setting up of libraries. Its membership included prominent members of the government such as Zhang

Zhidong and Weng Tonghe, and members of the foreign community such as Timothy Richard.

The formation of study societies and affiliated newspapers was not limited to Beijing, and a branch of the society, along with a paper, was soon set up in Shanghai. However, some of its practices soon drew the attention of authorities, and perceiving it to pose a potential threat, a censor accused it of wrongdoing and as a result, both branches of the Qiang xuehui and their respective publications were shut down in February, 1896. This was not the end of the group's activities, however. In August, 1896, another paper, the Shiwu bao 時務報 (Chinese Progress) was started, with Wang Kangnian 汪康年 (1860-1911) in the role of manager and Liang Qichao serving as the chief editor. Liang wrote many of the paper's articles. In them he stressed political reform which hinged on educational reform. This was the foundation of making China a strong, unified and modern nation, and took precedence over technological modernization, which was the thrust of the self-strengthening movement of the previous decades. Another important idea was that the educated class had to be organized for the purpose of social and political action and this was done by setting up associations, with one of the ultimate goals being a "new political community." Implicit in this was that the traditional monarchy was unacceptable because it lacked "moral legitimacy" and that radical political

change was needed.[85] It is important to remember that the reform movement was not limited to Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. Its ideology was as wide ranging and varied as the people who constituted it.[86]

Reform in Hunan[87]

Chang Hao points out that during the last half of the nineteenth century there was a significant increase in the power of those who served as governor or as governor-general, and there was also an increase in power of the local educated elite. This led to attempts at improvements in economic development, technology, and in institutional change. With respect to the

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[85]See: CHC, Vol. 11, p.296-7.

[86]I am only able to mention a few of the individuals who were involved in the reform movement. There is a large volume of secondary material available on this important episode in Chinese history and I strongly recommend that the interested reader begin with the works cited in the notes, bibliographies, or "suggestions for further reading" sections in the texts on which I have based this outline.

[87]The following section is based on "Reform in Hunan," in Ch. 5 of CHC, Vol.11, p.300-318; Charlton M. Lewis, Prologue to the Chinese Revolution: The Transformation of Ideas and Institutions in Hunan Province, 1891-1907, (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1976); and Luke S. K. Kwong, T'an Ssu-t'ung, 1865-1898--Life and Thought of a Reformer, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996).

educated elite, they increased their involvement in public activities.[88] Eminent Hunanese had played significant roles in recent decades, the most notable being Zeng Guofan (with his leadership of the Hunan army) and Zuo Zongtang. Hunan also had a strong intellectual and educational tradition which was seen in its many academies. The Yuelu Academy 岳麓書院, the Chengnan Academy 城南書院, and the Qiuzhong Academy 求忠書院, were three of the province's best and were located in Changsha. One ideal that developed and was held to among the scholars who taught and studied at these institutions was that scholarship was not limited to texts, but should also have practical application, both in the area of self-cultivation and in that of statecraft.

The governors of Hunan also had an important part in reform. From 1892 to 1895 Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835-1902)[89] served in this capacity and initiated improvements in education, industry, and the military. He was followed by Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (1831-1900) who was assisted by his son, Chen Sanli 陳三立 (1852-1937).[90] Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848- 1905),[91] who had served abroad and had written an important history of Japan

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[88]See: CHC, Vol.11, p.300-1.

[89]See: ECCP, p.880-2, for his biography.

[90]See: BDRC, p.225, for his biography.

[91]See: ECCP, p.350-1, for his biography.

(Riben guozhi 日本國志), along with Jiang Biao 江標 (1860-1899), both held high ranking positions and also assisted the reform movement in Hunan. Zhang Zhidong, the governor-general of the Hu-Guang region at the time, was also an active supporter of reform. In addition, to the more prominent and well-known individuals, many other members of the elite participated in the reforms which began to take off in 1895. Steps were taken to modernize the infrastructure with electric lighting and roads of macadam being introduced. Telegraph lines were set up between Changsha and Hanzhou. Local gentry, engaging in private enterprise, set up a match factory, began to raise funding for a steamship line, and sent a petition requesting the building of a railway line from Hanzhou to Guangdong.

Directed by Huang Zunxian, institutional changes were carried out, primarily to ready those in government service for provincial reforms. The Education Commissioner, Jiang Biao, instituted reforms in the area of education that were perhaps as significant as those in any other area. He understood the value and importance of "Western Learning" and made it part of the curriculum, striking a balance between it and the traditional course of study. The SDK and its publications had made a strong impression on Jiang. He recommended that the Jiaojing shuyuan 教經書院 (Academy for the Critical Examination of the Classics) include classes on geography, mathematics, and foreign languages in its program of study. Under his

watch the examinations at the provincial level added questions about current events and world affairs to their traditional format, a move which required candidates to broaden their knowledge base. He also started a study society, the Xiang xuehui 湘學會, at the Jiaojing shuyuan, and the first newspaper in Hunan, the Xiangxue bao 湘學報, a tri-monthly which began publication on April 22, 1897, was also affiliated with the Academy. The Xiangxue bao was to become a medium for writings on reform as well as the dissemination of new ideas and information. Jiang Biao resigned his position in the autumn of 1897 and was succeeded by Xu Renzhu 徐仁鑄 (1863-1900).

At this time a new school, the Shiwu xuetang 時務學堂 (School of Current Affairs), opened its doors in Changsha. It had its origins in a proposal put forth by Wang Xianqian[92] 王先謙 (1842-1918) in which Wang and other moderate gentry also proposed establishing the above mentioned steamship line, and was part of an overall program of self-strengthening. It was funded by well-to-do local gentry and there was intense competition for admission, with only forty students of the four thousand or so who applied gaining admission. It became a popular model for new schools and curricula in other locales. However, although its curriculum included "Western

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[92]See: BDRC, p.379-80, for his biography.

learning" which would serve the overall goal of self-strengthening, the assumption (as stated by then Governor Chen Baozhen) was that the educational foundation was to be traditional Chinese learning.

Huang Zunxian recommended Liang Qichao for the position of Dean of Chinese Studies at the Shiwu xuetang and also recommended that Li Weige 李維格 serve as Dean of Western Studies. Huang and Liang were good friends and had worked together on the Shiwu bao in Shanghai where Li had also worked as a translator. When Liang and Li came to Changsha, they brought with them three other students of Kang Youwei: Ye Juemai 葉覺邁, Han Wenju 韓文舉, and Ou Qujia 歐榘甲, who also took up positions at the school. There was no opposition to these appointments on the part of Wang Xianqian or the other members of the local elite who oversaw the school's operations. With Xu Renzhu, who was friend of Liang's and an admirer and advocate of Kang Youwei's ideas, now replacing Jiang Biao as Commissioner of Education, Liang and his activities at the school had important official support.

Other people who supported reform came to Changsha as well. Tang Caichang 唐才常 (1867-1900), who was from Liuyang 瀏陽, and who was a member of the Modern Script (New Text) School and actively pursued Western learning, had come in the spring and became the editor-in-chief of

the Xiangxue bao. Tan Sitong[93] 譚嗣同 (1865-1898), also from Liuyang, and the son of the governor of Hubei, was also versed in the writings of the Modern Script School and a follower of Kang Youwei. Pi Xirui returned from Nanchang in Jiangxi in order to participate in reform related activities.

At the Shiwu xuetang, Liang Qichao and his associates began their teaching duties. Looking to the past and the classic texts for precedents, Liang used the Mencius and the Gongyang Commentary as the grounds for the ideology of reform. He interpreted them in the sense of certain Western political ideas such as popular rights and egalitarianism,[94] and thus they, along with his lectures and other materials, became the vehicle for his notions of radical reform. Their activities were not limited to the Shiwu xuetang as they had texts such as Huang Zongxi's 黃宗羲 (1610-1695)[95] short treatise on political thought, the Mingyi daifang lu 明夷待訪錄, reprinted with their own interpretations interspersed, and circulated among the public.

During this time, Tan Sitong and reform-minded members of the elite submitted a formal request to the governor, Chen Baozhen, for permission to establish a study group in Changsha. It was to be called the

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[93]See: ECCP, p.702-5, for his biography and Kwong, T'an Ssu-t'ung.

[94]See: CHC, Vol. 11, p.305.

[95]See: ECCP, p.351-354, for his biography.

Nan xuehui 南學會 (Southern Study Society). Although the Qiang xuehui had been shut down, other study societies had been formed in China and were popular. The Nan xuehui would serve a range of purposes, but the central goal as conceived by the radical reformers was as a way to promote gentry power which was an essential step towards the goal of a participatory government and the development of national power.[96] The Nan xuehui was a private organization in theory, but certainly had a close connection with the government. For example, its members could make proposals within the Society, and if it was decided that the proposals had merit, they would be sent up to high level officials in the provincial administration with the possibility of being carried out.

After it was organized in the winter of 1898, Pi Xirui was chosen to be the resident director of the Society. Learning and study was to be encouraged by giving public lectures in four areas: traditional learning (xueshu 學術), government and religio-ethical teachings (zhengjiao 政教), astronomy (tianwen 天文), and geography (yudi 輿地). Pi Xirui lectured on traditional learning, Huang Zunxian lectured on government and religio-ethical teachings, Tan Sitong lectured on astronomy, and Zou Daijun lectured on geography. Meetings were held once a week, on Sundays, when

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[96]See: CHC, Vol.11, p.307-8; and Lewis, Prologue to the Chinese Revolution,

the lectures were given. On February 21, 1898 the first meeting was held with over three hundred people in attendance. Pi Xirui gave the opening speech. He was followed by Huang Zunxian, Tan Sitong, and the governor, Chen Baozhen.

A newspaper, the Xiangbao 湘報 (Hunan Reporter), was published under the auspices of the Nan xuehui. It was planned at the same time as the Nan xuehui and was supported in part by funding provided by Chen Baozhen.[97] It both complemented the activities of the Society and served as a supplement to the other reform paper, the Shiwu bao.[98] It had a board of eight directors and six editors who were also writers. There was some overlap, with Liang Qichao, Tan Sitong, and Tang Caichang serving in all capacities. Naturally much the paper's content was focused on reform, and the paper was printed daily, except Sunday. An interesting example that clearly shows how the paper complemented the activities of the Society relates to the Nan xuehui lectures. Rather than fielding questions from the audience after a lecture, the audience members were encouraged to submit their questions in writing to the speakers who would in turn reply in writing. Some of the questions and answers, as well as a summary of the

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p.51-2.

[97]See: Kwong, T'an Ssu-t'ung, p.178.

[98]See: Lewis, Prologue to the Chinese Revolution, p.55.

speaker's lecture, would be printed in the Xiang bao. Thus, those who did not attend the meeting were still able to know what the lectures were about, as well as get a general sense of the audience members' questions and the speakers' responses.[99]By all appearances the reform movement in Hunan was off to a good start and had the potential for success, but this was not to be.

It is often said that the devil is in the details, and it is in the details that the reasons for the failure of the reform movement in Hunan lie. If a general reason can be given, it is probably that the radical reformers who used the schools, study societies, and their publications to advance their own ideas and reform agenda were simply too radical and unorthodox in their thinking for the moderate and conservative members of the official class and of the gentry whose cooperation and support they needed if they were to succeed. It is also probably the case that the moderates and conservatives felt that their own interests were threatened by the radical reformers and their ideas. And it is also very possible that their reform agenda simply would not have worked if it had been put into practice. As

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[99]The text of some of the lectures given at the Nan xuehui that appeared in the Xiang bao, as well as some of the related questions and answers, and other writings that were published there were reprinted in 1902 in the Xiangbao leizuan 湘報類纂 (rpt. Taipei: Datong shuju, 1968).

Luke Kwong points out,[100] it was a shared sense of crisis that brought them together, and in principle it was the case that they were in agreement that change for the better was necessary, but it was the specific ideology and methods to effect change that set them apart and put them at odds with one another. When reform shifted from being something that was grounded in and carried out within a traditional and accepted Chinese framework to something that called into question, attacked, and went outside Chinese tradition, institutions, and the accepted framework, trouble arose between the moderates-conservatives and the radical reformers. An example given by Charlton Lewis illustrates this.[101] A petition was sent to Wang Xianqian by students of the Yuelu shuyuan and the academy's librarian, Bin Fengyang 賓鳳陽, requesting that he (Wang) ask Chen Baozhen to remove Liang Qichao as the dean of the Shiwu xuetang. The reason was that in teaching Western studies, Liang and some of the other teachers were teaching Kang Youwei's ideas which attacked Chinese tradition. In the process of attempting to settle the matter a dispute arose, with the provincial Education Commissioner Xu Renzhu criticizing Bin. However, Wang was able to stifle Xu's attack on Bin. In the end, it was not the proper teaching of Western subjects that was the problem, but the use of classes on

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[100]See: Kwong, T'an Ssu-t'ung, p.177-194.

Western subjects as a vehicle to indoctrinate students with Kang's ideas, ideas that attacked Chinese tradition and values. Although a conservative, Wang Xianqian was flexible, but only to a point.

Ye Dehui[102] 葉德輝 (1864-1927), who with Wang led the opposition against the reform movement, was extreme in his conservatism. Pi Xirui wrote a piece by the title "Xingshi ge" 醒世歌 that was printed in the Xiangbao. In the piece, Pi stated that since the earth was round, no country could refer to itself as "middle" (中) while referring to others as "outsiders" (外), obviously a call for a more balanced view of the world order, in geographical terms at least. Ye presented counter-arguments for China's superiority and pre-eminence, which were based on traditional Chinese schema as well as on precedents in Chinese history.[103]

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[101]See: Lewis, Prologue, p.63-4.

[102]See: BDRC, p.35-37, for his biography.

[103]This example is based on Lewis, Prologue, p.61-2, who cites Su Yu 蘇輿 ed., Yijiao congbian 翼教叢編 (Wuchang, 1899) 6.20b-21. Luke Kwong in T'an Ssu-t'ung, p.194 writes that "P'i Hsi-rui's son learned about the earth's spherical shape from T'an's Nan-hsueh hui lecture and later published a poem to alert other's to this knowledge." He cites Pi Xirui's diary entry for Guangxu 24/3/19 as his source. ("Shi Futang weikan riji" 師伏堂未刊日記 in Hunan lishi ziliao 湖南歷史資料, 1959.2, p.87) In his diary entry Pi gives "Xingshi ge" as the title of his son's poem.

Thus, even what appears on the surface to be a sensible appeal to reason supported by evidence on Pi's part was open to criticism by staunch conservative traditionalists. Whether or not this was a case of judging "guilt by association" by Ye is not known, but it serves as an example of how even when one's challenge to traditional views was based on accepted scientific fact, that challenge was open to criticism by those who strongly held to tradition, regardless of the facts or the soundness of the argumentation.

From the day of the first Nan xuehui lecture through June, conflicts between the activities of the radical reformers and the conservative and moderate officials and gentry were ongoing. Ye Dehui and Pi Xirui, who were old friends, engaged in an exchange of letters with Ye criticizing Pi and Pi responding in kind. During April-May of 1898, Ye published a portion of their correspondence in his Mingbian lu 明辨錄. He also advised Pi to resign from the Nan xuehui.[104]

As tensions between factions heightened and the rift between the radical reformers and the conservatives widened, attempts were made to

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I have not seen the original text of either poem. Thus there are several possibilities that may affect the factual accuracy of Lewis's example. However, I think that the point of the example, that is the staunch conservatism of Ye Dehui, would still hold.

[104]See: Kwong, T'an Ssu-t'ung, p.186.

somehow defuse the situation, but things continued to unravel. On June 8, Pi Xirui resigned his position of director of the Nan xuehui and returned to Nanchang to resume his teaching duties. On June 21, the final issue of the Xiangxue bao was published. The Nan xuehui suspended its lecture series and the Shiwu xuetang let out for the summer. The reform movement in Hunan had ground to a halt.[105]

During the same time period, Kang Youwei continued his reform activities in the capital. After Germany took control of Jiaozhou in 1897, Kang submitted his fifth memorial in which he urged the emperor to declare a national reform policy modeled on that of Peter the Great and the Meiji emperor, bring together men of talent for the purpose of reorganizing government institutions, and give officials at the provincial level the authority to carry out institutional reforms in the regions under their jurisdiction. The Ministry of Works refused to send it up, but its contents quickly became known in Beijing and Shanghai.[106] Kang thought of leaving the capital, but Weng Tonghe convinced him to stay and supported a

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[105]A recounting of the details of the reform movement in Hunan is beyond the scope of this section. I refer to reader to CHC, V.11, p.300-318; Lewis, Prologue, p.1-68; and Kwong, T'an Ssu-t'ung, p.171-194.

[106]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.369.

recommendation that Kang be given an audience with the emperor. While the emperor was willing to receive Kang, according to the rules of the imperial court, Kang's rank was too low to be allowed an audience. The emperor ordered that Kang meet with officials of the Zongli yamen, and a meeting took place on January 24, 1898. After reading the report of Kang's meeting, the emperor wanted to personally meet with Kang, but was again reminded by Prince Gong of court rules. The emperor then issued an order that allowed Kang to directly submit memorials to the throne. On January 29, Kang presented another memorial in which he made specific suggestions for changes to government organization, among other recommendations. In February, his seventh memorial was submitted in which he again urged the emperor to model himself on and try to emulate Peter the Great of Russia and the Meiji Emperor of Japan. Together with his memorial he sent his writings on the Meiji reforms as well as the reforms of Peter the Great, and other works on reforms in foreign countries. Kang's submissions increased the emperor's resolve to institute changes.

Upon the death of Prince Gong on May 30, Kang pressed Weng Tonghe to push ahead with reforms. However, perceiving Kang as a threat, he urged him to leave the capital to avoid the wrath of the conservative faction, but Kang was undaunted. On June 8, he submitted his eighth memorial, followed almost immediately by another one. On June 11, the

emperor issued the first edict on reform and this date marks the beginning of the "Hundred Days Reform." On June 16, at the urging of Xu Zhijing 徐致靖 (jinshi 1876) the emperor met with Kang for five hours. Kang was then appointed to the Zongli yamen and allowed to submit memorials directly to the throne. On July 3, Liang Qichao was put in charge of the translation bureau and on September 5, Yang Rui 楊銳 (1857-1898), Liu Guangdi 劉光第 (1859-1898), Lin Xu 林旭 (1875-1898), and Tan Sitong were appointed to the Council of State[107] (Grand Council). From June 11 to September 20 between forty and fifty decrees on various reform measures were issued. They applied to education, government administration, industry and commerce, international affairs, and other areas.[108]

While the emperor and Kang pressed forward with their agenda, the reforms were ignored by most members of the central and provincial administrations. While individual members of the government had reasons not to agree with specific reforms, the reason that they could dare to ignore the reform edicts was that it was no secret that the real power, the empress dowager Cixi and her faction, were against them.

It is important to remember that the Guangxu emperor received a

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[107]Junji chu 軍機處 = Hucker 1735

[108]See: Rise of Modern China, p.375-6.

traditional Chinese education, but his tutor, Weng Tonghe, also exposed him to non-traditional ideas and subjects. In 1889, he read Feng Guifen's Jiaobinlu kangyi. In the early 1890s, he studied foreign languages, read the works of political reformers, and books such as Timothy Richard's Chinese translation of Robert MacKensie's The nineteenth century: a history. In 1895, the empress dowager put an end to the emperor's tutorials in non-traditional learning, but he would continue to pursue his interests in spite of her disapproval.[109] Thus, the events of Hundred Days Reform, as well as its demise had a background that preceded the summer of 1898.[110]

Given the specific nature of some of the reforms, the empress dowager feared that her power would be reduced or eliminated, a fear that was grounded in reality. She planned with others in her faction to remove the emperor from power, having Ronglu[111] 榮祿 (1836-1903) and his troops stage a coup during a military review in October. At the same time the reformers sent Tan Sitong to meet with Yuan Shikai (September 18) and

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[109]See: CHC, V.11, p.320-1.

[110]Chang Hao points out that prior to 1898, it is a mistake to interpret all factional struggles in the imperial court or in the government at this time in terms of the conflicts between the empress dowager and the emperor, or in terms of conflicts between conservatives and reformers, or that members of the various alignments were closely tied together. See: CHC, V.11, p.321.

[111]See: ECCP, p.405-9, for his biography.

secure his support. Yuan's troops would protect the emperor during the review, kill Ronglu, and the reformers would dispatch assassins to kill the empress dowager. Yuan would not to commit to the plan, and when Tan told Kang of this, Kang determined that Yuan would not side with them and left Beijing. On September 20 after meeting with the emperor, Yuan informed Ronglu of the plot. The next day the empress dowager declared that the emperor was ill, had him placed in confinement and took full control of the government, ruling as regent. Orders were given to arrest the radical reformers. Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao were able to escape to Japan, but Yang Rui, Liu Guangdi, Lin Xu, Tan Sitong, Yang Shenxiu 楊深秀 (1849-1898) and Kang Guangren 康廣仁 (Kang Youwei's younger brother) were arrested and executed. Chen Baozhen and Weng Tonghe were cashiered and banned from future government service. Twenty-two additional men associated with the reform movement received various punishments.

After the empress dowager took over control of the government, most of the steps taken in the interest of reform were reversed. Nevertheless, moderate reforms within the traditional framework and various measures carried out in the name of self-strengthening would continue.

Overall, China's experiences with foreigners during the last half of

the 1800s had not been good. The repeated humiliations and insults China had suffered at the hands of the foreign powers resulted in the loss of national pride and self-respect, as well as a high degree of resentment.[112] The traditional Chinese belief system, as well as many other aspects of Chinese culture and civilization, was grounded in Confucianism and also had been influenced by Taoism and Buddhism to various degrees. Thus, there was an innate uneasiness with respect to a system that would challenge accepted traditional beliefs and practices. The Taiping rebellion and its effects were clear proof to many of the pernicious effects of Christianity. In addition, the treaties of 1858 and 1860 granted rights and privileges to missionaries at times resulted to protections that were extended to converts that placed them beyond Chinese law.[113]

The economic effects of the foreign presence did nothing to put foreigners in good standing with the Chinese. In addition to the effects of the opium trade, foreign imports had a negative impact on the economy, suppressing prices, ruining domestic industries, causing unemployment and other forms of hardship. Domestic budget deficits were made up by an increase in taxes which fell largely on the poor. In addition, advances in transportation such as the railroad with its foreign origin put people out of

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[112]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.387-8.

[113]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.388.

work, further increasing resentment towards and hatred of foreigners.[114]

Natural disasters also contributed to anti-foreign sentiment on the part of many. While they had been occurring long before the first foreigner came to China, a world view in which nature responded to man's actions, allowed the blame to be placed on the foreigners with their heterodox religion, and by their violation of the land in the form of the damage caused by mining and the building of railroads.[115]

Finally, as foreign imperialism increased during the last years of the nineteenth century, so did domestic reaction against it and while some favored reform measures, others favored outright violence.[116] All of these factors and others would converge to give rise to the Boxer Uprising of 1900.

The Boxers (Yihe quan 義和拳, renamed 義和團 in 1899) were a secret society which had its origins in the Eight Trigrams Sect and White Lotus Sect. They emerged in the early years of the nineteenth century, running small-time hustles which preyed on the little guy, until the authorities clamped down and forced them underground. Originally anti-Qing or anti-dynastic, their orientation changed during the 1890s when they became pro-dynastic and anti-foreign. Given the sentiment of the times,

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[114]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.389-90.

[115]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.390.

[116]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.389.

some conservative officials went so far as to encourage their activities which included the goal of killing foreigners along with their Chinese sympathizers, and driving them all from China.

The Boxers had a system of beliefs which included various deities, deified heroes of the past, superstition, magic, and a regimen which included physical training. They had a significant presence in Shandong during the 1890s enjoyed the support of the governor Li Bingheng, 李秉衡 (1830-1900). After two German missionaries were murdered, German pressure compelled the court to dismiss him. He was replaced by Yuxian 毓賢 (ob.1901), who was equally supportive of the Boxers' activities and did nothing to suppress them. He established schools for the purpose of having the Boxers train his troops. Attacks on foreigners and their Chinese associates increased. In December, Yuxian was replaced by Yuan Shikai. Yuxian came to the court and made a case for the Boxers, one which was supported by high ranking officials and members of the court who recommended them to the empress dowager. In spite of receiving instructions from the court not to interfere with the Boxers, Yuan Shikai, following his prior stand on the matter, suppressed Boxer activity in Shandong. However, the court continued in its support of the Boxers during the early months of 1900. In April, it authorized the organization of village

or "people's" militia. This further emboldened the Boxers who destroyed railways and telegraph lines. In May, the empress dowager had the Boxers come to the capital where after evaluating their ability to resist firearms, she had members of the court take up "boxing." Boxers served as guards to the Manchu nobles, and about half of the regular army troops joined the Boxers, thus making it difficult to differentiate one group from the other.

During the last part of May, an anti-foreign atmosphere had pervaded the capital and aware of the increasing tension, the resident diplomats summoned additional legation guards on May 28. The next day, May 29, the court issued an order which advised provincial level authorities to exercise caution when dealing with members of the Boxers. Taking this as another sign of approval, on June 3 the Boxers cut the railway line between Beijing and Tianjin and the so-called rebellion began.

Leaders of the foreign legations knew of the high degree of anti-foreignism that now prevailed in the imperial court and a request for help went to Tianjin. On June 10, a contingent of 2,100 men set out for Beijing from Tianjin by rail. At about the halfway point, they encountered the Boxers and heavy fighting broke out. In addition, the telegraph lines between the capital and Tianjin were cut, cutting off communication. On the same day, the Boxers burned the British summer legation, and on June 11, the chancellor of the Japanese legation was killed by reactionary troops. On

June 13, in Beijing, the Boxers burned churches and the homes of foreigners. In addition, they killed Chinese converts and dug up the graves of missionaries. The next day they attacked the legations and on June 20, they killed the German minister Clemens von Ketteler. In Tianjin, the Boxers burned churches and stores which carried foreign goods, as well as murdering Chinese converts. They also were able to seize weapons from government arsenals. The forces foreign ships in the harbor decided to seize control of the forts at Dagu. And the troops that encountered the Boxers on the way to the capital made the decision to fight their way back to Tianjin.

Back in the capital, Prince Duan 端 (Zaiyi 載漪) and Gangyi 剛毅 argued for an attack on the foreign legations and the empress dowager agreed. Over the next five days the court deliberated and on June 16 declared war on the foreign powers. The court also sent orders to the provincial authorities to fight the foreigners.[117]

In Beijing, the combined forces of the Boxers and government troops attacked the legations. There were about 450 guards, 475 civilians and 2,300 Chinese Christians in the legations who strongly resisted the attacks. However, in other parts of China the men in charge, such as Li Hongzhang

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[117]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.395.

in Canton, Zhang Zhitong in Wuhan 武漢, Liu Kunyi 劉坤一 (1830-1902)[118] in Nanjing, and Yuan Shikai in Shandong refused to comply with the order, considering it illegitimate. They adopted a course of action that protected foreign lives and interests as well as suppressing Boxer activities in areas under their jurisdiction. Zhang and Liu made informal agreements with the foreign consuls in Shanghai that kept foreign troops out of the area under their control, the Yangtze valley. Thus, the southeast was not subject to the immediate problems caused by the rebellion.

The foreign powers held the Chinese government responsible for any acts against their citizens or property. On July 14, foreign forces took control of Tianjin and at the same time, authorities from the southeastern provinces in a joint effort attempted to persuade the court to reverse course and suppress the Boxers, protect foreign interests, compensate the foreign powers for their losses and offer official apologies. The court made several seemingly goodwill gestures towards the members of the legations. However, the foreigners were not convinced of the court's ability to ensure their safety. On July 26, Li Bingheng arrived in the capital and convinced the empress dowager that war was the only way to achieve expulsion of all foreigners from China. Five officials who voiced dissenting opinions were

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[118]See: ECCP, p.523-4, for his biography.

executed, thus causing great concern on the part of others in the government.

Additional troops from the foreign nations reached the Dagu forts in late July. On August 4, a combined military force of 18,000 troops from several nations set out from Tianjin to Beijing. They quickly and decisively defeated the Boxers and the regular army forces along their path, arriving in the capital on August 14, where they broke the siege and liberated the legations. It should be mentioned that one factor that allowed the legations to hold out against a numerically superior force until the allied forces arrived was that Ronglu, who was charged with carrying out the attack, did so in name only. He never supported the Boxers, but was not in the position to go against the will of the empress dowager, and thus never fully used all the men and material at his disposal against the legations.[119]

The day after foreign forces entered the capital, the royal family disguised themselves, and accompanied by a small group fled to Xi'an, re-establishing the government there on October 23. Li Hongzhang had been summoned north to negotiate a settlement with the foreign powers. After several delays, he had finally arrived in Tianjin on September 18, protected by the Russians. Initially, the representatives of the foreign powers refused to negotiate until the court returned to the capital, which

implied that the emperor be returned to power. Given the complexities of the intrigues that had gone before, and the fact that the empress dowager would only return after a settlement had been concluded, led Li and the leaders of the southeastern provinces to redirect the focus of the negotiations to the punishments of the government ministers who supported the Boxers or allowed uprising to take place. Given the rivalries and conflicts with respect to individual interests between the various foreign powers, it is no surprise that there was difficulty agreeing on the terms of the settlement. On December 24, 1900, they agreed on the terms of the settlement which was formally signed on September 7 of the following year. Known as "The Boxer Protocol," it contained twelve articles and nineteen annexes. Several of the important provisions included the punishment of officials who had complicity in the uprising, indemnity payments to the nations affected, permanent legation guards, apology missions, a two year ban on the importation of arms, the destruction of forts between Beijing and the Pacific, as well as the stationing of troops in China between the Pacific and the capital.[120]

Although the settlement was signed, the problem of the occupation of Manchuria by Russia remained. In July 1900, Russia had sent 200,000

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[119]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.397-8.

[120]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.398-401.

troops to Manchuria supposedly to maintain order and in November they had pressured the military governor of Mukden into signing an agreement which took over Chinese control of Manchuria. However, the Qing court refused to recognize the agreement on the grounds that the military governor had lacked the authority to enter into the agreement. The site of negotiations shifted to St. Petersburg, with the Russian demands still being far too excessive. However, the Russian ambitions in Manchuria were the cause of great concern on the part of the other foreign powers in general and Japan in particular as the Japanese also had interests in Manchuria. The Japanese representative in Beijing argued that concessions to Russia in Manchuria would result in demands for equal treatment being made the other foreign powers and this would ultimately result in the partition of China. Great Britain, Germany, the United States, Austria and Italy all strongly advised China not to enter into a one-sided agreement with the Russians. High officials in China were also sharply divided over what course to follow. The Qing court, still in Xi'an, was caught between opposing forces and was unable to arrive at any resolute decision. Under increasing pressure from the other foreign powers, the Qing court finally rejected the Russian demands and treaty. As Russia now confronted other powerful nations, all they could do was state that at present, circumstances compelled them to remain in Manchuria. On April 4, 1902 they signed an

agreement in which they agreed to withdraw from Manchuria in three stages. China agreed to provide protection to the Russian controlled railway lines, along with its personnel and property. The Russians abided by the agreement and withdrew their troops during the first stage, but when the time came for the second phase to take place, they used the tactic of changing the troops' uniforms to those of railroad guards, demanded new rights, and re-occupied cites from which they had previously withdrawn. This course of action set the stage for the war with Japan.[121]

Immanuel Hsu points to six important consequences of the Boxer rebellion and the resulting settlement with the foreign powers. Among these were a desire on the part of the foreign powers to maintain the status quo in China, which warded off a breakup of the country. This was primarily owing to the individual interests of the foreign powers being at odds with one another, but at the same time the realization on their part that heightening the conflicts and tensions between them would only put all of their potential future economic gain at risk. Second, Chinese sovereignty was limited as the ban on the importation of arms, the stationing of foreign troops on Chinese soil and the destruction of the Dagu forts all restricted China's self-defense capabilities. Next, the amount of the indemnity paid to the foreign powers had a great negative impact on China's economy. In

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[121]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.401-4; CHC, V.11, p.127-9.

addition, the representatives in China now had power which allowed them "to function above the Manchu court." Furthermore, the Boxer uprising altered perceptions: The Chinese were now seen as uncivilized and the foreign powers vastly superior and invincible. In general, Chinese self-respect was gone and their attitude toward foreigners was one of fear and sycophancy. Finally, while the government made some efforts towards institutional reforms, primarily in the interest of self-preservation, many Chinese looked upon the Manchu regime as being unsalvagable. Reform was no longer seen as a viable solution and revolution appeared to be clear way to resolve the ongoing problems.[122]

As was mentioned above, the Russian occupation of Manchuria would eventually lead to the Russian-Japanese war of 1904. It is important to remember that the relationships between the foreign powers in east Asia were a subset of a larger whole, namely the relationships between the same powers in Europe and in the international sphere. In brief, in Europe, there existed the "Triple Alliance" between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, and the "Dual Alliance" between France and Russia. Great Britain followed a policy of isolation or non-alignment. In Asia, Japan was concerned about its own interests in Korea and Manchuria, while the British were concerned about their interests in Beijing. The United States was unaligned, but was

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[122]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.404-6; CHC, V.11, p.129-30.

concerned about the "principles of the Open Door"[123] being maintained in China. France encouraged Russia's move into Manchuria and Germany also supported it (although in secret), both nations hoping that it would shift Russia's attention from Europe.

After failing to reach an agreement with Germany, Britain turned to Japan. Given the balance of power in the region, an alliance between them favored both countries, but opinion within the Japanese government was divided. An attempt was made to reach an agreement with Russia, but the Russians rejected the Japanese terms. Thus, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was formalized on January 30, 1902. The status quo and peace was to be maintained in Asia, with each country coming to the other's aid if either country's interests were threatened in China or Korea. There were also conditions of neutrality and a mutual defense agreement.[124]

The reactions of the various powers to the Alliance was varied. The alliance between France and Russia was extended to Asia. The Chinese were relieved as the alliance was one to counter Russian ambitions, but felt a sense of shame that they were now like Korea in the eyes of the treaty, "a protectorate." They were also concerned that as Japan and the British had entered into the alliance to protect their own interests, the interests of

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[123]See: CHC, V.11, p.113-5.

[124]See: CHC, V.11, p.133-4.

China and Korea would only be of secondary concern. There was also the fear that in the long run the major cause for concern would be Japanese ambitions towards China. The United States saw Japan as a force for peace and stability in east Asia.[125]

Russia viewed its occupation and control of Manchuria in terms of its own interests. Members of the Russian government prevailed upon the tsar and new conditions for the withdrawal of Russian troops were presented to the Chinese government in April 1903. After being advised by the other foreign powers, China rejected the new proposals and in addition entered into new agreements with Japan and the United States which opened several Manchurian cities. Russia countered by re-occupying Mukden. At the same time, Japan had been negotiating with Russia, submitting proposals which would give Japan rights in Manchuria, and exclusive rights in Korea. Russia countered by refusing to discuss Manchuria as well as denying Japan complete control of Korea. Differences between the positions of the two countries led the Japanese to conclude that war was a certainty.[126]

After assessments and deliberations, the Japanese decided to pursue a course of war, initiating hostilities on February 7, 1904. As the war was

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[125]See: CHC, V.11, p.134-6.

[126]See: CHC, V.11, p.136-8.

fought in Manchuria, China was put in a difficult position. Siding with either Japan or Russia would invite attack from the other, thus neutrality was the wisest course, but with Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria maintained regardless of the outcome. After suggestions were made by the German ambassador to the United States to Theodore Roosevelt, the president communicated with other foreign powers, as well as with Russia and Japan, urging them to respect Chinese neutrality and her administrative sovereignty over Manchuria, something to which all agreed.[127]

The Japanese had achieved an impressive string of military victories, including taking Port Arthur, driving the Russians from the southern part of Manchuria, and the defeat of the Russian navy, by the spring of 1905. But war extracts a price, even from the victors, and the Japanese requested Roosevelt to arrange a peace conference, which he did and which was held in New Hampshire. The Chinese were naturally concerned about how the terms of any treaty would affect their own country. The treaty, which was concluded in September 1905, provided for the withdrawal of Japanese and Russian troops from Manchuria within eighteen months, except for those needed to provide protection for their railways. Manchuria was returned to China, except for those areas formerly leased to Russia, which were

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[127]See: CHC, V.11, p.138-9.

transferred to Japan. In December, China and Japan signed a "Secret Protocol" which gave Japan additional rights and privileges in Manchuria, where it was now the pre-eminent foreign power.[128]

After the disastrous results of the Boxer uprising, it became evident to the power behind the throne, the empress dowager, that reforms were necessary. As a result, in late January 1901 she requested suggestions on how best to institute reforms from high ranking officials. In April, an office was established to plan a formal reform program. Zhang Zhidong and Liu Kunyi submitted three joint memorials in which they made specific suggestions. These included a revamped curriculum, changes in the exams, various reforms in government, and the adoption of various "Western Methods." Based on their suggestions, a reform program was begun by the empress dowager. Its substance was fundamentally the same as the reforms proposed in 1898. It included the abolition of old offices and the creation of new offices, such as a Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a Ministry of Education, military reforms, educational reforms which included a mixed curriculum, sending students abroad to study, a revision of the examination system, and an end of the government exams (1905), social reforms such as an end to foot-binding and a prohibition against opium, and additional

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[128]See: CHC, V.11, p.140-1.

reforms, such as establishing provincial taxes on tobacco and liquor, and reducing palace expenses.[129]

The reforms have been characterized as an insincere effort on the part of the empress dowager to cover the effects of her role in the Boxer uprising. It was mainly for show, with little substantive content. The only real changes it produced were the setting up of modern schools, the sponsorship of students who went abroad to further their education and the doing away with the traditional civil service exams. Leadership remained unchanged for the most part, with Manchus of questionable ability still in control and the same degree of anti-Chinese discrimination still at work.[130]

Japan's dramatic defeat of Russia in 1905, the defeat of a large Western nation by a small Asian nation which had a constitutional monarchy as its form of government, created a certain awareness on the part of many Chinese. It was one example that served as evidence that a constitutional form of government contributed to a nation's strength. And in addition, as they became conscious of the fact that almost all of the Western powers had some form of a constitutional government, the elite embraced

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[129]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.408-11 for a more complete list of the reforms. For a more comprehensive an detailed account, see Chuzo Ichiko, "Political and Institutional Reform, 1901-1911," (Chapter 7 in) CHC, V.11, p.375-415.

constitutionalism and looked upon it as China's salvation.[131]

As an advocate for a constitutional form of government, Liang Qichao played a major role in promoting it through his writings. Liang had lived in exile in Japan since the failure of the 1898 reform movement and while there had become familiar with the movement for modernization in Japan and had also read translations of the writings of Western authors on political theory and philosophy. Drawing on these sources as well as his own ideas, he penned a continuous stream of writings, in which he advocated a constitutional monarchy. He favored gradual change and was against a revolution carried out by means of force. Members of the radical political faction aligned with Sun Yat-sen[132] vigorously opposed Liang's position. They believed that the only way to save China was to oust the Manchus and establish a republican form of government. The empress dowager, primarily concerned with her own interests, was caught between two unacceptable alternatives, constitutionalism and revolution. However, as the former represented the lesser threat, she gave it her support, sending members of Manchu royalty abroad to evaluate the systems of government of several Western nations as well as Japan. Upon their return, they recommended

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[130]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.411-12.

[131]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.412.

[132]See: BDRC, V.3, p.171-189, for his biography.

that China implement a constitution within five years, and the recommendation was approved and signed by the empress dowager on September 1, 1906. However, no firm date was given for its implementation.[133]

After the agreement in principle, the problem of agreeing on the specifics remained. Divisions between factions, conflicts of interest, and of course court politics entered into the process. The resulting decree which was issued in November of 1906 was little more than governmental reorganization with the appearance of reform. It placed more power in the control of the Manchus and thus reduced that in Chinese hands, at the national, provincial, and local levels.[134]

However, moves such as the setting up of a Bureau of Constitutional Compilation, an order to start a national assembly and another to set up provincial, prefectural, and district assemblies were positive. The reformers who had been in exile in Japan since 1898 had their hopes revived by these actions, but when they made overtures to the Qing court, they were rejected. They were also harshly criticized by the members of the revolution faction aligned with Sun Yat-sen, and found themselves alienated from both sides. Some returned to China undercover and attempted to prod the

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[133]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.412-14.

[134]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.414-5.

leaders of various groups into pressuring the court to quickly enact constitutional reform. In late August of 1908, the court issued an "Outline of the Constitution," but it was to be put into effect only after a nine year "period of instruction." This however was just another way to reorder the government, while not giving up any real power, and to stall for time. But time was not on the side of the empress dowager or the Guangxu emperor. She died on November 15, 1908 and the Guangxu emperor died the next day.[135] (Pi Xirui had died eight months earlier, on March 6, 1908.)

The empress dowager's grand nephew, Puyi 溥儀 (1906-1967)[136] became emperor, with his father, the second Prince Jun (Zaifeng 載灃) who was the half-brother of Guangxu, acting as regent and in effect the ruler of China until February 12, 1912 when the Qing abdicated the throne.

The Intellectual Background

"Who thought what when and why, and what significance did it have?--and in what context did thinking and ideas take place?" The answers to these questions--in their totality--like the first sense of "history" above, of which they are a subset, are beyond what we can ever hope to know, although they are certainly fascinating to contemplate, along with the great

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[135]See: The Rise of Modern China, p.415-6.

web of interrelated intellectual, social, and political activity. On the other end of the spectrum, the scholarship of the Qing is often simply characterized as that which turned away from abstract philosophical and theoretical discourse and turned towards scholarship grounded in the examination and evaluation of factual evidence and extended to practical application in the public sphere. And as a general description, evidence exists to support it's accuracy. However, the lives, work, and writings of the scholars who constituted the history of Qing scholarship are so rich and varied that no single general description can do them justice--and even a thorough study of a single individual would fall short of the mark as there is so much more to a person's life than can ever be captured on paper. Thus, what follows are brief sketches of the lives of some of the important scholars and thinkers in Qing China. They are presented more or less in historical order, with a focus on who these men were, what they did, and "who wrote what when." There are patterns here, and the writings of these men influenced Pi Xirui to one degree or another. As in the preceding section, what follows is primarily drawn from secondary sources.[137]

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[136]See: BDRC, V.3, p.80-86.

[137]With respect to the history of the history of scholarship during the Qing, Benjamin Elman's From Philosophy to Philology (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984) and his Classicism, Politics, and Kinship (Berkeley

One of the first major figures who is always mentioned in the history of the early period of Qing scholarship is Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682).[138] He was from an educated family line that had a number of writers and officials among its members. As a young man he became known for his writing skill, and in 1643 he was able to purchase a position of "Student by Purchase"[139] in the Imperial Academy. However, the political and social events of his day had a marked influence on him and as a result, changed the way he viewed the literature of the past, as he now looked at it with a more practical attitude. As he studied the Histories, gazetteers, and the collected writings of various Ming authors, he took detailed notes on economics, government and defense. After the fall of the Ming, Gu resisted the Manchus and following his adopted mother's dying wishes, never served

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and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), along with Immanuel C. Y. Hsu's translation of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's Intellectual Trends of the Ch'ing Period (Qingdai xueshu gailun 清代學術概論) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959) are good places to start in English. In Chinese, Qian Mu's 錢穆 Zhongguo sanbainian xueshu shi 中國三白年學術史 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937) is a standard work that should be consulted.

[138]See: ECCP, p.421-6, for his biography.

[139]Cf. Hucker 3596.

them.[140]

An understanding of the context of his life is necessary when attempting to understand Gu Yanwu. Gu blamed the problems of the Ming dynasty on the Song dynasty Neo-Confucian school and those who followed it. Rather than studying the true meaning of the Classics with an eye towards application in practical statecraft, the followers of Neo-Confucianism had been educated and examined in a system of thought that was narrow and failed to address the real concerns of the nation, and the inability to effectively deal with internal corruption and repel the foreign invaders was the result.[141]

Besides demonstrating the ineffectual nature of Neo- Confucianism, Gu Yanwu focused on re-establishing proper standards and principles for classical scholarship. Like many who came before him, he emphasized high ethical conduct. He also warned scholars against self-deception and strongly encouraged them to make use of the broadest range of materials available, as only then could one's conclusions be correct. He firmly believed that when doing research, one should attempt to do something new and original. Hypotheses should be put forth and subjected to rigorous testing by evaluating all relevant evidence. In this way, one might achieve results

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[140]ECCP, p.421-2.

[141]ECCP, p.422-3.

that are both original and have practical application. Younger scholars who lived during the same time, such as Yan Yuan 顏元 (1635-1704), Li Gong 李塨 (1659-1733), Yan Ruoqu 閻若璩 (1636-1704), and Hu Wei 胡渭 (1633- 1714) stressed the same methodology in their respective fields, but it is Gu Yanwu who is considered the primary force in this new, evidence driven approach to scholarship.[142]

A scholar who predates Gu Yanwu, but whose methods Gu would draw from, is Chen Di 陳第 (1541-1617). In his Maoshi guyin kao 毛詩古音考, Chen was able to determine the rhyme groups of the rhyming words in the Songs. His working hypothesis was that "sounds and script differ according to time and place" and carried the implication that the poems in the Songs were rhymed according to a "unified and internally consistent system," which was inherent in the language of the time.[143] The evidence which supported his theory was of two kinds, primary evidence--that is the supposed rhyming words in the Songs, and additional supporting evidence from other sources of roughly the same time period which substantiated his hypotheses. The evidence and the hypotheses it supported also served to refute the views of earlier scholars who felt that the ancients were lax in

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[142]ECCP, p.423.

[143]See: Jerry Norman, Chinese (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

their rhyming as ancient poetry did not rhyme in the modern language. Their theory was that it wasn't the language which had changed, but that the prosodic rules had gradually become stricter over time.[144]

Gu Yanwu utilized Chen's method and expanded the range of his research. He published his results in his Yinxue wushu 音學五書, which is comprised of five different works on phonology. It served to popularize methods and approaches to scholarship that greatly improved the effectiveness of research in many fields, such as philology, historical criticism and textual authenticity. In fact, without these methods, many of the achievements of Qing evidential scholarship would have been impossible to attain. It was employed by scholars such as Dai Zhen 戴震 (1724-1777), Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1804), Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735-1815), Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744-1832), Jiang Yougao 江有誥 (ob. 1851), Yan Ruoqu 閻若璩 (1636-1704), and Cui Shu 崔述 (1740- 1816).

Gu Yanwu is best known, however, for his Rizhi lu 日知錄 (A Record of Daily Acquired Knowledge). It is a collection of notes carefully thought out and written down by Gu on a wide range of subjects. The accumulation of thirty years of thoughtful reading, and of his observations and

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1988), p.42-3.

[144]ECCP, p.423-4; Norman, Chinese, p.42-3.

experiences gained while travelling. Every note was the product of long and careful thought. It went through several revisions and contains the annotations of various scholars. Gu's Rizhi lu essentially set the standard for accuracy, precision, and sufficient detail for the recording of the results of one's researches. The relationship between notation books and the collection of information became an important distinguishing feature of Qing scholarship and the "basic tool" of kaozheng scholars.[145]

Gu Yanwu had expertise in other areas as well. He wrote three rather wide ranging works on geographical subjects. He also collected bronze and stone inscriptions and compiled 300 inscriptions in his Jinshi wenzi ji 金石文字記. He also made records of the antiquities that he found in his travels which were published. And like most educated men of talent and ability in traditional China, Gu Yanwu expressed himself in both prose and verse. His writings have been preserved in manuscript form and published either individually or in various collectanea.[146]

Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695), a contemporary of Gu Yanwu, was the son of Huang Zunsu 黃尊素 (1584-1626), who was a member of the Donglin group. As Huang Zongxi was with his father in Beijing during the early 1620s, he became familiar with the factional struggles and politics of

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[145]See: Elman, From Philosophy to Philology, p.174-6; ECCP, p.424.

the times. As a result of his criticism of Wei Zhongxian, his father was dismissed from office, imprisoned, and executed in 1626. In 1628, he returned to Beijing intent on avenging his father's death, but Wei Zhongxian had died and his faction was driven from power and punished. Following his father's wishes, in 1631 Huang embarked on a study of Chinese history and over the next two years he read in their entirety the twenty-one histories along with the first thirteen Ming dynasty shilu 實錄 ("Veritable Records").[147]

Huang Zongxi joined the Fushe 復社 ("Restoration Society"), an important political-scholarly group, in 1630 while in Nanjing and remained active in the group.[148] Its members held strong anti-corruptionist views like the members of the Donglin group before them. When Beijing fell to the Manchus in 1644, Huang traveled to Hangzhou where he joined other Ming loyalists in an attempt to raise an army to fight the invaders. After Nanjing fell the following year, Huang and his troops joined with others to resist the Manchus. He was active in Ming loyalist activities until 1649 when he

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[146]ECCP, p.425.

[147]ECCP, p.352-3.

[148]On the Fushe (Fu She), see: William S. Atwell, "From Education to Politics: The Fu She," in William Theodore de Bary, editor, The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975),

withdrew as further involvement would have put his mother's life at risk.[149]

During the rest of his life, Huang dedicated himself to scholarship and the promotion of learning. He was actively involved with the scholarly community and his standing led others to seek out his advice or consult the results of his research. For example, Gu Yanwu sent him a copy of his Rizhi lu for him to critically evaluate, and the commission established to compile and write the history of the Ming dynasty made sure that Huang Zongxi's writings on historical matters were all made available to those working on the project.[150]

Huang Zongxi was a person of broad interests, studying the Classics, history, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics as well as literature. In his teens his father introduced him to Liu Zongzhou 劉宗周 (1578-1645)[151] who was a well known scholar of the Neo-Confucian school with whom he studied. Like Liu who became more and more critical of the Neo-Confucian School's abstract philosophy, Huang also changed his approach, advocating the study of the Classics, and the study of history as well. He also emphasized the practical application of what one had learned, especially in

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p.333-367.

[149]ECCP, p.352.

[150]ECCP, p.352-3.

[151]See: ECCP, p.532-3, for his biography.

the realm of statecraft. Liang Qichao referred to Huang as "the father of historical learning,"[152] and his particular branch of historical learning was referred to as the Zhedong xuepai 浙東學派 ("Eastern Zhejiang School"). He strove to tighten and improve the standards for both history and philosophy, and held the view that only by using sound historical methods could the systems of thought of such thinkers as Zhu Xi be critically examined.[153]

Huang Zongxi authored over one hundred books. His Mingru xuean 明儒學案 is considered to be the first major "intellectual history" written in China.[154] In it Huang evaluates the life and thought of individual thinkers as well as covering the various philosophic schools, their relationships to one another, as well as the geography behind this history of thought. In his later years, he began work on an intellectual history of the Song and Yuan periods, the Song Yuan xuean 宋元學案, but died before work on it could be completed. However, work on the project was carried on first by his son and later by other scholars, with several supplements being added.[155]

In his Mingyi daifang lu 明夷待訪錄, Huang Zongxi lays out his

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[152]Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.37.

[153]ECCP, p.353; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.36-37.

[154]Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.37.

[155]ECCP, p.353-4.

political philosophy. It was well received by his contemporaries such as Gu Yanwu and praised by later thinkers such as Liang Qichao who stated that Huang, like other scholars of his age, placed importance on the practical application of one's knowledge and its application to statecraft. In his case, this was done from the perspective of historical learning, and in his work he stated the responsibilities of the ruler, and advocated the rights of the people and the rule of law.[156]

Huang Zongxi also compiled anthologies of poetry and prose writings of other authors, the Yaojiang yishi 姚江逸詩 which contained poems composed by authors from his native area, and the Mingwen hai 明文海, an anthology of prose writings by Ming dynasty authors, among them. His poetry and prose writings have been preserved in various collections. As for his writings on other subjects, such as mathematics, some have been published, but others are extant only in manuscript form.[157]

Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619-1692),[158] who was a Ming loyalist like Huang Zongxi, is another major figure of the early Qing period. His father was a student at the Imperial Academy on two occasions and an adherent of

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[156]ECCP, p.354; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.37-8.

[157]ECCP, p.354.

[158]See: ECCP, p.817-9; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.38-40, for his biography.

the Neo-Confucian thought of Zhu Xi. Wang Fuzhi was said to have been a gifted youth and passed the provincial examination in 1642 at the age of twenty-three. After the Manchus took the capital two years later, he and his father dropped out of sight and Wang Fuzhi devoted the next four years to the study of the Classics. In 1648, he raised an army at Hengshan, Hunan to fight the Manchu forces, but his troops suffered defeat. He subsequently fled to Guangdong and allied himself with what remained of the Ming under Zhu Youlang[159] 朱由榔 (1623-1662; the Prince of Gui 桂王). He traveled with them over the next two years, but left in the spring of 1650 after coming to the conclusion that their actions would ultimately prove futile. The following year he returned to his home, Hengyang in Hunan province, and spent the rest of his life engaged in study and scholarship. He refused to serve the Manchus in any way.[160]

Wang Fuzhi was a follower of the Song Neo-Confucian school, but differed from other scholars of his day in so far as he held the philosophical views of Zhang Zai[161] 張載 (1020-77) in the highest regard. In his Zhangzi

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[159]See: ECCP, p.193-5, for his biography.

[160]ECCP, p.817.

[161]See: Herbert Franke, ed., Sung Biographies (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976), Vol.1, p.39-43, for his biography; also see: Fung, A History of Chinese Philosophy, Vol.2, p.477ff.

zhengmeng zhu 張子正蒙注 he lays out and explains Zhang's system of thought as well as his own. And like many of his contemporaries, he was strongly critical of the thought of Wang Yangming.[162]

As he had a sincere love of learning and spent forty years devoted to scholarship, it should come as no surprise that Wang produced a very large volume of written work. Two of his better known works are the Du Tongjian lun 讀通鑑論 (Essays on Reading the Zizhi tongjian) and the Song lun 宋論 (Discourses on the Song). In both he displays his astute powers of judgment, sharp critical skills, and overall keenness of mind. He also expresses his political thought in which the best form of government is that which best serves the people, but one in which rulers are necessary, so as to enact the will of Heaven. As might be expected, there is also a strong thread of nationalism where only Chinese have the right to rule China. He also wrote commentary to the two Taoist classics, the Zhuangzi jie 莊子解 and the Laozi yan 老子衍. In the field of Classical scholarship, Wang Fuzhi utilized philological as well as historical methods in his analysis of the texts, focusing on discerning the meaning of words and passages that were unclear. He wrote more than thirty works on various aspects of classical scholarship, the Sishu xunyi 四書訓義 and the Liji zhangju 禮記章句 being

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[162]ECCP, p.817.

two of the better known.[163]

Like other exemplary men of his age, Wang Fuzhi also composed poetry, his output filling eighteen collections. He also wrote literary criticism, prose, and compiled anthologies of the poetry of other writers. There is even a play, the Longzhou hui 龍舟會 which he supposedly penned. None of his writings were printed while he was living and thus he received little or no recognition for his achievements while he was alive. His writings remained in manuscript form until the 1800s when they began to be published. In 1840-42, a collection of his works was published with the title Chuanshan yishu 船山遺書. This edition contained eighteen works in 150 juan. Years later Zeng Guofan reprinted a collection under the same title containing 58 titles in 288 juan, and in 1933 it was reprinted yet again, with 70 titles in 358 juan.[164]

Yan Ruoqu[165] 閻若璩 (1636-1704) is considered by some to be one of the greatest scholars of the Qing dynasty. He came from an educated family as his grandfather had passed the jinshi exam in 1604 and held public office, and his father was known as a man of letters. He exhibited no special

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[163]ECCP, p.817-8; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.39.

[164]ECCP, p.818.

[165]See: ECCP, p.908-10; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.32-36 for his biography.

talent as a young child, but in his mid-teens he started to show that he did indeed possess exceptional talent and this drew the attention of local scholars. In 1663 he became a xiucai, but he was never successful at the juren exam and even after being recommended for the special boxue hongci 博學宏詞 exam[166] in 1679, failed that as well. While reputations and careers were made owing to one's success on the exams and subsequent appointment to office, as so many talented men of his time had also failed the exams, his failure to attain an advanced degree or official position had no detrimental effect on how his scholarly talents were perceived by others.[167]

Several years earlier, his reputation was already such that in 1672 while on a visit to Taiyuan, Gu Yanwu asked Yan for advice regarding his Rizhi lu, and was gracious in accepting Yan's suggestions for improvement.[168] Years later while in Beijing, he was asked to serve as personal literary adviser to Xu Qianxue[169] 徐乾學 (1631-1694), a high ranking official and scholar who was involved in several important compilation projects. In 1692, after Xu was cashiered owing to various

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[166]See: Hucker 4732.

[167]ECCP, p.908-9.

[168]Elman, From Philosophy to Philology, p.175-6.

[169]See: ECCP, p.311-2, for his biography.

improprieties, Yan Ruoqu returned to his home, Huaian 淮安 in Jiangsu.[170]

Compared to his well known contemporaries, Yan Ruoqu's life was relatively matter-of-fact. However, as a scholar his achievements are anything but ordinary. His most famous work is the Shangshu guwen shuzheng 尚書古文疏證 in which he clearly demonstrated that the sixteen so-called "Old Script" chapters of the Shangshu (Documents) were not part of the original text, but were forgeries from a later time. Other scholars before him, such as Wu Yu 吳域 (jinshi 1124) and Zhu Xi (1130-1200), had questioned the authenticity of the Old Script chapters, but no one before Yan had used such extensive evidence, combining it with tight and well reasoned argumentation to prove the case. Some scholars, such as Mao Qiling 毛奇齡 (1623-1716), disputed Yan's conclusions, but overall most scholars agreed that Yan had more than conclusively demonstrated that the "Old Script" chapters were not authentic.[171]

The significance of the results of Yan Ruoqu's researches, which he carried out over a period of thirty years, cannot be overstated. First, one of the classic texts had been subject to a thorough and rigorous critical evaluation and had been found to contain material of dubious origin. While

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[170]ECCP, p.909.

[171]ECCP, p.909-10; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.33-4.

the status of the "Modern Script" chapters remained intact, the results opened the door for the critical evaluation of any text or artifact, no matter how revered. In addition, Yan's methods now set the standard for critical research. It wasn't that everything had doubt cast upon it or was called into question, but that certain long held assumptions could now be re-examined.

Yan Ruoqu also did a critical study of the authorship of the "Daxue" 大學 chapter of the Liji and concluded that assigning authorship to Zeng Shen 曾參 (b.ca. 505 B.C.) and his students, as was done by some Song dynasty scholars, was without basis in fact. He was also interested in historical geography and wrote the Sishu shidi 四書釋地 which examined the place names in the Four Books. A collection of his notes, the Qianqiu zhaji 潛邱劄記, was printed by his grandson.[172]

Yan Yuan 顏元 (1635-1704)[173] originally went by the name Zhu Bangliang 朱邦良 as his father, Yan Chang 顏昶 (1617-1673), was adopted by a man surnamed Zhu and thus took the Zhu family name. His life was anything but ordinary. In 1638, Manchu invaders forced his father to go back to Manchuria with them, and he never saw or heard from his father again. Under the care of his foster grandfather who held a minor official

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[172]ECCP, p.910.

[173]See: ECCP, p.912-5, for his biography.

post, he studied with various local scholars. He was intrigued by a variety of Taoism which bordered on the supernatural, but later rejected its system of beliefs as he came to see them as absurd and nonsensical. In a turn of events, he found himself in prison in the place of his grandfather owing to a lawsuit, but he managed to keep pursuing his studies nonetheless. After he got out in 1654, he then took up the study of Sima Guang's Zizhi tonjian and at about the same time abandoned his pursuit of an official career. In 1656, he began to study medicine. He started a school in 1658 and while teaching there wrote a short piece on an ideal form of government, the Wangdao lun 王道論, which was published under the title Zunzhi bian 尊治編 in 1705.[174]

Yan Yuan's interest in Song Learning began around 1660 after he read the Xingli daquan 性理大全,[175] a well known compilation of Song philosophy. He embraced the philosophy of the Song philosophers, including sitting in quiet contemplation as the path to enlightenment. The same year he attempted the provincial exams, but did not pass. He continued his involvement with Song Neo-Confucianism and in 1162 formed a literary

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[174]ECCP, p.912-3.

[175]The Xingli daquan ("Philosophy of Nature and Principle in Its Completeness") was compiled under the editorship of by Hu Guang 胡廣 (1370-1418). [I have used Wing Tsit-chan's translation of the title. See: de Bary, The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism, p.543.]

society with local scholars. In 1668, his foster grandmother died and in carrying out the mourning rites he pushed himself to the point of mental and physical collapse. A family member then intervened and told him that his origins were not with the Zhu family, but with the Yan family. While he decided to rejoin his original clan, he did not do so until after the death of his adopted grandfather in 1673.[176]

It was during the mourning period that a radical change in his thinking took place. He discovered that the Song rules for mourning differed from those found in the Classics and this caused him to doubt the former. After writing an essay in which he "corrected" the Song interpretations of the mourning rites, he became disenchanted with Song and Ming philosophy, realizing that it was far inferior to the ideas found in the Classics. For Yan Yuan, the Classics placed importance on the practical application of one's learning, and this caused him to change his way of thinking.[177]

In 1669, Yan wrote two books, the Cunxing bian 存性編 and the Cunxue bian 存學編. In the first he put forth his ideas on human nature, following the ideas of Mencius which he considered far superior to those of the Song scholars, and in the second he lays out the system of education

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[176]ECCP, p.913-4.

prior to Confucius, where physical training was emphasized in contrast to the study of books, which had been the norm for centuries. The result of the process that Yan went through as his thinking changed was that he now opposed studies that were limited to mere contemplation or restricted to the study of texts and the writing of books. Thus, he rejected both Song Learning and Han Learning in favor of an approach which had physical training and practical application as its main components.[178]

For Yan Yuan the correct and proper teachings were the Six Virtues 六德: knowledge, humanity, sagliness, propriety, loyalty, and harmony; the Six Forms of Proper Conduct 六行: filial piety, the love between brothers, harmonious relations with relatives, a strong marital bond, dedication to one's responsibilities to others, and compassion for others; and the Six Arts 六藝: the Rites, music, archery, charioteering, calligraphy and writing, and mathematics. The Six Virtues, Six Forms of Proper Conduct, and Six Arts were all to be found in the Zhouli.[179]

Through the 1670s, Yan corresponded with scholars such as Sun Qifeng[180] 孫奇逢 (1585-1675) and Lu Shiyi[181] 陸世儀 (1611-1672) whom he

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[177]ECCP, p.914.

[178]ECCP, p.914; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.40-2.

[179]ECCP, p.914; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.42.

[180]See: ECCP, p.671-2, for his biography.

asked for advice regarding his writings. In 1679, Li Gong[182] 李塨 (1659-1733) became his student. Li Gong would go on to be the major proponent of Yan's philosophy and the person primarily responsible for it becoming widely known. In 1684, Yan Yuan traveled to Beijing and then to Manchuria in search of his father, where he spent the better part of the year looking for him in vain. After making contact with a half-sister, he learned that their father had died thirteen years earlier. His mother passed away the next year. He spent the next several years traveling and teaching, and in June 1696, accepted the position of director of the Zhangnan 漳南 Academy in Feixiang, but the Academy was flooded in September. He then returned to Beiyang cun 北楊村, a place that he had considered his ancestral home since rejoining the Yan clan, where he remained there until his death in 1704.[183]

Owing to Yan's critical attitude towards text-based learning, it is not surprising that his written output was limited. He wrote a work critical of Buddhism, the Huan mitu 喚迷途, in addition to the titles mentioned above. A student compiled a collection of his essays and notes and published them

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[181]See: ECCP, p.548-9, for his biography.

[182]See: ECCP, p.475-9, for his biography.

[183]ECCP, p.915.

as the Xichai jiyu 習齋記餘.[184]

Hu Wei[185] 胡渭 (1633-1714) was from an educated family, his great-grandfather being a jinshi of 1568 and his father (who died in 1644 when Hu Wei was twelve sui) attaining the juren degree in 1624. He achieved xiucai status at age fifteen sui, but never attained a higher degree.[186]

He went to Beijing and studied at the Imperial Academy and then, like so many other scholars without official position, worked as a private tutor. He was recommended for the boxue hongci exam in 1678, but was unwilling to participate. In 1690, when Hu Wei was in his late fifties, he went to Dongting shan 洞庭山 (located on an island in Taihu 太湖, SW of Suzhou) to assist Xu Qianxue in compiling the Da Qing yitong zhi 大清一統志, which was a comprehensive geography of the Qing empire. Yan Ruoqu, Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹 (1631-1692),[187] and Huang Yi 黃儀 also worked on the project. As Hu Wei had access to numerous texts on geography, he was able to make notes which he later drew from when writing his Yugong zhuizhi 禹貢錐指. In this work he focuses on the geography of the Documents,

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[184]ECCP, p.915.

[185]See: ECCP, p.335-7, for his biography.

[186]ECCP, p.335.

providing corrected and accurate information on place names, mountain ranges, and the course of rivers. Its quality and value cannot be over emphasized and it later received high praise from the Siku editors.[188]

Hu Wei is also known for another monumental work, his Yitu mingbian 易圖明辨 ("A Clear Differentiation of the Diagrams [Appended to] the Changes"), which he finished in 1700. Certain illustrations and diagrams had been appended to the Changes at some point in the past and as time went by people came to believe them to be an essential part of the original text, dating back to the legendary emperor Fu Xi. Hu Wei researched the true origin and subsequent development of the diagrams, ascertaining that they were drawn by Chen Tuan 陳摶 (ob. 989) who was a Taoist priest. There was then a line of transmission to and through various Song personages, including Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077). Well known philosophers, such as Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085), Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107), and Zhu Xi in founding what came to be known as Song Learning, legitimized the illustrations and diagrams as they were now part of a text aligned with the dominant school of thought. By making clear the actual origins of the diagrams and thus distinguishing them from the

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[187]See: ECCP, p.419-20, for his biography.

[188]ECCP, p.335.

original text of the Changes, Hu Wei exposed this part of Song Learning for what it really was. While Huang Zongxi and Mao Qiling had followed their suspicions and had done earlier studies, Hu Wei's researches were the most comprehensive and thorough.[189]

Hu Wei wrote another work on the Documents, the Hongfan zhenglun 洪範正論, which is a study of the "Grand Plan" chapter. He also wrote the Daxue yizhen 大學翼真, which is on the "Great Learning" chapter of the Liji. Both of these were included in the Siku quanshu collection. Like for most other educated men of his age, poetry was primary mode of personal expression, and his poems are collected in the Dongqiao yishi 東樵遺詩.[190]

Liang Qichao ranks Hu Wei's work which determined that the diagrams appended to the Changes were of Song dynasty origin with Yan Ruoqu's study of the "Old Script" chapters of the Documents in importance.[191] In both cases these scholars challenged the prevailing assumptions about parts of revered texts and clearly demonstrated, by means of painstaking research based on evidence, that parts of the texts were inauthentic. However, Liang also notes that both scholars did not

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[189]ECCP, p.336; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.34-5.

[190]ECCP, p.336.

strictly adhere to one writing style or a single focus in their texts. For example, Yan Ruoqu in his work on the Shangshu included "genres of writing such as diaries and letters" and Hu Wei discusses statecraft in his work on the "Yugong" chapter. It would be the next cohort of scholars, who lived during what he refers to as the "high period," who would be more refined and focused.[192]

Hui Dong[193] 惠棟 (1697-1758) came from a highly educated family that had a tradition of Classical scholarship. His great-grandfather taught the Classics, his grandfather, a jinshi of 1691, was a scholar and official who wrote the Shishuo 詩說, an interpretation of the Songs, and his father, Hui Shiqi[194] 惠士奇 (1671-1741), (juren 1708, jinshi 1709) held various official positions, and was a scholar who taught many students who would go on to distinguish themselves, in addition to his son.[195] Hui Dong was recognized as one of his father's best students and became a xiucai in 1716. However, he never passed the provincial exam and as a result, spent his life as a

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[191]Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.33-35.

[192]Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.51.

[193]See: ECCP, p.357-8, for his biography.

[194]See: ECCP, p.356-7, for his biography.

[195]ECCP, p.356.

scholar not employed in government service.[196]

Hui Dong followed--and advanced--what had come to be referred to as the "School of Han Learning." He utilized strict evidence-based philological methods in his study of ancient texts and took the commentaries of the Han dynasty, because they were closer in time to the Classics, to be superior to those that were written by later scholars. For this view he was also criticized by some, as a more open- minded attitude would have recognized the possibility that earlier is not necessarily always better, but overall he was a sound scholar whose solid research produced excellent results of enduring value.[197]

In the field of classical scholarship, he made several important studies of the Changes. After the appearance of the Zhouyi zhengyi 周易正義 in the early Tang, the Han commentaries had been neglected. Hui Dong attempted to reconstruct the Han commentaries from fragments that had been preserved in other texts, Li Dingzuo's 李鼎祚 (Tang) Zhouyi jijie 周易集解 primary among them. He did not finish his research or the writing of his results before he died, but his manuscript was later published under the title Zhouyi shu 周易述. On the Changes, he also wrote the Yi Han xue 易漢

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[196]ECCP, p.357; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.51-4.

[197]ECCP, p.357.

學, the Yi li 易例, and the Zhouyi benyi bianzheng 周易本義辨證.[198]

Hui Dong also examined the authenticity of the "Old Script" chapters of the Documents in his Guwen Shangshu kao 古文尚書考. In it he demonstrates that the Old Script chapters in the received version of the text are forgeries, but contends that the original "Old Script" chapters were authentic. He carried out his work unaware of Yan Ruoqu's Guwen Shangshu shuzheng and only saw it after his own researches were completed. He also wrote the Jiujing guyi 九經古義 in which he examines lines in the Classics which have questionable explanations.[199]

In addition, Hui Dong wrote annotations to historical texts, the Hou Hanshu buzhu 後漢書補注 and the Chunqiu Zuozhuan buzhu 春秋左傳補注, and a study of the Shuowen jiezi, the Du Shuowen ji 讀說文記, among other works. His notes were printed in a collection, the Songyai biji 松崖筆記. As a teacher Hui Dong had several notable students, Jiang Sheng[200] 江聲 (1721-1799) and Yu Xiaoke[201]余蕭客 (1729-1777) among them.[202]

Not all great scholars are lucky enough to come from a scholarly

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[198]ECCP, p.358-9.

[199]ECCP, p.358.

[200]See: ECCP, p.140-1, for his biography.

[201]See: ECCP, p.941-2, for his biography.

[202]ECCP, p.358; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.51-2.

family of means, and Dai Zhen 戴震 (1724-1777) is a case in point. His family was poor, but with an innate, insatiable curiosity and a love of learning, he would borrow books from his neighbors in attempts to satisfy his curiosity and increase his knowledge. He also had an intellect that questioned and challenged conventional assumptions. The years 1740-42 found him in Nanfeng in Jiangxi with his father who sold cloth for a living, but in 1742, he returned to his home in Anhui where he was able to study mathematics, phonology, and the Liji with Jiang Yong 江永 (1681-1762) who was living in the home of Wang Wufeng 汪梧鳳 (1726-1722), a well-to-do scholar.[203]

In 1744, Dai completed his first work, the Cesuan 策算, on the use of Napier's Rods.[204] This was followed by the Kaogong ji tu zhu 考工記圖注 which was an illustrated and annotated work on the "Kaogong ji" ("Record of the Examination of Crafts") chapter of the Zhouli (Rites of Zhou). Several years later, in 1751, he finished his commentary on the writings of Qu Yuan, the Qu Yuan fu zhu 屈原賦注.[205]

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[203]ECCP, p.695.

[204]Napier's Rods (also known as Napier's Bones) are numbered rods or bones which are placed side by side to perform multiplication. The process was invented by John Napier and described in an article published in 1617.

[205]ECCP, p.695.

Owing to threats made against him by a powerful clan member, Dai Zhen traveled to Beijing in 1754 and the people he came into contact with reads like a "Who's Who" of mid-eighteenth century intellectual history. There he met Qian Daxin[206] 錢大昕 (1728-1804) who in turned introduced him to Qin Huitian[207] 秦蕙田 (1702-1764) who hired him to help with his Wuli tongkao 五禮通考 (Comprehensive Study of the Five Rites). He then made the acquaintance of a group of scholars who would go on to achieve renown in their own right: Ji Yun[208] 紀昀 (1724-1805), Zhu Yun[209] 朱筠 (1729-1781), Wang Chang[210] 王昶 (1725-1806), Lu Wenchao[211] 盧文弨 (1717-1796), and Wang Mingsheng[212] 王鳴盛 (1722-1798). In 1756, we find him working as a tutor to the young Wang Niansun[213] 王念孫 (1744-1832), the son of Wang Anguo[214] 王安國 (1694-1757). In the later part of 1757, he

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[206]See: ECCP, p.152-5, for his biography.

[207]See: ECCP, p.167-8, for his biography.

[208]See: ECCP, p.120-3, for his biography.

[209]See: ECCP, p.198-9, for his biography.

[210]See: ECCP, p.805-7, for his biography.

[211]See: ECCP, p.549-550, for his biography.

[212]See: ECCP, p.828, for his biography.

[213]See: ECCP, p.829-30, for his biography.

[214]See: ECCP, p.804-5, for his biography.

traveled to Yangzhou where he worked for Lu Jianzeng[215] 盧見曾 (1690-1768). While in the south he personally met Hui Dong.[216]

In 1751, he had attained xiucai status, and in 1762 passed the exams for the juren degree. During that year he lived and lectured in Beijing, one of the attendees being Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735-1815) who would become his student in 1766. (Dai unsuccessfully attempted the metropolitan exams in Beijing in 1763, 1766, 1769, 1770, and 1772.)[217]

Owing to his reputation as a scholar, Dai had been employed on several compilation and local history projects. In 1773, he was asked to serve as a compiler on the Siku quanshu project. Along with four other scholars, he worked at collating and editing texts drawn from the Yongle dadian 永樂大典. During the years 1774-76, he worked on extracting mathematical texts originally printed during the Song under the title Suanjing shishu 算經十書 from the Yongle dadian. He attempted and failed the metropolitan exam once again in 1775, but a special decree was issued and he was awarded the jinshi degree and appointed to the Hanlin Academy. Dai Zhen worked on the Siku project until his death in 1777.[218]

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[215]See: ECCP, p.541-2, for his biography.

[216]ECCP, p.695.

[217]ECCP, p.696.

[218]ECCP, p.696-7.

During his life, Dai Zhen wrote on a variety of subjects. His Shenglei biao 聲類表 and Shengyun kao 聲韻考 are on phonology, and he also wrote annotations to Yang Xiong's Fangyan 方言, in a work titled Fangyan zhu shuzheng 方言注疏證. In addition, he wrote notes on the Classics and these were published in various collections of his writings under the title Jingkao fulu 經考附錄.[219]

Dai Zhen is best remembered as a philosopher, with two works, the Yuanshan 原善 (On the Origins of Goodness) and Mengzi ziyi shuzheng 孟子字義疏證 (On the Meaning of the Words in Mencius) being the main repository of his philosophic thought. His system of thought, however, cannot be summed up in a few sentences or paragraphs as no synopsis can do him justice, although a few points are worth noting. He had at his disposal all of the methods utilized by those who went before him, but he felt that it was not enough to merely apply them to the analysis of texts. The real value of the Classics was in their content, that is, the lessons that they have to teach. The study of these texts must ultimately lead to the improvement of the individual and of society. He also felt that the qi 氣-li 理 dualism of Song Neo-Confucianism was problematic and attempted to replace it with a "rationalistic monism." One would not arrive at the truth

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[219]ECCP, p.697.

through sudden enlightenment, but through much hard intellectual work which included comprehensive learning, thorough investigation, rigorous and tight-minded thinking, and clear and careful reasoning. Objective, verifiable facts are of the public domain and accessible by everyone. No one was entitled to his own private facts. Dai also disagreed with the Song notions that human desires are somehow inferior to reason, and for him they were part of the Tao and therefore legitimate, but needed to be expressed properly.[220] This arbitrary list is extremely inadequate at best, but provides a glimpse of a few of Dai Zhen's views.

Duan Yucai[221] 段玉裁 (1735-1815) was the son of a teacher, Duan Shixu 段世續 (1710-1803), with whom he studied. After passing the provincial exam in 1760 he traveled to Beijing where he developed an interest in phonology after reading Gu Yanwu's Yinxue wushu. He failed the jinshi exam in 1761 and subsequently took a teaching position in a government school. In 1763, he met Dai Zhen and would consider himself to be Dai's "student" throughout his life. He went back home in 1767 where he and his younger brother studied the Songs. He wrote two works on the phonology of the Songs which he would later expand and refine into his Liushu yinyun biao 六書音韻表, a classification of the rhyme groups of Old

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[220]ECCP, p.698-9; Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.55-62.

Chinese, which he completed in 1775.[222]

In 1769, he traveled to Beijing to take the jinshi exam, but did not pass. He then taught at an academy for a year before serving as a magistrate in several different locales. In 1775, he compiled the Fushun xianzhi 富順縣志, a local history. In 1780, he left official life on the grounds of ill health.[223]

Duan Yucai is best known for his landmark work on Xu Shen's 許慎 (ca.55-ca.149) Shuowen jiezi 說文解字[224] which was submitted to the throne by his son in 121 A.D. There had been earlier studies by scholars such as Xu Kai 徐鍇 (920-974) whose studies were analytical or exegetical and his brother Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916-991), whose study of the Shuowen text was focused on textual criticism. Although Duan used Xu Xuan's edition as a starting point, he accepted nothing about which he had the slightest suspicion. He checked the text, not only comparing it with other editions, but also with other texts which might quote from it, as well as with other works of a similar nature. His research was comprehensive and thorough,

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[221]See: ECCP, p.782-4, for his biography.

[222]ECCP, p.782-3.

[223]ECCP, p.783.

[224]On the Shuowen, see William Boltz's entry in Early Chinese Texts, p.429-442.

but was not limited to textual criticism alone as he also did analysis and exegesis. In addition, owing to his command of traditional literature he was able to expand upon Xu Shen's "definitions," giving examples to illustrate the meaning and use of the words. And as William Boltz points out, Duan recognized the relationship between the graph, its sound, and its meaning and as a result was able to understand and explain how and why the meaning of a word in a certain context might differ from the meaning given by Xu Shen. His monumental achievement was "to take the related areas of semasiology, phonology and palaeology and make of them a single independent field of study."[225]

Duan Yucai's work on the Shuowen, which took him over thirty years to complete, was not only important for its published results in the form of the Shuowen jiezi zhu 說文解字註, but also significant for the interest that it generated on the part of other scholars, who in turn went on to make their own contributions to the field, either in the form of supplementary studies to Duan's work, or in independent works, such as Zhu Junsheng's 朱駿聲 (1788-1858) Shuowen tongxun dingsheng 說文通訓定聲.[226]

Duan Yucai's works have been reprinted in various editions. He

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[225]See: ECT, p.437-8; ECCP, p.783.

[226]ECCP, p.783.

printed his own writings under the title Jingyun lou congshu 經韻樓叢書. His most famous work, the Shuowen jiezi zhu has been reprinted numerous times.[227]

Zhang Xuecheng[228] 章學誠 (1738-1801) was the only son of Zhang Biao 章鏢 (ob.1768; jinshi 1742), a scholar-official who spent the ten years after passing the metropolitan exam working as a teacher, and with whom he studied with. By his own accounts, he was often in ill health as a child and a slow learner. When he was fourteen sui, his father was appointed district magistrate at Yingcheng in Hubei and the family relocated there. At this point he was still a slow student and had yet to finish reading the Four Books. In 1756, his father was dismissed from his position, but in 1760 was appointed director of a local academy. In the same year, Zhang Xuecheng traveled to Beijing to attempt the juren exam. He was unsuccessful, but would return again two years later to try again and this time, although he failed, his performance on the exam was good enough to gain him entrance to the Imperial Academy as a student, where he would spend the next ten

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[227]ECCP, p.783-4.

[228]See: ECCP, p.38-41, for his biography; For a book length study, see: David S. Nivison, The Life and Thought of Chang Hsüeh-cheng (1738-1801), (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966).

years.[229]

In 1766, he did not qualify for the examinations because, although he was outstanding in history, he failed in the area of literature. To remedy his deficiencies, he lived and studied at the home of the scholar-official Zhu Yun. While he failed the exams once again in 1768, his essay on the compilation of a history of the Imperial Academy attracted attention and he was employed on the staff of the Guozijian zhi 國子監志. During the next several years he was able to meet many of the well known scholars of his day, such as Dai Zhen in 1773. The same year, owing to Zhu Yun's influence, he was hired as the editor of the Hezhou zhi 和州志 in Hezhou, Anhui. Zhang was in the position to apply his ideas on organization, but the work was never printed. Within the year he was back in the capital and there he met many of the scholars working on the Siku project. In 1776, he became an archivist at the Imperial Academy and over the next several years he held the directorship of the Dingwu Academy 定武書院 at Dingzhou and also compiled the Yongqingxian zhi 永清縣志. The pattern of securing employment at one of the traditional academies and also working on the compilation of a local history is one that would reoccur throughout the next twenty or so years. From 1795 on, he traveled in search of a patron,

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[229]ECCP, p.38; Nivison, Life and Thought, p.20ff.

but never found one. His vision began to fail in 1800 and he died the following year.[230]

Like most famous scholars, Zhang Xuecheng is known for his most significant writings which in his case are two collections on the methods and philosophy of history. He started work on the pieces which make up these collections in 1772, but his manuscripts were stolen in 1782 and he had to rewrite them using parts of the original essays that he had given to his associates and friends. A set of sixteen manuscripts was first published in 1796 and his son later supplemented these writings with additional essays that his father had written, publishing them under the titles Wenshi tongyi 文史通意 and Jiaochou tongyi 校讎通義 in 1833, some three decades after his father had passed away. This edition of Zhang Xuecheng's works is also known as the Zhangshi yishu 章氏遺書 and various other collections of Zhang's works have been printed under this title in subsequent years.[231]

For Zhang Xuecheng, the study of history was more than textual analysis of historical materials that resulted in the most reliable text, or the study of history as a mere end in itself. History contained moral lessons because historical events occurred within a larger underlying context of moral significance and implication. Thus, this needed to be clearly

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[230]ECCP, p.38-9.

understood and interpreted by the historian if history was to be written properly. For Zhang, all materials that contained information about the past, not just those placed in the standard category of "history," were necessary for a thorough and comprehensive study of history in the sense that he understood it. Given the importance he placed upon historical materials, it should be no surprise that preservation, organization, and convenient accessibility of these materials was crucial.[232]

As Zhang was involved in the compilation of several local histories, it is also not surprising that owing to this and his concept of history, he accorded the gazetteers value and importance that they had not previously been granted. He felt that they were an integral part of the whole of national history. Zhang Xuecheng never got the chance to apply his methods and philosophy to the writing of a general history, and after he died it appears that his views received no attention until the late 1800s when Kang Youwei and others came to recognize their significance and worth.[233]

Wang Niansun (1744-1832) came from a scholarly family who for generations had been scholars and teachers. His father, Wang Anguo

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[231]ECCP, p.39.

[232]ECCP, p.40.

[233]ECCP, p.40.

(1694-1757) who had attained jinshi status in 1724 and had subsequently received an appointment in the Hanlin Academy, would be associated with various compilation project and hold official positions throughout his life. As a youth his intellectual gifts and serious love of learning were apparent. In 1756, Dai Zhen came to teach in the Wang family residence and Wang Niansun became his student. The following year Wang Anguo died, and after Wang Niansun interred his remains in his father's native place, he immersed himself in study.[234]

In 1765, he became a juren when Emperor Gaozong (the Qianlong emperor; reg. 1736-1795) awarded him the degree while touring the south. Although he did not have to take the provincial exam to obtain the juren degree, he did have to take the metropolitan exam to acquire jinshi status and he failed it on his first four attempts. In 1772, he went to live in the home of Zhu Yun (as did Zhang Xuecheng several years earlier) who was serving in Anhui at the time. When Zhu relocated to Beijing the next year, Wang went with him and lived in his residence in the capital. In 1775, he passed the metropolitan exam and was appointed to the Hanlin Academy, but was granted a leave from government service so that he could continue his studies. In 1781, he was appointed to a position in the Ministry of Works where he worked in the Department of Waterways. In addition to philology

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[234]ECCP, p.804, 829.

which he is best known for, he also had a strong interest in geography and water conservancy, writing two notable essays in this area, and while working on the Siku project, he participated in the writing of a text on the sources of the Yellow River. In 1788, he was appointed to the position of censor, a rank he held until 1800, when he was appointed to the position of Circuit Attendant (daotai 道臺) and given responsibility for the conservancy work on the Yongding River. He would be involved in some aspect of water conservancy in his capacity as an official until he was forced to retire owing to floods in an area under his jurisdiction in 1810.[235]

After his retirement, he went and lived with his son, Wang Yinzhi 王引之 (1766-1834), in Beijing. He would live with his son until his death and spent his retirement years involved in scholarship. As Dai Zhen's student, he was exposed to the rigorous methods involved in doing research in the areas of philology and phonology. Like other scholars, Wang Niansun understood that an accurate reading of a text was essential to being able to clearly understand its contents and intended meaning. In the area of philology he was the author of two very important works. In the first, the Dushu zazhi 讀書雜志 (Miscellaneous Notes from the Reading of Texts), he addresses problematic passages in certain pre-Qin and Han texts,

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[235]ECCP, p.829.

correcting them in order to recover the original reading or providing notes so as to clarify their meaning, and he is careful to provide evidence drawn from a wide range of sources to support his reasoning. In his other work, the Guangya shuzheng 廣雅疏證 (Guangya Annotations and Their Evidence), he annotates, emends, and expands on the Guangya, a dictionary like work by Zhang Yi 張揖 (fl.227-233) which he modeled on the format of the Erya 爾雅, a ca. third century B.C. lexical work. In the area of historical phonology, he compiled the Guyun pu 古韻譜 in which he places the rhyme words of Old Chinese into twenty-one rhyme groups thereby further refining the classification system. In this work he also published the results of his studies on the four tones.[236]

Wang Niansun's oldest son, Wang Yinzhi,[237] became a jinshi in 1799 and like his father was appointed to the Hanlin Academy. He held official positions continuously (with the exception of the years 1804-7 when he was observing the mourning period for his mother in Gaoyou 高郵 in Jiangsu) until his death. These included a three year term of Education Commissioner in Henan beginning in 1807, along with high ranking positions in the Ministry of Rites, Ministry of Works, and the Board of Civil

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[236]ECCP, p.829-30.

[237]See: ECCP, p.841-2, for his biography.

Office. In addition, he served as an examiner for both the provincial and metropolitan exams, as well as director of the metropolitan and the military exams.[238]

He was also involved in several government compilation projects. The first of these was in 1804 when he worked on the Huangchao cilin diangu 皇朝詞林典故 which was a compilation of materials "relating to the history and operation of the Hanlin Academy." In 1820, he assumed the position of director for the compilation of the Renzong shilu 仁宗世錄, a chronological history of the reign of Emperor Renzong (the Yongzheng Emperor 雍正; reg.1723-1735). In 1827, together with other scholars he began revising the Kangxi zidian 康熙字典, and correcting some 2,588 errors in the process. The revised work was finished in 1831 and given the title Zidian kaozheng 字典考證.[239]

Wang Yinzhi is best known for two works, the Jingzhuan shici 經傳釋詞 and the Jingyi shuwen 經義述聞. The Jingzhuan shici is a study of 160 grammatical particles. The focus is not on common usages, but on usage where understanding is problematic. Misinterpretations are rectified and Wang defines the meaning of the entries, giving examples drawn from the

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[238]ECCP, p.841-2.

[239]ECCP, p.841-2.

Classics and their commentaries and annotations. He quotes the glosses and explanations earlier scholars and pointing out that they are in error. While the Jingzhuan shici was written primarily to aid the reading of early texts, it is also very useful for understanding writings from later periods. The Jingyi shuwen is in the same format as Wang Niansun's Dushu zazhi, being revisions and annotations to passages in twelve early texts. The passage in question is given, followed by standard commentaries and Wang Yinzhi's opinions which are supported by textual evidence. Given that both these works were completed while his father was still alive, his involvement with his son's efforts is likely as his son worked with him on his own Dushu zazhi and Guangya shuzheng.[240]

Zhuang Cunyu 莊存與 (1719-1788),[241] (while he is mentioned somewhat out of historical sequence here), came from an educated family of scholar-officials. His father achieved jinshi status in 1727 and had four brothers who all had careers in officialdom. Zhuang Cunyu studied a variety of subjects: astronomy, medicine, geography, water conservation, water

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[240]ECCP, p. 842; Teng Ssu-yü and Knight Biggerstaff, An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), p.143.

[241]See: ECCP, p.206-8, for his biography. In his Classicism, Politics, and Kinship, Benjamin Elman provides both an overview and much informative

control, legal statutes, and mathematical calculation methods.[242] He passed the metropolitan exams in 1745 and was appointed to the Hanlin Academy. However, in 1748, owing to poor calligraphy, he was removed from his official position, but later reinstated in 1751. His official appointments were primarily positions which involved the exams or education, as he served as an examiner for the jinshi exams and as Education Commissioner at the provincial level. He also served as the Qianlong Emperor's personal secretary, in the Ministry of Rites, and in the Grand Secretariat. As Education Commissioner he acted to do away with corrupt practices such as bribery and cheating, and worked to reform the examination system. He also found himself at odds with the eunuch Heshen.[243]

In the field of scholarship, Zhuang Cunyu had a strong interest in the Classics, especially the Spring and Autumn Annals. His writings are collected in the Weijing zhai yishu 味經齋遺書 which contains works on the Changes such as his Bagua guanxiang jie 八卦觀象解, Guaqi jie 卦氣解, and "Xici zhuan" lun 繫辭傳論, works on the Documents such as the Shangshu shuo 尙書說, the Sishu shuo 四書說 on the Four Books, the Maoshi shuo 毛詩說 on the Songs, works on the Rites of Zhou such as his Zhouguan ji 周官

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detail regarding Zhuang, his thought, and its significance.

[242]Elman, Classicism, p.93.

記 and Zhouguan shuo 周官說, and his three works on the Spring and Autumn Annals: the Chunqiu zhengci 春秋正慈, the Chunqiu juli 春秋舉例, and the Chunqiu yaozhi 春秋要指.[244]

Benjamin Elman makes important observations about significant aspects of Zhuang Cunyu's thought which I would like to draw from. Zhuang looked at the Classics "with a holistic view." Thus, he was not limited by a view that saw them as separate historical documents. He could look anywhere for the lessons that the insights, guiding principles, and wisdom of the ancient sages had to teach. The individual texts were not mutually exclusive, rather they functioned together as a complete whole, with the individual texts complimenting each other. He also held the position that both the Duke of Zhou and Confucius both held fundamental and pivotal positions in the transmission of the teachings of the sages.[245]

With respect to the Classics, Zhuang held the view that the Changes represented the thought of the ancient sages and that they lived during a time of order when traditional values were held in high regard. He felt that the Spring and Autumn Annals represented a time when the previous order had collapsed and chaos prevailed, and that the traditional values of the

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[243]ECCP, p.206-7; Elman, Classicism.

[244]ECCP, p.207.

[245]Elman, Classicism, p.139-40.

ancient sages were no longer respected. The Rites of Zhou in its original form embodied the ancient sages' principles for a well ordered world. For Zhuang, the Changes not only contained the blueprint for the world order, but also the necessity for man to understand and maintain it. The restoration of order in a chaotic world was also Confucius' message in the Spring and Autumn Annals, the implication being that it was up to man to make things right.[246]

In his work on the Spring and Autumn Annals, Zhuang used both the Guliang zhuan and Zuozhuan to provide secondary supporting evidence. However, in addressing the precedents (li 例) and their significance (yi 義) contained in the Spring and Autumn Annals, he did not follow the Zuozhuan which he considered a historical record limited to recounting "facts," but aligned himself with the interpretations of the Gongyang commentary, which to him brought out into the open and clarified Confucius' intent in writing the Spring and Autumn Annals. Zhuang based himself on the Later Han Modern Script (New Text) scholar He Xiu's writings. He Xiu stood in contrast to his contemporary, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), who drew from both Modern Script and Old Script texts and positions when interpreting the Classics. The Han Learning crowd had

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[246]Elman, Classicism, p.143-4.

established the Zuozhuan and its associated Old Script school positions as the "true" Han Learning interpretation of the Spring and Autumn Annals. But He Xiu's Gongyang jiegu 公羊解詁 was a Han text and as such could not be ignored. As Benjamin Elman points out, while it may be inappropriate to place Zhuang Cunyu exclusively within the Modern Script school, his "position" with respect to the Spring and Autumn Annals marks the "turning point in the revival of the Gongyang Commentary as the key to Han Learning."[247] For Zhuang, the Gongyang Zhuan and He Xiu's commentary provided the means to recover and reconstruct the Spring and Autumn Annals as it was understood during the Han dynasty.[248] Thus, he marks the point when there was a shift in focus on the commentary central to the interpretation of the Spring and Autumn Annals.

Liu Fenglu[249] 劉逢錄 (1776-1829) was a member of a family whose members were known for their achievements in scholarship, officialdom, as well as for their literary output in both prose and poetry. His paternal grandfather, Liu Lun[250] 劉綸 (1711-1773), was a successful official and man

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[247]Elman, Classicism, p.171-3.

[248]Elman, Classicism, p.183.

[249]See: ECCP, p.518-20, for his biography, and Elman, Classicism, chapter 7 (p.214-256.)

[250]See: ECCP, p.525, for his biography.

of letters, and his father, Liu Zhaoyang 劉召揚 (1746- 1803), was a learned scholar as well. His mother was the daughter of Zhuang Cunyu and was well versed in the Classics and the histories. As a youth, Liu Fenglu received instruction from a tutor and from his mother. At about age eleven sui he began to read the Chuci 楚辭 and Wenxuan 文選 along with the poetry and prose of the Tang and Song dynasties with his mother who felt that these areas of study should not be neglected or abandoned. On a visit to see his grandfather Zhuang Cunyu, his talent was impressive to the extent that he was considered to be the one who would pass on the results of Zhuang's lifetime of scholarship.[251]

Liu Fenglu did not pass the jinshi exam until 1814 at the age of thirty-nine sui. However, his answers in the juren exam nine years earlier in 1805 caught the attention of the readers of his exam essays. He had utilized the ideas found in the Gongyang zhuan in his explanation of the Classics, and when word got out he became well known and well respected in the capital where the exams had been held. After passing the palace exams in 1814, he was appointed to the Hanlin Academy, and then to the Ministry of Rites three years later where he served until his death. There seems to be nothing exceptional about his tenure there, but his official

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[251]ECCP, p.518.

functions are interesting in that they illustrate both the activities of Liu in particular and of officials in general.[252]

Liu Fenglu was better known as a scholar than as an official. His scholarly friends and those he interacted with during the course of his life included men such as Sun Xingyan[253] 孫星衍 (1753-1818), Duan Yucai (1735-1815), Zhang Huiyan[254] 張惠言 (1761-1802), Li Zhaoluo[255] 李兆洛 (1769-1841), Yun Jing[256] 惲敬 (1757-1817), Xu Song[257] 徐松 (1781-1848), and Chen Huan (1786-1863). He was also on good terms with Ruan Yuan[258] 阮元 (1764-8149), encouraging him to reprint the Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏 (1820) and suggesting to him the compilation of Qing dynasty classical scholarship, which was compiled and printed as the Huang Qing jingjie 皇清經解 (1829).[259]

One of Liu Fenglu's primary interests was the Gongyang

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[252]See: Elman, Classicism, p.215-8, for examples of Liu Fenglu's activities in his position at the Ministry of Rites.

[253]See: ECCP, p.675-7, for his biography.

[254]See: ECCP, p.42-3, for his biography.

[255]See: ECCP, p.448-50, for his biography.

[256]See: ECCP, p.959-60, for his biography.

[257]See: ECCP, p.321-2.

[258]See: ECCP, p.399-402, for his biography.

[259]Elman, Classicism, p.219; ECCP, p.519.

Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals. He utilized kaozheng methodology as the tools which gave legitimacy to the text. This in turn led to the recognition of the full range of what is known as Modern Script scholarship (New Text Confucianism).[260] It had been demonstrated that the Old Script chapters of the Documents were not authentic, and other Old Script Classics, the Zuo zhuan and the Zhouli were now suspect as well. Like his grandfather, Liu Fenglu studied He Xiu's commentary to the Gongyang zhuan which he felt revealed the Spring and Autumn Annals greater significance. But he went beyond He Xiu's commentary, turning to the Chuqiu fanlu 春秋繁露, a text attributed to Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca.179-ca.104 B.C.). Generally speaking, Liu Fenglu saw that within the area defined as Han Learning, the Modern Script (New Text) school of the Former Han dynasty contained fundamental Confucian theory, while the Old Script (Old Text) school of the Later Han tended to emphasize philological and textual issues.[261] Liu wrote the Gongyang chunqiu Heshi shili 公羊春秋何氏釋例, the Gongyang chunqiu Heshi jiegu jian 公羊春秋何氏解詁箋, and the Danan 答難 on his study of the Gongyang zhuan and He Xiu's commentary to it.[262]

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[260]Elman, Classicism, p.222.

[261]Elman, Classicism, p.224.

[262]ECCP, p.518-9.

In his Shen He nan Zheng 申何難鄭 he compared the Gongyang zhuan to the Zuozhuan and Guliang zhuan 穀梁傳 and demonstrated the superiority of the Gongyang. However, in his Zuoshi chunqiu kaozheng 左氏春秋考證 he examined the evidence relating to the authorship and nature of the Zuozhuan. Basing himself on evidence, he makes the case that originally the Zuozhuan was not a commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, but more closely related to the Guoyu 國語 (Dialogues From the States) with which it shares material. In his opinion, it was originally a text titled the Zuoshi chunqiu 左氏春秋 (Master Zuo's Spring and Autumn) which Liu Xin had edited so as make it appear to be a commentary to the Chunqiu, for the purpose of displacing the Gongyang and its interpretations with the Zuo and its interpretations and political implications. Liu Xin's motivation for doing this was to advance Wang Mang's 王莽(reg. 9 A.D.-25 A.D.) political agenda. Earlier scholars had doubts about the Zuozhuan, but Liu Fenglu was the first to link it with Liu Xin's hand. While Liu Fenglu severed the relationship between the Zuo and the Spring and Autumn Annals, he thought that it was still an important historical record, albeit one that did not interpret the moral implications or bring out the meaning of the "subtle words with profound implications" of the Spring and Autumn

Annals as did the Gongyang zhuan.[263]

As Liu Fenglu placed a strong emphasis on Confucius, for obvious reasons the Analects was an important work to be studied. In his Lunyu shu He 論語述何 he tried to reconstruct He Xiu's commentary to the Analects. Like other classicists, Liu looked at the texts not as separate, individual works, but as parts of an interrelated complete whole, where an understanding of one was crucial for the clear comprehension of another. Thus, an understanding the Analects was necessary to understand the Spring and Autumn Annals.[264]

Liu Fenglu wrote on the other Classics as well. Basing himself on the works of Zhuang Shuzu 莊述祖 (1751-1816) who was the son of Zhuang Peiyin 莊培因 (1723-59), the younger brother of his grandfather Zhuang Cunzu, he wrote the Shangshu jinguwen jijie 尚書今古文集解. In it he rejected the authenticity of the Old Script Text chapters of the Documents. He wrote several works on the Changes and was influenced by the earlier writings of Zhang Huiyan who was interested in reconstructing the pre-Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249) version of the Changes and focused on the Xu

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[263]Elman, Classicism, p.246-252; ECCP, p.518-9.

[264]On Liu Fenglu and the Analects, see: Elman, p.237-46.

Shuang (128-190) and Yu Fan 虞翻 (164-232) recensions.[265] His works on the Changes include the Yiyan pian 易言篇 which was a continuation of Zhang Huiyan's earlier work, the Yi Yushi biandong biao 易虞氏變動表, the Liuyao fahui pangtong biao 六爻發揮旁通表, the Guaxiang yinyang dayi 卦象陰陽大義, the Yixiang fu 易象賦, and the Guaqi song 卦氣頌. The Changes was not thought of in isolation, however. Liu felt that in order to thoroughly understanding the Changes, one must first have a firm grasp of the Spring and Autumn Annals. Like other learned men of his era his interests also included astronomy, mathematics, and geography.[266]

Liu Fenglu's work on the Gongyang zhuan and Zuozhuan resulted in a shift in emphasis that would influence later scholars. Liao Ping 廖平 (1852-1932) would make the case that Liu Xin forged other Old Script Classics, and Kang Youwei, copying him, would make a similar case and go on to portray Confucius as a reformer, thus giving historical precedent what was to become the reform movement of 1898.[267] While Pi Xirui did not hold the view that Liu Xin forged the Old Script Classics, he did think that the Modern Script Classics were far superior to the Old Script Classics, and

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[265]Elman, Classicism, p.133-4, 254.

[266]ECCP, p.519, Elman, Classicism, p.254.

[267]Elman, Classicism, p.248.

that to get closer to the true meaning of the Classics, one must go back to the Modern Script Text (New Text) thinking and interpretations of the Former Han.

Ruan Yuan[268] (1764-1849) was a figure of major importance to the scholarship of the nineteenth century. He passed the jinshi exam in 1789 and was subsequently appointed to the Hanlin Academy. Throughout his life he held many official positions and was involved in various cataloging and compilation projects, in many cases being responsible for overseeing projects of lasting significance.

In 1795, he was appointed to the position of Education Commissioner in Zhejiang. He put together a team of forty scholars who worked on the compilation of the Jingji zuangu 經籍纂詁, a dictionary for use in reading the Classics which was first printed in 1800, and later reprinted with supplements. He also compiled an anthology of the works of Zhejiang poets, the Liangzhe youxuan lu 兩浙輶軒錄 which was published in 1801, reprinted with a supplement in 1803, and continued by Pan Yantong 潘衍桐 (1841-1899) who, like Ruan Yuan, served as Education Commissioner of Zhejiang. He returned to the capital in 1798, but in 1799 returned to Zhejiang as Acting Governor and was made Governor the following year and

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[268]See: ECCP, p.399-402, for his biography.

served in this capacity for over nine years, until 1809. In 1801, he established the Gujing jingshe 詁經精舍 in Hangzhou, an academy dedicated to the study of the Classics and refined literature. Many talented individuals who would achieve fame were associated with the academy, as administrators and teachers, or as students.[269]

His father died in July of 1805 and the following year Ruan Yuan printed his collation notes to the Thirteen Classics, the Shisan jing jiaokanji 十三經校勘記. While still observing the mourning period, he collected sixty rare books that had been omitted from the Siku collection, but which he felt should be included. He presented these, along with his own annotations, to the throne in 1807. During the next several years he held various official positions, but still remained active in education and scholarship, establishing libraries and contributing to the national history project by writing biographies. In 1814, he was made Governor of Jiangxi and in 1816 he printed the Shisan jing zhushu with his collation notes appended to it. He was then promoted to the position of Governor-General of Hubei-Hunan, but was shortly thereafter transferred to the position of Governor-General of Guangdong-Guangxi in 1817. He would hold this office until 1826. As Governor-General he established the Xuehai Tang 學海堂 in Canton in

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[269]ECCP, p.399-400.

1820. While the Gujing jingshe was named so as to honor the scholarship of Zheng Xuan and Xu Shen who were both major figures in the field of classical scholarship of the Later Han, the Xuehai Tang took the honorific of He Xiu (Xuehai) as its name.[270] Like the Gujing jingshe, many learned men were associated with the Xuehai Tang, either as administrators and teachers, or as students.[271]

While in Canton, Ruan Yuan was involved in the compilation of the Guangdong tongzhi 廣東通志, a gazetteer that covered Guangdong province. He also was responsible for the compilation of the Huang Qing jingjie, which is a collection of more than 180 scholarly works on various aspects of the Classics written during the Qing dynasty. Although it was criticized for limiting its contents to Han Learning, its importance in bringing together a wide range of scholarship and making it available cannot be overemphasized.[272]

Ruan Yuan had a long official career, occupying a series of high offices, and is known for his administration of the treaty port at Canton. His

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[270]Elman, Classicism, p.220.

[271]ECCP, p.401; Elman, Classicism, p.219-221; Also see: Steven Bradley Miles, Local Matters: Lineage, Scholarship and the Xuehaitang Academy in the Construction of Regional Identities in South China, 1810-1880, unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2000.

scholarly interests included epigraphy, mathematics and local history, and his writings cover a range of subjects, such as the bibliographic notes on rare books, biographies and summaries of the works of astronomers and mathematicians (Chouren zhuan 疇人傳), studies of ancient bronze inscriptions (Jigu zhai zhongding yiqi kuanzhi fatie 積古齋鐘鼎彝器款識法帖), and a study of the stone inscriptions of the Yanxi 延熹 period (158-166) (Han Yanxi Xiyue Huashan bei kao 漢延熹西嶽華山碑考) among them. Like other talented scholars of his era, he also wrote poetry and prose, the Yanjingshi ji 揅經室集 and the Yanjingshi shilu 揅經室詩錄 containing many of his pieces.[273]

Wei Yuan[274] 魏源 (1794-1856) came from an elite family, his father being an official who served in Jiangsu. He displayed his abilities early on, achieving Cultivated Talent[275] status at fifteen sui. He traveled to the capital in 1814 as a Graduate of Preeminence[276] and achieved juren status in 1822. However, he did not pass the metropolitan exam and become a jinshi until 1844. While in the capital he met Liu Fenglu and Gong Zizhen

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[272]Elman, Philosophy to Philosophy, p.90ff; ECCP, p.401.

[273]ECCP, p.401-2.

[274]See: ECCP, p.850-2, for his biography.

[275]xiucai 秀才 = Hucker 2633

[276]ba gongsheng 拔貢生 = Hucker 4372.

龔自珍 (1792-1841). In the 1820s, both he and Gong studied under the guidance of Liu Fenglu while Liu was serving in the Ministry of Rites.[277]

In 1825, Wei Yuan was appointed to the position of editor of the Huang Qing jingshi wenbian 皇清經世文編, a work being compiled by He Changling[278] 賀長齡 (1785-1848) who was serving as Financial Commissioner in Jiangsu. He Changling was "interested in the practical application of scholarship to government" and while in Jiangsu "collected...many essays by Qing officials and scholars on social, political and economic problems."[279] Wei Yuan did not include any studies that were purely philological and only writings that were related to statecraft were chosen. It became a source for the administrative history of the Qing as well as a basic source for the study of efforts to address problems both foreign and domestic. In selecting pieces for inclusion in the "Scholarship" section (Xueshu 學術), Wei Yuan only cited those that agreed with his focus on self-cultivation and statecraft. Philology had its place, but for Wei Yuan this was in the much broader "context of comprehensive statecraft."[280] In addition, through his exposure to writings pertaining to economic and

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[277]ECCP, p. 850; Elman, Classicism, p.72.

[278]See: ECCP, p.281-3, for his biography.

[279]ECCP, p.282.

[280]Elman, Philosophy to Philosophy, p.240-1.

political topics in the process of editing and compiling this collection, Wei Yuan developed an interest in current affairs.[281] The Huang Qing jingshi wenbian was completed in 1826 and published the following year. This work was highly praised and would be reprinted numerous times in expanded editions over the years and decades to follow.[282]

Having studied under the guidance of Liu Fenglu, Wei Yuan was influenced by both Liu and his grandfather, Zhuang Cunyu, and was aligned with the Modern Script (New Text) school. His two best known works in the field of Classical Scholarship are the Shi guwei 詩古微 (Ancient Subtleties of the Songs) and the Shu guwei 書古微 (Ancient Subtleties of the Documents). In the first, he critiques the Mao Commentary to the Songs (Maozhuan 毛傳) as well as the "Greater Preface" ("Daxu" 大序) and "Lesser Preface" (Xiaoxu" 小序). He states that the Mao Commentary was the product of a later time and that the "Prefaces" are forgeries. He also makes the case that the pieces in the Songs were not written as criticism or to eulogize, arguing that the pieces were vehicles for emotional expression.[283]In the Shu guwei, Wei Yuan argues that in addition to the Old Script chapters of the Documents presented to the throne by Mei Ze 梅賾 (fl.

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[281]ECCP, p.850.

[282]ECCP, p.282.

317-322) being a forgery, the versions of these chapters used earlier by Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan were forgeries as well and not the text supposedly found in Confucius' home and associated with Kong Anguo 孔安國 (ob. ca. 100 B.C.).[284]

Wei Yuan's interests also included geography and history. He felt that the official history of the Yuan dynasty was sub-standard and incomplete and compiled the Yuanshi xinbian 元史新編. He hoped to present it to the throne, but when he died in 1856, it was still unfinished. Wei also wrote the Shengwu ji 聲武記 in fourteen juan and completed in 1842, which is a record of the military achievements of the Qing up until the Daoguang 道光 reign period (1821-1850). This work was later revised, had supplementary information added, and saw several reprintings. He also compiled a geographical work on foreign countries, the Haiguo tuzhi 海國圖志, which was first printed in 1844 in fifty juan, and expanded and reprinted in sixty and then in one hundred juan in 1847 and 1852 respectively.[285]

Throughout his career, Wei Yuan served in several official positions that allowed him combine his reform-minded ideals that had their roots in

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[283]Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.90.

[284]Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.90.

[285]ECCP, p.851.

Modern Script (New Text) tradition with statecraft.[286] In addition to the works mentioned above, a collection of his prose was published in the Guwei tang ji 古微堂集 in 1878 and another edition was published in 1909 with the title the Wei Moshen wenji 魏默深文集. A collection of his poetry was published in 1870 under the title Guwei tang shi 古微堂詩.[287]

Gong Zizhen[288] 龔自珍 (1792-1841) came from an educated family. His father, Gong Lizheng 龔麗正 (1767-1841), attained jinshi status in 1769 and held several official positions. Gong Zizhen displayed his intellectual gifts early on and family members helped him develop his talents. For example, his maternal grandfather was Duan Yucai (1735-1815) who taught him etymology. He spent the years 1802-1814 in the capital where he was able to directly experience the political situation there. He attained xiucai 秀才 status in 1810 and in 1812 began working as a collator in the Imperial Printing Office. Two years later he went to visit his father in Anhui and assisted in the collection of materials for a prefectural gazetteer. In 1818, he passed the provincial exam in Hangzhou, where he was from

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[286]Elman, Philosophy to Philology, p.240.

[287]ECCP, p.851.

[288]See: ECCP, p.431-4, and Shirleen S. Wong, Kung Tzu-chen (Boston: Twane, 1975), p.21-38, for his biography.

originally.[289]

During this time he became interested in the Gongyang Commentary. As has been mentioned above, the Gongyang zhuan, along with He Xiu's commentary to it, and for some Dong Zhongshu's Chunqiu fanlu, provided an interpretation of the Spring and Autumn Annals that both prompted men to become involved in politics and also legitimatized and advocated government and institutional reform. Given the political awareness that Gong Zizhen developed while he was in the capital, the appeal of this school of thought should not be surprising. During the late teens and early 1820s, he was able to study under the guidance of Liu Fenglu as well as meet Wei Yuan, and this certainly added to his interest and awareness.[290]

He failed at his first two attempts at the Metropolitan Exam. In 1820, he acquired a position in the Grand Secretariat through purchase. The same year he authored two pieces, in the first arguing for making Chinese Turkestan a province, and in the second, making a strong case for banning foreigners from trading at Canton. Neither recommendation was acted on at the time, but these writings speak to Gong Zizhen's political insight. His mother died in 1823 and he left the capital and returned home to Hangzhou

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[289]ECCP, p.431-2.

[290]ECCP, p.432; Elman, Classicism, p.72.

to observe the mourning period. Subsequently, he went back to Beijing where he resumed his official position. In 1829, he passed the Metropolitan Exam and became a jinshi, but did not receive an appointment to the Hanlin Academy on account of his substandard calligraphy. Although he qualified for other positions, it appears that he preferred his position in the Grand Secretariat. The following year, in 1830, he formed a poetry club along with Wei Yuan and Lin Zexu. Not only did all three enjoy poetry, but also shared a keen interest in current affairs.[291]

His writings over the next several years attacked the government and its members on various fronts. He frequently quoted from the Gongyang zhuan in his political criticism and in his rants against the overt authoritarian nature of the government. He acquired a reputation from his writings as someone who was outspoken and unrestrained in his criticism of the decadence of the times, whether it be political, economic, or social. In spite of this, he still held official positions, being transferred to the Ministry of Rites in 1836. In late 1838, after Lin Zexu had been transferred from the position of Governor-General of Hubei-Hunan and appointed Imperial Commissioner in charge of foreign affairs, Gong Zizhen wrote to him and elaborated his position on problems relating to the unfavorable balance of trade with foreign nations. He stated that the export of silver, which led to

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[291]ECCP, p.432.

its increased valuation, had caused everyday commodity prices to rise as the value of copper cash was tied to it and thus devalued. (See above) He was also of the opinion that imported goods adversely affected the market and manufacture of their domestic counterparts, and that certain products imported from the West were mere luxuries and not needed. Perhaps sensing what was in the not-too-distant future, he advised Lin Zexu to limit trade and to strengthen the military. He also offered his services to Lin, but Lin did not accept his offer. Gong left Beijing with his family in 1839, relocating to Hangzhou. He lived there until 1841 when he died while travelling in Jiangsu.[292]

Gong Zizhen was a man of many interests. In addition to current affairs, these included geography, history, bibliography, collecting stone and bronze inscriptions, and the writing of prose and poetry. He wrote extensively on a range of subjects, but only a small portion of his written corpus survives. Most of what is still extant is printed in the Dingan wenji 定盦文集 and its various revisions, and the Dingan wenji bubian 定盦文集補編. Some of his letters and miscellaneous writings are printed in other collections.[293]

Gong Zizhen was influential as his essays on political and social

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[292]ECCP, p.432.

issues had an impact on those who would play a major role in the reform movement of 1898. As he was influenced by the Modern Script (New Text) school and the Gongyang school of thought that advocated government reform and adaptation to changing circumstances, he wrote on topics that he considered important. He was critical of the corruption and decay in the political, social, and economic spheres. For example, he was against foot binding, felt that certain court ceremonies should be changed, thought that the exams should be done away with, was against the use of opium, and also opposed superstitious practices performed at the court. His writings would in turn influence the thinking of later reform-minded men who were concerned about the political, social, and economic conditions and problems of their times.[294]

Liao Ping[295] 廖平 (1852-1932) was a native of Jingyan 井研 in Sichuan and came from a family background that required him to work as a

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[293]ECCP, p.433.

[294]ECCP, p.433.

[295]See: BDRC, Vol.2, p.367-8 for his biography; also see Joseph Levenson, "A Little Life: Liao P'ing and the Confucian Departure from History," in Confucian China and Its Modern Fate (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), Vol.3, p.3-15, and Derk Bodde, trans., Feng Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), Vol. II, p.705-721.

youth. However, as he was resolute in his desire to acquire an education, he went to live in a monastery while studying at a local school. He later studied under Wang Kaiyun[296] 王闓運 (1833-1916) at the Zunjing Academy 尊經書院 in Chengdu where Wang was director. Wang Kaiyun was a scholar of the Classics who studied and wrote on both the Gongyang and Guliang commentaries, and his interests would influence Liao. Liao Ping was an exceptional student, going on to pass the provincial exams in 1879 and attaining jinshi status by passing the metropolitan exams two years later in 1881. As his parents were in poor health, he declined his official appointment so that he would not be separated from them. Back in Sichuan, he taught at several local schools.[297]

Liao Ping was influenced by the scholars of the Modern Script (New Text) school who thought that the Old Script Classics were forgeries. He held the view that the Gongyang and Guliang commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals were authentic and revealed its true meaning, and that the Zuozhuan was forged by Liu Xin. In 1886, his Jin gu xue kao 今古學考 (A Study of Modern Script and Old Script Learning) was published. Liao would revise this work and publish it as two separate texts, the Pi Liu

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[296]See: BDRC, Vol.3, p.384-5, for his biography.

[297]BDRC, p.367.

pian 闢劉篇 (Treatise Refuting Liu Xin) and the Zhi sheng pian 知聖篇 (Treatise on Knowing the Sage). As was mentioned above, Kang Youwei based his Xinxue weijing kao (1891) and his Kongzi gaizhi kao (1897) on these works by Liao Ping. While these works command the most attention owing to their impact upon Kang, Liao's scholarly output in addition to these writings was prolific. Besides writing on the Classics and other texts and pieces such as Zhuangzi and Lisao, he also wrote on subjects such as medicine and geomancy.[298]

Liao Ping spent most of his adult life as a teacher, teaching at schools in the Chengdu area. In 1919, Liao Ping's right side was paralyzed as a result of a stroke. However, he would continue to write with his left hand and his eldest daughter assisted him by editing and re-writing his drafts. He died in 1932, outliving both Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao.[299]

The assessments of Liao Ping by Liang Qichao, Fung Yu-lan, and Joseph Levenson have been anything but positive. "A little life...so unimportant"[300]..."he certainly had little to recommend him"[301]..."Liao Ping's ideology, whether judged historically or philosophically, is equally

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[298]BDRC, p.367-8.

[299]Levenson, p.6.

[300]Levenson, The Problem of Historical Significance, p.3.

[301]Liang, Intellectual Trends, p.92.

devoid of value."[302] Yet all acknowledge his influence on the thinking and writing of Kang Youwei. Their critical view of Liao Ping is understandable when he is measured against those who risked and gave up their lives attempting to rectify the problems China faced in the closing years of the nineteenth century, and against those who saw statecraft as the appropriate and perhaps only way to effect positive change. However, Liao Ping was important, if only as a person whose writings contributed to the inspiration of others.

Kang Youwei[303] (1858-1927) was the leader of the Reform Movement of 1898. He is also considered a major figure of the Qing dynasty Modern Script (New Text) School. His family was well off and lived in Nanhai 南海 which was located to the southwest of Canton. Kang's father died when he

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[302]Fung, History of Chinese Philosophy, Vol.2, p.719.

[303]See: BDRC, Vol.2, p.228-233 for his biography. See: Kung-chuan Hsiao, A Modern China and a New World: K'ang Yu- wei, Reformer and Utopian, 1858-1927 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975) for an extended study. Also cf. Fung Yu-lan, History of Chinese Philosophy, Vol.2, p.676-691. Because of his importance in modern Chinese history, much has been written on Kang Youwei.

Some of the information on Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and Tan Sitong has been already been given above. It is repeated here in the interest of continuity. Although Pi Xirui died in 1908, I give biographical information about Kang and Liang until their deaths in the late 1920s.

was ten years old, but his grandfather and uncles were learned men who helped Kang gain a thorough education in the Classics. After his father's death, the family's financial circumstances changed as his mother was now responsible for the household. Kang had great affection and admiration for his mother and credited her with providing for him so that he could study and learn in a worry-free environment. She was supportive and strict, and it is probably the case that the examples that his mother and sisters set greatly influenced his progressive views regarding women: that they were the moral and intellectual equal of men.[304]

Kang attempted and failed the provincial examinations in 1876. He subsequently studied under Zhu Ciqi 朱次琦 (1807-1882) who was a prominent scholar as well as a family friend. Upon the death of his grandfather, Kang suffered a personal crisis. He rejected traditional methods of study and pursued Buddhism and Taoism. It appears that during this period he decided that he would become a sage with the intent of saving humanity. As a result, he broadened the range of his studies to include government, geography, and history, and in 1882 he visited Shanghai where he obtained translations of Western texts and began to study about the West. The problems China had dealing with the foreign

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[304]Hsiao, A Modern China and a New World, p.6-7.

powers following the hostilities between China and France in 1884-5 greatly troubled him. A trip to the capital in 1888 provided him with first hand experience with bureaucratic corruption. As a result, he sent a memorial to the throne in which he voiced his criticisms and urged reforms. His memorial never reached the throne, but it earned him enemies along with sympathizers and supporters. As the atmosphere in the capital was not open to reform, he put his political ambitions on hold and returned to scholarship. In early 1890, he met Liao Ping who had claimed in his writings that the Old Script Classics were forged by Liu Xin. In 1891, Kang published his Xinxue weijing kao in which he appropriated Liao's ideas and claimed them to be his own. There was a strong reaction against it by scholars following its appearance, and it was banned in 1894 by imperial decree and the printing blocks destroyed.[305]

In 1893, Kang Youwei passed the provincial exam. During this time he was teaching at a school that he had founded in Canton, the Wanmu caotang 萬木草堂. Two years later, in 1895, he became a jinshi after passing the metropolitan exam in the capital and was subsequently appointed to a position in the Ministry of Works. As mentioned above, owing to China's humiliation at the hands of the Japanese, Kang submitted a memorial with

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[305]BDRC, p.228-9.

the signatures of several hundred exam candidates protesting the terms of the treaty. His reform activities would continue over the next several years. In 1897, his Kongzi gaizhi kao was published, in which he put forth the idea that Confucius was an advocate and supporter of institutional reform, as well as the author of the Six Classics. As has been recounted above, Kang Youwei was able to gain the confidence of the Guangxu emperor and advise him on a program of reform. After the Hundred Days Reform collapsed in September of 1898 and the empress dowager ordered his arrest, Kang was able to escape to Hong Kong.[306] From Hong Kong, Kang traveled to Japan and then later to Great Britain. He attempted to persuade the foreign powers to assist in returning the emperor to power, but was unsuccessful. He then traveled to Canada and started the "Society to Protect the Emperor" (Baohuang hui 保皇會) in July of 1899. Branches of this organization were established in other overseas Chinese communities as well. He then returned to Hong Kong were he continued his efforts to have the empress dowager removed from her regency and return the emperor to power. After a plot to do so failed during the Boxer uprising, Kang went to Penang and then traveled to India. During this period, he distanced himself from politics, concentrating on writing commentaries to several of the

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[306]BDRC, Vol.2, p.228-9.

Classics. In the spring of 1903, he left India and went to Hong Kong. He now came to favor a system of government for China similar to that of the British form and that could best be described as a constitutional monarchy. However, this still put him at odds with those who favored revolution, such as Sun Yat-sen. Until he returned to China in December of 1913, Kang traveled through Europe, the United States, and at times to Penang and Hong Kong. His time in the West allowed him to gain a more thorough understanding and a more critical view of the Western countries, and this in turn led to a better appreciation of traditional Chinese culture.[307]

Kang Youwei was in Japan when the 1911 revolution began. He continued to hold the view that only a constitutional monarchy would serve China's interests and was against a republican form of government, and he maintained this position even after the Republic of China was founded, expressing himself in his writings which were published by his supporters. In December, 1913, after fifteen years abroad, Kang finally returned to China, for the purpose of burying his mother. The following summer he moved to Shanghai. Towards the end of 1915 he became involved in the movement against Yuan Shikai, and after that with efforts to restore the last Manchu emperor, Xuantong 宣統 to the throne. After the restoration

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[307]BDRC, Vol.2, p.230-1.

failed in mid-July of 1917, he sought refuge in the U.S. legation, and five months later was escorted to Shanghai. In 1918, he was pardoned as the result of a general amnesty extended to those involved with the restoration.[308]

Kang Youwei continued to believe that a restoration of the Manchu led Qing dynasty was in China's interest. However, after the May Fourth Movement, his views attracted less and less attention. Still, he was a strong supporter of tradition and warned against the uncritical and random adoption of Western ways, and he continued to advocate putting in place a kind of "state religion" which was thoroughly Confucian. During the last years of his life, Kang Youwei renewed his interest in the study of cosmology, a subject he had first developed an interest during the 1880s. In the mid-1920s, we find him lecturing at the Tianyou xueyuan 天遊書院 in Shanghai, a school that he had set up in 1924. On March 31, 1927 he died while in Qingdao. Kang Youwei's writings have been reprinted either in collections and as separate works. Given his significance, numerous studies about the man, his thought, and his writings have been done and can be consulted.[309]

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[308]BDRC, Vol.2, p.231-2.

[309]BDRC, Vol.2, p.232.

Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873-1929),[310] like his teacher Kang Youwei, was also a native of Guangdong, his family residing in Xinhui 新會. He learned the Classics from both his father and grandfather. When he was eleven years old he became a Government Student[311] and in 1887 became a student at the Xuehai tang 學海堂, and two years later at age sixteen he passed the provincial exams. In 1890, he traveled to the capital and unsuccessfully attempted the metropolitan examination. He returned home via Shanghai, and while there obtained copies of Western writings in translation which had a profound effect upon him. After returning home, he went to see Kang Youwei and was greatly impressed by his knowledge. He and a classmate at the Xuehai Tang became students at Kang Youwei's school, and in 1893 Liang began to teach there.[312]

In 1895, Liang and Kang both traveled to Beijing. Once again Liang attempted and failed the examinations. During this time, the Treaty of Shimonoseki, a result of the unfavorable outcome of the war with Japan, was being negotiated and Liang Qichao organized opposition to the terms

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[310]See: BDRC, Vol.2, p.346-351 for his biography; for a book length study, see: Joseph R. Levenson, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

[311]shengyuan 生員 = Hucker 5193.

[312]BDRC, Vol.2, p.346-7.

and ratification of the treaty. He also helped Kang Youwei in preparing the so-called "candidates' memorial" (gongche/ju[313] shangshu 公車上書) which was signed by several hundred metropolitan exam candidates and submitted to the emperor urging him renounce the terms of the treaty and enact certain governmental reforms. Liang's active involvement in the reform movement would continue to grow as the movement expanded and gained momentum. As has been mentioned above, he and Kang established the Qiang xuehui and set up publications to express and disseminate reformist views and information. After the Qiang xuehui and its publications were shut down by the government in early 1896, Liang went to Shanghai where a group of reform supporters gave financial backing to the Shiwu bao. He served as editor and wrote numerous articles which were received favorably by its readership.[314]

In the autumn of the following year, Liang went to Changsha, Hunan where he had been invited to teach at the Shiwu xuetang. Although he also assisted in the establishment of the Nan xuehui (Southern Study Society) while in Changsha, he devoted the majority of his time to his duties and activities at the Shiwu xuetang. However, Liang soon found himself at odds with conservative Hunan scholars who took exception to his teaching of

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[313]Cf. Hucker 3392.

radical ideas which were critical of Chinese tradition. In early 1898, Liang traveled to Shanghai and then went to the capital in March to help Kang Youwei advance the cause of reform. As has been mentioned, he was one of the leaders of the reform movement, being intimately involved with it every step of the way. After the collapse of the movement on September 21, he was able to escape to Japan.[315]

In Japan, Liang continued his reform efforts. He published a magazine in which he called for the restoration of the emperor and strongly criticized the empress dowager and her faction. He continued to increase his knowledge base by learning Japanese and reading Japanese translations of Western works. He continued his association with Kang Youwei, and traveled in order to raise funds for Kang's organization (Baohuang hui). His exposure to United States' political system led him to conclude that what China needed was a revival and renewal of it's people and not necessarily a new form of government, and attempted to help bring about this change through his writings on subjects both Western and Chinese, which were printed in the Xinmin congbao 新民叢報, a periodical he published. He formed an organization in Japan to support the drive for a constitution in China after the Qing government announced its intent in 1906 to draft a

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[314]BDRC, Vol.2, p.346.

constitution and continued to work through the end of the imperial era for a constitutional form of government.[316]

After the Republic of China was established in 1912, Liang's support of the government and participation in political activities distanced him politically from Kang Youwei. Liang's writings had established him as an intellectual leader and he was sought out by numerous political groups after his return in September of 1912. After Sun Yat-sen's Guomin dang (Nationalist Party) was victorious in the elections of 1913, Liang and others formed an opposition party (Jinbu dang 近步黨) and aligned themselves with Yuan Shikai. However, after the Jinbu dang and Yuan came to power, Liang's support and service to Yuan caused him to become highly unpopular with both his enemies and friends. He remained aligned with Yuan's government, although he was uncomfortable with Yuan's ambitions. In 1915 he opposed the movement to make Yuan emperor, and worked to organize a revolt against the "new monarchy." The following March, Yuan gave up the throne and once again became president, and in June he died. Liang continued to be active in politics until late in 1917 when he resigned from his cabinet position (minister of finance), as he felt that in the prevailing political atmosphere, any attempts to reform and improve China

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[315]BDRC, Vol.2, p.348.

were futile.[317]

He spent the following year studying and writing and then traveled to Europe with several friends. The aftermath of World War One altered his view of Western civilization as he saw the results of its shortcomings first hand. After returning to China in 1920, Liang formed an organization which supported "the translation and publication of important Western philosophical works." He also established the Jiang xuehui 講學會 (Lecture Society) which brought important foreign figures such as Bertrand Russell to China to lecture. Liang was invited to teach Chinese history at Nankai University in Tianjin in 1920, and he taught there as well as lecturing at other major universities throughout the rest of his life. His written output was voluminous. Two of his best known works are the Qingdai xueshu gailun 清代學術概論 and the Zhongguo jin sanbai nian xueshu shi 中國近三百年學術史. In the assessment of many, Liang Qichao was "the foremost intellectual figure during the first two decades of the twentieth century."[318]

Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (1865-1898)[319] was a native of Liuyang 瀏陽 in

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[316]BDRC, Vol.2, p.348-9.

[317]BDRC, Vol.2, p.350.

[318]BDRC, Vol.2, p.351.

[319]See: ECCP, p.702-5, for his biography; for a detailed and thorough book length study, see: Luke S.K. Kwong, T'an Ssu-t'ung, 1865-1898: Life and

Hunan. He came from an educated family as his father, Tan Jixun 譚繼洵, passed the jinshi exams in 1860, and later served as the Governor of Hubei from 1890-1898. As a youth, Tan Sitong was fond of study, loved to read, and was skilled in writing poetry as well. Given his father's official postings, he spent several years of his youth in north China and had traveled extensively by his early twenties.[320]

Tan Sitong, like many others in China at the time, was driven by a love of learning and a strong desire to acquire new knowledge. He was drawn to translations of scientific texts and appears to have shown a flair for mathematics. In Liuyang, he founded a study society to encourage the study of Western learning. In 1895, having heard about the Qiang xuehui, he traveled to Beijing to meet with its founder, Kang Youwei. Although Kang had left for Guangdong, he was able to meet with Liang Qichao through whom he would become familiar with the political agenda of the Qiang xuehui, as well as with Kang Youwei's writings. Both would have a significant influence upon him.[321]

The following year he went to Nanjing as an Expectant Prefect. However, he spent much of his time studying Buddhism instead. In 1897, he

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Thought of a Reformer (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996).

[320]ECCP, p.702; Kwong, T'an Ssu-t'ung, p.1 ff.

[321]ECCP, p.703.

was summoned back to Hunan to assist the progressive-minded governor, Chen Baozhen, who had ambitions to reform and modernize the provincial government. Other men, such as Xu Renzhu and Huang Zunxian who were there serving in an official capacity, were to play an important part in the reform movement in Hunan. As has been mentioned, the Shiwu xuetang was established in Changsha, and the Xiang xuebao was set up, with Tan Sitong as editor. And the Nan Xuehui was organized, with Tan and Pi Xirui as co-directors, and with Tan lecturing on Astronomy during the Society's lecture series, which began February 21, 1898.[322]

While reform activities were taking place in Changsha, the reform movement was also gaining momentum in the capital. Kang Youwei's memorials, along with other writings he had submitted to the Qing court, had caught the attention of reform-minded officials and more importantly the interest of the emperor. As things wound down in Changsha, the Hundred Days Reform was about to begin in Beijing. On June 11, 1898 the father of Xu Renzhu, Xu Zhijing 徐致靖 (jinshi 1876), who was a member of the Hanlin Academy, sent up a memorial in which he recommended that Tan Sitong, along with Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and others be retained as advisors to the emperor. Throughout the summer months the reform

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[322]ECCP, p.703.

movement went forward at a rapid pace, with imperial edicts being issued one after another. As the emperor's decrees were often the result of the recommendations of his new group of advisors, and as many members of the bureaucracy stood to lose if the recommendations were put into practice, it is no surprise that strong opposition developed on their part, even to the extent that they interfered with the transmission of memorials from the advisors to the emperor. Tan Sitong did not reach the capital until the August 21. He was granted an audience with the emperor and on September 5 was appointed to the position of secretary (or "assistant") on the Grand Council along with Yang Rui, Lin Xu, and Liu Guangdi. They had the responsibility of screening the many memorials relating to reform that had been submitted, and passing along those which they deemed worthy.[323]

Over the next two weeks, the situation in the capital reached the point of crisis. The empress dowager and her supporters intended to put and end to a situation which threatened their interests. The emperor was aware that he was going to be removed from the throne and on September 14, sent a message to Kang Youwei and the four newly appointed secretaries to find a way to protect him. Kang sought the assistance of Yuan Shikai who was in the capital at the time and urged the emperor to grant Yuan an audience. Yuan met with the emperor on September 16 and 17. On the 17th, the

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[323]ECCP, p.704.

emperor ordered Kang Youwei to go to Shanghai to oversee the publication of a reform periodical. On the night of September 18, Tan Sitong went to see Yuan Shikai for the purpose of getting him to assist the emperor, the reformers, and their supporters. As has been mentioned above, the empress dowager planned to remove the emperor from power, having Ronglu and his troops stage a coup during a military review in October. Tan wanted Yuan's troops to protect the emperor during the review, kill Ronglu, and get rid of the leaders of the conservative faction. The reformers would dispatch assassins to kill the empress dowager. Yuan would not to commit to the plan, and on September 20 after meeting with the emperor, Yuan revealed the plot to Ronglu, who in turn informed the empress dowager. The following day she had the emperor placed in seclusion on the pretext of illness and seized power through regency.[324]

She then ordered the arrest of Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, the newly appointed Grand Council secretaries and others. Although Tan Sitong was urged by his friends to escape, he chose not to, instead choosing to be a martyr for the cause of reform. He was arrested on September 25, and along with five fellow supporters of the reform movement beheaded on September 28.[325]

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[324]ECCP, p.704; Kwong T'an Ssu-t'ung, p.199-206.

[325]ECCP, p.704-5.

As one of the "Six Martyrs of the Reform Movement," Tan has an important place in modern Chinese history. As a result, his collected writings have been published, but his Renxue 仁學 (Study of Benevolence) is the best known of his writings. In it Tan draws from many diverse sources and it also reveals Tan to be a "precise thinker," although not one who had the command of the Classics that Kang Youwei did.[326]

The above set of brief sketches of the lives and writings of important figures in Qing intellectual history is, of course, incomplete. There were many other important thinkers who have been omitted. But the point is to get a sense of Pi Xirui's place with respect to who came before: those men whose writings and significance he was certainly familiar with. And also to understand something about the lives, writings, and thought of his contemporaries--Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and Tan Sitong--all of whom and which had an effect on his own life.

The development of the Qing Modern Script school, beginning with Zhuang Cunyu moving through the lives, thoughts, and writings of those who would follow, such as Liu Fenglu, Wei Yuan, Gong Zizhen, Liao Ping

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[326]See: Fung Yu-lan, History of Chinese Philosophy, Vol.2, p.691-705 for a synopsis of Tan's philosophy. Pi Xirui considered it an "unrefined piece of writing." (Chronological Biography entry under 1901/ Fifth month).

and Kang Youwei might lead us to concluded that Pi Xirui's shared the view that most of the so-called Old Script Classics were forged by Liu Xin. However, in his nianpu (1894), it is said that after reading Kang Youwei's Xinxue weijing kao, Pi Xirui was of the opinion that Liu Xin did not possess this kind of talent. This is another example of labels and generalizations possibly being misleading, as not all members of a "school" necessarily think alike--at least not all the time or about everything.

In addition, the ideas of the (Former) Han Learning school, the members of which held that the closer in time a commentary is to the text it addresses, the more accurate it is in it's explanation of the text, should also give us some insight into possible influences as to why Pi Xirui favored the commentaries of the former Han. With this in mind, when we read through Jingxue lishi, some of the possible reasons for Pi Xirui's "general" bent--that of a late Qing dynasty scholar of the "Modern Script / Han Learning" school--and how they drive his narrative--will hopefully become clearer. But at the same time, Pi Xirui was an individual, and not everything can be conclusively traced back to some earlier source or influence.

Another purpose of the above sketches is to provide a general sense of the lives and scholarship of some of the major figures in Qing dynasty intellectual history. These were very intelligent people. They dedicated themselves to learning, devoted themselves to serious study and did the

difficult work that learning and scholarship require. They had a clear understanding of the tradition in which they were participants and a strong desire to make a contribution to this tradition. Most came from educated families where learning was held in high regard. Many, but certainly not all, attempted the exams and obtained a degree. Some served in an official capacity and many also were teachers at some time in their lives. Some were moved by the political conditions of their times and were politically active. Many had patrons, many were friends with other well-known scholars and interacted with them during the course of their lives and many travelled. All produced significant scholarly contributions of one form or another. Some were essayists, some kept collections of their notes which were later published, and some left collections of their poetry, which for the educated elite was the primary written mode of personal expression. And all of them did different things and had different thoughts and ideas everyday of their lives.

As we go through Pi Xirui's chronological biography, and as his life unfolds, it will become clear that although Pi was unique as an individual, as we all are, the things that he did during his life are very much in keeping with what many Chinese who were fortunate enough to be members of the educated class did in their lives. In order to understand and appreciate Jingxue lishi, we should try to understand it in the context of Pi Xirui's life,

the life of a traditional Chinese "Confucian" scholar who lived at the end of the imperial era.

The Chronological Biography of Pi Xirui

Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞[1] (zi Lumen 鹿門, alt. zi 麓雲). He named his residence the "Shi Fu Tang" 師伏堂 ("The Hall in which I take Master Fu as my Teacher," Master Fu being Fu Sheng 伏勝, the early Han Dynasty Documents expert.) Scholars referred to him as "Shi Fu xiansheng" 師伏先生. He was a native of Shanhua xian 善化縣 in Hunan Province.

He was the descendant of a man known as Longrong gong 龍榮公 (the Venerable Longrong) who lived many generations ago during the Song Dynasty. From Xiangyang 襄陽 in northern Hubei, Longrong gong moved to Jiangxi. During the middle period of the Ming Dynasty Pi Xingke 皮興可 (Yongda gong 永達公) was appointed to the official position of Office Manager[2] of the Regional Military Commission[3] in Jiangxi. For his place of residence he chose Longtan li 龍潭里 which was located in Qingjiang xian 清江縣 in Jiang fu 江府.

After fifteen generations, we come to Pi Shunming 皮舜明 (Weijing

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[1]In the nianpu, Pi Xirui's grandson uses the term gong 公 "The Venerable One" to refer to Pi Xirui. I generally translate gong as Pi Xirui.

[2]dushi 都事--Hucker 7273

[3]du zhihui shi si 都指揮使司--Hucker 7200

gong 維經公) who distinguished himself by passing the jinshi exam during the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign period (1522-1567) of the Ming Dynasty. He was appointed to the position of District Magistrate[4] in Jianning xian 建甯縣 in Fujian. He was then assigned to fill the position of Subprefectural Magistrate[5] at Zhili zhou 直隸州 in Longyan 龍巖. He was appointed acting Prefect[6] of Xinghua fu 興化府in Fujian. His writings are collected in the Shensi tang ji 愼斯堂集. He was considered to be the ancestor from which later and scholarly talents would be descended from.

After eight generations we come to Pi Yixiu 皮以琇 (Xiuyu gong 秀玉公). During the Qianlong 乾隆 reign period (1736-1795) of the Qing Dynasty he moved his residence from Jiangxi to Hunan. Pi Xirui's paternal great-grandfather, Pi Dengle 皮登樂 (Zhizhou gong 知州公) was the first in the family to move his official place of residence to Shanhua xian in Changsha fu 長沙府 in Hunan. Pi Xirui's paternal great-grandmother's maiden name was Gao 高.

Pi Xirui's grandfather was Pi Cunyuan 皮存源 (zi Yongbang 永榜; Yingpu gong 英譜公). He was repeatedly honored as Grand Master for Court

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[4]zhixian 知縣--Hucker 993

[5]zhizhou 知州--Hucker 965

Discussion,[7] and owing to his exemplary character was held in high regard by those in his home village. Pi Xirui's grandmother's maiden name was Wang 王.

Pi Xirui's father was Pi Shutang 皮樹棠 (zi Hequan 鶴泉; Hequan gong 鶴泉公). He was a juren of 1862. He held the position of Assistant Instructor[8] in Yizhang xian 宜章縣 and Huarong xian 華容縣. He served in the position of Instructor[9] in Chenzhou fu 辰州府. He was appointed to the position of District Magistrate in Xuanping xian 宣平縣which was located in Chuzhou fu 處州府 in Zhejiang. He also served as District Magistrate in Songyang xian 松陽縣. Pi Xirui's mother's maiden name was Qu 瞿. She was the lucky daughter of Qu Huixuan 瞿惠軒 who was a retired scholar and resided in the same town as the Pi family.

The Pi clan was well respected in the Jiangxi area. For generations they embodied a kind of humble and modest virtue. From the time that his great-grandfather, Pi Dengle (Zhizhou gong), moved to Hunan, he used his business acumen in the areas of trade and commerce to build up the family's

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[6]zhifu 知府--Hucker 983

[7]chaoyi dafu 朝議大夫--Hucker 326

[8]xundao 訓導--Hucker 2761

[9]jiaoshou 教授--Hucker 740

financial resources and was in fact considered both a wealthy and influential man in the town. Pi Shutang (Hequan gong) used his scholarly skills and knowledge of the Confucian Classics to join the ranks of officials employed in government service. Pi Xirui was the eldest son of Pi Shutang. As a youth he was taught at home by his parents. He loved learning and would often be deeply immersed in thought. He had a profound interest in the Classics and was praised as one of the great teachers of the Qing dynasty.

清道光三十年庚戌十一月壬寅 (December 17, 1850)

Pi Xirui was born. He was born between 7 and 9 p.m. at the family residence on Nanzheng Street 南正街 in the city of Shanhua 善化 in Shanhua District 善化縣 which was located in Changsha Prefecture 長沙府. The house belonged to his paternal great-grandfather, Pi Dengle. At this time Pi Dengle was eighty years old. Pi Xirui's grandfather, Pi Cunyuan, and his grandmother were in charge of the family affairs. Pi Xirui's mother was the granddaughter of Pi Dengle. In the twenty-eighth year of the Daoguang period (1848), she married Pi Shutang. The following year she gave birth to a daughter, but when she was five months old, the daughter died. Pi Xirui was her next child.

咸豐元年辛亥 (1851) Two sui 歲

Pi Xirui's mother became ill. She was unable to produce milk to breastfeed him. Pi Xirui was weak and often ill, and she would hold and comfort him. It was said that she would toil on his behalf in every way possible and to the highest degree.

咸豐二年壬子 (1852) Three sui

The Taiping rebel forces[10] entered Hunan. Pi Xirui's father, following the instructions of his own father, Pi Cunyuan, took the family and sought safety by moving them to Qingjiang 清江 in Jiangxi. He then returned to Changsha and lived in the eastern section (東鄉).

咸豐三年癸丑 (1853) Four sui

There was a major famine in the Jiangxi area. Pi Xirui's father, Pi Shutang, donated grain to assist the relief efforts.

Ninth month, twelfth day. Pi Xirui's great-grandfather, Pi Dengle, died at age 83. He was buried in the southern part of Changsha, on grounds of the Feng 馮 family residence, at a level site between two hills.

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[10]Literally, the "Cantonese army" (Yue jun 粵軍).

咸豐四年甲寅 (1854) Five sui

Pi Xirui's mother began to teach him how to read.

咸豐五年乙卯 (1855) Six sui

He began to study with a tutor. His teacher was a student from Shanhua District, Mr. Tong Dan 童玿 (zi Haiguan 海觀).

咸豐六年丙辰 (1856) Seven sui

He continued to study with Mr. Tong.

咸豐七年丁巳 (1857) Eight sui

He studied with Mr. Chen Shanchang 陳善昌 (zi Qiushan 秋珊) who was from Shanhua District. He began to write poetry and prose.[11]

咸豐八年戊午 (1858) Nine sui

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[11]The Chinese reads 始作詩文, given the author's distinction between shi 詩 as "shi poetry" and wen 文 as "prose writings" when referring to Pi Xirui's writings later in the nianpu, could also be understood as "began writing shi poetry and prose." Shiwen could also just be a general reference to poetry.

He continued to study with Mr. Chen.

咸豐九年己未 (1859) Ten sui

He studied with Mr. Bao Wenling 鮑文淩 (zi Rongquan 蓉泉) who was from Shanhua District. Mr. Bao had passed the exams in 1829 and was the holder of the juren degree. Early on he enjoyed a reputation for skill in the literary arts. Pi Xirui displayed precociousness at a young age and loved to read many different written works. His teacher was exceptional in guiding him.

咸豐十年庚申 (1860) Eleven sui

He continued to study with Mr. Bao, who had a considerable literary reputation.

Pi Xirui met Li Mengying 夢營 (zi Licun 荔村) who was born in the same month and year as Pi Xirui. He was Pi Xirui's first real friend. Pi Xirui's mother was often ill and Pi Xirui was also often sick when he was young.

咸豐十一年辛酉 (1861) Twelve sui

He continued to study with Mr. Bao.

This year the Wenzong 文宗 Emperor died at Jehol 熱河. The imperial coffin containing the emperor's remains was returned to the capital district. Emperor Muzong 穆宗 was installed on the throne. However, Empress Cian and Empress Cixi ruled in place of the emperor, administering state affairs.

同治元年壬戌 (1862) Thirteen sui

He continued to study with Mr. Bao.

Pi Xirui's father passed the Provincial Exam and became a juren. He left to go and take part in the Metropolitan Examination,[12] but became ill on the way and had to return home.

同治二年癸亥 (1863) Fourteen sui

For the first time Pi Xirui took part in the examination for underage youth (tongshi 童試) and was appointed to the ranks of state sponsored students in Shanhua District. The educational official in charge was Mr. Wen Zhonghan 溫忠翰 (zi Weiqiu 味秋) who was a native of Taigu 太谷 in Shanxi.

Pi Xirui studied with Mr. Han Jun 韓俊 (zi Mianwu 勉吳) who was from Shanhua District. Mr. Han would pass the exams in 1876 and become

[12]liwei 禮闈 refers to the jinshi 進士 examination.

a juren.

同治三年甲子 (1864) Fifteen sui

He continued to study with Mr. Han and he also studied at the Chengnan Academy 城南書院. The head of the school was one Mr. He Shaoji 何紹基 (zi Zizhen 子貞) who was a native of Daozhou 道州.

For the first time he met Mr. Wang Deji 王德基 (zi Huaiqin 懷欽) who was a native of Yiyang 益陽 at Taohuajing 桃花井 which was in the provincial capital. Consequently they became friends in spite of the differences in their ages.

This year the Qing army captured Jinling 金陵.

同治四年乙丑 (1865) Sixteen sui

Pi Xirui was a student on a government stipend. This year Wen Zhonghan, in his official capacity as an education official, was in charge of overseeing things in Changsha. Pi Xirui participated in the annual exams, and was selected and placed in the first rank.

His father again went to take part in the Metropolitan Examinations, but he did not pass.

同治五年丙寅 (1866) Seventeen sui

His father, Pi Shutang, was appointed to the position of Assistant Instructor in Yizhang District 宜章縣.

同治六年丁卯 (1867) Eighteen sui

Third Month. Pi Xirui married Miss Peng 彭. She was the daughter of Peng Shuzao 彭舒藻 who was a native of Changsha District and who had held the official rank of Student, and the official positions of Salt Distribution Supervisor, Expectant Appointee, and Assistant Instructor.[13] She was the niece of Peng Shue 彭舒萼 who was a Junior Compiler[14] at the Hanlin Academy and had been assigned to the Hubei Hanhuangde Circuit 漢黃德道.

Tenth Month, first day. Pi Xirui's grandfather, Pi Cunyuan, died at the age of fifty-seven.

同治七年戊辰 (1868) Nineteen sui

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[13] Student--xuesheng 學生--Hucker 2702, Salt Distribution Supervisor--yantiju 鹽提舉--Hucker 7956, Expectant Appointee--houxuan 候選--Hucker 2213, Assistant Instructor- -xundao--Hucker 2761.

[14]Junior Compiler--bianxiu 編修 Hucker 4635.

Pi Xirui's father attended to his own father's funeral, escorting his coffin to the burial ground. Pi Cunyuan was buried in the Mingdao 明道 section of Changsha on the grounds of the Shi 史 family residence, on the level part of a hillside.

Third month, third day. Pi Xirui's first son, Pi Jiafu 皮嘉福 (zi Shouren 壽人), was born.

Third month, fifteenth day. Pi Xirui's wife, Ms. Peng, died twelve days after giving birth to their first child. In a memorial to Ms. Peng he wrote, "My wife had many natural talents and skills and was by nature intelligent and sharp minded. She was quite capable when it came to writing shi and ci poetry, thus skilled at writing verse with varying line lengths (ci poetry). She was so skilled at writing that for her it was effortless, like play. Whether playing the qin (zither) or board games like chess or other recreational pursuits, there was nothing that she was not well versed in. She often wrote couplets in her own hand, in calligraphy that was both elegant and refined."[15] All of Ms. Peng's writings have been lost.

同治八年己巳 (1869) Twenty sui

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[15]This quotation comes from the double-column commentary in this year's nianpu entry.

Because of their reputation as talented writers, Pi Xirui along with Wang Deji (zi Huaiqin) of Yiyang and Yan Shiliang 閻士良 (zi Xiangwen 象雯) of Changsha, were well known at this time. The local people would speak highly of them, referring to them as Yan, Pi, and Wang.[16]

Ms. Peng was buried in the southern part of Changsha, on the grounds of the Feng family residence, at a level site between two hills.

同治九年庚午 Twenty-one sui (1870)

Pi Xirui's father ended the mourning period for his own father's death. He was appointed to the position of Assistant Instructor in Huarong xian 華容縣.

Ninth month. Pi Xirui married his second wife, Miss Huang. She was the daughter of Huang Runchen 黃潤琛 (zi Yanting 彥廷), a native of Xiangtan 湘潭 in Hunan who had been a student at the Imperial Academy. She was the niece of Huang Runchang 黃潤昌 (zi Shaokun 劭坤) who was given the posthumous title Zhongzhuang 忠壯, had previously held the

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[16]Cf. Pi Xirui's diary entry from the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of the dingyou 丁酉 (1897) which is reprinted as double-column commentary in this year's nianpu entry.

position of Provincial Administration Commissioner[17] and had the brevet rank (xian 銜) having his name recorded as holding the position of Surveillance Commissioner.[18]

Pi Xirui's ancient and modern style poetry, arranged according to month and year, begins with this year. This year he wrote four "Poems Imitating the Style of Ancient Writers," "Sending Off a Friends as He Went to the Pass," and a "Note to Wang Huaiqin." They all appear in the collection Shi Fu Tang shicao (SFTSC) 師伏堂詩草.[19]

同治十年辛未 (1871) Twenty-two sui

Sixth month, ninth day. His second son, Pi Jiayou 皮嘉祐 (zi Jiren 吉

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[17]buzhengshi 布政使--Hucker 4770.

[18]ancha shi 按察使--Hucker 12

[19]Pi Xirui's grandson comments in his notes, "The Shi Fu Tang shicao (SFTSC) which arranges Pi Xirui's poetry according to year begins with the ninth year of the Tongzhi period (同治九年庚午 1870) and ends with the twenty-fourth year of the Guangxu period (光續二十四年戊戌 1898). In all it contains six juan of shi poetry. Extant manuscripts from 1899 on (光續二十五年己亥) have not been published. Furthermore, the poems that he wrote in his younger years together with those written after the failed attempt at government reform in the eighth month of the Wuxu year, i.e. those which are not reprinted in the Shicao, number around one hundred." See SFTSC,

人), was born.

This year his shi poetry included titles such as "Chun han" 春寒 ("The Cold of Spring"), "Chun cao" 春草 ("Spring Grasses"), "Chun mu" 春暮 ("Springtime Twilight"), and "Wuti" 無題 ("Untitled"--five poems). He also wrote two poems on passing by his late wife's grave ("Guo Peng Ruren mu" 過彭孺人墓), a poem imitating Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 (zi Feiqing 飛卿; 812-870) "Xiaoxian yao fang Feiqing" 曉仙謠仿飛卿 and one imitating Li He 李賀 (zi Changji 長吉; 791-817) "Mengtian ni Li Changji" 夢天擬李長吉, eight poems written in quatrains in imitation of Tang poets ("Fang Tangren jueju" 仿唐人絕句), and a poem written for and presented to Wang Deji (zi Huaiqin) upon his return to his home in Yiyang. It was written as a response (he 和) to, and in the original rhyme (yuanyun 元韻) as, a poem Wang had written to Pi Xirui.[20]

同治十一年壬申 (1872) Twenty-three sui

Pi Xirui's father was transferred to Chenzhou fu 辰州府 and appointed to the position of Instructor.

Pi Xirui traveled to Xiangtan 湘潭 where he visited his father-in-law,

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1.1a-b for this year's shi poetry.

Huang Runchen. En route he wrote poetry. (unpublished)

His friend, Li Mengying (zi Licun), whom he had first met in 1860, wrote poetry and gave it to him as a gift. Pi Xirui responded to him in verse that matched the rhymes of Li's original poetry. (unpublished)

Ninth Month. Pi Xirui's younger brother, Pi Xichen 皮錫琛 (who was later known as Xiaohe gong 筱鶴公) was born. He was the sixth younger male (relative to Pi Xirui) of the generation in the family line. His mother was Ms. Dong 董, who was Pi Shutang's concubine.

Pi Xirui's shi poetry written during this year can be found in the SFTSC, 1.5a-7a.

同治十二年癸酉 (1873) Twenty-four sui

This year he was selected to be a Graduate of Preeminence.[21] The Examination Mentors[22] were Wang Wenshao 王文韶 (zi Kuishi 夔石) who was a native of Yuanhe 元和 and who held the position of Vice Censor-in-chief,[23] and Liao Shouheng 廖壽恆 (zi Zhongshan 仲山) who was a

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[20]See SFTSC, 1.1b-5a for this year's shi poetry.

[21]bagong 拔貢--Hucker 4372

[22]zuoshi 座師--Hucker 6992

[23]zhongcheng 中丞--Hucker 1537

native of Jiading 嘉定 and who held the position of Education Commissioner.[24] Others on the list of successful candidates included Wang Deji of Yiyang, Yan Shiliang of Changsha, Ouyang Zhonggu 歐陽中鵠 of Liuyang 瀏陽, Wu Xie 吳獬 of Baling 巴陵, Cao Yisun 曹詒孫 of Chaling 茶陵, Chen Zhaowen 陳兆文 of Guiyang 桂陽, Zhou Xianyi 周銑詒 of Yongming 永明, Cheng Songfan 程頌藩 of Ningxiang 甯鄉, Yin Jiapei 殷家佩 of Xiangyin 湘陰, Li Qizhen 李奇珍 of Yongshun 永順, and Song Xuezeng 宋學曾 of Lingling 零陵, along with others. All were well known people.

Wang Kaiyun 王闓運 (zi Renqiu 壬秋; 1833-1916),[25] who was a native of Xiangtan, composed two poems titled "Presented to the Five Graduates of Preeminence of the Year 1873" ("Si Guiyou Wu Bagong" 贈癸酉五拔貢). The "Five" were Pi Xirui, Li Qizhen, Wang Deji, Wu Xie, and Xin Jiapei.

His eldest daughter Pi Jiaxiang 皮嘉祥 was born.

Eighth month. Pi Xirui became ill and almost died. His friend Li Mengying (zi Licun) came to see him. Pi Xirui wrote a poem thanking him. (unpublished)

Other poetry written over the course of the year include eight miscellaneous poems ("Zashi bashou" 雜詩八首), two pieces under the title

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[24]xueshi 學使

"Qu Jia ci" 屈賈祠 ("On the Memorial Temple of Qu Yuan and Jia Yi") and twenty-six pieces under the title "Du shi" 讀史 ("On Reading History").[26]

This year he began to keep copies of his prose writings. Included are titles such as "Qin shihuang lun" 秦始皇論 ("Essay on the First Qin Emperor"), "Song lun" 宋論("Essay on the Song"), "Han Wudi lun" 漢武帝論 ("Essay on Emperor Wu of the Han"), and "Ban Chao lun" 班超論 ("Essay on Ban Chao") which can all be found in the Shi Fu Tang pian wen (SFTPW) 師伏堂駢文.[27]

同治十三年甲戌 (1874) Twenty-five sui

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[25]For a biographical sketch of Wang Kaiyun, see: BDRC, V.3, p. 384-5.

[26]See SFTSC, 1.7a-11a for this year's shi poetry.

[27]Pi Mingchen writes in his commentary, "The Shi Fu Tang pian wen was first published in two juan in 1895. In 1904 over thirty pieces were added to the collection and it was published in four juan, the number of pieces totaling sixty-eight. Writings in parallel prose style (pianwen 駢文) from 1905 on and prose written in non-parallel style (santiwen 散體文) over the years have not been published. There are roughly forty-some pieces in manuscript form extant." (Pi Lunmen nianpu, p.10)

The pieces in the SFTPW are not in chronological order or grouped together like the poems in the SFTSC, but as there are only four juan and as each juan begins with an index of its contents, individual pieces are

Pi Xirui's father went to Zhejiang to serve as a District Magistrate.

Spring. Pi Xirui followed a route through Shandong on his way to the Metropolitan District. He visited the grave site of Mi Heng 禰衡 of Yingwu zhou 鸚鵡州.[28] Going to Pingyuan 平原, he recalled the Lord of Pingyuan 平原君 (Zhao Sheng 趙勝 ob.251).[29] He wrote lamentation poems for each.[30]

He took part in the Court Examination,[31] but did not pass.[32]

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relatively easy to locate.

[28]Mi Heng (zi Zhengping 正平, ca. 173-198) was a poet who was known for his literary genius and wit, as well as for his arrogance and eccentric behavior. His most famous piece is the "Yingwu fu" 鸚鵡賦 ("Rhapsody on the Parrot") which is in chapter 13 of the Wen xuan. The primary source of information on his life is his Hou Han shu biography (80B.2652-58).

[29]Pingyuan jun was the title given to Zhao Sheng (ob. 251 B.C.). He lived during the Warring States period and was the son of King Wuling 武靈王 of the state of Zhao 趙. Legend has it that he had 3,000 retainers. For his biography, see: Shi ji, 76.2365-70.

[30]The poems are "Diao Mi Chushi" 弔禰處士 and "Pingyuan diao Pingyuan jun" 平原弔平原君. For the text of these pieces, see: SFTSC 1.11b-12a and 1.12b-13a respectively.

[31]chaokao 朝考--Hucker 327

[32] [SVA: I suspect that this is an error as the court exam was only open to holders of the jinshi 進士 degree.]

He paid homage to Xie Wenjie 謝文節[33] at the Minzhong Temple 愍忠寺 and wrote a poem on this.[34]

Wang Deji (zi Huaiqin) was also staying in the capital and was about to go to field headquarters in Shaanxi and Gansu. Pi Xirui wrote a poem for him as a parting gift.[35] At the time of the Mid-Autumn Festival he, together with Wang Deji (zi Huaiqin) and Wu Chaoran (zi Yunting 雲亭) went to the Xingsheng Temple 興勝寺. On this occasion Pi Xirui composed a poem about the moon. It was written in the seven character per line regulated verse form, with eight four- line stanzas.[36]

Autumn. He traveled south by sea and then went to Zhejiang to see his father. He traveled by boat on West Lake (Xihu 西湖), and subsequently paid homage at the grave site of Yue Zhongwu 岳忠武 (Yue Fei 岳飛

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[33]Xie Wenjie Gong is the posthumous name of Xie Fangde 謝枋得 (zi Junzhi 君直, hao Dieshan 疊山) who lived during the Song dynasty.

[34]For the text of this poem, "Minzhong si diao Xie Wenjie Gong" 愍忠寺弔謝文節公 ("Lamenting Xie Wenjie at the Minzhong Temple"), see: SFTSC 1.14a.

[35]For the text of the poem "Wu Yunting Chaoran yue Huaiqin fu Shaan Gan xingying suoshi zengbie" 吳雲亭超然約懷欽赴陝甘 行營索詩贈別, see: SFTSC 1.14b-15a. Yunting 雲亭 is the zi of Wu Chaoran 吳超然.

[36]For the text of the poem "Xingsheng si Zhongqiu tong Huaiqin Yunting dui

1103-1142). He wrote poetry about each of these events, the poems serving to record something about his experiences.[37] Soon afterward he returned to Hunan.

Pi Xirui wrote many other poems during the year and these can be found in the Shi Fu Tang shicao 1.11a-22b. His prose writings which include titles such as "Liuguo lun" 六國論 ("On the Six States"), "Zhuge Liang lun" 諸葛亮論 ("On Zhuge Liang"), and "Wang Anshi lun" 王安石論 ("On Wang Anshi") are contained in the Shi Fu Tang pianwen.

This year Emperor Dezong 德宗 was placed on the throne, with Empress Cian and Empress Cixi again ruling in place of the emperor, administering state affairs.

光緒元年乙亥 (1875) Twenty-six sui

Pi Xirui stayed in Hunan and took part in the special recruitment examination given at the Provincial Examination level.[38]

Tenth Month. Together with his wife, Ms. Huang, he went to

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yue zuo" 興勝寺中秋同懷欽雲亭對月作, see: SFTSC 1.18b-19a.

[37]For the text of these poems, "Haizhou zhongzuo" 海舟中作, "Xihu ge" 西湖歌, "Yue Zhongwu mu" 岳忠武墓, and "Xihu zashi" 西湖雜詩, see: SFTSC 1.19a, 1.19b, 1.20b, and 1.21a-b, respectively.

[38]This was the Xiangshi enke 鄉試恩科.

Hangzhou 杭州.

His father was a Grader[39] for the Zhejiang Provincial Examination, and then was appointed to fill the position of District Magistrate in Xuanping xian 宣平縣, located in Chuzhou fu 處州府.

Pi Xirui's half-brother Pi Xiqi 皮錫琦 (zi Xiaoquan 筱泉) was born. He was the eighth younger male (relative to Pi Xirui) of the generation in the family line. His mother was Ms. Dong, Pi Shutang's concubine.

Pi Xirui's poetry from this year can be found in the Shi Fu Tang shicao 1.22b-25a.

光緒二年丙子 (1876) Twenty-seven sui

Pi Xirui resided in Hangzhou.

First Month, Fourteenth Day. His wife, Ms. Huang, died at their residence in Hangzhou. He wrote eleven poems expressing his emotions over his loss.[40]

[SVA: I have included the text and translation of these poems here.]

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[39]duiduguan 對讀官--Hucker 7392

[40]For the text of the eleven pieces written under the title "Dao wang" 悼亡 ("Lamenting My Loss"), see; SFTSC 2.1a-2a.

嚴霜淒厲隕芳蘭, 泉下誰憐玉骨寒

試傍紅窗數苔迹, 香塵猶在曲欄干

Severe Frost, bitter cold, dying fragrant flowers,

Underground in the grave, who feels affection toward the cold of a woman's bones?

I try to lean against the window frame in her room and count the moss covered footprints on the path,

Dust stirred by her steps still lingers on the winding railing.

擁髻燈前伴苦吟, 金鑪香燼夜停針

春風鬢影今安在, 落月空房不可尋

Hair in a bun, in front of the lamp, beside me as I struggle to express myself in verse,

A gold censer, ashes of incense, late at night--time to put away her needlework.

The Spring breeze, the shadow of her hair, where are they now?

The setting moon, an empty room, I cannot look for her.

擣藥床前眉黛愁, 昔年臥病茂陵秋

長卿無恙文君死, 更與何人共白頭

Grinding the medicine in front of my bed, the worry in her blackened brows,

In years past, sick in bed, Maoling in Autumn,

But now Changqing is well and his beloved Wenjun is gone,

With whom will I grow old with?

楊柳樓高陌草薰, 手揮珠淚泫羅裙

陸郎他日斑騅去, 忍向空幃別細君

Poplar and willow in the Spring, a building tall, a footpath through the fragrant foliage,
My hand wiping teardrops, which fall on my muslin gown,

Master Lu, another day, on his spotted horse departs,

I cannot bear facing her empty quarters, the separation from my wife.

西窗翦燭話歸遲, 萬里還家一笑時

今日重來武林道, 滿天紅雨葬西施

At the west window scissors trim a candle, we talk of returning late,

Travelling ten thousand li, going back home, it should be a time of laughter and joy,
Today, coming once again, down Wulin Road,

The entire sky, filled with crimson petals falling like rain, I bury my Xi Shi.

燈下親教長憾歌, 人間天上憾如何

而今瓦冷鴛鴦夜, 憾比淋鈴曲更多

Beneath the lamp, my teaching her the "Song of Everlasting Sorrow,"

I among mortals, she in Heaven, how can there be such sorrow?

But now the tiles are cold, matching pairs in the dead of night,[41]

Compared to the tune of "Spattering Rain," my sorrows are even greater.[42]

打槳西風黃葉天, 君山如黛小姑妍

晚妝照水雙蛾綠, 同倚蓬窗看鷺眠

Oars hitting the water, the Autumn wind from the west, a sky of yellow leaves,

Mount Jun[43] like eyebrow black, a petite young maiden,

Evening, the reflection of your dress in the water, the azure green of your eyebrows,

Together we leaned against the wicker canopy, and watched the egrets sleeping.

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[41]In Bai Juyi's "Changhen ge" 長恨歌 there is the line: 鴛鴦瓦冷霜華重. Yuanyang 鴛鴦 are a pair of mandarin ducks which symbolize lovers and marital harmony. Yuanyang wa 鴛鴦瓦 are a pair of matching roof tiles which fit together, one being concave and one being convex.

[42]"Spattering Rain" ("Linling" 淋鈴) is the name of a tune (qu 曲). It also has the name "Yu linling" 雨霖鈴. Legend has it that it was composed by Tang Xuanzong and expressed his sorrow over Yang Guifei.

[43]Mount Jun 君山 is located at Dongting Lake 洞庭湖 in Hunan.

數千里外到杭洲, 未向西湖共泛舟

今日湖邊春色好, 六橋花柳定魂遊

Several thousand li beyond, going to Hangzhou,

But not towards West Lake, together we sail by boat,

Today on the lakeshore, the fine colors of Spring,

Six bridges, blossoms and willows, at peace our spirits travel.

漏盡寒宵喘欲沈, 苦抛鴛枕倚香衾

祇今夢醒驚魂在, 猶似空床聽病吟

The waterclock has run out, it is cold and dark, I am panting, trying to catch my breath,

Bitterly I toss away my drake embroidered pillow, and rest on her quilt,

But now I from a dream I awaken, startled, her soul is present,

It still seems that from an empty bed, I hear her labored breathing.

珠汗沾衣付火炕, 彌留猶是望薰籠

從今黃竹箱長鎖, 怕見當時廣袖紅

Beads of sweat soak my clothing, I entrust it to the drying heat of the fire,

While she lingered near death, but still here, she gazed toward the drying rack with its potpourri scent,

But from now on the yellow bamboo trunk will be forever locked,

I fear looking upon the red of her gown's broad sleeves from that time.

魂返青山萬疊遮, 殯宮何日返長沙

昔來攜手今攜骨, 忍見初開陌上花

Her soul returns to the green mountains, by ten thousand layers hidden,

From the funeral hall, what day will we return to Changsha?

In times past I held her hand, but now I hold her bones,

How can I bear to look upon the first blooming of the flowers along the path to her grave?

Pi Shutang received an appointment to a position in the Printed Textiles Agency (Huabu ju 花布局) in Yuyao xian 餘姚縣 in Zhejiang. Pi Xirui accompanied his father to his post.

He traveled north to take part in the Provincial Examination given in Shuntian Prefecture 順天府. His father went with him to the ship that he was sailing on and saw him off. He did not pass the exam and returned south.

Autumn. Together with He Tanfu 賀坦夫 of Chaling 茶陵, Li Jueqing 李玨卿 of Baling 巴陵, and Zhou Jisheng 周吉生 of Shanyin 山陰, he traveled to Qixingya 七星巖 in Kuaiji 會稽. He wrote a poem to have something to

remember this by.[44]

He sought out the historical traces of Lu Fangweng 陸放翁 (Lu You 陸游 1125-1210), climbing Kuai Pavilion (Kuaige 快閣), and traveling to the former site of Shen's Garden (Shen yuan 沈園). He wrote poetry about these places.[45] He also wrote lyrics to the ci tune "Sanshumei" 三姝媚 in which he expresses his thoughts on traveling to Shen's Garden.[46]

This year he began keeping copies of his ci poetry.

His shi poetry from this year can be found in the SFTSC 2.1a-5b.

光緒三年丁丑 (1877) Twenty-eight sui

Spring. Pi Shutang went to Xuanping xian to serve in his official position and Pi Xirui went there to be with him. From Hangzhou he traveled through Yanzhou 嚴州 and paid homage at the Temple of Mr. Yan 嚴先生寺.

Pi Xirui's father was involved with the revising and re-editing of the Xuanping District Gazetteer (Xuanping xian zhi 宣平縣志). He put his son

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[44]The poem is "Ti Qixingyan" 題七星巖 ("On Seven Star Cliffs"). See SFTSC 2.4b-5a.

[45]For the text of the poem "You Kuaige" 遊快閣 ("Traveling to Kuai Pavilion"), see: SFTSC 2.15b-16a.

in charge of the people whose job it was to select and compile the material for the local history. His father also had him write the section which explained the principles of compilation and explained how to use the book. The Xuanping District Gazetteer contained twenty-one juan of zhi 志, with a chart (biao 表) of the history and development of the region appended to juan one. Each juan is prefaced with short introductory remarks.[47]

Pi Xirui wrote shi poetry during this year and it can be found in the SFTSC 2.5a-7b.

光緒四年戊寅 (1878) Twenty-nine sui

Pi Xirui remained in Xuanping.

Pi Xirui's oldest son's teacher was Mr. Yang Huanbin 楊煥彬 (zi 霖生). Pi Xirui and Mr. Yang would correspond with one another, exchanging poems as the mode of communication and expression.

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[46]For the text of this ci poem, see the Shi Fu Tang ci 師伏堂詞, 1.1a.

[47]The Xuanping xian zhi 宣平縣志 was originally printed in 1878. It was reprinted in four volumes by the Chengwen chubanshe in Taipei, Taiwan in 1974. In the nianpu, the prefatory remarks from juan one through juan twenty are included on pp. 12-14, but with no indication as to where those of one juan end and those of the next juan begin. A comparison with the original text will clarify this ambiguity.

At this time, Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠[48] had pacified Xinjiang. Because he felt that the Russians were watching and waiting for an opening for an attack, Pi Xirui advocated a strategy of stationing soldiers in the border regions to strengthen the border. He wrote a poem expressing his thoughts on the matter.[49]

A list of poems written during this year is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries. These pieces can be found in SFTSC 2.8a-12a. Included are poems to his son's teacher, Mr. Yang, a poem to his friend Wang Deji (Wang Huaiqin), and ten poems under the title "Autumn Remembrances" ("Qiu huai" 秋懷).

His prose writings include a letter to Li Mengying (Li Licun) whom he had known since 1860.

光緒五年己卯 (1879) Thirty sui

Spring. Pi Xirui returns to Hunan.

The remains of his deceased wife, Ms. Huang, were buried in the southern part of Changsha, at a level site on the banks of a nestled spring,

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[48]See: ECCP, pp.762-7, for Zuo Zongtang's biography.

[49]The text of the poem is reprinted here in the nianpu on pp.14-15, but not published elsewhere.

[located at a cemetery].[50] His father was assigned to the position of Examination Aide.[51] While traveling to Chuzhou 處州 he became ill and his wife, Ms. Qu, went to take care of him.

Autumn. Pi Xirui took part in the Provincial Exams,[52]but did not pass.

Wang Deji (zi Huaiqin) passed the Provincial Exams thus becoming a juren and traveled north to the capital to prepare for the Metropolitan Examination. Pi Xirui wrote poetry to send him off.[53]

Previously, Pi Xirui and Wang Deji had been recognized for their talent by the Prefect of Changsha, Zhang Xiufu 張修府 (zi Dongshu 東墅), who was a native of Jiading 嘉定. He considered them to be the most

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[50]The original text reads, "泉窩塘之原." It is possible that "泉窩塘" is a proper name, but as I do not know, I have given it a loose literal translation.

[51]diaolian 調簾--Hucker 6495

[52]In the original text, the author uses the term xiangwei 鄉闈 to refer to the Provincial Exams which were held in the eighth month of the lunar calendar year. As this is in Autumn (Qiu 秋) the exams were sometimes referred to as the Qiushi 秋試 ("Autumn Exams") or Qiuwei 秋闈, wei 闈 having the meaning of "examination hall."

[53]For the text of the two poems titled "Song Huaiqin dengdi beishang" 送懷欽登第北上 ("Sending off Huaiqin the Successful Examinee on His Way North"), see: SFTSC 2.20a-b.

talented of the many talented individuals in the area and was certain that they would make great strides during their lives. During this round of examinations Zhang Xiufu held the position of Examination Overseer.[54] When it came time to collect the exam papers, he read Wang's exam and praised it saying that it certainly would be well received. The day that Wang's name was added to the list of successful candidates and his name called out, he was mad with joy for him. Pi Xirui attained juren status after passing the Provincial Exam held in Shuntian Prefecture in 1882, but Zhang Xiufu had already passed away in 1880.

Xia Xianyun 夏獻雲 (Xia Zhicen 夏芝岑) who was a native of Xinjian 心建 and an official in the Hunan Grain Tax Circuit finished renovating the Memorial Temple for Grand Tutor Jia Yi (Changsha Jia Taifu ci 長沙賈太傅祠) and the Terrace of King Ding of Changsha (Dingwang tai 定王臺). Pi Xirui wrote poems as records of this occasion.[55]

His second wife's father, Huang Runchen, was residing at a mountain villa in Xiangtan. Pi Xirui wrote poetry in the seven character line regulated verse style as a gift bidding goodbye to his late wife's

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[54]jianshi 監試--Hucker 858

[55]For the text of these poems, "Jia Taifu ci" 賈太傅祠 ("The Memorial Temple of Grand Tutor Jia") and "Changsha Ding Wang tai" 長沙定王臺

brothers, Huang Shoukang 黃壽康 (zi Junfu 君輔) and Huang Duhu 黃篤祜 (zi Jihu 季鵠).[56]

Winter. Pi Xirui returned to Hangzhou. He entered into a relationship with Miss Zhao who became his concubine.

When he was younger, Pi Xirui admired the scholarship as well as the personal conduct of Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 and Wang Fuzhi 王夫之.[57] At this time he studied the works of these two scholars and expressed his thoughts about them in poetry.[58]

This year, Pi Xirui began to study the Classics. In Hangzhou he obtained a copy of the Qiugulu lishuo 求古錄禮說 by Jin E 金鶚 (zi

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("The Terrace of King Ding of Changsha"), see: SFTSC 2.17b-18a.

[56]For the text of the poems "Huangshi shanzhai zengbie neixiong Junfu" 黃氏山齋贈別內兄君輔 ("Presented to my Senior Brother-in-Law Huang Junfu on his Departure for the Huang Family Mountain Study") and "Zengbie neidi Jihu" 贈別內弟季鵠 ("Presented to my Junior Brother-in-law Jihu on his Departure"), see: SFTSC, 2.18.b-19a.

[57]For a short biography of Gu Yanwu (zi Ningren 寧人, hao Tinglin 亭林, alt. hao Jiangshanyong 蔣山傭; 1613-1682), see: ECCP, pp.421-6; for Wang Fuzhi (zi Ernong 而農, hao Chuanshan 船山, alt. hao Jiangzhai 薑齋, Yihu daoren 一瓠道人, Xitang 夕堂; 1619-1692), see: ECCP, pp.817-9.

[58]For the text of the poems "Du Gu Tinglin Xiansheng shi" ("Studying the Works of Mr. Gu Tinglin") and "Du Wang Chuanshan Xiansheng shi"

Chengzhai 誠齋) who was a native of Linhai 臨海. He delighted in his judgments, as well as in the accuracy and precision of his scholarship. As a result of his study of this work, with respect to the systems and institutions of the Rites, he examined them with the utmost care and in detail and at the same time was also wide ranging and thorough.

In addition to the poems mentioned above, Pi Xirui wrote many other poems during the year, some about the places he visited in the course of his travels.[59] His two prose pieces mentioned at the end of this year's nianpu entries were unpublished.

光緒六年庚辰 (1880) Thirty-one sui

Pi Xirui's father returned to his official position in Xuanping, with Pi Xirui staying with relatives in Jinhua.

He traveled from Hangzhou to Xuanping to visit and help his father. He then returned to Jinhua.

He lived away from home in Jinhua where things were strange and different. The sound of the insects, alone in the morning, caused him to have strong feelings upon hearing them. He wrote a poem about this.[60] The

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("Studying the Works of Mr. Wang Chuanshan"), see: SFTSC, 2.22b-22a.

[59]For the text of this year's shi poetry, see: SFTSC 2.12a-23b.

[60]This is a clear example of Pi Xirui's grandson using his grandfather's

diplomat Zeng Jize 曾紀澤 (1839-1890) concluded the Treaty of St. Petersburg with Russia.[61] Pi Xirui felt strongly about the circumstances which led up to the signing of the treaty and wrote four poems under the title "Gan Yili shi" 感伊犁事 ("Thoughts on the Events Regarding Yili") and two poems under the title "Wen E heyi cheng" 聞俄和議成 ("On Hearing Peace Negotiations had been Concluded with Russia").[62]

A list of the titles of the many other shi poems written during the year is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries,[63] along with the title of one piece of prose, a letter written to his brother-in-law, Huang Junfu, from Xuanping ("Xuanping yu Huang Junfu shu" 宣平與黃鈞甫書).

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poetry as a source of information for the nianpu. The title of the poem is "Qiaoju Jinhua wuhou shuyi chongming duzao wenzhi kairan" 僑居金華物候殊異蟲鳴獨早聞之 慨然 ("Living Away from Home in Jinhua, the Seasons of Things are Strange and Different, the Sound of the Insects Alone in the Morning, Upon Hearing them I have Strong Feelings") is copied verbatim into the nianpu to describe Pi Xirui's experience in Jinhua. For the text of the poem, see: SFTSC, 3.2a.

[61]For a short biography of Zeng Jize, see: ECCP, p.746-7.

[62]For the text of these poems, see: SFTSC, 3.2b-3a and 3.8a respectively.

[63]The text of his poetry can be found in SFTSC 3.1a-8b. For the prose piece mentioned in the nianpu, "Xuanping yu Huang Junfu shu" 宣平與黃鈞甫書

光緒七年辛巳 (1881) Thirty-two sui

Pi Xirui remained in Jinhua.

This year his second daughter, Pi Jiajin 皮嘉金, was born to his concubine, Ms. Zhao.

Early Spring. Mr. Yan Shiliang 閻士良 (zi Xiangwen 象雯) went to Hangzhou to meet Pi Xirui face to face. Pi Xirui wrote send off poetry for him. (unpublished)

At the time, Zhao Yumi 趙于密 (zi Bozang 伯藏) who was a native of Wuling 武陵 and Zhang Shaoling 張紹齡 who was a native of Shanhua, along with Pi Xirui, resided at the Chuxiang Guesthouse 楚湘賓館. On the grounds there was a very old Chinese catalpa tree. Pi Xirui composed poetry about it in twenty rhymes and wrote a preface in prose to his poetry. (unpublished)

He then traveled to West Lake, paid homage at the Memorial Temple of the Venerable Mr. Wu 伍公廟, and after more than a month, he returned.

On the boat there was someone transporting peonies who lamented that these roots he was entrusted with were not in their native soil. Having met a person who like himself was temporarily living away from home, Pi Xirui wrote a poem in the regulated quatrain form to put his feelings in

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("A Letter to Huang Junfu from Xuanping"), see: SFTPW, 2.25b-26a.

writing.[64] His late wife's younger brother, Huang Junfu, came to Zhejiang from Xiangtan in Hunan. In late Autumn, he saw him off on his return to Hunan. As they had traveled around the Hangzhou area, Pi Xirui wrote poetry to send him off.[65]

For other shi poetry written during the year, see: SFTSC, 3.8a-12b. His prose writings, "Shanzhuan wanyue ji" 山莊玩月記 ("Enjoying the Moon at a Mountain Villa") and "Gao Wu Gong miao wen" 告伍公廟文 ("Proclamation at The Venerable Mr. Wu's Temple") are in SFTPW, 4.16a-18a. The other prose writings from this year mentioned in the nianpu, "Ji Wang Huaiqin tongnian shu" 寄王懷欽同年書 ("A Letter Sent to Wang Huaiqin") and "Song Huang Junfu gui Hunan xu" 送黃鈞甫歸湖南序 "Preface to the Poem 'Sending Off Huang Junfu on His Return to Hunan'" are both unpublished.

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[64]This is another clear example where Pi Xirui's grandson uses the title of one of his grandfather's poems almost verbatim to describe an event in the nianpu. The title of the poem is "Zhouzhong you zai mudanhua zhe jie qi tuogen feisuo yu tong jiren shu yi zhigan" 舟中有載牡丹花者 嗟其託根非所遇同羈人書以誌感. For the text of the poem, see: SFTSC 3.10b.

[65]For the text of these poems, "Song Huang Junfu gui Hunan" 送黃鈞甫歸湖南 ("Seeing Off Huang Junfu on his Return to Hunan") and "Qiumu fuyou Hangzhou zhi xing" 秋暮復有杭州之行 "Traveling Again in Hangzhou in Late Autumn," see: SFTSC, 310b-11a.

光緒八年壬午 (1882) Thirty-three sui

Pi Shutang was transferred to an official position in Songyang xian 松陽縣. His wife, Ms. Qu, traveled there from Jinhua, accompanied by Pi Xirui.

Autumn. He took part in the Provincial Examinations given at Shuntian Prefecture. He passed the exams and was ranked as a juren. The Examination Mentors[66] included Xu Tong 徐桐 (zi Yinxuan 蔭軒, 1819-1900) who had a position in the Eight Chinese Banners,[67] Sun Jia'nai 孫家鼐 (zi Xiechen 燮臣, 1827-1909),[68] and Xi Dafeng 喜達峰 (zi Chonga 崇阿) who was a native of Ula 烏拉 in Mongolia. Successful candidates who had their names announced included Wen Tingshi 文廷式 (zi Daoxi 道希, 1856-1904)[69] who was a native of Pingxiang 萍鄉, Duanfang 端方 (canonized as Zhongmin gong 忠愍公, 1861-1911)[70] who was a native of Gengyang xian 滾陽縣 in Hebei, Chen Jiayan 陳嘉言 (zi Meisheng 梅生) who was a native of

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[66]zuoshi 座師--Hucker 6992

[67]Hanjun baqi 漢軍八旗--Hucker 2135

[68]See: ECCP, p.673-5, for Sun Jia'nai's biography.

[69]See: ECCP, p.855-6, for Wen Tingshi's biography.

[70]See: ECCP, p.780-2, for Duanfang's biography.

Hengshan 衡山, Yu Zhaokang 余肇康 (zi Yaoqu 堯衢) who was a native of Changsha, Pi Xirui's old friend Li Mengying 李夢瑩 (zi Licun 荔村) and Shen Shipei 沈世培 (zi Xiaolan 小嵐), both natives of Shanhua, Chen Sanli 陳三立 (zi Boyan 伯嚴) who was a native of Yining 義甯, Cheng Songfang 程頌芳 (zi Hainian 海年) who was a native of Ningxiang 甯鄉, and Chen Zhaokui 陳兆葵 (zi Fuxin 復心) who was a native of Guiyang 桂陽.

Ninth month. Pi Xirui traveled south to Songyang 松陽.

His shi poetry from this year can be found in SFTSC, 3.12b-16b. His prose piece listed in the nianpu, "Haizhong guan richu ji" 海中觀日出記 ("Out at Sea Watching the Sunrise") can be found in the SFTPW, 4.12b-13b.

光緒九年癸未 (1883) Thirty-four sui

Spring. He took part in the Metropolitan Examination administered by the Ministry of Rites.[71] He did not pass.[72] Wang Deji (zi Huaiqin) and Cheng Bohan 程伯翰 proofread manuscripts of Pi Xirui's poetry written from 1870 through the Spring of 1883.

Summer. He returned south to Songyang. His father returned to his

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[71]Libu shi 禮部試 is another name for the huishi 會試 i.e., the Metropolitan Examination.

[72]Literally, "The office's recommendation was not well received."

position in Xuanping xian. Pi Xirui remained with his mother who still resided in Songyang.

Pi Shutang had renovated the Shrine of Zhang Ruoqiong 張若瓊 Virtuous Maiden of the Song Dynasty who was from Songyang, and the Parrot Burial Mound 鸚鵡冢. He had Pi Xirui compose poetry as a record of these events.[73]

Previously, in 1879, the Japanese annexed the Liuqiu 琉球 (Ryukyu) Islands and in 1882 the French took possession of Tongking in Annam (Vietnam). Wang Deji (zi Huaiqin) went to the headquarters of the

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[73]Pi Mingzhen provides Pi Xirui's notes to the poem (shizhu 詩注), "The Virtuous Maiden of the Song Dynasty, Zhang Ruoqiong, was a native of Songyang. She was intelligent, attractive, and skilled at writing shi and ci poetry. Her writings are contained in the Lanxue ji 蘭雪集. She was pledged in marriage to Shen Sheng 沈生 of Songyang. Sheng was taking part in the examinations in the capital district when he became ill and died. The girl remained chaste until death. Her two maids, Shuang'e 霜娥 and Zi'e 紫娥, with the parrots she raised were buried with her. Because they were all buried together, it was called the parrot burial mound. The people of the town built a shrine and called it the Shrine of the Virtuous Maiden. As years went by, its condition deteriorated, collapsing and its paint peeling off. My father repaired and restored the shrine and the burial mound and had me write poetry on these events." See p.18 of the nianpu for the original text.

Governor General of Yunnan Liu Changyou 劉長佑[74] (canonized Wushen 武愼) who was a native of Xinning 新甯. On his behalf, Pi Xirui wrote a memorial to the emperor requesting that the Liuqiu Islands and Annam be recovered in order to fortify and strengthen China's outlying regions. Around this time, Liu Yongfu 劉永福 raised the army known as the "Black Flags," and Peng Yulin 彭玉麟 sent troops to assist them. Bao Rongquan 鮑蓉泉 followed and joined in the cause. Moved by these events, Pi Xirui composed a four poem cycle.[75]

In his study of the Classics, Pi Xirui revered the scholarship of the Modern Script school. He was fond of collecting stele inscriptions from the Han dynasty and made use of these materials in his research. Year after year he would go to the capital or to Shanghai where he usually obtained something of interest. His friends also sent him many things of this kind. This year Zhao Bocang 趙伯藏 gave him a copy of the Han Qiuci (Kucha) jiangjun Liu Pingguo bei shuanggouben 漢龜茲將軍劉平國碑雙鉤本. He wrote four poems about this. (unpublished)

His poetry from this year can be found in the SFTSC, 3.16a-26a. Three of his prose writings (letters) mentioned in the nianpu are published

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[74]See: ECCP, p.515-6, for Liu Changyou's biography.

[75]These poems are reprinted on page 19 of the nianpu.

in juan two of the SFTPW.

光緒十年甲申 (1884) Thirty-five sui

Spring. Pi Xirui traveled to Hangzhou. He then returned to Songyang.

Fourth month. He received word that his father was seriously ill and accompanied his mother to Songyang in order to take care of him. He received a letter from Cheng Bohan from which he learned that Wang Deji (zi Huaiqin) had died on the eighth day of the first month. He wrote poetry which expressed his extreme sadness over his loss.

This year saw fighting between China and France. Pi Xirui wrote four poems expressing his anger and indignation.[76] He composed a poem after hearing about the battle with foreign forces in Fujian at Mawei Harbor 馬尾港.[77] He also wrote four poems under the title "Gan shi" 感事 ("Moved

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[76]For the text of the four poems, written under the title "Gan fen" 感憤 ("Feeling Anger and Indignation"), see: SFTSC, 4.8a-b.

[77]This refers to the destruction of the Fuzhou Naval Yard and eleven Chinese warships by French naval forces on August 23, 1884. For the text of the poem, "Wen Min Yang Mawei zhanshi" 聞閩洋馬尾戰事 ("Hearing of the Battle at Mawei Harbor Between Fujian and Foreign Forces"), see: SFTSC, 4.12a.

By Events").[78]

Pi Xirui wrote many other shi poems over the course of the year and these can be found in SFTSC, 4.1a-13b. Of the two prose pieces mentioned in the nianpu, one, "Daxue shanxing ji" 大雪山行記 ("Traveling Through the Mountains in Heavy Snow"), has been published in the SFTPW 4.13b-14b.

光緒十一年乙酉 (1885) Thirty-six sui

Spring. Pi Xirui's father resigned from his official position on account of illness.

On the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month, Pi Xirui's mother died at a government building in Xuanping. She was fifty-seven years of age. He accompanied his father and his mother's coffin on their return to Hunan.

Pi Xirui's third son Pi Jialu 皮嘉祿 was born. His mother was Pi Xirui's concubine, Ms. Zhao.

This year the treaty between China and France was concluded and Annam came under French control.

Because he was observing the mourning period, there is no poetry or prose from this year.

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[78]For the text of these poems, see SFTSC, 4.12a-b.

光緒十二年丙戌 (1886) Thirty-seven sui

Pi Xirui's mother was buried in the southern section of Changsha on grounds of the Feng family residence, at a level site between two hills.

His oldest son, Pi Shouren, entered the District School (縣學).

At this time, Pi Xirui's grandmother, Ms. Wang, was approaching eighty years of age and was very anxious to have great-great grandchildren. In the winter, Pi Shouren married Ms. Huang, who was the daughter of a local family. Her father had previously been a Provincial Stipend Student[79] who was given the posthumous name Shiyong Weng 式雍翁.

光緒十三年丁亥 (1887) Thirty-eight sui

On the thirteenth day of the tenth month, Pi Xirui's grandmother, Ms. Wang, passed away at the age of seventy-eight.

Pi Xirui studied the Documents, revered Fu Sheng 伏生, and held the explanations of the Modern Script School in high regard. At this time he wrote the Shangshu dazhuan jian 尚書大傳箋, which was the first of the books Pi Xirui would author.

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[79]linsheng 廩生--Hucker 3728

光緒十四年戊子 (1888) Thirty-nine sui

In the summer they buried Pi Xirui's grandmother, Ms. Wang, in the northern section of Changsha, on the grounds of the Shi family residence, on a hillside.

Winter. Pi Xirui's second son, Pi Jiren, married Ms. Wang 汪, the daughter of a local family. Her father served as the Storehouse Commissioner-in-chief[80] on the Kashegeer 喀什噶爾 circuit in Xinjiang. He previously had been a Tribute Student by Purchase Third Class[81] and was given the posthumous name Duweng 度翁.

This year Pi Xirui wrote nine poems under the title "Yonghuai" 詠懷 ("Expressing Myself in Verse").[82]

光緒十五年己丑 (1889) Forty sui Spring. He traveled north to take part in the Metropolitan Exam administered by the Ministry of Rites, but he did not pass. On the third day of the second month his third daughter Pi Jiazhen 皮嘉禎 was born to his concubine, Ms. Zhao.

This year Cheng Bohan died. Pi Xirui put his feelings into words,

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[80]kudashi 庫大使--Hucker 2072

[81]fugongsheng 附貢生--Hucker 3253

[82]For the text of these poems, see, SFTSC, 4.13b-15a.

writing four poems in the rhyme scheme previously used by Cheng Bohan's younger brother, Cheng Songfang (zi Hainian), who had passed the Provincial Examination the same year as Pi Xirui. He composed these pieces in memory of his deceased friend.

He was tested and selected by the Secretaries in the Grand Secretariat.[83] He was anonymously presented to the emperor. He remained in the capital and prepared for the Examination by Grace[84] to be given the following year.

On the day of the Double Ninth Festival, Pi Xirui, together with Zhong Yelun 鄭業綸 (zi Qifan 奇凡) who was a native of Changsha, Huang Yangu 黃雁骨 (zi Luquan 麓泉), Tang Lufan 湯魯璠 (zi Zhian 稚菴), Chen Hanxiao 陳翰霄 (zi Bingzhang 昺章), Huang Changnian 黃昌年 (zi Ziyu 子餘), Lin Xizun 林系尊 (zi Shouchen 綬臣), and Wang Yishu 汪詒書 (zi Songnian 頌年) who were all natives of Shanhua, traveled to the Tianning Temple 天甯寺. There they held a gathering where they drank and composed poetry. Wang Yishu then went to Shandong to meet with a high ranking official and Zheng Yelun went to visit the headquarters of Chen Qitai 陳啓泰 (zi Boping 伯平) which was located in Datong Prefecture 大同府

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[83]neige zhongshu 內閣中書--Hucker 4194

[84]enke 恩科 or enshi 恩試--Hucker 1820

in Shanxi. He wrote poems for both of them to send them off.

Eleventh month, fifteenth day. Pi Xirui's father, Pi Shutang, died at his residence in Changsha at sixty-one years of age. When Pi Xirui received word of his death, he hurried back home.

During this year, Empress Xiaoqin returned control of the government to the emperor.

The poetry that Pi Xirui wrote during the year can be found in SFTSC, 4.15a-23a. After his father's death, he did not write any poetry as he was in mourning.

光緒十六年更寅 (1890) Forty-one sui

He held the position of Head Lecturer at the Longtan shuyuan 龍潭書院 which was located at Guiyang zhou 桂陽州.

Fourth month. He traveled from Changsha. While traveling he visited Kongling Gorge 空靈峽 and wrote a record of his visit.[85]

Sixth month. He returned to Changsha.

Seventh month. He responded to the invitation of the Long Zhanlin 龍湛霖 (zi Zhisheng 芝生) who was a native of Youxian 攸縣, held the rank of

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[85]For the text of the "You Kongling xia ji" 遊空靈峽記 ("A Record of My Visit to Kongling Gorge"), See: SFTPW, 4.14b- 15b.

Vice Minister,[86] and was serving in the capacity of Education Commissioner in Jiangxi. Pi Xirui subsequently traveled to Nanchang 南昌.

Previously, merchants from the Huai area who were living in Hunan Province, because Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (zi Bohan 伯涵, canonized Wenzheng 文正, 1811-1872) had restored order to the Huai region,[87] raised funds and built a shrine on Zheng Street which was located in the Xiao Wumen section of the provincial capital. Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾 (zi Bochen 伯琛, Yunxian 筠仙, 1818-1891) who was a native of Xiangyin 湘陰 in Hunan and held the rank of Vice Minister,[88] established a school, the Sixian jiangshe 思賢講舍, next to the temple. Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (zi Yiwu 益吾; 1842-1918) who was a native of Changsha and held the rank of Academician of the Grand Secretariat,[89] with support of businessmen set up an institute, the Chuowu gongsuo 齪務公所. Funds were contributed to establish a publishing company and this was the beginning of the Hunan Sixian shuju 思賢書局

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[86]shilang 侍郎--Hucker 5278

[87]See: Qing shigao 清史稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 123.3636.

[88]For a biographical sketch of Guo Songtao, see: ECCP, p.438-9. Vice Minister = shilang 侍郎--Hucker 5278.

[89]gexue 閣學 is an abbreviation for neige xueshi 內閣學士, "Academician of the Grand Secretariat"--Hucker 4195. For a biographical sketch of Wang

(Sixian Book Company). Wang Xianqian published books and after discussions with Pi Xirui it was decided that his books would also be published by the Sixian Book Company.

As he was observing the mourning period, Pi Xirui did not write any poetry this year.

光緒十七年辛卯 (1891) Forty-two sui

Third month. Pi Xirui's eldest grandson, Pi Mingyang 皮名揚 was born.

Fourth Month. He returned to Hunan from a meeting at the office of educational officials in Jiangxi. His father's remains were buried in the eastern section of Changsha on the grounds of the Sheng 盛 family residence, at the site of a bend.[90]

Seventh month. He traveled to Nanchang 南昌. He went to pay his respects at the ancestral grave site located in the Longtan neighborhood 龍潭里 of Linjiang 臨江.

His third son, Pi Jialu, died.

Xianqian, see: BDRC, 3.379-80.

[90]I have translated "wan" 灣 in the original as "bend." Wan has several other meanings and possible translations, but I am uncertain as to its exact

Winter. He returned to Changsha. As he was observing the mourning period, he did not write any poetry during the course of year.

光緒十八年壬辰 (1892) Forty-three sui

This year, Pi Xirui began to keep a diary.

In the two previously years he had assisted Education Commissioner Long 龍學使 by going over the exams. Those whose exams were selected were for the most part scholars of broad and deep learning. Thereupon the Jingxun shuyuan 經訓書院 in Nanchang invited him to come and teach.

First month. He traveled through Liling 醴陵, Pingxiang 萍鄉, and Yuanzhou 袁州 on his way to Jiangxi.

Second month. On the first day of the month he obtained three plates printed from the engravings of Wen Peng 文彭 (zi Shoucheng 壽承, hao Sanqiao 三橋, 1489-1573). The first one read, "Pillow oneself on the streams and rinse one's mouth with rocks."[91] The second one read, "Face the wind

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meaning in this context.

[91]"Zhenliushushi" 枕流漱石 should be written "zhenshishuliu" 枕石漱流 "Pillow oneself on the rocks and rinse one's mouth in the streams." See Shishuo xinyu 世說新語 25/6; Yang Yong 楊勇, Shishuo xinyu jiaojian 世說新語校箋 (Hong Kong: Dazhong shuju, 1969), p.588; Richard Mather, trans., A New Account of Tales of the World (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota

and enjoy the moonlight."[92] And the third one read, "Be content within one's limits, be self sufficient and satisfied with what one has."[93] He considered this to be the touchstone literary allusions that he would go back to time and again throughout his life.

At the end of the mourning period he traveled north. He met Yuan Xuqin 袁緒欽 (zi Shuyu 叔瑜) of Changsha and Luo Zhengjun 羅正鈞 (zi Shunxun 順循) and together they went to the capital. As friends, they wrote and replied to one another in verse.

Third month. He took part in the Metropolitan Examination administered by the Ministry of Rites. He did not pass.

For Zhang Jinlin 章覲瀛 of Changsha he wrote a poem on the Tongguan Ganjiutu 銅官感舊圖 of his forebear, Mr. (Zhang) Shoulin 壽麟 (zi Jieren 价人).

Fourth month. He traveled south to Nanchang. In Jiangxi area, there had been longstanding veneration of Song Learning with a strong emphasis on xingli 性理, and with some, Buddhism was popular. The Classics and their exegesis is that which has been brought together by human culture.

Press, 1976), p.402.

[92]"Linfeng nongyue" 臨風弄月 is inscribed on a painting of bamboo by Wang Fu 王紱 (ca.1362-ca.1416).

Personally, Pi Xirui, owing to his many years in study and in instruction, advocated the learning of the Western Han dynasty that was characterized by "subtle words with profound implications" (weiyan dayi 微言大意), and thought that when teaching Classical Scholarship, the rules of a school of learning should be followed, and in writing commentary, one must hold to a particular school's understanding of the text.[94]

For a time, the gifted and talented all flocked to his door, the general atmosphere for learning was greatly changed by this.

Fifth month. Ding Yan's 丁晏 (zi Jianqing 儉卿, native of Shanyang 山陽) Liuyi Tang congshu dujingshuo 六藝堂叢書讀經說 was reprinted in one juan so it could be used to instruct the academy's students. Pi Xirui also sent copies to his former students at the Longtan shuyuan in Guiyang 桂陽 as gifts. He got out a manuscript of the Shangshu dazhuan jian that he had written some time ago with the intention of continuing and finishing it while at the academy.

Sixth month, seventeenth day. He read Yan Ruoqu's 閻若璩 (zi Baishi 百詩, native of Taiyuan 太原) Guwen Shangshu shuzheng 古文尚書疏證 and

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[93]"Anfen zizu" 安分自足.

[94]Pi Mingzhen notes that this is taken from Pi Xirui's diary entry for the fourth month, twenty-sixth day.

remarked that Yan Ruoqu had lived during the early years of the Qing dynasty, a time when Han Learning was beginning its ascendancy, but also a time when Song Learning was still flourishing. He was accustomed to preconceptions and prejudices, and every time he utilized the opinions of Song scholars to refute and dismiss the Kong Commentary, in doing so he also refuted the ancient meaning of the scholars of the Former and Later Han dynasties. He already knew that the Kong Commentary was a forgery, but he was not able to have faith in the authenticity of the Modern Script text. Not only was he totally unconvinced by the forged Kong version, but he also feared that those who favored the forged Kong version would be able to use it as a pretext [to support their own positions]. Thus, Pi Xirui went through and pointed out his errors item by item and wrote the Guwen Shangshu shuzheng bianzheng 古文尚書疏證辨正.

Pi Xirui delighted in collecting books. Henceforth, he set his mind on obtaining written works. He hunted and searched in many different places and his treasured collection gradually grew quite large.

He edited the Shiming buzhu 釋名補注 which he had obtained, made a copy and sent it to Wang Xianqian (zi Yiwu). From the time that Wang Xianqian left his government position and resided at home, whenever he wrote something he would usually send it to Pi Xirui to be checked for

errors. At the time he had just written the bushu 補疏 for this text and for this reason sent it to him.

There were some students at the school who were still unable to clearly sort out and understand explanations of problems and topics related to the Classics, so Pi Xirui would often write out something in a certain way in order to serve as a demonstration model. This month he began to write the Shijing 釋京 in one pian.

Seventh month. He traveled to the Teng Wang ge 滕王閣 (located in Nanchang in Jiangxi) which caused him to think about Wang Zian 王子安 (Wang Bo 王伯, 648-675), to Xianma[95] chi 洗馬池 which caused him to remember Yingyin hou 潁陰侯, Baihua zhou 百花洲 where he recalled Su Yunqing 蘇雲卿. He passed the former residence of Xu Ruzi 徐孺子 (Xu Zhi 徐稚). He wrote poetry about these places and people.[96]

He heard about the chaos in Korea and was moved, expressing his thoughts about the matter in four poems.[97]

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[95]xianma = "Frontrider"--Hucker 2519

[96]For the texts of these poems, see: SFTSC, 5.2b-3b.

[97]The only four poem set in this year's writings that vaguely match this description are on SFTSC, 5.1b, but the content of these pieces does not seem to match the topic mentioned in the nianpu. It seems to more closely match the entry under the second month in the following year.

Eighth month. His middle son, Pi Jiren, entered the District School (xianxue 縣學).

Ninth month. He returned to Hunan. From this year until 1897 every year he would leave in the Spring and return in the Fall.

Eleventh month, fourteenth day. This was Pi Xirui's birthday. In his diary he wrote, "I remember that I was in the capital when I turned forty in 1889. Huang Yangu 黃雁骨 (zi Luquan 麓泉), who became a juren the same year as me, led fellow members of our group in offering me birthday congratulations. But my late friend passed away just on that evening. Touching my chest just adds to the pain and I have a gnawing regret to this day. I have pledged to myself that even if I were to live to be one hundred, I would never raise the cup and give a toast."

This year Pi Xirui wrote many Shi poems in addition to the ones mentioned above. A list of titles is given at the end of this years nianpu entries.[98] Following the list of titles of Pi Xirui's shi poetry, the nianpu lists twenty-two pian of prose his writings, many on topics relating to the Classics.

光緒十九年癸巳 (1893) Forty-four sui

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[98]For the texts of these pieces, see: SFTSC, 5.1a-6b.

He was the head lecturer at the Jingxun shuyuan.

Second month. Pi Xirui took his eldest son and second son from Hunan to Jiangxi. Traveling on the same ship was Cheng Qingpei 程青佩 who was a native of Wujin 武進 and was returning from Korea. He spoke of the circumstances surrounding the three major factions in Korea. He held the deep conviction that if the eastern border was not strengthened, it would surely be regretted. He produced a portrait. Pi Xirui inscribed poetry on it.[99]

Sixth month. Wen Tingshi 文廷式 (zi Daoxi 道希) who held a position in the Hanlin Academy[100] sent a letter from the capital in which he discussed matters pertaining to education. He requested that Pi Xirui not lecture on what was known as Changzhou Learning 常州學 or Sichuan Learning 川學. Pi Xirui remarked that the scholarship of Mr. Zhuang

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[99]Pi Mingzhen notes that this is drawn from his grandfather's diary entry on the second month, seventeenth day.

[100]In the nianpu, Wen Tingshi is referred to as a xueshi 學士 (Hucker 2704) which Hucker identifies as an "Academician" or as the "Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy." However, the ECCP entry states that he obtained his jinshi degree in 1890 and was subsequently made a Compiler in the Hanlin Academy, and then in 1894 was promoted to an Expositorship in the Hanlin Academy.

Cunyu[101] of Yanghu 陽湖 had followed the Song scholars vulgar habit of altering the text of the Classics. Sichuan scholarship was none other than that of the Liao Ping 廖平 (zi Jiping 季平, 1852-1932)[102] faction which itself had split into Modern Script and Old Script camps, each producing its own brand of scholarship. This was quite right. But they made many errors by making false assumptions that had no basis in fact.

Eighth month. He returned to Hunan. On the tenth day he set out from Nanchang. That night the boat he was traveling on moored at Qiaoshe 樵舍 Village (on the Gan River in Jiangxi). This was the place where Chen Hao 宸濠[103] of the Ming was captured. He read the Chronological Biography of Wang Jing gong 王荆公年譜 (Wang Anshi 王安石, zi Jiefu 介甫, 1021-1086) which was written by Yang Ximin 楊希閔 (zi 鐵儒, fl. 1868-1877)

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[101]The scholarship of Mr. Zhuang refers to Zhuang Cunyu 莊存與 (zi Fanggeng 方耕, 1719-1788). For a biographical sketch of Zhuang Cunyu, see: ECCP, p.206-8.

[102]For a biographical sketch of Liao Ping, see: BDRC, 2.367-8.

[103]Chen Hao was a descendant of Zhu Quan 朱權 who was the seventeenth son of Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (明太祖), the founder of the Ming dynasty. Zhu Quan was enfeoffed at Daning 大寧 and was known as the King of Ning 寧王. Chen Hao inherited the position of King of Ning. He raised an army and rebelled, and was subsequently captured near Qiaoshe Village.

of Xincheng 新城.[104] For the most part he held Wang Anshi in high regard and was dissatisfied with the various so-called talents of the Yuanyou 元祐 period (1086- 1093). Pi Xirui thought that the methods of the Song were extremely limited and shallow and that they should be changed. He thought that this change lie in getting rid of methods that were best characterized as guesswork, being defensive, being excessively severe and exacting, and placing too much emphasis on that which was trivial. Doing away with these things would thereby allow men's talents to be used to the greatest extent possible. Wang Anshi only advocated attaining wealth and power for the empire. But those who argued against Wang Anshi's New Policies (xinfa 新法), made the mistake of saying that nothing should change. Thus their views became incompatible and gave rise to hostility. This was something only Chuanshan xiansheng 船山先生 (Wang Fuzhi) understood.

On the fifteenth day the mouth of the lake was closed off due to strong winds. He wrote poetry about this.[105] He paid his respects at the

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[104]The "Chronological Biography of Wang Anshi" has been reprinted under its original title nianpu in the Shiwujia nianpu 十五家年譜 (Taipei: Zhongguo wenxian chubanshe, 1966).

[105]For the text of the poem, "Bayue shiwu zufeng hukou" 八月十五阻風湖口 ("On the Fifteenth Day of the Eighth Month the Entrance to the Lake Was Closed on Account of High Winds"), see: SFTSC, 5.11a.

memorial temple of Yue Zhongwu 岳忠武 (Yue Fei 岳飛, 1103-1141) and wrote a poem in the seven syllable regulated verse style.[106] He intended to travel to Mt. Shizhong 石鐘山, but did not go.

On the eighteenth day he traveled to the Yanshui Pavilion 煙水亭 in Jiujiang Prefecture 九江府, and wrote ci poetry about this.[107] The pavilion was located out in the middle of West Lake. The scenery was especially distinctive. It was constructed by Zhou Lianxi 周濂溪, but some say it was built by Zhou Lianxi's son, Zhou Shou 周壽.

Ninth month. Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (zi Huanbin 煥彬, 1864- 1927),[108] who was a native of Xiangtan 湘潭 and who held a position in the Ministry of Personnel,[109] saw Pi Xirui in the studio in his residence in Changsha. Mr. Ye's strengths as a scholar lie in the study of textual problems and in textual collation. His collection of information from various sources was both precise and wide ranging. Every time they obtained a particularly fine

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[106]For the text of this poem, "Hukou Yue Zhongwu ci" 湖口岳忠武祠 ("On the Memorial Temple of Yue Zhongwu at the Mouth of the Lake"), see: SFTSC, 5.10b-11a.

[107]For the text of this piece which is written to the ci tune pattern "Mo yu er" 摸魚兒, see: SFTC, 1.3a.

[108]See: BDRC, V.4, p.35-37, for Ye Dehui's biography.

[109]libu 吏部--Hucker 3630

copy of a text, they would lend them to one another to be copied.

This year the students from the Academy who were nominated for the Jiangxi Provincial Examinations included Xu Shouheng 許受衡, Wang Zigeng 王子庚, Hu Sijing 胡思敬, Wu Baotian 吳寶田, Xie Yuanhan 謝遠涵, Luo Zhiqing 羅志清, Zhang Bingzhe 張炳喆, Wu Zhizhong 伍致中, Yang Hengyi 楊亨頤, Duan Wu 段笏, Zhao Shiyou 趙世猷, Huang Shouqian 黃壽謙, and Huang Xipeng 黃錫朋. On this occasion he congratulated all the successful individuals.

Tenth month. His granddaughter, Pi Tan 皮茨, was born.

Twelfth month. He obtained a copy of the Sichuan zunjing keyi 四川尊經課藝. It was known that the main ideas of Sichuan scholarship came from Wang Kaiyun 王闓運 (zi Renqiu 壬秋). Pi Xirui said, "Wang Kaiyun, in explaining the Changes, placed prime importance on communicating a thorough understanding of the organization and principles contained in the text, and did not make use of images and numerology, or the lines and the twelve time periods. His main ideas for their part had their roots in the work of Jiao Xun 焦循 (zi Litang 里堂, 1763-1820),[110] but he further developed and expanded upon Jiao Xun's work. With respect to the Songs, he did not take the Mao version as the primary interpretation, but he also

did not completely rely on the Lu, Qi, and Han schools of interpretation. As for the Spring and Autumn Annals, he made use of both the new interpretive meaning of both Gongyang and Guliang commentaries, occasionally going beyond his predecessors. His work on the Ritual Classics was especially precise. When explaining the Changes or explaining the Songs, in both cases he would use material from the Ritual Classics as supporting evidence. Therefore, although his explanations were new, they were supported by evidence. In this way they differed from the explanations of the scholars of the Song and the Ming. His aim in explaining the Classics is the same as mine, and it is only that I do not dare go to what I consider excess in seeking new meanings and interpretations."

Pi Xirui completed writing several juan of his Guwen Shangshu shuzheng bianzheng 古文尚書疏證辯正.

He had the texts of his explanations of the Classics that he wrote during the previous two years (1892-1893) printed. Complete in two juan, this served as teaching materials for the classes he taught at the Jingxun shuyuan.

He edited three juan of the shi poetry he wrote between 1870 and 1883.

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[110]For a brief biographical sketch of Jiao Xun, see: ECCP, p.144-5.

A list of the titles of the shi poetry that he wrote during the year is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries. For the text of the pieces, see: SFTSC, 5.6b-11b.

A list of his numerous prose pieces, many on subjects relating to the Classics, is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒二十年甲午 (1894) Forty-five sui

He was the chief lecturer at the Jingxun shuyuan.

First month. He returned to Jiangxi.

Second month. He went to the capital to take part in the Metropolitan Examinations.

Fourth Month. He obtained a copy of Kang Youwei's 康有爲 (hao Changsu 長素, 1858-1927, native of Nanhai 南海)[111] Xinxue weijing kao 新學僞經考. In Pi Xirui's opinion, his theories all followed the Modern Script School and were used to refute the Old Script School. They shared identical views. It was only that Kang Youwei's subjective assertions were excessive. Kang Youwei said that the Zhouli and other texts were written by Liu Xin. It was most probably the case that Liu Xin did not have this kind of ability.

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[111]For a brief biographical sketch of Kang Youwei, see: BDRC, V.2, p.228-233.

[Kang Youwei] considered the Shi ji to be both reliable, and also thought that it to contain interpolations by Liu Xin. This is even more insupportable.

On the same day Wen Tingshi (zi Daoxi) entertained a gathering of several well known scholars who were Provincial Graduates. Pi Xirui, along with Sun Yirang 孫詒讓[112] (zi Zhongrong 仲容, 1848-1908) and one of his older male relatives, Sun Bowei 孫伯威,[113] both natives of Ruian 瑞安, Yang Rui 楊銳 (zi Shujiao 叔嶠, 1857-1898) of Mianzhu 綿竹, and Zhang Jian 張謇 (zi Jizhi 季直, 1853-1926) were in attendance.

Twelfth day. The list of successful exam candidates was posted. Pi Xirui was recommended, but the recommendation was not favorably received. Vice Director General Wang Mingluan 汪鳴鑾 (zi Liumen 柳門) thought that not selecting Pi Xirui and Yang Rui was something that would be regretted. Wen Tingshi said not passing Pi Xirui and Sun Yirang marked a pivotal point between the rise and the decline in the selection of talented

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[112] For a short biographical sketch of Sun Yirang, see: ECCP, p.677-679.

[113]The nianpu refers to Sun Bowei as qixiong 其兄, literally "elder brother." However, according to the ECCP entry on p.677, Sun Yirang's only brother, Sun Yigu 孫詒穀 (zi Jimin 稷民 1838-1862) died earlier fighting the Taiping rebels and thus could not have been present. The relationship of Sun Bowei to Sun Yirang is unknown.

personnel. He presented Pi Xirui with a copy of Chen Li's Dongshu ji 東塾集,[114] as he thought that Pi Xirui would someday receive the same acclaim as Chen Li 陳澧[115] (zi Lanfu 蘭甫, hao Dongshu 東塾, 1810-1882), who was a native of Guangdong.

Fifth month. He traveled south to Nanchang. Those travelling with him increased in number. They included He Zanyuan 賀贊元 of Yongxin 永新, Gui Nianzu 桂念祖 of Dehua 德化, Ouyang Pucun 歐陽溥存 of Ji'an 吉安, Song Mingzhang 宋名璋 of Fengxin 奉新, Wei Yuanba 魏元霸, Mei Guangxi 梅光羲, Mei Guangyuan 梅光遠 and Cai Fan 蔡藩, all of Nanchang, Xia Jingguan 夏敬觀, Xia Chengqing 夏承慶 and Yang Cengluo 楊增犖, all of Xinjian 新建, Lu Yuzhang 盧豫章 of Xinchang 新昌, Yuan Zonglian 袁宗濂 and Xiong Luosu 熊羅宿, both of Fengcheng 豐城, Xu Yunjin 徐運錦 and Xu Yunxin 徐運鑫 of Qingjiang, Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽 of Panyu 番禺, and Wen Fahe 文法和 and Wen Yongyu 文永譽, both of Pingxiang 萍鄉.

When teaching others, Pi Xirui guided them with skill and patience, teaching his students in accordance with their individual abilities.

Seventh month. On the first day, Pi Xirui wrote a reply to a letter

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[114] The Dongshu ji is a collection of prose writings by Chen Li 陳澧 (1810-1882).

[115] See: ECCP, p.90-92, for Chen Li's biography.

from his student Wang Zigeng 王子庚. In it he wrote, "With respect to what we refer to as Classical Scholarship, while it belongs to the foundation of education, young people of talent and ability for the most part are unwilling to pursue the clear and direct textual study of the Classics. When I was younger, I too loved abstract discussion and discourse as well as flowery language and ornate expressions. Mr. Wang Kaiyun (zi Renqiu) encouraged me to focus on the study of a single Classic, but I was not willing to listen. More recently, because any literary talents I may possess seem to regress as the days go by, I concluded that I would not be able to support a family by literature alone. In addition, there would be difficulties in the exams. Abstract discussion and discourse lack any real application. Thus I found my escape in the textual analysis and explication of the meaning of ancient texts. In studying of the Classics, if one does not devote several years, then one will not be able to acquire a clear and thorough understanding. At the school, with the exception of He Zanyuan and Lu Yuzhang there is no one who solely devotes himself to the study of the Classics. The strengths of members of the teaching staff are shi poetry and ancient style prose. It is only appropriate that the talented students follow their model. They carefully study the rules and forms of classical poetic composition along with melody and tone. For shi and fu they take the Tang poets as their masters, and for parallel prose and regular prose, they trace its origins back

through the eight dynasties.[116] Yuan Mei 袁枚 (zi Zicai 子才, hao Jianzhai 簡齋, 1716-1797)[117] said that in this world there are many people of outstanding talent, but very few who possess truly rare and special abilities. Our school has assembled talented individuals from the entire province, but we do not see many with rare and special talent. Wei Yuanba 魏元霸 and He Zanyuan are the most outstanding, but they have no special expertise in fu. Every person has their talents and those things for which they have no real ability. One can only guide a student according to his abilities."

The first day after the Mid-Autumn Festival, Pi Xirui went boating[118] on East Lake (Donghu 東湖). Together with Xia Jingzhuang 夏敬莊 (zi Jiling 芰舲) and Xia Jingguan 夏敬觀 (zi Ganchen 幹臣) of Xinjian 新建, Li Chengshi 李乘時 (zi Xiufeng 秀峰) of Ruichang 瑞昌, and Song Tingliang 宋廷梁 of Kunming 昆明, he composed poetry according to agreed upon rhymes drawn at random by the participants.[119]

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[116]The eight dynasties (badai 八代) refer to the Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, Song 宋, Qi 齊, Liang 梁, Chen 陳, and Sui 隋 dynasties.

[117]For a short biographical sketch of Yuan Mei, see: ECCP, p.955-7.

[118]Reading zhou 舟 for yue 月.

[119]This process of poetic composition, known as Fenyun 分韻, several people agreed to compose poetry, selecting several words as the rhymes from which the participants would draw lots, with each individual's selection

This year several of his school's students passed the Provincial Examination given in Jiangxi and became juren. They were Wen Jingqing 文景清, He Zanyuan, Wen Tingkai 文廷楷, Wu Zhengbiao 吳正表, Cai Pan 蔡藩, Hu Qijing 胡其敬, Li Guai 李夬, Li Jinggao 黎經誥, Peng Shuhua 彭樹華, Hu Peng 胡彭, Huang Daxun 黃大壎, Zhu Xigeng 朱錫庚, and Xia Jingguan 夏敬觀.

This year the Tonghak movement (東學黨) arose in Korea, followed by insurrection and civil disorder. China sent troops to assist the Korean government. Consequently there was the battle of the Eastern Campaign.[120] After being moved by these events, Pi Xirui wrote four poems.[121]

Ninth month. Pi Xirui returned to Hunan. On the fifth day he arrived at Jiujiang 九江. Upon hearing about further setbacks in the military campaign, he wrote seven poems under the title "Lamenting Pyongyang" ("Ai Pingrang" 哀平壤).[122] On the seventh day he wrote two poems under

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determining the rhyme to which their poetry would be composed.

[120]This is probably the naval battle between Chinese and Japanese ships that took place on September 17, 1894 in the Yellow Sea off of the mouth of the Yalu River.

[121]These poems are reprinted in the nianpu on page 29.

[122]These poems are reprinted in the nianpu on pp.29-30.

the title "Thoughts Upon Learning of the Military Events at Haedong" ("Wen Haidong zhanshi yougan" 聞海東戰事有感).[123] On the eighth day he wrote four poems under the title, "Meeting the Hunan Army on the Road to the Eastern Campaign" ("Tuzhong yu Xiangjun dongzheng" 途中遇湘軍東征).[124]

Tenth month. He composed the piece, "The Battle Wagons Travel On" ("Bingju xing" 兵車行).[125]

In all of these pieces he speaks bitterly about the events of the times.

Eleventh month. He began to write the Shiji yin Shangshu kao 史記引尙書考.

He collected together and edited his writings which were the results of his study of the Classics in his younger years. This compilation was given the title Jiujing qianshuo 九經淺說. It contained two juan on the Zuo zhuan, one juan on the Gongyang zhuan, one juan on the Guliang zhuan, two juan on the Record of Rites, two juan on the Documents, two juan on the Songs, and several juan on the Four Books. Only the sections on the Record of Rites and Zuo zhuan are extant. The other parts have all been lost.

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[123]For the text of these poems, see: SFTSC 5.13b.

[124]For the text of these poems, see: SFTSC, 5.21a-b.

[125]For the text of this piece, see: SFTSC, 5.21a-b.

Twelfth month. He began work on the Jinwen Shangshu kaozheng 今文尚書考證. He finished writing the Xiaojing guyi 孝經古義.

This year, in addition to the titles mentioned above, Pi Xirui wrote numerous other shi poems. A list of titles is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries. These can be found in the SFTSC, 5.12a-22a.

He also wrote many prose pieces on specific subjects and topics relating to the history of China. A list of titles appears at the end of this years nianpu entries.

光緒二十一年乙未 (1895) Forty-six sui

He taught at the Jingxun shuyuan.

First month. He changed the title of the Shangshu dazhuan jian 尚書大傳箋 to the Dazhuan shuzheng 大傳疏證 and added additional commentary and annotations.

Second month. He began writing the Xiaojing Zhengzhu shu 孝經鄭注疏. This month the complete defeat of Admiral Ding Ruchang 丁汝昌 (zi Yuting 禹廷, ob. 1895) and his naval forces took place. The Japanese controlled Liaodong 寮東, Lüshun Harbor 旅順 (Port Arthur), and Weihaiwei 威海衛. Pi Xirui was aware that their intentions lie in occupying strategic positions in order to force a peace on their own terms. He wrote the

Jinshi jiaopin biao 金史交聘表 in one pian to convey his thoughts on the matter. (This writing has been lost.) He then learned that the Treaty of Shimonoseki had been concluded (the treaty was signed on April 17, 1895). The terms of the treaty included the annexing of Taiwan and the Penghu islands to Japan. Filled with moral indignation, he composed eight poems under the title "Feeling Indignation" ("Ganfen" 感憤).[126]

Fifth month. The publication of his Xiaojing Zhengzhu shu in two juan was completed.[127]

On the day of the Dragon Boat Festival which falls on the fifth day of the fifth month, Pi Xirui and other members of his circle of friends gathered at Xia Jingzhuang's 夏敬莊 (zi Jiling 芰舲) garden. Pi Xirui composed shi and ci poetry to remember the gathering. (unpublished.)

Wen Tingshi (zi Daoxi) submitted a memorial in which he discussed the struggle for peace. His words gradually reached the high ministers of state and his words were passed on to Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (zi Zifu 子黻, posthumous name Wenzhong 文忠, 1823-1901)[128] of Hefei 合肥, but he was not amiable to his proposals. Wen Tingshi left the capital and travelled south, arriving in Nanchang. He met with Pi Xirui and they openly

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[126]For the text of these poems, see: SFTSC, 6.1a-b.

[127]Pi Xirui's preface to this work is reprinted on pp.31- 33 of the nianpu.

discussed current affairs. Pi Xirui composed a poem on their meeting to the ci tune "Gaoyangtai" 高陽臺. (unpublished)

Sixth month. Wen Tingshi returned north. Pi Xirui wrote ci poetry and presented it to him [before he left].

Tenth day. He read the Shengshi weiyan 盛世危言 which was written by Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應 (zi Taozhai 陶齋, 1842-1922), a native of Xiangshan 香山 in Guangdong. Pi Xirui said that with respect to the current state of affairs, China should first clear up domestic disorder, severely punish corrupt officials according to the law, seek the truth in what is factually correct, and then and only then is reform possible. Moreover, it is necessary to first correct the undesirable practices inherited from the Song and Ming dynasties. It is not necessary to always follow Western ways.

Eighth month, first day. He finished his preface to the Yuzhang congshu sanji 豫章叢書三集. In his preface, his main point was that the whole of Song dynasty scholarship was not confined to yili 義理 (theories of "principle and reason"), and that scholarship in the Jiangxi area was not solely limited to that practiced in the area of Jinxi District 金谿縣. If one looks over these texts one can know that in previous generations there was no lack of individuals who engaged in scholarship which had its basis in

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[128]For a brief biographical sketch of Li Hongzhang, see: ECCP, p.464-471.

hard factual evidence. He hoped that this could do away with the problems inherent in shallow and superficial scholarship.

In Nanchang, the publication of the Shi Fu tang pianwen 師伏堂駢文 in two juan was completed. His students Xia Jingguan, He Zanyuan, and Xu Yunjin wrote prefaces to this collection.

Ninth month. He finished the Liang Han yongshi 兩漢詠詩 in one juan.[129]

Tenth month. His eldest daughter Pi Jiaxiang 皮嘉祥 married Wang Zuwang 汪祖望 who was from the same town and was the grandson of a man surnamed Wang 汪 who was given the posthumous name Chun 蒓and who had served in the position of District Magistrate of Qihe xian 齊河縣 in Shandong.

He finished writing the Shiji yin Shangshu kao 史記引尚書考 in six juan.[130] (unpublished)

Eleventh month. Wang Xianqian (zi Yiwu) published his Shiming shuzheng bu 釋名疏證補. There were over fifty instances in it where he chose to use Pi Xirui's explanations.

He began work on the Guwen Shangshu yuanci pingyi 古文尚書冤詞

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[129] Pi Xirui's preface to this work is reprinted in the nianpu on pp. 33-35.

[130]Pi Xirui's preface to this work is reprinted in the nianpu on pp. 35-36.

平議. He published his explanations the Classics written during the years 1894 and 1895. This was the third juan of teaching materials (Zi kewen 自課文) that he used for his classes.

His second grandson Pi Mingzhen 皮名振 was born.

Twelfth month. He copied out his notes (Biji 筆記), compiling a manuscript in two juan. He began writing the Zhengzhi shuzheng 鄭志疏證. He wrote the Shangshu guwen kaoshi 尚書古文考實 in one juan. Wang Xianqian gave it to the Sixian Book Company for publication. He wrote the Zhouhetang tangu 宙合堂談古 in several juan. This work is no longer extant.

A list of titles of Pi Xirui's shi poetry written during this year is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries. The text of these poems can be found in the SFTSC, 6.1a-5a.

In additional to the titles mentioned above, a list of his prose writings from this year is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒二十二年丙申 (1896) Forty-seven sui

He taught at the Jingxun shuyuan.

At this time China was engaged in new military conflicts with Japan. Regarding the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Pi Xirui sent a letter to Huang Yangu

(zi Luquan 麓泉)[131] in which he was indignant over the loss of the eastern territories to Japan. He stated in extreme terms that the reforms could not be delayed.

Ye Dehui (zi Huanbin) presented an album of paintings by Zhang Chuanshan 張船山 that he had been keeping to Yi Shunding 易順鼎 (zi Shifu 實甫) who was a native of Longyang 龍陽. Pi Xirui inscribed poetry in the regulated quatrain style in order to commemorate the occasion.

Wang Xianqian and Ye Dehui read Pi Xirui's Bo Yu Lichu Gongyang lun 駁俞理初公陽論[132] and praised it highly. They said that it was unequalled in the field of Classical Scholarship and that it surpassed anything else done in Hunan.

Second month. Because of the repercussions of the above mentioned memorial, Wen Tingshi returned to Nanchang. Pi Xirui composed poetry to the ci tune "Mo yuer" 摸魚兒 and presented it to him.[133]

Third month. He went through his Shangshu dazhuan shuzheng, making changes and corrections when necessary.

Seventh month, fifth day. It was the birthday of the Han classicist

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[131]Reading 麓 for 鹿.

[132]For a brief biographical sketch of Yu Zhengxie 俞正燮 (zi Lichu 理初, 1775-1840), see: ECCP, p.936-7.

Zheng Xuan. Pi Xirui wrote a stele inscription titled, "Han da sinong Zheng gong beiwen" 漢大司農鄭公碑文 ("Stele Inscription for the Venerable Zheng, Chamberlain of the National Treasury[134] of the Han"). In his notes he wrote, "In the Jin dynasty, when Dai Kui 戴逵 (326?-396) was a child, he used the liquid from a hen's egg to wash scraps of white tile and made a tablet for Zheng Xuan. The text has not come down to us so I have written a kind of supplemental text in its place. Arranging the books that he annotated one by one and comparing them with the literary style of the Han and the Jin, they would not resemble each other. Probably the Venerable Dai Kui at this point both studied Zheng Xuan's scholarship and hoped to thoroughly comprehend Gaomi's 高密 (i.e., Zheng Xuan's) teachings of a single master.

He went to Nanchang. His Shangshu dazhuan shuzheng in seven juan was published. He wrote a preface to this work as did Xia Jingzhuan, a native of Xinjian.[135]

Eleventh day. He received a cable informing him that his second son, Pi Jiren, had been chosen as a Graduate for Preeminence for the exam year

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[133]The this piece is reprinted on page 38 of the nianpu.

[134]da sinong 大司農--Hucker 6042

[135]The text of Pi Xirui's preface is reprinted in the nianpu on pp. 38-40. Xia Jingzhuang's preface is reprinted on pp. 40-41.

of 1897. Pi Xirui wrote a poem expressing his delight.[136]

Eighth month. Ye Dehui (zi Huanbin) sent as a gift from the capital a copy of the original edition of the Kong Congbo Gujunlou Zhengzhi 孔叢伯古俊樓鄭志.[137] He finished the Guwen Shangshu yuanci pingyi 古文尚書冤詞平議 in two juan.[138]

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[136]For the text of this piece, see: SFTSC, 6.7a.

[137]Kong Guanglin 孔廣林 (zi Congbo 叢伯, b. 1746) was a Qing dynasty scholar who wrote on the Classics. However the standard reference works contain no information about him, other than a list of his writings printed in congshu editions. His Zheng zhi 鄭志 is listed as being in the Tongde yishu suojianlu 通德遺書所見錄.

There are two editions of the 通德遺書所見錄 in the OCLC member libraries. One is a photo reprint by the Chubun shuppansha 中文出版社 in Kyoto 京都 (1973) of the 1813 edition. The other is the 1890 Shandong shuju 山東書局 edition.

The OCLC links lead to another work by Kong Guanglin, the Beihai jingxue qilu 北海經學七錄. It was printed from blocks of the 1774 Gujun lou 古俊樓 edition (with some re-engraving).

It follows from this information that the copy of the original edition of the Kong Congbo Gujunlou Zhengzhi 孔叢伯古俊樓鄭志 given to Pi Xirui was the edition of the Zheng zhi 鄭志 edited by Kong Guanglin that was (possibly) privately printed in 1774 as (part of) the Gujun lou edition.

[138]Pi Xirui's preface to this text is reprinted on pp. 41-3. This work was an evaluation of Mao Qiling's Guwen Shangshu yuanci 古文尚書冤詞.

Eleventh month. His student, He Zanyuan, wrote a work titled the Hanshi waizhuan shu 韓氏外傳疏. He brought the text to Pi Xirui and asked for his advice.

Wang Kaiyun (zi Renqiu) had strong words of praise for Pi Xirui's Shangshu dazhuan shuzheng, saying that his use of evidence was accurate and precise. He went on to say that his grandson still had not received instruction in the Shangshu dazhuan and that he was waiting for Pi Xirui's shuzheng to come out so that he could use it to teach him.

Twelfth month. His Guwen Shangshu shuzheng bianzheng 古文尚書疏證辨正 and Guwen Shangshu yuanci pingyi were both published by the Sixian Book Company. He finished writing the Zhengzhi shuzheng 鄭志疏證 in eight juan, along with the Zhengji kaozheng 鄭記考證 in one juan, and the Da Lin Xiaocun Zhouli nan shuzheng 答臨孝存周禮難書證 in one juan which was appended to these works.[139]

A list of titles of his shi poetry written during this year is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries. The text of these poems can be found in the SFTSC, 6.5a-10b.

A list of his prose writings from this year, in addition to those

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[139]Pi Xirui's preface to the Da Lin Xiaocun Zhouli nan shuzheng is reprinted on pp.43-45 of the nianpu.

mentioned above, is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒二十三年丁酉 (1897) Forty-eight sui

He taught at the Jingxun shuyuan.

First month. He finished writing the Jinwen Shangshu kaozheng 今文尙書考證 in 30 juan. Wang Xianqian (zi Yiwu) wrote a preface to this work.[140] Pi Xirui wrote the "General Principles Governing Composition" ("Fanli" 凡例).[141]

Third month. Pi Xirui took his second son, Pi Jiren, to Jiangxi. Twelfth day. When they arrived at Poyang Lake 鄱陽湖 they encountered a windstorm. The wheel of the boat they were sailing on was damaged and they almost were stranded at the Xieshi embankment 謝師塘 at Nankang 南康. After several days they were able to make it to Nanchang.

Fourth month. His second son returned home first.

Eighth month. He returned to Hunan.

This year the students of the Academy who distinguished themselves by being recommended for the Provincial Examinations in Jiangxi included Song Mingzhang 宋名璋, Xia Chengqing 夏承慶, Long Zhongyi 龍鐘沕, Xiao

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[140]Wang Xianqian's preface is reprinted on pp.46-47.

[141]The text of Pi Xirui's "Fanli" is reprinted on pp.47-53 of the nianpu.

Dingchen 蕭鼎臣, Xu Lianjin 徐連錦, Yu Tingrong 于廷榮, Wan Qixing 萬啓型, Yang Zengluo 楊增犖, Xiong Luosu 熊羅宿, Lei Heng 雷恆, Li Ruoxu 李若虛, Wei Yuanba 魏元霸, Wang Yilin 王益霖, Zhang Xinian 張錫年, Du Shucong 杜述琮, Hu Zao 胡藻, Chen Ximeng 陳希孟, Li Shengluan 李盛鑾, Liu Pengling 劉彭齡, Wen Tinghua 文廷華, Xiao Bingyan 蕭丙炎, Shen Zhaoshe 沈兆社, Wu Zhen 吳珍, Wang Qingkang 王慶康, Li Guoliang 李國梁, Long Guozhen 龍國榛, He Wenhua 賀文華, Zhang Shiji 張世崎, Li Ruitang 黎瑞棠, Zhang Guoguang 張國光, Bao Xueyuan 包學淵, Fu Bang 副榜, Xiong Fan 熊璠, Li Ruoyu 李若愚, Qin Jingzhong 秦鏡中, and Gui Nianzu. Those students designated Graduates of Preeminence included Lu Yuzhang 盧豫章, Hu Ruyan 胡汝衍, Yu Tingrong 于廷榮, Rao Zhilin 饒之麟, Song Mingzhang 宋名璋, Li Ruifen 李瑞棻, Nie Tingrui 聶廷瑞, Xiong Xirong 熊錫榮, Li Shengluan 李盛鑾, and Liu Pengling 劉彭齡. Those who attained the status of Graduate of Excellence[142] included Xu Yunxin 徐運鑫, Fu Xun 傅巽, Shen Zhaoyi 沈兆禕, and Mao Yulin 毛玉麟. This was a time of great success.

Tenth Month.[143] Yan Shilang (zi Xiangwen 象雯) who held a position

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[142]you gongsheng 憂貢生--Hucker 8062

[143]There are two sections with the heading shiyue 十月 (Tenth month).

on the General Administration Circuit[144] died. Pi Xirui wrote an elegy expressing sadness over his passing.[145] After her defeat in the battles of 1894, each countries' attitude toward China suddenly changed.

Tenth month. The Germans, on the pretext of an incident involving foreign missionaries at Caozhou 曹州 in Shandong 山東, occupied Jiaozhou Bay 膠州灣. Consequently, they regarded the words "balance of power" as a mere expression. Foreign aggression occurred on almost a daily basis and China's power became weaker and weaker. Both inside the imperial court and beyond, everyone advocated reform and self-strengthening. Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (zi Youming 右銘, 1831-1900), a native of Yining 義寧 who held the position of Vice Censor-in-Chief[146] and was serving as the provincial governor of Hunan, established the Shiwu xuetang 時務學堂 at Changsha. He appointed Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (zi Zhuoru 卓如, 1873-1929) who was a native of Xinhui 新會 the head of instruction. Li Weige 李維格 (zi

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Rather than combine them into one section, or to change the heading of the first of these sections to "Ninth month," I have followed the nianpu.

[144]In the nianpu, Yan Shilang's position is given as guancha 觀察 which I rendered as "General Administration Circuit." See Hucker 3265-3270 for related official titles.

[145]The text of this piece is reprinted in the double column commentary following this entry in the nianpu.

Yiqin 繹琴) who was a native of Wu District 吳縣 taught Western Studies. Teaching duties were divided between Tang Caichang 唐才常 (zi Fucheng 黼丞) who was a native of Liuyang 瀏陽, Yang Zichao 楊自超 (zi Kuiyuan 葵園) who was a native of Shidi 石棣, Han Wenju 韓文舉 (zi Shusheng 樹生) who was a native of Fanyu 番禺, Ou Jujia 歐榘甲 (zi Yunqiao 雲樵) who was a native of Guishan 歸善, and Cai Juemai 蔡覺邁 (zi Zhongyuan 仲遠) who was a native of Dongwan 東莞.

Eleventh month. The office a newspaper, the "Hunan Reporter" (Xiang bao 湘報), was established with Xiong Xiling 希齡 (zi Bingsan 秉三) of Fenghuang 鳳凰, Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (zi Fusheng 復生) and Tang Caichang 唐才常 (zi Fucheng 黼丞), both of Liuyang 瀏陽, Jiang Dejun 蔣德鈞 (zi Shaomu 少穆) of Xiang Village 湘鄉, Zou Daijun 代鈞 (zi Yuanfan 沅帆), Wang Mingzhong 王銘忠 (zi Xintian 莘田) of Hanyang 漢陽, along with Liang Qichao (zi Zhuoru 卓如) and Li Weige (zi Yiqin 繹琴) managing and directing its affairs.

Yi Hushan 易笏山 and his son, Yi Shifu 易實甫, put together a collection of poetry from the poetic circle that was comprised of Huang Yangu 黃雁骨 (zi Luquan 麓泉), Li Xiufeng 李秀峰, Huang Bingli 黃炳離 (zi

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[146]zhongcheng 中丞--Hucker 1537

Yutian 玉田) of Luling 廬陵, Zheng Xiang 鄭襄 (zi Zhanquan 湛泉) of Jiangxia 江夏, Chen Changtan 陳昌曇 (zi Litang 笠唐) of Longyang 龍陽, Cai Naihuang 蔡乃煌 (zi Bohao 伯浩) of Panyu 番禺, the Buddhist monk Jishan 寄禪僧, Chen Boyan 陳伯嚴, his son Chen Hengke 陳衡恪 (zi Shizeng 師曾), and Pi Xirui, who was also included among them. The Yi's published the Xiangtan ji 湘壇集, with Pi Xirui writing a preface to the collection in order to commemorate the occasion.

Together with Jiang Biao 江標 (zi Jianxia 建霞) who held the position of Education Commissioner, Liang Qichao (zi Zhuoru), Li Weige (zi Yiqin), Xiong Xiling (zi Bingsan), Yi Shifu, Chen Boyan, Jiang Dejun (zi Shaomu), and Chen Changtan (zi Litang), he visited Yuelu 嶽麓. He composed poetry about this.

Twelfth month. He completed writing the Shengzhenglun buping 聖證論補評 in two juan.[147]

A list of the titles of the poetry he wrote during this year is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries. The text of these pieces can be found in the SFTSC, 6.10b-15b.

A list of the titles of his prose pieces is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒二十四年戊戌 (1898) Forty-nine sui

The Dezong Emperor had the eager intention to carry out new governmental reforms. Hunan Province had already established a newspaper office and promoted the setting up of schools.[148] Huang Zunxian 遵憲[149] (zi Gongdu 公度, 1848- 1905) a native of Jiaying 嘉應 who had been appointed intendant of the Bao Circuit (Bao dao 寶道) and also served as a member of the Provincial Law Office,[150] Jiang Biao 江標 (zi Xuanpu 萱圃, hao Jianxia 建霞, 1860-1899) of Yuanhe 元和 and Xu Renzhu 徐仁鑄 (zi Yanfu 研甫, 1863-1900) of Yuanping 宛平, who followed one another as Provincial Education Commissioners, were brought together there [by their appointments].[151]

First month. Pi Xirui together with Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (zi Youming 右銘), his son Chen Sanli 陳三立 (zi Boyan 伯嚴), Xiong Xiling 希齡

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[147]His preface to this work is reprinted in the nianpu on pp. 55-57.

[148]"Schools" (xuetang 學堂) as opposed to "academies" (shuyuan 書院).

[149]See: ECCP, p.350-51, for Huang Zunxian's biography; for a book length study, see: J.D. Schmidt, Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian 1848-1905 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[150]niesi 臬司--Hucker 4306

[151]xuezheng 學政--Hucker 2691

(zi Bingsan 秉三), Tan Sitong (zi Fusheng 復生), and Dai Xuanqiao 戴宣翹 established the Nan xuehui 南學會 (Southern Study Society) in Changsha. They had Pi Xirui stay in Hunan. He was asked to serve as director. Subjects for study were divided into four areas: Traditional learning (xueshu 學術), government and religio-ethical teachings (zhengjiao 政教), astronomy, and geography. Pi Xirui lectured on traditional learning, Huang Zunxian (zi Gongdu) lectured on government and religio-ethical teachings, Tan Sitong (zi Fusheng) lectured on astronomy, and Zou Daijun (zi Yuanfan) lectured on geography.

Second month, first day. The Nan xuehui began its lectures. Over three hundred people were in attendance, including public officials, members of the gentry class, scholars, and common people. In Pi Xirui's inaugural lecture, he lectured on the purpose and aims of the Nan xuehui.

Text of the Nan xuehui Lecture

"When it comes to study and learning, we take Confucius to be our master. Talking about [the subjects of] study and learning[152] is something

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[152][SVA: In Pi Xirui's lecture, the word or words jiangxue 講學 has a range of meaning or meanings that no single English equivalent adequately

Confucius spoke of. The Master said, "To study and learn and not talk about it, ...this is what concerns me."[153] And in addition, in commenting on the Changes he said, "Lake upon lake--the image of joyousness. The superior man joins with his friends for discussion and study."[154] Confucius' disciples numbered three thousand, and whether out on the road or under the trees in the apricot grove, they still practiced li 禮 and talked about what they were studying and learning. Of the scholars of the Han and Song dynasties, there were none that did not speak on [the subjects that they were] studying and learning about. At the end of the Ming dynasty, members of the Donglin party and the Restoration [of Antiquity] Society[155] possessed a will and spirit that was excessive and unrestrained, and thus there were too many divisions between factions and sects. Petty minded individuals took

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expresses. I have translated its various occurrences in ways I feel are contextually appropriate.]

[153]Lunyu 7/3.

[154]See: Zhouyi yinde, 36/58/象; Wilhelm/Baynes, p.224; Lynn, I Ching, p.507.

[155]On the Donglin party 東林, see: Heinrich Busch, "The Tung-lin Academy and Its Political and Philosophical Significance," MS, 16.1, p.1-163; on the Restoration [of Antiquity] Society (Fushe 復社), see: William Atwell, "From Education to Politics: The Fu She," in William Theodore de Bary, ed., The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism (New York: Columbia University Press,

advantage of this, and consequently it resulted in the persecution and oppression of the members [of the Donglin party and the Restoration Society]. Those who discuss this try to trace the cause from which the resulting misfortune began, and they hold to views that are too extreme. They believe that the Ming empire did not meet its end owing to bands of roving rebels, but met its end owing to the Donglin party. We can see certain aspects of the present dynasty reflected in this, as it prohibits government sponsored students from setting up associations and establishing societies. The venerable Mr. Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805; posthumous name Ji Wenda 紀文達)[156] in his essays deeply held the conviction that public talks and open discussions were wrong. He said that it was only proper to express oneself in a written medium, and that it was not appropriate to openly lecture and discuss subjects of study and learning. From this time on, scholars considered open lecturing and open discussions about academic subjects to be taboo. At present, when people suddenly hear the words "public lecture," they almost out of necessity consider these words to be strange or unusual. They do not realize that one hundred years ago public lectures were popular commonplace occurrences, and in no way would be considered events that were earthshaking or extraordinary. Sun

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1975), p.334-67.

Qifeng 孫奇峰 (zi Xiafeng 夏峰; 1585-1675)[157] gave public talks at Sumen 蘇門. Li Yong 李顒 (zi Zhongfu 中孚, hao Erqu 二曲; 1627-1705)[158] gave public talks at Guanzhong 關中 (Shenxi). Shi Runzhang 施閏章 (zi Shangbai 尙白, hao Yushan 愚山; 1619-1683)[159] invited people to give public talks at Mt. Ehu 鵝湖 in Jiangxi.[160] Thus in the past there was this [practice of giving public talks]. It still thrived up into the present dynasty, and it is only in the past one hundred years that this intellectually refined practice has come to and end and ceased to exist. The number of exceptionally talented individuals has become fewer and fewer day by day and is certainly due to this. Today when people discuss this matter, they lay the blame on Ji Yun. But Ji Yun was merely familiar with the restrictions of his times. However, he also championed Han Learning and strongly condemned the Neo-Confucianism of the Song dynasty. People during the Ming in giving public lectures followed in the footsteps of the Song Neo-Confucians, and thus Ji Yun was all the more critical of them. In reality, however, public

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[156]See: ECCP, p.120-3, for his biography.

[157]See: ECCP, p.671-2, for his biography.

[158]See: ECCP, p.498-9, for his biography.

[159]See: ECCP, p.651, for his biography.

[160]Mt. Ehu is located in the northern part of Qianshan county 鉛山縣 in Jiangxi. There is a lake on the mountain where geese were raised.

lectures on academic subjects did not begin with the Song Neo-Confucians. During the Former and Later Han and the Six Dynasties, the great masters of Classical Scholarship all gave lectures on academic subjects. Therefore we have the terms "lectern" and "lecture platform" (jiangtai 講臺) and "lecturer" (dujiang 都講). The number of students on record as having received instruction in the Classics from scholars during the Han dynasty numbers several thousand. At the discussions held at the Shiqu (Stone Canal) Pavilion during the Western Han and at the discussions held at the Baihu guan (White Tiger Hall) during the Eastern Han, the emperor even personally oversaw the proceedings and rendered decisions. Coming to the Liang 梁 (502-577) and Chen 陳 (577-589) dynasties, Zhou Hongzheng 周宏正 and Zhang Ji 張譏 both ascended to an elevated position where they sat and lectured on the Classics. This was no different from Zhang Hengqu 張橫渠 sitting on the teacher's chair and lecturing on the Changes during the Song dynasty. If one is not able to say that Song scholars lectured on academic subjects, then there is no need for those who study Han Learning to say anything, as they lecture on academic subjects while condemning [this practice]. Yet with respect to lectures on academic subjects during the Song and the Ming, it is also the case that we cannot slight or condemn them. The Song dynasty was a time when the condition of the country was

one of want and weakness. From the time of the founding of the dynasty, the intellectual scope and scale was narrow and confining, and this was not something brought on by lectures on academic subjects. As for Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), not long after they began to serve as courtiers, they encountered criticism and were demoted. As for Yang Shi 楊時 (hao Guishan 楊龜山; 1053-1135)[161] and Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (aka Xishan xiansheng 西山先生; 1178-1235),[162] neither attained a major position. How were they able, owing to the accumulated weaknesses of the Song period, chastise and imprison these venerable men? During the last part of the Ming dynasty, the eunuchs controlled power. Two well respected men, Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562-1626)[163] and Gu Xiancheng 顧憲成 (1550-1612),[164] gave lectures at the Donglin Academy, using clear discussion [with the goal of] preserving the national interests. As for the rise of the Restoration of Antiquity Society, all its members were talented men of a single era, but later many would lose their lives in sacrifice for their country. Han Tuozhou 韓侂胄 (ob. 1207?)[165] of the Song and Wen Tiren

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[161]See: Sung Biographies, p.1226-1230, for his biography.

[162]See: Sung Biographies, p.88-90, for his biography.

[163]See: Dictionary of Ming Biography, p.701-710, for his biography.

[164]See: Dictionary of Ming Biography, p.736-744, for his biography.

[165]See: Sung Biographies, p.376-384, for his biography.

溫體仁 (ob. 1638)[166] of the Ming strictly prohibited lectures, thus obstructing and undermining the wise and talented, doing harm to the nation, and thereby hastening the demise of both dynasties. At present, not condemning the prohibition on public lectures enacted by treacherous officials, essentially frames and ruins upright individuals. Conversely, placing the blame on various venerable men, by saying that they should not have given public lectures or vigorously supported clear and straight-forward discussions or carved out high standards for superior men and been lenient with lesser individuals, would be to reverse the position of the worthy with that of the treacherous. How could this be considered a fair and objective evaluation?

Furthermore, whether within a relatively short period of time, or within an entire era, circumstances are different at different times. Ji Yun lived at a time of extreme prosperity during the reign of the Qianlong emperor (reg. 1736-1795). The world was at peace and foreigners came and paid tribute. At that time, scholars were not engaged in anything that required their heartfelt concern. There were only problems of age, authorship, or textual differences, or searches for and visits to see bronze and stone inscriptions. They wrote their books to pass the days, and even if

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[166]See: Dictionary of Ming Biography, p.1474-8, for his biography.

they didn't give public talks, there was nothing wrong with that.

At the present time, China is in a state of decline. The foreign powers invade and occupy our country. Current affairs are extremely precarious. Circumstances cannot even be remotely compared to the Qianlong and Jiaqing (1796-1820) periods of the past. At present, the emperor, his government, and numerous high ranking government officials thoroughly understand that we must adapt to present circumstances and conditions, and they consider that increasing the level of awareness and understanding on the part of the citizenry, along with the recruitment of talented and resourceful people, to be urgent and pressing business. Each province will begin to set up study societies, with no restrictions or limitations placed upon them. Previously, there has been an imperial decree issued which calls for the establishment of a university in the capital district, and in addition that each province should establish new institutions of learning (xuetang 學堂). At the present time there is another imperial decree calling for the establishment of a special civil service exam in public administration, and for the academies to recruit students with high moral and scholastic qualifications to be recommended as tribute students in public administration to the imperial court. From this time on, in the realm bounded by the four seas, schools will arise like trees in the forest. Public lectures and related activities should not be delayed any longer.

The "Xue ji" 學記 chapter of the Record of Rites states, "If one studies alone without friends, then one feels isolated, narrow, and unrefined, and also ignorant and uninformed."[167] In almost everything, nothing is better than working together with others and nothing is worse than going it alone. A group possesses great power and strength, while the power and strength of a single individual is meager at best. The influence of a group is that of many, while the influence of one person is that of one alone. Even in poor villages and in out of the way places, how could there be a lack of people who love learning and think deeply about things? Moreover, there are poor and simple scholars, with no way to obtain books, living in the corners of secluded places.

Furthermore, without teachers or friends, it is frequently the case that isolation leads to inactivity and listlessness, and things are abandoned half way and left unfinished. Even if one spends the entire day reciting the text without stopping, one suffers from having knowledge that is not open and expansive. Like sitting at the bottom of the well and looking up at the sky, when what one perceives is limited, there is much which then seems strange and unusual. For this kind of person it is not necessarily the case that one's mind is tightly closed and strongly resistant. In reality, because

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[167]See: Liji, Ssjzs, 36.11a; Legge, trans., Liki, Vol.2, p.86.

under ordinary circumstances with regard to practical writings, they have not read extensively and as a result the gate and the path to learning is not able to be completely open. One becomes familiar and accustomed to what one has seen, and oblivious of what one is not aware of. With respect to the course of events from ancient to modern times, and the conditions in China and abroad, one is helplessly ignorant. Although one may obstinately hold to one's limited view of things, nevertheless one can only maintain one's personal integrity. If one desires to open up and expand one's mind, and expand one's vision so that it encompasses the Four Seas, then it is certainly not the case that one will be able to obtain comprehensive and thorough knowledge by sitting idly in a room. Study and learning is not just empty talk. One must search for and obtain it in one's own mind, and put it into actual practice in the world in which one lives. When it is practical and feasible and able to be implemented, then and only then can learning be considered to have substance and to be useful.

People have referred to scholars as unrealistic, distant, and ineffectual. This is especially the case when Shusun Tong 叔孫通 (Qin-Han) remarked that shallow minded scholars did not understand political developments. If these were scholars of wide learning and practical sense, they certainly would not have reached a point where they were unrealistic, distant, and ineffectual. When Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (Zhuge Wuhou 諸葛武侯;

181-234) was in Longzhong 隆中, as soon as he confronted the situation, he personally decided on a plan to divide the nation into three parts. When Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (Fan Wenzheng 范文正; 989-1052)[168] was a Cultivated Talent,[169] he took the empire to be his own personal responsibility. And as for the turmoil brought about by the Taiping rebels, many of the generals and ministers of state who led the restoration of power and order came from Hunan. Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (Zeng Wenzheng gong 曾文正公; 1811-1872)[170] and Tang Queshen 唐慤慎 gave lectures in the capital district. Once they went forth, they quelled the rebellion. Luo Zenan 羅澤南 (Luo Zhongjie gong 羅忠節公; 1808-1856)[171] and his students gave talks on academic subjects in the villages and neighborhoods. He went forth and became a famous general. Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (Zuo Wenxiang gong 左文襄公; 1812-1885)[172] gave lectures on the study of geography. He was able to pacify the remaining insurgent elements in the southeast and open up ten thousand li of territory in the northwest. These men all were particular about study, and definitely had a firm grasp of the situation [that they were faced with],

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[168]See: Song Biographies, Vol. 1, p.321-330, for his biography.

[169]xiucai 秀才 = Hucker 2633.

[170]See: ECCP, p.751-6, for his biography.

[171]See: ECCP, p.540-1, for his biography.

[172]See: ECCP, p.762-7, for his biography.

and it was the case that they neither chose to tackle the task at hand on the spur of the moment, nor were successful merely by sheer luck.

The good teachings of these men have not faded into the past. Scholars should immediately arise to the call. We now have established the Southern Study Society. Along with the other members, we are ready to explain our principles and purpose. Together we strive for the advantages and benefits that come from learning from each other by exchanging views through open discussion. Learning is not something that can be comprehensive if only approached from a single aspect, nor is it something that can be considered complete after a single explanation. First, when reading we make an exhaustive inquiry into reason and truth, we emphasize and concentrate on what is of great significance and on what is wide-ranging, and we take the collective wisdom of the sages and worthy individuals of the past clearly to heart and make it part of ourselves. The course of events from ancient times up to the present, along with circumstances and conditions both domestic and foreign, must be explained clearly and examined carefully. Then and only then will what one learns be substantive and have practical application. I only hope that in the future people of talent will come forward in large numbers, that the general atmosphere will open up in a grand fashion, and that this will cause our Hunan Province to again produce great individuals like Zeng Guofan, Zuo

Zongtang, and Luo Zenan. I also hope that I am up to the task of this great undertaking, that is, the creation and inauguration of the Southern Study Society."

Second month, seventh day. He discussed the benefits and advantages of lectures on academic subjects. In his lectures on the fourteenth and twenty-first day he explained the main points of the thought of Confucius, Mencius, the Cheng brothers, Zhu Xi, Lu Xiangshan and Wang Yangming. He also explained the differentiation between yi 義 (righteousness) and li 利 (benefit or profit). On the twenty-eighth day he lectured on negotiation.

Third month, sixth day. He explained the phrase "Baozhong baojiao" 保種保教 ("Protect and preserve our ethnicity, protect and preserve our religio-ethics"). On the thirteenth day he explained the main points of the four areas of study of Confucius' students: virtuous conduct, speaking ability, skill in government affairs, and culture and learning.[173] On the twentieth day he explained that in venerating Confucius it was appropriate to be clear as to the meaning and significance of the Spring and Autumn Annals, the concept of the uncrowned king, and the reform of institutions.

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[173]See: Lunyu 11/3.

Intercalary third month. On the fourth day he lectured on reform, on the eleventh day he narrated the events of the early years of the dynasty, and on the twenty-fifth day he continued his discussion of reform.

Fourth month. On the third day he lectured on understanding current affairs and the trends of the times.

Altogether he lectured twelve times. His lectures covered the Han through the Song and brought together learning and ideas from China and beyond. His words were always those of a learned Confucian scholar. Various people would submit questions written on slips of paper and for his part he would write comments in response to the things which they were unclear about. Synopsis of his lectures along with the questions from the audience and his answers were published in the Xiangbao 湘報 (Hunan Reporter).

Pi Xirui was concerned about the chaotic state of things and distressed over the times. He vigorously advocated positive institutional change and reforms. When he spoke in the lecture hall, he did so in an open and straightforward manner, with a voice that was clear and distinct. The listeners were visibly moved. The structure of the Nan xuehui was that the headquarters at the provincial level governed each branch at the district or prefectural level, and the branches in turn were in charge of the individual sub-branches that were organized separately for those engaged in

agriculture, for craftsmen, for those engaged in business and commerce, and those engaged in mining. From the establishment of the provincial headquarters, the spirit of the organization spread to Yuezhou 岳州, Hengzhou 衡州, Liuyang 瀏陽, Wugang 武岡, Chenzhou 郴州, and Yuanzhou 沅州, where in each place local organizations sprang up one after another. The gentry of Hunan for the most part held to the old ways and were limited by their sectarian views. Unrestrained in their speech, they discredited others. Ye Dehui (zi Huanbin) of the Ministry of Personnel and Pi Xirui were old friends. On three occasions letters were sent taking each other to task. Pi Xirui thought that due to the urgent nature of the current state of affairs, a spirit and an atmosphere where they argued back and forth was not appropriate and he wrote a letter in reply explaining why this was the case.

Fourth month, twentieth day. He went to Jiangxi where he was in charge of instruction at the Jingxun shuyuan. After Pi Xirui went to Jiangxi, the Nan xuehui stopped its lectures. Baseless talk became even more extreme. From Nanchang, Pi Xirui wrote (a) letter(s) to Chen Baozhen (zi Youming), Xiong Xiling (zi Bingsan), and Huang Yangu (zi Luquan) in which he stated that they should deal with it using perseverance and a cool head.

Sixth month. Zou Linghan 鄒淩瀚 (zi Dianshu 殿書) of Gaoan 高安 established the Jingji xuetang 經濟學堂 and also established the Lizhi xuehui 厲志學會. On the first day that the group met, Pi Xirui attended, giving a lecture.

His students Song Mingzhang, Xia Chengqing, Xia Jingguan and others drafted a resolution to establish a study society which would go by the name of the "Tongxin hui" 同心會 ("United in Heart and Mind for a Common Purpose"). Pi Xirui wrote a preface to their resolution.[174]

Previously, in the fifth month of the lunar calendar year roughly corresponding to 1897, Hu Fazhu 胡發珠 (zi Mingyun 明蘊) of Nanchang 南昌, Zou Linghan (zi Dianshu) of Gaoan, and his younger brother Zou Lingyuan 鄒淩沅 (zi Shucheng 叔澄) proposed starting the Wushi xuetang 務實學堂 ("The School That Deals With Concrete Matters of Fact"). Tao Huafeng 陶華封 (zi Fulü 福履) of Shanchang 山長 who was from the Youjiao shuyuan 友教書院 and passed the civil service exams the same year as Pi Xirui, pretending to serve the interests of the academy, openly expressed support and assistance. He requested that Pi Xirui, like him, enter his name on a list of persons submitting a memorial to those in power. However, behind the scenes, he was actually working against setting up the school. In

the first month of the same year, he had received an imperial decree instructing him to establish the school. In the fifth month there was a decree abandoning the eight-legged essay form used for the civil service examinations and also calling for the establishment of the Jingshi Daxuetang 京師大學堂 (Metropolitan University). Consequently at this point there were discussions about doing away with three schools, the Yuzhang, Youjiao, and Jingxun Academies and diverting their financial resources to support the Wushi xuetang. Because of the dean's (Tao Huafeng) entrenched position, along with the envy and jealousy of certain officials and members of the gentry, in the end the school was never sponsored or organized. The atmosphere in Jiangxi was very much one of concealment and obstruction. With respect to these various matters, Pi Xirui was unwilling to meddle or try to intervene.

Seventh month. He received Huang Yangu's (zi Luquan) letter. In it he wrote that the governor of Hunan, Chen Baozhen (zi Youming), planned to propose a special examination in government administration. Pi Xirui heard that the proposal had been sent up for approval, but was declined. Consequently, Pi Xirui did not list his name among the signees.

The publication of his Jinwen Shangshu kaozheng 今文尚書考證 was

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[174]The text of the preface is reprinted in the nianpu on pp.61-2.

completed.

Twenty-first day. Yang Rui, Liu Guangdi 劉光第 (1859- 1898), Lin Xu 林旭 (1875-1898) and Tan Sitong received an imperial decree summoning them to take part in matters concerning government reform.

Eighth month, sixth day. The Empress Dowager again took control of the government, ruling as regent.

Eleventh day. Yang Rui, Liu Guangdi, Lin Xu, Tan Sitong, Yang Shenxiu 楊深秀 (1849-1898) and Kang Guangren 康廣仁 (Kang Youwei's younger brother) were arrested and handed over to the Bureau of Punishments.[175] Emperor Dezong was placed in seclusion in the Yingtai 瀛臺. All the reforms were done away with.

Thirteenth day. Pi Xirui heard about the changes in government. He composed two poems titled "Autumn Feelings" ("Qiu gan") 秋感.[176]

Fourteenth day. A cold wind loudly howled. Heaven and Earth were overwhelmed with sorrow and misery. Pi Xirui anxiously paced about his room. That night at the fifth and last watch, he dreamt that he saw Tan Sitong coming. He asked him about what really happened and was surprised as to how he was able to escape. He also asked who ruined the

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[175]xingbu 刑部--Hucker 2590

[176]These poems are reprinted on p. 63 of the nianpu.

reform movement and how? Tan replied that there were some who caused trouble behind the scenes.

Fifteenth day, sixteenth day. There were strong winds that blew all the tiles off the roof.

Seventeenth day. He learned that Yang Rui and the others, six in all, had died tragic deaths. He was overcome with a deep and profound sadness. Then resting on his pillow, he wrote five poems under the title "Mourning Tan Fusheng" ("Ku Tan Fusheng" 哭譚復生).[177]

Ninth month. He returned to Hunan.

Twenty-second day. He read the Mingyidai fanglu 明夷待訪錄.[178] With respect to Huang Zongxi's (Mr. Lizhou 黎州先生) theories and explanations, many instances where he discusses both favorable and unfavorable aspects of a situation can equally be cited and closely applied to current affairs.

Tenth month. He went through his Zhengzhi shuzheng, making revisions.

Eleventh month. He completed the Liuyilun shuzheng 六藝論疏證 in

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[177]The text of these pieces can be found on pp. 63-4 of the nianpu.

[178]This is a short treatise of political philosophy written by Huang Zongxi and later popularized as revolutionary literature by Liang Qichao and his followers. See: ECCP, p. 354.

one juan. He wrote a preface, and Ye Dehui (zi Huanbin) of the Ministry of Personnel also wrote a preface.[179]

Twelfth month. He completed writing the Luli dixia yi shuzheng 魯禮禘祫義疏證 in one juan.[180]

A list of poetry that Pi Xirui wrote during this year is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries, as is a list of his prose writings.

光緒二十五年己亥 (1899) Fifty sui

This was the seventh year that Pi Xirui was a lecturer at the Jingxun shuyuan. He had educated and trained people with special abilities and created an open-minded and enlightened atmosphere for learning. His students had been very successful in the civil service examinations and in addition, most had a thorough understanding of current affairs. Some people in Jiangxi looked upon him with envy and jealously. After the coup when the Empress Dowager took control of the government, there arose widespread criticism of factionalism. Consequently this incited Xu Daokun 徐道焜 who held the position of censor[181] to charge that at the site of the

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[179]Both Pi Xirui's and Ye Dehui's prefaces are reprinted in the nianpu on pp. 64-66.

[180]Pi Xirui's preface to this work is reprinted on pp.66- 7 of the nianpu.

[181]yushi 御史--Hucker 8167

1897 examinations, bribes were paid to allow substitutes to take the exams for certain candidates. While lecturing in Hunan, Pi Xirui was beaten up and bloodied because some people were convinced that he spoke approvingly of Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao and that he held other objectional sentiments. There were false accusations which led to impeachment.

Second month. He received orders directly from the imperial court that stripped him of his juren degree and transferred his supervisory responsibilities to local officials.

Thirteenth day. He received a cable from Jiangxi. He composed four poems expressing his thoughts and emotions [as a reaction to the cable].[182]

Because he was a scholar without office caught up in the prohibition against political groups, Pi Xirui shut his door and devoted himself to writing. this month he completed writing the Shangshu zhonghou shuzheng 尙書中候疏證 in one juan.[183]

Third month. Chen Jiaqiu 陳家逑 (zi Youmei 幼梅), who passed the jinshi exam the same year as Pi Xirui and held a position on the General Administration Circuit, engaged him as the primary family tutor, instructing his son Shaoji 紹箕 (zi Ganting 幹庭). Pi Xirui was deeply learned in his study of the Rites and Ritual texts. His investigations and

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[182]These poems are reprinted in the nianpu on p.68.

conclusions regarding names, things, and institutions were carried out and arrived at with extreme accuracy and precision. With respect to Wang Xianqian's Hanshu buzhu 漢書補注, he asked Pi Xirui, more than any other person, to check over the text and make corrections where necessary.

Sixth month. His third grandson, Pi Mingkuo 皮名擴, was born.

Seventh month. He completed writing the Bo Wujing yiyi shuzheng 駁五經異義疏證 in ten juan.[184]

Eighth month. Huang Yangu (zi Luquan), who held the position of Prefect, returned from the capital. He related how Xu Daokun was incited by others behind the scenes, and how when the case for impeachment first went up before the emperor, two proctors Wang Kuishi 王夔石 and Liao Zhongshan 廖仲山 still wanted to delay the investigation of the payments [in the alleged examination bribery case]. Resolute and firm yet muddleheaded, they thought an imperial decree should immediately be drafted, defining the boundaries for Manchus and Chinese, something he felt deeply worried and anxious about.

Ninth month. He completed writing the Fa moshou zhen gaohuan qifeiji shuzheng 發墨守箴膏肓起廢疾疏證. He also wrote a preface to this

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[183]His preface is reprinted on pp.68-70 of the nianpu.

[184]His preface to this work is reprinted on pp. 70-72 of the nianpu.

work.[185]

Tenth month. He began work on the Han bei yinjing kao 漢碑引經考.

Wen Tingshi (zi Daoxi) arrived in Hunan. He acted as an intermediary for Japanese who wanted Pi Xirui to be in charge of the Tongwen xuetang 同文學堂 and at the same time serve as editor-in-chief of its newspaper office. He declined and did not go.

Pi Xirui had previously stated that the Shiji was national history. The biographies of the travelling knights, those of men engaged in trade and commerce, along with others, were matchless compositions that in a special way connected the ancient and the modern. He intended to write, but never completed, the Shiji buzhu 史記補注. The draft has been lost.

Eleventh month. The Pingxiang shuyuan 萍鄉書院 invited him to be head lecturer, but he did not go. He went through the Sanli Zhengzhu yin Hanzhi kao 三禮鄭注引漢制考, the Yueling zhangzhu 月令章句, and the Hanshi shuzheng 韓詩疏證 which were compiled by his second son, Pi Jiren.

With respect to his students from the Jiangxi area, there were many who were caught up in the recent factional problems and controversies. As for Gui Nianzu, He Zanyuan, and others, some turned to escapism in the form of Buddhism, and some hid themselves away in private life, away from

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[185]His preface to this work is reprinted on pp.72-3 of the nianpu.

government service. Pi Xirui felt deeply distressed over this. In his reply to a letter from He Zanyuan, he encouraged him to continue the teaching tradition, thus adding to the vigor and vitality of Classics studies.

Fourteenth day. This was Pi Xirui's fiftieth birthday. He did not express any joy on the occasion. There is a reply thanking Tan Shizi 譚世鼎 (zi Jiuanzhang 九安丈) for his poem wishing him long life. (unpublished)

Previously, Pi Xirui had put together the Pishi xianxian lu 皮世先賢錄. In it he recorded every occurrence of the surname Pi in the histories. It was one pian in length. He gave it to Wang Huaiqin so that he could go over it and they could discuss it. When Wang died, it was lost. Ten days before the year came to an end, Pi Xirui re- compiled this material.

The Sixian Book Co. of Hunan published his Zhengzhi shuzheng, Liuyilun shuzheng, Luli dixia yi shuzheng, Fa moshou zhen gaohuang shi feiji shuzheng, Bo Wujing yiyi shuzheng, Liji qianshuo, and the Zuozhuan qianshuo.

A list of his shi poetry and prose writings appears at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒二十六年庚子 (1900) Fifty-one sui

He resided in Changsha. He taught students at the Chen residence.

Second month. He studied the Changes. He completed a draft of the Shu Jiaoshi Yilin zhengwen 疏焦氏易林證文. He sent a copy to Wang Xianqian (zi Yiwu) for him to go over. There is a handwritten copy of Pi Xirui's subcommentary (Shuyi 疏義) extant in one juan.

He wrote brief biographical sketches of his father Hequan gong 鶴泉公 (Pi Shutang) and his mother Qu Taigong ren 瞿太恭人.

Fifth month. The Boxer movement (Yihetuan 義和團) arose in the area between Tianjin 天津 and Dezhou 德州. Banners were erected which read, "Support the Qing and Wipe Out the Western Powers" (Fu Qing mie Yang 扶清滅洋). They killed the German envoy. This led to a combined military force from eight countries entering the capital in the seventh month. The Empress Dowager then took Emperor Dezong and "traveled" to Xi'an.[186]

Sixth month, eighth day. He composed two poems under the title "Feelings About Current Affairs in the Last Month of Summer" ("Jixia gan shishi" 季夏感時事).[187]

Sixth month, eleventh day. He sent two poems under the title

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[186]The Empress Dowager, the Emperor, and their entourage disguised themselves and fled to Xi'an. For more on the Boxer Uprising, see The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 11, p.115ff.

"Commanding Troops to Support the Royal House" ("Jiangbing qin wang" 將兵勤王) to Xi Liang 錫良 (zi Fangbo 方伯).

Seventh month, tenth day. He was moved upon hearing about the battle at Dagu Fort 大沽. He wrote ten poems on this event.[188]

Twenty-fourth day. (8/18/1900) He learned of the troublesome events in the north.[189]

Twenty-seventh day. He wrote four poems under the title "The Western Tour" ("Xi xing" 西幸).[190]

He gave his "Simple Introductions" (qianshuo 淺說) to seven texts, i.e., the Songs, the Documents, the Gongyang, the Guliang, the Analects, the Mencius, and the Guoyu 國語 to Wang Xianqian (zi Yiwu) for publication, but nothing came of it.

He received the tragic news of the death of Xu Tong 徐桐 (zi Yinxuan 蔭軒) who held the position of Preceptor of State.[191] He wrote poetry

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[187]These poems are reprinted on p.75 of the nianpu.

[188]These poems are reprinted on pp.75-6 of the nianpu.

[189]This probably refers to the foreign powers' suppression of the Boxer Rebellion.

[190]This refers to the imperial court's escape from the capital to Xi'an the day after the arrival of foreign troops.

[191]guoshi 國師--Hucker 3530.

expressing his profound sadness over his death.

Chen Baozhen (zi Youming) passed away. Pi Xirui had feelings of gratitude for one who understood him and treated him so well. He wrote four poems under the title "Lamenting the Vice-Censor-in-Chief from Yining" ("Ai Yining zhongcheng wen shi" 哀義寧中丞文詩).[192]

He obtained a copy of his Pishi xianxian lu which he had compiled the previous year. He changed the title to Guang Pizi shilu 廣皮子世錄.[193]

Tenth month. He sent a letter to the elder of the Zhang clan. He continued to edit and revise the chronology of the clan. He made repairs to the ancestral shrine.

His fourth grandson, Pi Mingting 皮名挺 was born.

Eleventh month. He finished writing the Du Tongjian lunshi ping 讀通鑑論史評 in one juan. (unpublished)

A list of the titles of his shi poetry and prose writings is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒二十七年辛丑 (1901) Fifty-two sui

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[192] These poems are reprinted on pp.76-7 of the nianpu.

[193] Pi Xirui's preface to this work which was never published is reprinted in the nianpu on pp.77-8.

He resided in Changsha. He taught students at the Chen residence.

Second month. His second daughter married Xia Chengji 夏承吉 who was the son of Xia Jingzhuang 夏敬莊 (zi Jiling 芰舲). He was the grandson of Mr. Xia 夏 (zi Xianyun 獻雲)[194] who had previously served as Tax Circuit Intendant[195] in Hunan and as Surveillance Commissioner[196] in Hunan.

Fourth month. He went to Jiangxi.

Fifth month. He saw that the Dongya bao 東亞報 (Asia Reporter) had published Tan Sitong's (zi Fusheng) work, Renxue 仁學. He regarded it as a surprisingly unrefined piece of writing.

Seventh month. He returned to Hunan.

Ninth month. Wang Xianqian (zi Yiwu) finished compiling and preparing for publication the Pianwen leizuan 駢文類纂 for publication. He selected twelve pian of Pi Xirui's writings for inclusion. There were eighty-seven pian of "linked-pearls" (lianzhu 連珠). In addition, the publication of the Shi sanjia yi ji 詩三家義集 was completed. There were many instances where Pi Xirui's explanations were chosen for inclusion.

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[194]In the nianpu, Mr. Xia's ming is listed as being a taboo character hui (諱).

[195]du liang dao 督糧道--Hucker 7254

[196]ancha shi 按察使--Hucker 12

Tenth month. His second son, Pi Jiren 皮吉人, became a new official on duty in the capacity of Assistant Department Magistrate[197] at Lizhou 隸州 in Jiangxi.

This year the treaty with the eight foreign powers was concluded.

A list of the titles of his shi poetry and prose writings is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒二十八年壬寅 (1902) Fifty-three sui

He resided in Changsha. He taught students at the Chen residence.

Second month. He completed writing the Mengxue gejue 蒙學歌訣 in one juan.

From the time that chaos began in 1900 (the Boxer rebellion), the emperor moved around from place to place, peace negotiations were announced to have been concluded, the Empress and the Emperor had then returned to the capital, and officials from China and from foreign countries had vied with one another, speaking about the country's situation urgently and repeatedly. The people's knowledge had not opened up and expanded on its own, and thus it was appropriate to send students to Japan to study. In each province schools were independently established, and an imperial

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[197]zhoupan 州判--Hucker 1343

degree had been obtained that allowed this action.

Third month. Zhang Baixi 張百熙 (zi Yeqiu 野秋) who held the position of Minister[198] became the Grand Minister[199] in charge of education and the Administrator[200] of the Jingshi daxuetang 京師大學堂 (Metropolitan University).

The Southern Circuit of Gan County in Jiangxi invited Pi Xirui to be the director of instruction at the Sijun xuetang 四郡學堂. He declined and did not go.

Fourth month. The District Magistrate[201] Su Xuanlie 蘇宣烈 invited Pi Xirui to set up the Shanhua xiaoxue tang 善化小學堂. He commenced to undertake the assignment.

His student, Chen Shaoji 陳紹箕, published the Jianguzhai riji 鑑古齋日記. Prior to publication, Pi Xirui went through and commented on the work and also wrote a preface to it.[202]

Sixth month. Classes began at the Shanhua xiaoxue tang. There were over sixty students registered including Zhou Lan 周覽 (present name

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[198]shangshu 尙書--Hucker 5042

[199]dachen 大臣--Hucker 5888

[200]zongban 總辦--Hucker 7144

[201]xianling 縣令--Hucker 2518

ming 名 Gengsheng 鯁生), Yang Mian 楊冕(present name Duanliu 端六), Yu Fulin 余傅霖 and Lian Dingyao 連鼎堯. On the fifteenth day of the month, Pi Xirui gave a lecture.[203]

In this year's provincial examinations given in Jiangxi, more than ten of Pi Xirui's students were successful. Successful examinees included Xu Lianxin 徐連鑫, Liu Fengqi 劉鳳起, Zhou Guantao 周觀濤, Yu Zhaolin 余兆麟, Wan Chi 萬篪, Ye Runli 葉潤藜, Rao Zhilin 饒之麟, Liu Huang 劉璜, Hu Xianfan 胡獻璠, Zhang Youxian 張佑賢, Wu Yanren 吳衍任, Guo Chengping 郭承平, and Xing Ruji 邢汝楫.

The Changde xiaoxuetang 常德小學堂 invited Pi Xirui to come and serve as the head of instruction. He did not go.

For a long time Pi Xirui had been isolated. His student Xia Chengqing 夏承慶 planned to request fellow students of Pi Xirui's who were also provincial graduates to submit a memorial to the throne requesting that Pi Xirui's good name be cleared. However the letter had yet to be submitted when Xia Chengqing died in the capital district.

Tenth month. Pi Xirui received news of his death and was greatly saddened.

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[202]The Pi Xirui's preface is reprinted in the nianpu on pp.79-80.

[203]The text of his lecture is reprinted in the nianpu on pp.81-2.

Eleventh month. The acting governor of Hunan, Yu Yixuan 俞廙軒 (zi Liansan 廉三) who was a native of Shanyin 山陰, submitted a memorial to the throne requesting attention be given to expunging Pi Xirui's impeachment, that by imperial decree his juren degree be restored, and that the case be reviewed.

A list of the titles of his shi poetry and prose writings is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒二十九年癸卯 (1903) Fifty-four sui

In Hunan, the Gaodeng xuetang 高等學堂 and the Hunan shifan guan 湖南師範館 were established. Pi Xirui assumed the duties of lecturer for classes on Ethics, the Classics, and History.

Fourth month. Owing to the recommendation of Chen Qitai (zi Boping) who held a position in the General Surveillance Circuit, Pi Xirui responded to an invitation from Wang Ruigao 汪瑞高 (zi Junmu 君牧), who was a native of Xuchi 盱眙 county in Anhui and held the position of Salt Controller[204] at Zhanglu 長蘆, to edit the Yanfa zhi 鹽法志. While travelling

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[204]yanyun shi 鹽運使--Hucker 7965. The title duzhuan 都轉which follows his zi in the nianpu is also rendered into English as "Salt Controller." See Hucker 7214.

north he passed through the jurisdiction of the northern branch office in Tongzhou 通州 where Chen Qitai (zi Boping) was assigned. He stayed over for a week or so on his way to Tianjin.

Fifth month. He began work on the Zhanglu Yanfa zhi 長蘆鹽法志. He also wrote introductory remarks (liyan 例言) to this work.[205]

He had yet to complete his work on the local history of salt control when again, owing to someone's slanderous remarks, Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 (zi Cishan 次珊), who was in Hunan and serving in the Chinese Banners,[206] gave strict orders that Pi Xirui was to quickly return home. Pi Xirui sent a letter to Wang Xianqian requesting an explanation as to the reason.

Seventh month. Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (zi Weiting 蔚廷), who was a native of Zhidu 直督 and held the position of Governor General,[207] sent a cable to Zhao Erxun requesting that Pi Xirui be permitted to stay and manage educational affairs. Nothing resulted from this request.

He left Tianjin and returned to Hunan, still serving as a lecturer at the Gaodeng xuetang and the Hunan shifanguan.

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[205]Pi Xirui's "Introductory Remarks" are included in the nianpu on pp. 83-88.

[206]Hanjun 漢軍--Hucker 2134, 2135

[207]zhijun 制軍--Hucker 970

Eighth month. The Shichao shangyu 十朝上諭 which was compiled and edited under the direction of the Hunan Educational Affairs Department was completed. Pi Xirui wrote the remarks in the "Principles Governing the Composition of the Work" (fanli 凡例) section where the principles guiding the division into categories and the ordering of the contents of the work were put forth.[208]

Ninth month. In addition to his regular duties, he also acted as the Superintendent of the Gaodeng xuetang.

Tenth month. Acting on the behalf of friends, he drafted an official letter to the Ministry of Commerce (Shangbu 商部) which contained ten items relating to commercial affairs. 1) People in business should be valued and utilized with a view towards service to society and the nation. 2) Schools should be promoted and established for the purpose of learning business and commerce. 3) Groups of businesses should be combined and companies established. 4) Allow businesses to manage themselves as it is not necessary for the government to supervise and direct their operations. 5) Clear away the obstacles in the business environment, thus allowing businesses to operate unobstructed. 6) Expand the treaty ports in order to seize and restore economic rights and financial power. 7) Send students

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[208]His remarks are reprinted in the nianpu on pp. 89-90.

abroad to study, so as to train and educate people of talent and ability. 8) In safeguarding trade and commerce, it is appropriate to provide aid and assistance. 9) Banks are to be established, and at the same time paper currency should be used. 10) Coins should be minted and the method of circulation should be changed. These were mainly original ideas.
The letter was sent up and it was met with the utmost acceptance of its contents. The text is not preserved in Pi Xirui's collected works. (The above outline was taken from his diary entry.)

This year while in Tianjin he traded poems with Chen Qitai (zi Boping). These poems are collected in the Lugu chouchang ji 潞沽酬唱集. In all there are eighty-five pieces.

Sometime in the past, the following lines came to Pi Xirui in a dream:

The moon lingers, near the distant riverbank, there are no traces of fish,
The rain has past, in the smokey village, there is the sound of geese,
This year I return to the south,
It is Autumn and on the River I scan the distance.

Seeing that the images in the lines fit together well, he followed and extended them, completing them with two phrases:

But on the bank of the winding river, the gentleman harbors no ill feelings.

The lines in the poem in his dream were clearly divided early on. He also had a dream in which he composed the regulated fu "Mi Zhengping Strikes the Drum" ("Mi Zhengping jigu lüfu" 禰正平擊鼓律賦).[209] He wrote down a couplet in pingzi 平字:

Sighing, talent and reputation misunderstood, quickly I travel,
For what reason is the sound of a bell heard outside?
I see the signals of war on the horizon, trouble and confusion,
How do we promote and uphold continuing peace?

He quickly returned to Hunan. The war between Japan and Russia had just begun. Pi Xirui remarked that he was responding suitably with a poetic prophecy. Perhaps this was foreordained.

A list of the titles of his shi poetry and prose writings is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

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[209]This refers to Mi Heng 禰衡 (zi Zhengping 正平, ca. 173-198), the eccentric poet of the late Han.

光緒三十年甲辰 (1904) Fifty-five sui

He held the position of Superintendent at the Gaodeng xuetang and also taught at the at the Gaodeng xuetang and the Hunan shifanguan.

First month. Once again he assumed the duties of Superintendent at the Shanhua xiaoxuetang. He was put in charge of the Editorial Department of the Office of Educational Affairs.

Third month. He went over manuscripts of his poetry that he had written since 1892 and made copies so it would not be lost, totaling six juan.

Fourth month. He resigned from his position as Superintendent of the Gaodeng xuetang and from his position as Superintendent of the Shanhua xiaoxuetang.

Sixth month. Wang Xianqian (zi Yiwu) completed the publication of the Shangshu Kongzhuan canzheng 尚書孔傳參正. In it he used a large number of Pi Xirui's explanations.

Eleventh month. The Grand Minister of Educational Affairs, Zhang Baixi 張百熙 (zi Yeqiu 野秋), who was a native of Changsha and the Head Superintendent of the Jingshi daxuetang 京師大學堂 (the Metropolitan University), and Zhang Hengjia 張亨嘉 (zi Xiejun 燮鈞), who was a native of Houguan 侯官 sent a cable to Hunan. It read, "In three departments,

Classics, History, and Literature, teachers are needed. We request that you come to the capital as quickly as possible in order to fulfill the hopes of a large number of people." Pi Xirui declined and did not go.

Twelfth month. He edited and put in order his shi poetry from the years 1870 to 1898. He published the Shi Futang shiji 師伏堂詩集 in six juan, his Yongshi 詠詩 in one juan, and his Ci 詞 in one juan. Published together with the above were his Pianwen 駢文 in two juan. Together with his [pianwen] pieces published in 1895 there were four juan in all. In addition, he published brief biographies of his father, Pi Shutang 皮樹棠 (zi Hequan 鶴泉; Hequan gong 鶴泉公), and his mother, Ms. Qu 瞿 (Qu Taigongren 瞿太恭人).

This year war began between Japan and Russia, with the Russian troops suffering defeat.

A list of the titles of his shi poetry and prose writings is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒三十一年乙巳 (1905) Fifty-six sui

He held the position of lecturer at the Gaodeng xuetang and also at the Shifan xuetang 師範學堂.[210]

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[210]This probably refers to the Hunan shifanguan.

First month. He completed the Hanbei yinjing kao 漢碑引經考 in six juan and the Yinwei kao 引緯考 in one juan.[211]

Fourth month. Changsha established a library at Dingwangtai 定王台. Wang Xianqian (zi Yiwu) was in charge of the project. Pi Xirui was given the responsibility of compiling the collection.

Sixth month. The Jingshi daxuetang again invited him to come and assume a teaching position. He did not go.

Seventh month. Xia Jingzhuang (zi Jiling) came from Jiangxi. He stayed for three months and then returned. Pi Xirui finished writing Jingxue lishi 經學歷史 in one juan.

Eighth month. He also lectured at the Changsha fuzhong xuetang 長沙府中學堂.

Eleventh month. He planned to write a Jingxue tigang 經學題綱, but it was never finished.

A list of the titles of his shi poetry and prose writings is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒三十二年丙午 (1906) Fifty-seven sui

He held teaching positions at the Gaodeng xuetang, the Zhonglu

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[211]His preface is reprinted in the nianpu, on pp.92-94.

shifan xuetang 中路師範學堂, and the Changsha fuzhong xuetang. He continued his work compiling the collection at the library in Changsha.

First month. The Jingshi daxuetang again extended an invitation to him to come and teach. He still declined due to other responsibilities.

Sixth month. He planned to give the title Xu Lumen jiachao 續鹿門家鈔 to his collected notes (biji 筆記).

Eighth month. is second son, Pi Jiren, came home from Jiangxi to visit the family. After about ten days it was time for him to return and Pi Xirui wrote poetry to send him off.

Eleventh month. Chen Qitai (zi Boping) who held the position of Vice Censor-in-chief[212] and was acting in an official capacity in Suzhou 蘇州 invited him to go to Wumen 吳門 (Suzhou). He did not go.

A list of the titles of his shi poetry and prose writings is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒三十三年丁未 (1907) Fifty-eight sui

He held teaching positions at the Gaodeng xuetang and at the Zhonglu shifan xuetang 中路師範學堂. He continued his work compiling the collection at the library in Changsha.

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[212]zhongcheng 中丞--Hucker 1537

First month. He assumed the position of Director-in- charge of Instructional Materials (tushu kezhang 圖書課長) at the Division of Educational Affairs (xuewu gongsuo 學務公所).

He finished writing the Jingxue tonglun 經學通論 in five juan.[213]

His fifth grandchild, Pi Mingju 皮名舉, was born.

Second month. He began writing the Wangzhi jian 王制箋.

Fourth month. In Hunan there were discussions about the establishment of the Youji shifan xuetang 優級師範學堂. He sent a letter to Wu Qingdi 吳慶坻 (zi Zixiu 子修; 1848-1924) regarding this.[214]

Fifth month. He drafted a letter of explanation as a response to an imperial summons, carefully drafting a memorial in which he expanded and revised six items relating to the school's regulations.[215]

Sixth month. He finished writing his Wangzhi jian 王制箋 in six juan.[216]

Eighth month. Zhang Boyu 張伯輿 wrote the Shanhua xiangtu zhi 善化鄉土志. Pi Xirui went through it, making corrections. The manuscript was

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[213]His preface is reprinted on pp. 95-97 of the nianpu.

[214]The text of his letter is reprinted on pp.97-100 of the nianpu.

[215]The text of his letter is reprinted on pp.100-104 of the nianpu.

[216]His preface and postface (後序) to this work are reprinted in the nianpu

never published and is no longer extant.

His fourth grandson, Pi Mingting, died.

Eleventh month. His Biji 筆記 was published in three juan.

This year the Sixian Book Company published Pi Xirui's Jingxue lishi and Jingxue tonglun.

A list of the titles of his shi poetry and prose writings is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

光緒三十四年戊申 (1908) Fifty-nine sui

He held teaching positions at the Gaodeng xuetang and at the Zhonglu shifan xuetang. He continued in his position as Director-in-charge of Instructional Materials at the Division of Educational Affairs and he also continued his work compiling the collection at the library in Changsha.

On the first day of the year he composed a poem:

In Spring and Autumn Annals, the first month records the Spring of Kings,
The Phoenix calendar, for a thousand years, begins with the first month.
A vast land, its mountains and rivers, still united as one,

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on pp.104-108.

In the old home village, its scenery, fresh once again.
Plum blossoms, beyond the threshold, blend in harmony,
Juniper wine, in a goblet, before me.
Much rain, some warmth, I see clouds and sun,
Horses' hooves, start and stop, the dust of six
thoroughfares.

He also wrote a set of four poems with the title "He Guiyang Peng Shuyuan" 和桂陽彭菽原.[217]

First month, second day. He read through and examined closely the Dai Duan hekan 戴段合刊.[218] He was of the opinion, "that with respect to the study of the Classics, these two well known philologists were very thorough and precise with regard to their collation work, but when it came to studying and settling problems regarding institutions, their efforts were insufficient. We are only able to know the errors which followed Zheng Xuan and Kong Yingda. We are unable to know about the errors that already

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[217]These are probably a set of four poems written to Peng Shuyuan of Guiyang, in which Pi Xirui used the same rhymes that Peng Shuyuan used in the poems that he wrote and originally sent to him.

[218]I could not find any information on this title. While my first impression is that it is a text that combines the work of Dai Zhen and Duan Yucai, without any evidence, it is impossible to know for sure if this is correct.

existed prior to Zheng Xuan. Thus, we can look back 1,000 li, debate almost endlessly, and still not settle anything definitively. It is a pity that I cannot meet with these two gentlemen and tell them this."

Seventh day. He carefully went through the Wenmiao Wu Shen pu 文廟武舜譜.

Twentieth day. He planned to begin writing a subcommentary to the Liji.

Twenty-fourth day. Wang Xianqian (zi Yiwu) requested Pi Xirui to write annotations to the "Liyue zhi" 禮樂志 and "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 chapters to the Tang shu.

Twenty-seventh day. His second son, Pi Jiren, returned home from Jiangxi with his family.

Twenty-eighth day. He double checked the Sanli Zhengzhu yin Hanzhi kao 三禮鄭注引漢制考, a work his second son had compiled. He planned to send it to a press for publication.

Second month, second day. The Zhongyi xuetang 忠裔學堂 invited him to come and teach there.

Third day. He composed song lyrics for the Zhonglu shifan xuetang, writing the "Lang tao sha" 浪淘沙 in ten sections. These were probably his last written words before his death.

Fourth day (March 6, 1908). He got up as usual. That afternoon he didn't feel quite right and he then went to lie down and never spoke another word. That evening, sometime between nine and eleven o'clock, Pi Xirui died.

A list of the titles of his shi poetry and prose writings is given at the end of this year's nianpu entries.

宣統二年 (1910)

Third month. Pi Xirui's remains were buried in the southern suburbs of Changsha, on the grounds of the Feng family residence, at a level site between two hills, a place known as Zushan 祖山.

Chapter One

經學開闢時代

The Beginnings of Classical Scholarship

[1/1,[1] SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui begins by setting forth the conditions for properly understanding the history of Classical Scholarship: One should start at the beginning, examine the origins, and then investigate subsequent developments. For Pi Xirui, the history of Classical Scholarship has parallels with the overall history of China--there are both highpoints and lowpoints, as well as periods of division and periods when Classical Scholarship can be said to be unified. In addition, evidence exists and is sufficient to support (or disprove) any

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[1][SVA: The format and conventions used in the translation of Jingxue lishi are as follows: I identify my own comments by the use of my initials and by placing my comments in brackets, e.g. ("[SVA:...]"). Each chapter of Jingxue lishi is divided into sections (unnumbered in the original Chinese text). I designate the chapter and section as "Chapter #/section #." For example "3/7" refers to section seven of Chapter Three. In the footnotes, I identify Zhou Yutong's notes by their respective note number as it appears in the original Chinese text and begin them with "Zhou Yutong comments:". I precede the note number with the chapter/section designation. For example, "3/7, n.5" refers to note #5 in the seventh section of Chapter Three. Finally, I introduce each section with my own brief comments to serve as a preview of

conclusions one may arrive at regarding the history of Classical Scholarship. He then goes on to state an important assumption: That Confucius edited, and in doing so "created," the Six Classics. This is a tenet of the so-called Modern Script (New Text) school of the Qing dynasty. Comparisons are then made between Laozi's Tao Te Ching and the Buddha's sutras, his point being that without the personal involvement of an exceptional individual, these texts would not exist or have any special significance.

He then cites specific examples to illustrate his point, referring to the Changes as being a mere divination manual before Confucius wrote additional material which transformed it into a "Classic," as it now embodied great principles. Likewise, he characterizes the Spring and Autumn Annals of Lu 魯 as being similar to the historical records of other states--a mere record of events with no indication of their overall significance, prior to Confucius' reworking of the material--adding words of "praise" and "blame"--which resulted in it now being a work which contained "subtle words with profound significance," and thus could be referred to as a "Classic." Pi Xirui goes on to write that Confucius possibly had a hand in the formation of the Rites texts in the form that they have

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the section's contents.]

come down to us. He also says that Confucius applied his editorial hand to the original contents of the Songs and the Documents, removing material which he felt did not convey the appropriate kind of meaning or significance. Pi Xirui includes a statement the significance of which is easily missed, "In the early years of the Han, the old explanations were clear and without error." (And "From the Eastern Han onward, people began to call into question that which should not have been in doubt.") (漢初舊說, 分明不誤; 東漢以後, 始疑所不當疑.) This is a view said to be held by members of the so-called (Former) Han Learning school of the Qing dynasty, and we will see it again. Pi Xirui then gives examples of the conclusions drawn from the misplaced doubts of the scholars of the Later Han, conclusions which call into question Confucius' role in the creation of the Classics. Specifically, the Duke of Zhou is credited with the Changes, creating the system of using examples that serve as precedents that Confucius used when writing the Spring and Autumn Annals, and is also said to have written the Zhouli and Yili. In addition, Confucius is said to have had played no part in the editing the Songs and Documents. Thus, his role is greatly diminished, something that is unacceptable to Pi Xirui.

Most modern scholars do not hold the opinion that Confucius had a hand in the composition or the editing of the texts that became the Classics, although given the scarcity of evidence, there is no way to dismiss with

absolute certainty the possibility that he had some involvement with one or more of these texts.[2] But many people in China held the belief that Confucius made these texts into Classics, and for Pi Xirui this belief functioned as an unquestioned truth, as knowledge based on fact.]

1/1[3] In any area of study, not investigating its origins and development will result in the inability to understand the changes which have taken place from the earliest times up through the present era; and not differentiating its strengths from its shortcomings, will result in not obtaining a path on which to embark. Since time immemorial the fortunes of the nation have witnessed both grandeur and decline, and in the same manner the study of the Classics has also witnessed both grandeur and decline. The nation has seen both periods of unification and division, and the study of the Classics has also seen both periods of unification and

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[2][SVA: On the dating and authorship of the Classics, see the individual entries in ECT. On Confucius and the Chunqiu, see p.753-4 of David Nivison's chapter "The Classical Philosophical Writings" in Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, eds., The Cambridge History of Ancient China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).]

[3][SVA: Section 1/1 corresponds to pp.19-26 of the 1959 Beijing Zhonghua shuju edition of Jingxue lishi (hereafter abbreviated as "Zhonghua ed.") and to pp.1-9 of the 1974 Taipei Yiwen yinshuguan edition (hereafter

division. The historical evidence is all extant and can serve as clear proof. The initial period of the study of the Classics begins with Confucius' editing of the Six Classics.[4] Prior to Confucius, it was not possible for the Classics to

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abbreviated as "Yiwen ed.").]

[4](1/1, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: The Six Classics (Liu jing 六經) are sometimes referred to as the Six Arts (Liu yi 六藝) and specifically refers to the Shi 詩 or Songs, the Shu 書 or Documents, the Li 禮 or Rites, the Yue 樂 or Music, the Yi 易 or Changes, and the Chunqiu 春秋 or Spring and Autumn Annals. The Yue or Music has not come down to us and therefore it is normally excluded, with the remaining texts being referred to as the "Five Classics." With respect to the Music Classic, the scholars of the Old Script school and of the Modern Script school of the Classics each advocated different positions. The scholars of the Old Script school thought that a Music Classic existed in ancient times, but that it was destroyed and lost during the burning of the books which took place during the Qin dynasty in 213 B.C. The scholars of the Modern Script school held the view that no Music Classic per se existed in ancient times and that the Music was contained within the Rites and in the Songs.

With respect to the beginning period of Classical Scholarship, scholars of the Classics of the Old Script school and of the Modern Script school also differed in the other positions which they advocated. The scholars of the Old Script school thought that prior to Confucius, there were already texts which were called the Six Classics and that the Classics did not begin with Confucius. The scholars of the Modern Script school held the view that only after Confucius did the Six Classics exist, and that it was not possible for the texts which are called the Classics to have existed prior to Confucius. Pi

exist per se, in the same way that the Five Thousand Words[5] were written only after Li Er 李耳 came forth, or that prior to the birth of Sakyamuni (Buddha), there was no transmission of the sutras of the Seven Buddhas.[6]

Xirui was a member of the Modern Script school and therefore the beginning period of classical scholarship starts with Confucius' editing of the Six Classics.

[5](1/1, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Li Er 李耳 is none other than Laozi 老子 and the "Five Thousand Words" refers to the Tao Te Ching 道德經 which he wrote. The "Biography of Laozi" 老子列傳 in the Shi ji states, "Laozi ...was surnamed Li 李, his given name was Er 耳, his zi was Boyang 伯陽, and his posthumous name was Dan 聃... He wrote a book in two parts in which he spoke of the significance of Way and its power, in over five thousand words." (See: Shi ji 63.2139-41)

[6](1/1, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The Seven Buddhas, according to legend, are the seven forms (six prior Buddhas and present Buddha) of Sakyamuni (Buddha). There are some variations in the names. According to the Dirghagama sutra (長阿含大本經) and the Bhaisajya raja sutra (藥王經) they are Vipassyn 毘婆尸佛, Ssikhin 尸棄佛, Vissvabhu 毘舍婆佛, Krakucchanda 拘樓孫佛, Kasakamuni 拘那喊含佛, Kasyapa 迦葉佛, and Sakyamuni 釋迦牟尼佛. For a more detailed treatment, one can consult the Japanese work Bukkyo daijiten 佛教大辭典, Oda Tokuno 織田得能 (1860-1911), comp. (Tokyo: Okura Shoten 大倉書店, 1918), p.739-40. [SVA: Reading 佛教大辭典 for 佛學大辭典.]

The Changes began with Fu Xi 伏羲 drawing the trigrams[7] and with King Wen combining them by placing one on top of another and thereby creating the hexagrams,[8] but it was limited to drawings and lacked text. (Historian

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[7](1/1, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Fu Xi 伏羲 was a sage king of ancient China, and according to legend he created the eight trigrams. The eight trigrams are ☰ Qian 乾, ☷ Kun 坤, ☳ Zhen 震, ☴ Xun 巽, ☵ Kan 坎, ☲ Li 離, ☶ Gen 艮, and ☱ Dui 兌. The second part of the "Great Treatise" ("Xici" 繫辭) commentary to the Changes reads, "In antiquity when Bao Xi 包羲 ruled the world, he looked upward and observed the images in the heavens, he looked downward and observed the patterns on the earth, and he observed the markings on the birds and the beasts and how they fit in with the environment. Close at hand he took them from his own person, where removed he took them from various other things, and thereupon he created the eight trigrams." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 8.4b; Wilhelm / Baynes, Book of Changes, pp.328-29; Lynn, I Ching, p.77) Bao Xi is none other than Fu Xi. In ancient times, 包 and 伏 had the same pronunciation.

[8](1/1, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: King Wen 文王 was the pre-dynastic founder of the Zhou 周 dynasty. Tradition has it that while he was imprisoned by the tyrant Zhou 紂 of the (Shang) Yin 殷 dynasty at Youli 羑里, he combined the eight trigrams of the Changes to form the sixty-four hexagrams. For example, when the trigrams Qian 乾 and Kun 坤 are combined with Qian on top they form the hexagram Pi 否 ䷋ and when Kun and Qian are combined with Kun on top, they form the hexagram Tai 泰 ䷊. For a detailed account, see the "Basic Annals of Zhou" 周本紀 in the Shi ji

Qian, Yang Xiong, and Wang Chong stated only that King Wen combined the trigrams into the hexagrams, and did not state that he composed the hexagram texts.)[9] For its part, the Changes was like the Lianshan 連山 or

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(4.119).

[9](1/1, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145-ca. 87 B.C.) held the official position of Historian (shi 史: also translated as "scribe," "archivist" or "astrologer") during the Han dynasty and therefore he was sometimes referred to as "Historian Qian." The "Basic Annals of Zhou" ("Zhou benji" 周本紀) which is contained in juan four of the Shi ji which he compiled reads, "King Wen ...was on the throne for fifty years, and when he was imprisoned at Youli, he expanded the eight trigrams of the Changes into sixty-four hexagrams." (See: Shi ji 4.119)

In the "Biography of the Diviner of Days" 日者列傳 chapter of the Shi ji it reads, "Beginning with Fu Xi creating the eight trigrams and King Wen developing them into three hundred and eighty-four lines, the world has been well ordered." (See: Shi ji 127.3218; Watson, Records, II, p.472)

The "Wen shen" chapter 問神篇 of Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 B.C-18 A.D) Fa yan 法言 states, "The Changes began with eight trigrams, then there was King Wen's sixty-four [hexagrams], thus we know that he increased [the number of diagrams]." (See: Fa yan, Sbby, 5.2a)

The "Wenming" 問明篇 chapter states, "King Wen was [a person] of profound character, he placed [the trigrams] on top of one another so that the diagrams each had six lines. Was this not profound!" (See: Fa yan, Sbby, 6.2b)

In the "Duizuo" chapter 對作篇 of Wang Chong's 王充 (27-97) Lun

Guicang 歸藏[10] in that its use was solely restricted to divination. If the

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heng 論衡 he writes, "Fu Xi drew the eight [trigrams], and from this they were developed into the sixty-four [hexagrams], and therefore it is said 'developed' (演)." (See: Lun heng, Sbby, 28.4b)

The "Zhengshuo" chapter 正說篇 states, "Fu Xi obtained the eight trigrams, he did not create them. King Wen obtained the completed sixty-four; they were not developed by him." (See: Lun heng, Sbby, 29.7b)

Historian Qian, Yang Xiong and Wang Chong all lived during the Han dynasty and they all stated that King Wen placed the trigrams on one another [thereby creating the hexagrams] and they did not say that he wrote the text to the hexagrams. Thus, Pi Xirui simply notes this in his own annotation. An example of a "hexagram text" is the line "Fundamental, smooth, advantageous, persevering," (元亨利貞) in the "Judgment" of the Qian 乾 hexagram (#1). (See: Zhouyi zhengyi 周易正義, Ssjzs, 1.1a)

[10](1/1, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: According to the traditional account, the Lianshan 連山 and Guicang 歸藏 were ancient texts in the form of the Changes which existed prior to the Changes (Zhouyi 周易) itself. The section titled "Lun Sandai Yi ming" 論三代易名 ("Discussing the Names of the Changes [like texts] During the Three Dynasties") in Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 Zhou yi zhengyi 周易正義 reads, "According to the Zhou li where it discusses the three Changes [like texts] used by the Grand Diviner (taipu 太卜 --Hucker 6008, 6197), it states 'the first of the three Yi is called the Lianshan, the second is called the Guicang, and the third is called the Zhou yi 周易 (Changes).' Du Zichun 杜子春 (30 B.C.-58 A.D.) said, 'Lianshan, Fu Xi; Guicang, Huang Di 黃帝(Yellow Emperor).' Zheng Xuan's Yi zan 易贊

Lianshan and Guicang could not be considered Classics, then the Changes of Fu Xi and King Wen certainly could not be considered a Classic either. Spring and Autumn Annals is an old name for the history of the state of Lu,

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and Yi lun 易論state 'During the Xia [there was a text] called the Lianshan, during the (Shang) Yin [there was a text] called the Guicang, and during the Zhou it was called the Zhou Yi.' In addition, Zheng Xuan gives the following explanation, 'The Lianshan resembles mountains coming forth from clouds, connected and unbroken. As for the Guicang, of the Ten Thousand Things, none does not return and dwell within it. The Zhou Yi speaks of changes which are universal and widespread, and there is nothing that it does not encompass.'" (See: Zhou Yi zhengyi, Ssjzs, "Preface" (序) 8.b-9a; Zhou li zhengyi, Ssjzs, 24.11b-12b.)

The Lianshan placed the hexagram "Gen" 艮, [which is made up of two "Gen" trigrams and thus is "pure 'Gen'" 純艮] first. The "Gen" trigram has the attribute "mountain." As there is a mountain above and a mountain below, it therefore has the name Lianshan ("Conjoined Mountains"). The Guicang placed the hexagram "Kun" 坤 [which is made up of two "Kun" trigrams and thus is "pure 'Kun'"] first. The "Kun" trigram has the attribute "earth." Of the Ten Thousand Things, there is none that does not return to the earth, and therefore it has the name Guicang.

A text which has come down to us, the Gu Sanfen shu 古三墳書 contains a Lianshan and Guicang, but these are texts forged by persons of a later era. For a detailed evaluation, see the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.217-8. In addition, Ma Guohan, in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, has compiled fragments of the Lianshan and Guicang, each in one juan, but

and was limited to its events and its text, while lacking any indication of their significance. For its part, it resembled the historical writings (Sheng 乘) of the state of Jin 晉, or the historical writings (Taowu 檮杌) of the state of Chu 楚[11] which were merely writings that recorded events. If the historical writings of the state of Jin and the state of Chu were not able to be considered Classics, then the Spring and Autumn Annals of the state of Lu certainly could not have been considered a Classic. In ancient times, the

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these are also not very reliable.

[11](1/1, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The legendary explanation has it that Sheng 乘 and Taowu 檮杌 are the historical records of the states of Jin 晉 and Chu 楚respectively. In the second part of the "Lilou" chapter 離婁篇 of the Mencius there is the passage, "When the wooden clappers of the king were no longer used, the Songs were lost. After the Songs were lost, the Spring and Autumn Annals were written. The Sheng of the state of Jin, the Taowu of the state of Chu, and the Spring and Autumn Annals of Lu are the same. The events they record are about Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 and Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公, and their writing style is that of histories. Confucius said, 'As for the [didactic] significance [found in the Songs], I have appropriated it [and used it accordingly].'" (See: Mencius 4b/21; Mengzi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 8a.12a; Translation following Lau, trans., Mencius, p.131-2) The Shi Sheng of Jin 晉史乘 and the Taowu of Chu 楚檮杌 which have come down to the present are forgeries done by Wu Yan 吳衍 of the Yuan dynasty. For a detailed account, see Tao Zongyi's 陶宗儀 (ca.1316-ca.1402) Chuogeng lu 輟耕錄.

Songs contained 3,000 pieces (pian 篇),[12] and the Documents 3,240 sections (pian).[13] Although the number of pieces and sections was extremely numerous, prior to passing through the editing process, it was not necessarily the case that every piece or section contained some significance which would allow it to be taken as a model or warning. The Zhou li (Rites of

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[12](1/1, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Hereditary House of Confucius" 孔子世家 chapter of the Shi ji states, "In ancient times, the Songs contained over three thousand pieces. Coming to the time of Confucius' [involvement], he got rid of those which were redundant, and selected those which were applicable to the rites and propriety, ...three hundred and five pieces." (See: Shi ji 47.1936)

[13](1/1, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Kong Yingda's Shangshu zhengyi commentary to the "Preface" (序) of the forged Kong (Anguo) Shangshu states, "Zheng Xuan wrote the Shu lun 書論, and based on the Shangshu wei said that Confucius sought out documents [SVA: reading 書 as l.c.], and obtained the documents of Di Kui 帝魁 who was the great-great-grandson of the Yellow Emperor. They [recorded events] through the reign of Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 and contained 3,240 chapters (篇). He excised those which were far removed, selected that which was near, and settled on what could be used as a model for the ages to come, these chapters numbering one hundred and twenty. He took these one hundred and twenty chapters and made them into the Shang shu, with eighteen chapters being the 'Zhonghou' 中侯 [section]." (See: Shangshu zhengyi, Ssjzs, 1.9b)

Zhou) was recovered from the mountain caves and the walls of residences,[14] men of the Han considered it suspect and unreliable,[15] and they also

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[14](1/1, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The Zhou li 周禮 (Rites of Zhou) was in ancient times called the Zhou guan 周官 (Zhou Administration). This text came forth relatively late, and scholars of the Modern Script school of the Classics for the most part have suspicions regarding its authenticity. In the "Xu Zhou li feixing" 序周禮廢興 section of the "Preface" (序) to Jia Gongyan's 賈公彥 (7th. cent.) Zhouli zhengyi 周禮正義, he quotes from the commentary of Ma Rong 馬融 (79-166 A.D.), "The state of Qin from the rule of Duke Xiao 孝公 on down utilized the [legalistic] methods of Shang Yang 商鞅. Its government was very severe, just the opposite of [that expounded in] the Zhouguan. Therefore, when the First Qin Emperor placed a prohibition on the private ownership of books, because he especially detested [the Zhouguan], he wanted to just cut off [its transmission] and destroy it, and had each and every copy searched out, hunted down and burned. For this reason, it was hid away for one hundred years. When Emperor Wen of the Han first lifted the prohibition on the private ownership of books, this opened the way for the contribution of books [to the imperial archives]. After copies [of the Zhouguan] had been taken out from the mountain caves and from the walls of residences, they again were placed into the imperial archives, but of the scholars of the Five Schools of learning, no one was able to get a look at it." (See: Zhouli zhengyi, Ssjzs, "Xu" 序 10a-b)

[15](1/1, n.12) In Jingxue lishi, the text of this note appears together with that of 1/1, n.13. See: 1/1, n.13 below.

thought that it had been composed during the Six States period[16] and that it was not necessarily the case that it truly came from the hand of the Duke of Zhou. As for the seventeen chapters of the Yi li 儀禮,[17] although they were

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[16](1/1, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Xu Zhou li feixing" 序周禮廢興 section of the "Preface" (序) to Jia Gongyan's 賈公彥 Zhouli zhengyi 周禮正義, he states, "Lin Xiaocun 林孝存 thought that Emperor Wu knew that the Zhouguan was a text from the last years [of the Zhou] which was suspect and unreliable, and therefore he wrote ten discourses and seven criticisms on it in order to have it rejected. He Xiu 何休 for his part thought that it was a text of secret plots from the Six States." (See: Zhouli zhengyi, Ssjzs, "Xu," 13a-b)

Lin Xiaocun was none other than Lin Shi 臨碩 (Later Han). [Lin Shi] and He Xiu were both aligned with the so-called Modern Script school of the Classics of the Eastern (Later) Han dynasty. Therefore, neither of them believed that the Zhouli was authentic.

[SVA: The Six States were Chu 楚, Qi 齊, Yan 燕, Zhao 趙, Han 韓, and Wei 衛. This historical period is considered to begin in 403 B.C. with the formal disappearance of the state of Jin 晉 which split into Zhao, Han, and Wei. Of course, the state of Qin 秦 also had a formidable presence at this time, and Qin along with the above six were collectively known as the "Seven States."]

[17](1/1, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: The seventeen chapters (pian) of the Yi li 儀禮 are extant. These are: 1) "Shi guan li" 士冠禮, 2) "Shi hun li" 士昏禮, 3) "Shi xiang jian li" 士相見禮, 4) "Xiang yin jiu li" 鄉飲酒禮, 5) "Xiang she li" 鄉射禮, 6) "Yan li" 燕禮, 7) "Da she li" 大射禮, 8) "Pin li" 聘禮, 9) "Gong shi

passed down by the Duke of Zhou, it is possibly the case that at that time the number of chapters was not limited to seventeen, with Confucius editing out surplus material, or perhaps it was the case that it contained less material [than in the received seventeen chapter version] and Confucius supplemented the original contents with additional material. In either case, we cannot know for sure. If we take the statement "Ru Bei studied the rites of mourning for officials with Confucius and thereupon the 'Mourning Rites for Officials' [chapter] was written down"[18] as evidence, then the seventeen chapters were first put together by Confucius. This is similar to his paring the Songs down to three hundred pieces,[19] or the number of the sections of

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dai fu li" 公士大夫禮, 10) "Jin li" 覲禮, 11) "Sang fu zhuan" 喪服傳, 12) "Shi sang li" 士喪禮, 13) "Ji xi li" 既夕禮, 14) "Shi yu li" 士虞禮, 15) "Te sheng kui shi li" 特牲饋食禮, 16) "Shao lao kui shi li" 少牢饋食禮, and 17) "You si che" 有司徹.

[18](1/1, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Shi sang li" is one of the chapters of the Yili. For the quoted passage, see the "Za ji" 雜記 chapter of the Li ji 禮記. (See: Liji zhengyi, Ssjzs 43.7a; Cf. Legge, trans., Li Chi, pp.166-67)

[SVA: This is a modified quote of the following line from the Li ji: 恤由之喪哀公使孺悲之孔子學士喪禮士喪禮於是于書 "At the mourning rites for Xu You, Duke Ai sent Ru Bei to Confucius to study the rites for the mourning for an official. Thereupon the rites for mourning an official were written down." (Translation following Legge)]

[19](1/1, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: The number of extant poems in the

the Documents being reduced to one hundred.[20] In each case the texts passed through Confucius' editorial hand, and afterwards were placed among the Classics. After Confucius composed the hexagram and line texts of the Changes (as the "Basic Annals of Zhou" chapter of the Shi ji does not state that King Wen composed the hexagram texts, and "Record of the Hereditary House of Lu" does not state that the Duke of Zhou composed the line texts, then the hexagram texts and the line texts must have been composed by Confucius), the "Commentary on the Decision" (Tuan 彖), the "Commentary on the Image" (Xiang 象), and the "Commentary on the Words of the Text" ("Wen yan" 文言),[21] so as to expound upon the purposes of Fu Xi

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Songs is three hundred and five. Saying that it contains three hundred is a general approximation. For example, there is the following passage in the "Weizheng" 爲政 chapter of the Analects, "[The Master said,] 'The Songs number three hundred. They can be summed up in a single phrase: They do not swerve from the correct path.'" (See: Analects 2/2; Lau, trans., The Analects, p.63, translation following Lau)

[20](1/1, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: The received version of the Documents contains twenty-eight chapters (pian). Legend has it that the original version as edited by Confucius contained one hundred chapters, but there are scholars of the Modern Script school of the Classics who do not believe that this was the case.

[21](1/1, n.18) Zhou Yutong comments: Each hexagram of the Changes has what is called "hexagram text" (guaci 卦辭). For example, under the Qian

hexagram there are the words, "Fundamental, smooth, advantageous, persevering." (元亨利貞) (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 1.1a; Wilhelm / Baynes, Book of Changes, p.4; Lynn, I Ching, p.129) Each hexagram is made up of six lines and each line has what is known as "line text" (yaoci 爻辭) appended to it. For example, under the Qian hexagram there are the words, "Nine at the beginning, hidden dragon, no action." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, 1.1b; Wilhelm / Baynes, p.7; Lynn, p.132)

Each hexagram also has a "Commentary on the Decision" ("Tuanci" 彖辭). Tuan means "to decide or to determine," and it is that which determines the meaning or significance of the single hexagram. For example, under the Qian hexagram, there is the passage, "The decision: How great is the fundamental nature of the Creative, from which the Ten Thousand Things are given their beginning..." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, 1.6a; Wilhelm / Baynes, p.370; Lynn, p.129)

In addition, every hexagram and every line has an "Commentary on the Image" ("Xiangci" 象辭) which gives an explanation of its image. That which explains the [image of the hexagram as a whole] is called the "Great Image" (daxiang 大象) and that which explains the [image of an] individual line is referred to as the "Lesser Image" (xiaoxiang 小象). For example, under the Qian hexagram, there is the passage, "The image: The actions of Heaven are strong and powerful. The superior man thereby strengthens himself and is untiring in his efforts." This is what is known as the "Great Image." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, 1.8a; Wilhelm / Baynes, p.373; Lynn, p.130) The line, "Hidden dragon. No action. The yang force is below," is an explanation of the line "nine at the beginning' and is what is referred to as the "Lesser Image."

and King Wen, the use of the Changes was no longer limited to divination. After Confucius applied his editorial hand and added words of praise and blame to the Spring and Autumn Annals so as to establish standards and examples for future rulers, the Spring and Autumn Annals was no longer merely a text which recorded events. These two Classics were created[22] by

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Furthermore, as the Qian and Kun hexagrams are the two from which all the other hexagrams and lines come forth, and as their inherent principles and significance are profound, therefore they each have a separate "Commentary on the Words of the Text" ("Wen yan" 文言). For example, under the Qian hexagram, there is the passage, "'The Commentary on the Words' states: Of all that is good, the fundamental is supreme." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, 10.1a; Wilhelm / Baynes, p.376; Lynn, p.130)

Tradition has it that the "Commentary on the Decision," the "Commentary on the Images" and the "Commentary on the Words of the Text" were composed by Confucius and in ancient times there were no words of objection to this view. With respect to the hexagram texts and line texts, the scholars of the Modern Script school of the Classics were the first to hold that these were written by Confucius, and Pi Xirui advocates this theory.

[22][SVA: Here I have translated zuo 作 as "create." It means that Confucius created these two Classics (the Changes and the Spring and Autumn Annals) by working with pre- existing materials. In other words, in Pi Xirui's view he took earlier forms of these texts and "made them into" Classics (jing 經) by writing additional material or revising them in some

Confucius and their meaning is especially distinct and evident. In the early years of the Han, the old explanations were clear and without error. From the Eastern Han onward, people began to call into question that which should not have been in doubt. They became suspicious of the Changes as the Changes contained the lines "He probably took this from Increase"[23] and "He probably took this from Biting Through"[24] and stated that the act of combining of the trigrams into hexagrams should be placed prior to the time of Shen Nong.[25] They became suspect of the Changes as it had the line "The

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way.]

[23][SVA: This line is found in the "The Great Treatise" ("Xici" 繫辭) of the Changes. (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 8.5a; Wilhelm / Baynes, Book of Changes, p.330; Lynn, I Ching, p.78)]

[24][SVA: This line is from "The Great Treatise." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 8.5a; Wilhelm / Baynes, Book of Changes, p.331; Lynn, I Ching, p.78)]

[25](1/1, n.19) Zhou Yutong comments: In the section "Discussing the Person Who Combined the Trigrams so as to Form the Hexagrams" (論重卦之人) of Kong Yingda's Zhouyi zhengyi, he writes, "Scholars are not in agreement as to who combined the trigrams so as to form the hexagrams. Generally speaking, there are four explanations. Wang Fusi 王輔嗣 (Wang Bi 王弼) and others thought Fu Xi combined the trigrams so as to form the hexagrams, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 and his followers thought that it was done by Shen Nong 神農, Sun Sheng (Cheng) 孫盛 thought that it was Yu 禹 of the Xia 夏 dynasty, and the Historian Qian (Sima Qian) and others thought that it was King Wen. As for those who say that it was Yu of the Xia or King Wen

who combined the trigrams so as to form the hexagrams, according to the 'Great Treatise,' during the time of Shen Nong certain things had probably already been derived from the hexagrams 'Increase' and 'Biting Through,' and in citing this in their discussions, their arguments collapse under their own weight. Those who say that Shen Nong combined the trigrams into the hexagrams also cannot be considered to be correct." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, "Xu," 6b-7a)

In addition, the second part of the "Great Treatise" contains the passage, "After the clan of Fu Xi was no more, there arose the clan of Shen Nong. He split wood into a plowshare, and bent a piece of wood so as to form a plow handle. He instructed the world as to the advantage of using a plowshare and plow handle, and he probably derived this from 'Increase.' When the sun was at its highpoint, he held a market. The people of the world came together, brought together the goods of the world, exchanged them with each other, and then returned home, each obtaining its proper place. He probably derived this from 'Biting Through.'" (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 8.5a; Wilhelm / Baynes, Book of Changes, pp.330-31; Lynn, I Ching, p.78)

Wang Bi and Kong Yingda advocated the view that Fu Xi combined the hexagrams to form the trigrams, while Pi Xirui holds the opinion that King Wen combined the trigrams into the hexagrams. These are two different theories. For a detailed account, see Pi Xirui's essay, "In Discussing the Person who Combined the Trigrams into the Hexagrams, One Should Follow Historian Qian, Yang Xiong, Ban Gu and Wang Chong who Thought that it was King Wen" (論重卦之人當從史遷, 揚雄, 班固, 王充以爲文王) in his Jingxue tonglun 經學通論. (See: Jingxue tonglun, 1.4-6)

"Increase" ("Yi" 益, #42) and "Biting Through" ("Shihe" 噬嗑, #21) are

time when King Wen and the tyrant Zhou were pitted against each other"[26] and stated that the hexagram and line texts were composed by King Wen.[27]

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both the name of Changes hexagrams.

[SVA: In his essay in his Jingxue tonglun, Pi Xirui argues that the views of Sima Qian, et al, should be assigned the most weight as they can be traced back to Shang Ying 商瞿, a student of Confucius. In addition, he cites Zhu Xi's argument which holds that when the "Xici" states that certain things were derived from hexagrams, what it really means is that these things were derived from concepts which later became hexagram names, and not the hexagrams themselves, which were not as yet in existence.]

[26][SVA: This line appears in the "Great Treatise." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 8.22b; Wilhelm / Baynes, Book of Changes, p.352; Lynn, I Ching, p.93)]

[27](1/1, n.20) Zhou Yutong comments: In the section "Discussing Who Wrote the Hexagram Texts and the Line Texts" (論卦辭,爻辭誰作) of Kong Yingda's Zhouyi zhengyi, he states, "There are two explanations given in the "Great Treatise" of the Changes. The first explanation holds that the hexagram texts and the line texts were both composed by King Wen. Those who believe this to be the case, base their beliefs on the following lines of the 'Great Treatise,' 'Did not the rise of the Changes occur during middle antiquity? Were not those who composed the Changes concerned with calamity?' (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 8.17a; Wilhelm / Baynes, Book of Changes, p.345; Lynn, I Ching, p.87) It goes on to state, 'As for the time when the Changes arose, was it not when the Yin was finished and the Zhou was ascending? Was it not at the time when King Wen and the tyrant Zhou were pitted against one another?' (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, 8.22b; Wilhelm /

They became suspect of the line texts as they contain the line "Darkening of the light as with Viscount of Ji"[28] and "The king offers him Mount Qi"[29] and they stated that they were not composed by King Wen, but should be

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Baynes, p.352; Lynn, p.93) ...Based on these passages then, Fu Xi created the diagrams, King Wen appended the words, and Confucius composed the 'Ten Wings.' When the Changes refers to the 'three sages' it is referring to these three [individuals]. ...the followers of Zheng Xuan's scholarship base themselves on this explanation." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, "Xu," 9b-10a)

Zheng Xuan held the view that King Wen composed the hexagram and line texts, while Pi Xirui maintains the position that Confucius composed [the hexagram and line texts]. These are two different views. For a detailed discussion, see Pi Xirui's essay, "Discussing That the Views Which Hold That the Hexagram Texts Were Composed by King Wen and the Line Texts Were Composed by the Duke of Zhou, are Both Without Clear Evidence, and That the Opinion Should be That They Were Composed by Confucius" (論卦辭文王作, 爻辭文王作, 皆無明據, 當爲孔子所作), which is in the "Zhouyi tonglun" (周易通論) section of his Jingxue tonglun (1.8-10).

[28][SVA: This line appears in hexagram # 36, 6/5. (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 4.15b; Wilhelm / Baynes, Book of Changes, p.142; Lynn, I Ching, 360). The Viscount of Ji 箕子 was the uncle of the tyrant Zhou 紂, the last ruler of the Shang 商. After attempting and failing to protest against his nephew's actions, he pretended to be mad, and was treated as a slave. However, he did not allow this to affect his resolve.]

[29][SVA: This line appears in hexagram # 46, 6/4. (See: Wilhelm / Baynes, Book of Changes, p.180; Lynn, I Ching, p.426)]

ascribed to the Duke of Zhou.[30] Thereupon it was the case that the Changes

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[30](1/1, n.21) Zhou Yutong comments: In the section "Discussing Who Wrote the Hexagram Texts and the Line Texts" (論卦辭,爻辭誰作) of Kong Yingda's Zhouyi zhengyi, he states, "The second view is that the line texts were for the most part composed after the time of King Wen. Line 4/6 of the Sheng 升 (#46) hexagram reads, 'The king offers him Mount Qi.' Only after King Wu defeated the Shang-Yin did the practice of posthumously referring to King Wen as "King" begin. If the line texts were written by King Wen, it would not be appropriate for him to state that 'The king offers him Mount Qi.' In addition, line 6/5 in the Mingyi 明夷 (#36) hexagram states "Darkening of the light as with the Viscount of Ji." It was only after King Wu inspected the troops that the Viscount of Ji was imprisoned and enslaved. It would have been inappropriate for King Wu to speak beforehand of the darkening of the light of the Viscount of Ji. ...Examining the various explanations at hand, the conclusion arrived at is that the hexagram texts were composed by King Wen and the line texts by the Duke of Zhou. Ma Rong, Lu Ji 陸績 (187-219 A.D.) and others all agree with this explanation, and at present our own views are based upon it. The reason that they only speak of the Three Sages 三聖 and do not count the Duke of Zhou among them is because it was considered to be something passed on from father to son." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, "Xu," 10a-b)

Ma Rong, Lu Ji, and Kong Yingda all advocated the position that the line texts were written by the Duke of Zhou, while Pi Xirui held that they were written by Confucius. These are two different theories. For a detailed discussion, see Pi Xirui's essay, "Discussing That the Views Which Hold That the Hexagram Texts Were Composed by King Wen and the Line Texts

as a Classic could not have been created by Confucius. Kong's Subcommentary then stated that King Wen and the Duke of Zhou composed the Classic and Confucius wrote the commentaries.[31] They called into question [Confucius' creation of the Spring and Autumn Annals] as the Zuozhuan states that Han Xuan 韓宣 went to the state of Lu 魯, looked upon the images of the Changes (Yi xiang 易象) and the Spring and Autumn Annals of Lu, and said, "I now know the virtue of the Duke of Zhou," and

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Were Composed by the Duke of Zhou both are Without Clear Evidence, and That the Opinion Should be That They Were Composed by Confucius" (論卦辭文王作, 爻辭文王作, 皆無明據, 當爲孔子所作), which is in the "Zhouyi tonglun" (周易通論) section of his Jingxue tonglun (1.8-10). "Sheng" 升 and "Mingyi" 明夷 are both the names of hexagrams.

[31](1/1, n.22) Zhou Yutong comments: "Kong's Subcommentary" (孔疏) refers to Kong Yingda's Subcommentary (shu 疏) in the Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi 春秋左傳正義. The subcommentary under Duke Zhao / Year Two 昭公二年 states, "The Changes contains sixty-four hexagrams and is divided into two sections (pian), a shang 上 and a xia 下. Confucius, in addition, wrote commentaries to the Changes (Yi zhuan 易傳) in ten pian thereby fostering its completion. In later ages it was said that Confucius wrote the commentary and that the original text was the Classic itself." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 42.2a) Kong Yingda's subcommentary considers the hexagram and line texts to be the original text (benwen 本文) and indicates that it was composed by King Wen and the Duke of Zhou. It is

stated that the Duke of Zhou created [the system and format used by] the Spring and Autumn Annals.[32] Thus, the Spring and Autumn Annals as a Classic could not have been originally created by Confucius. Du Yu then

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simply for this reason that Pi Xirui comments in this manner.

[32](1/1, n.23) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry under Duke Zhao / Year Two 昭公二年 in the Zuozhuan reads, "In the spring, the Marquis of Jin (晉侯) sent Han Xuanzi 韓宣子 on a diplomatic mission. ...he examined the texts with the Grand Scribe, saw the images of the Changes and the Spring and Autumn Annals of the state of Lu and commented, 'The rites of Zhou are complete in the state of Lu. I now know the power and virtue of the Duke of Zhou and the reason why the Zhou house ruled over the realm.'" Du Yu's commentary states, "The Spring and Autumn Annals followed the canonical model of the Duke of Zhou by presenting historical events in a certain sequence." See Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, (Ssjzs), 42.2a; Legge, trans., Ch'un Ts'ew, pp.582-83. According to the meaning implied by the Commentary, the writing of the Spring and Autumn Annals had its beginnings with the Duke of Zhou.

[SVA: The Chinese text reads: 謂周公作春秋 which on the surface appears to mean "someone said the Duke of Zhou created the Spring and Autumn Annals." However, as the Duke of Zhou was the son of King Wen who died ca.1050 B.C. and as the Spring and Autumn Annals when referring to the extant Chunqiu 春秋 covers the period from 722 through 481 B.C., it is obvious that 春秋 does not refer to the Spring and Autumn Annals which has come down to us. It most likely is referring to the format and system used in the Spring and Autumn Annals that someone said was

stated that what the Duke of Zhou wrote down were the examples from a former time which served as precedents and what Confucius did was to rework [the Duke of Zhou's system] using new examples to serve as precedents.[33] In addition, some suspected that Confucius never edited the

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originally created by 周公.]

[33](1/1, n.24) Zhou Yutong comments: Du Yu 杜預 (zi Yuankai 元凱; 222-284) was a native of Duling 杜陵 in Jingzhao 京兆 (the capital district) who lived during the Jin 晉 dynasty. He held the official position of "Commanding General Who Campaigns in the South" (Zhennan da jiangjun 鎭南大將軍 --Cf. Hucker 5897) of and was the Commander-in-Chief (dudu 都督--Hucker 7311) of military affairs in Jingzhou 荆州, and because of his efforts that resulted in the pacification of Wu 吳, was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Dangyang Prefecture 當陽縣侯. He deeply immersed himself in Classical scholarship, and his writings include the Chunqiu Zuoshi jingzhuan jijie 春秋左氏經傳集解, the Chunqiu shili 春秋釋例, the Menghui tu 盟會圖 and the Chunqiu changli 春秋長曆. He personally constituted an individual school of scholarship. After his death he was bestowed with the title General-in-Chief of the Southern Expedition" (zhengnan da jiangjun 征南大將軍), and was given the posthumous name Cheng 成. For his biography, see juan thirty-four of the Jin shu 晉書 (34.1025-34) and the biography of Du Ji 杜畿 in juan sixteen of the Wei shu 魏書 section in the Sanguo zhi (16.493-8).

In the "Preface" (序) to his Chunqiu Zuoshi jingzhuan jijie Du Yu writes, "It (referring to the Spring and Autumn Annals) expounds general principles by narrating examples which serve as precedents, and in all cases

Songs or the Documents, that the Zhou li and Yi li both came forth from the Duke of Zhou, and thus Confucius did not compose a single text. Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 then stated that the Duke of Zhou accumulated great accomplishments and that Confucius did not accumulate great accomplishments.[34]

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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. In revealing the subtle and elucidating the hidden, in determining and creating categories that exemplify what is proper and moral, in all cases it bases itself on old exempla from the past to expound meaning, and points to historical deeds and events in order to correctly assign praise and blame. ...However, there are also things that are not written down in the histories, yet [Confucius] took them as exempla. These presumably are 'new meaning and significance' in the Spring and Autumn Annals." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 1.12b-13b, 15a)

According to the "Preface," what the Duke of Zhou wrote were the examples from a former time that serve as precedents, and what Confucius did was to rework this system using new examples to serve as precedents. As a result, Pi Xirui comments in this way.

[34](1/1, n.25) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (zi Shizhai 實齋; 1738-1801) was a native of Kuaiji 會稽 who lived during the Qing dynasty. During the Qianlong 乾隆 period (1736-1795) he obtained the jinshi 進士 degree (1778). He held the official position of Certification Clerk

in the Directorate of Education (guozi jian dianji 國子監典籍--Hucker 3541, 6522), and was a famous historian of the Qing dynasty. His writings include the Wenshi tongyi 文史通義, the Jiaochou tongyi 校讎通義, the Yimaobingchen zhaji 乙卯丙辰劄記 and the Shizhai wenchao 實齋文鈔. Recently, his writings have been collected and printed as the Zhangshi yishu 章氏遺書. For his biography, one can consult juan 420 in Li Huan's 李桓 Guochao qixian leizheng 國朝耆獻類徵.

In the "Yuandao" 原道 chapter of Zhang Xuecheng's Wenshi tongyi he writes, "The Duke of Zhou made complete the virtue and power of King Wen and King Wu, he happened to meet the point in time when rulership was perfected and kingship was completed, when the Yin had already learned the lessons of the Xia [cf. Lun yu 2/23], to the extent that there was nothing that could be added. Thus, he was able to avail himself of these things to create institutions and laws, and by means of the Way of Zhou to bring together the great accomplishments of the ancient sages. This then is what is referred to as bringing together great accomplishments. Confucius possessed virtue and power, but lacked the position [of a ruler], and thus lacked the authority from which he was able to create [institutions and laws], and as he was unable to list a single accomplishment, how would he have been able to have great accomplishments to bring together?" (See: Zhang Xuecheng, Wenshi tongyi, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), p.36.

[SVA: For the biography of Zhang Xuecheng, see: ECCP, pp.38-41; David S. Nivison, The Life and Thought of Chang Hsüeh-cheng (1738-1801) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966). On ji dacheng 集大成 cf. Mencius 5B/1. Lau, trans., p.150]

[1/2, SVA Introductory Comments: As Confucius has now been acknowledged as having created the Six Classics, Pi Xirui turns to Confucius' purpose in creating them. He leads off by stating that while Confucius had the requisite qualities for governing, he lacked the position that would allow his "Way" to be put into practice. This is the view that Confucius was an "uncrowned king" (in contemporary terms we refer to it as "personal power" versus "the power of position"). He then sought an alternative by creating the Classics which would serve as instructional materials for future generations as they embodied principles that functioned as standards, norms, and guides. Their application was not limited, and spanned the range from self-cultivation on the personal level to the governing of the nation on the part of the sovereign.

Pi Xirui goes on to elaborate on the value of the Classics, Confucius' teachings, and also how the people of the Han dynasty understood this, actually applying the Classics to statecraft. He then describes how the clear understanding of the nature of the Classics and the value placed upon their teachings deteriorated after the Han to the point where people no longer understood Confucius' role and purpose in their creation.]

1/2[35] When we read the Classics which Confucius created, we should understand Confucius' purpose and intention in creating the Six Classics. Confucius possessed the virtue of an emperor or king, yet he lacked the position of authority granted to an emperor or king. In his later years he understood that his way would not be put into practice, so he retired and worked on the Six Classics so as to provide instruction for all future generations. Their sublime words with profound implications can actually serve as the standards and norms for all future generations to follow. For those of later ages who would be the rulers of men, it was necessary that they comply with Confucius' instruction, and thus this would be sufficient to govern a state. This is what is referred to by the words, "Follow them and there will be order, go against them and there will be turmoil." It was also necessary for those who would in later times serve as officials or grandees to follow Confucius' teachings, and thus they would be sufficient to cultivate the character of an individual. The words, "The superior man practices it and there is good fortune, the petty man goes against it and there is misfortune" are common knowledge to all generations, and this is not the personal theory of a single individual. Where are the teachings of Confucius? They are located within the Six Classics which he created. Thus,

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[35][SVA: Section 1/2 corresponds to pp.26-30 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.9-14 of the Yiwen ed.]

just as Confucius is the teacher exemplar for all future generations, the Six Classics are the instructional texts for all future generations. The people of Han times understood the significance of Confucius establishing teachings for the world and thus stated that Confucius established his "Way" for the Han, and created them for the Han.[36] At the time, Confucian scholars reverently believed that the study of the Six Classics could be employed so as to bring order to the world, and that Confucius' "Way" could be employed to grandly display the great achievements [of rulers], and praise [those who] advance the path of wisdom and virtue.[37] In the court, when discussing the

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[36](1/2, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: This explanation frequently appears in the apocryphal texts (weishu 緯書) which appeared during the later years of the Western Han. For example, the Chunqiu wei yan Kong tu 春秋緯演孔圖 states, "Confucius looked up and deduced Heaven's mandate, looked down and examined the seasonal changes, and wishing to see what had not yet come to be, his predictions and explanations were without limit. He understood that the Han would follow a period of great chaos, and therefore he created a method for restoring peace in order to instruct it." (See: Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 28.14a) This is one example.

[SVA: I could not locate this passage in the available editions of the wei texts.]

[37](1/2, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, di 迪 is glossed as jin 進 ("to advance, to promote"). (See: Erya yinde, 1B/2; Hao Yixing 郝懿行, Erya yishu 爾雅義疏, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1980, 上一.52a) Zhe 哲, zhe 悊

rites or when discussing government there was no instance when the Classics were not quoted,[38] and there was not one person among the nobles, ministers, grandees, scholar-officials, and clerks who was not versed in at least one of the Classics.[39] Although the House of Han possessed its own

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and zhe 喆 are the same word and are glossed as zhi 智 ("wisdom"). (See: Erya yinde, 2/196; Erya yishu, 上二.68a)

[38](1/2, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: From the time during the Han dynasty when Emperor Wu 漢武帝 (reg. 140-87 B.C.) followed the advice of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 195- ca. 115 B.C.), [which resulted in] the veneration of Confucian learning and the suppression of the Hundred Schools, in the midst of discussions in the imperial court regarding ritual and government, the Classics were quoted to provide a foundation [for one's argument]. There are numerous instances recorded in the Shi ji 史紀, Han shu 漢書, and Hou Han shu 後漢書. For example, in the "Basic Annals of Emperor Wu" 武帝本紀 chapter of the Shi ji it states, "The sovereign discussed the Feng and Shan sacrifices with the Dukes, High Ministers and students. The Feng and Shan sacrifices were rarely performed, neglected to the point of being discontinued altogether, and no one knew what ceremonies and rites should be used. However, the assembled scholars selected the passages from the Documents, Zhou guan (Zhou li) and Royal Regulations (Wang zhi 王制) which recorded how the Feng and Shan sacrifices were carried out with the sovereign performing a mountain sacrifice where he personally shot an ox with an arrow." (See: Shi ji, 12.473; Cf. Watson, Records, II, p.56) This is one example of the Classics being quoted during the discussion of the rites.

[39](1/2, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji

institutions, as these were an admixture of kingly and hegemonic practices,[40] Confucius' teachings were never able to be completely carried

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states, "In the commanderies, kingdoms, counties, districts, and cities, there are those who love learning, respect their superiors, follow the teachings of the government, get along well in their village, and who in word and in deed do not go against what they have learned, ...together with the accounting officials they call on the Chamberlain for Ceremonials (taichang 太常--Hucker 6137) and are able to receive instruction as if they were regular students. After a year, they all are given examinations and those who are able to demonstrate thorough mastery of one or more of the Classics are appointed to fill the vacancies among the ranks of the Clerks (wenxue 文學--Hucker 7794) and Authorities on Ancient Matters (zhanggu 掌故--Hucker 140). ...Those who have not been diligent in their studies or lack the necessary ability, along with those who have not been able to master even a single Classic, are immediately dismissed." (See: Shi ji 121.3119; Watson, Records, II, p.400)

From the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han onward, the Classics were used in the selection of officials. As a result, of the dukes, high ministers, grandees, scholars, and clerks, there was no one who was not versed in the Classics. In the Chinese, yiyi 一藝 (literally "one art") refers to yijing 一經 ("one Classic").

[40](1/2, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Basic Annals of Emperor Yuan" 元帝本紀 chapter of the Han shu states, "Emperor Xuan changed his expression and said, 'The Han house has its own institutions and regulations, which were originally mixed hegemonic practices with the way of kings. How could I purely put my faith in moral teachings and use the

out. However, as they were versed in the Classics to the point of being able to put their teachings into practice, the men of this age were never matched by those of later generations. Perhaps the reason that Confucius used the Six Classics to instruct future generations, and a small degree of what was utilized from their study, have resulted in effects that are already clearly obvious like this. However, from the end of the Han on, the study of the Classics was confused and not clear-minded.[41] In their veneration of Confucius, they revered him in name only, and did not understand wherein that which he put forth to instruct all future generations was contained. In esteeming the study of the Classics, they also looked upon the Classics as the affairs of antiquity, and they did not implement the learning found within so as to bring order to the world. They merely considered the Classics

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government of the Zhou dynasty?" (See: Han shu 9.277; Dubs, HFHD II, p.301) Pi Xirui's text is drawn from this passage.

[41](1/2, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese an 闇 is a phonetic loan for an 暗. The entry in the Xiao Erya 小爾雅 reads, "An 闇 means ming 冥 ('dark'). (See: Ge Qiren 葛其仁, Preface dated 1821, Xiao Erya shuzheng 小爾雅疏證 Congshu jicheng ed., Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939, p.11.) Hu 忽 is a phonetic loan for hu 曶. The entry in the Guangya 廣雅 reads, "Hu 曶 means ming 冥 ('dark')." (See: Guangya shuzheng 廣雅疏證, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978, p.439) Anhu 闇忽 is a descriptive which means "being unclear."

to be something passed down from one era to the next, something which no one dared to abandon. Owing to this view, they became increasingly ignorant as to the original significance of the Classics, and their studies of the words of the ancient sages became more tedious. They thought that Confucius' composition of the Changes was limited to the "Ten Wings"[42] and as a result, Confucius was considered no more than a commentator to the Classics, like the annotators of later ages. In addition, Chen Tuan 陳摶

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[42](1/2, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: In the section "Discussing the 'Ten Wings' of the Master" (論夫子十翼) in the "Preface" to Kong Yingda's Zhouyi zhengyi, he writes, "Part One of the 'Decision' (Tuan 彖), one; Part Two of the 'Decision,' two; Part One of the 'Image' (Xiang 象), three; Part Two of the 'Image,' four; Part One of the 'Great Treatise' (Xici 繫辭), five; Part Two of the 'Great Treatise,' six; 'Commentary on the Words' (Wenyan 文言), seven; 'Explanation of the Trigrams' (Shuogua 說卦), eight; 'Ordering the Trigrams' (Xugua 序卦), nine; 'Miscellaneous Trigrams' (Zagua 雜卦), ten. The adherents of Zheng Xuan's scholarship all agree with this explanation." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, "Xu," 11a-b)

In the Chinese, yi 翼 means "that which aids completion," [SVA: perhaps as "appendices"] which is to say that Confucius composed the commentaries in order to complete the Classic. The Changes is divided into a "Part One" and a "Part Two" and therefore, the "Decision Text" and the "Image Text" are for their part also each divided into a "Part One" and a "Part Two." In the Chinese, 上繫 and 下繫 refer to "Part One" and "Part Two" of the "Great Treatise."

mixed in some Taoist diagrams, and thus the Changes of Fu Xi and the Changes of King Wen were placed in positions superior to that of the Changes of Confucius, and the meaning and significance of the Changes fell into great confusion indeed.[43] The Songs and the Documents which were

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[43](1/2, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Chen Tuan 陳摶 (zi Tu'nan 圖南, personal styled hao Fuyaozi 扶搖子) had the hao of Xiyi Xiansheng 希夷先生 bestowed upon him by Emperor Taizong 太宗 (reg. 976-997) of the Song dynasty. He was a native of Zhenyuan 真源 in Bozhou 亳州. For his biography, see the "Yinyi zhuan" 隱逸傳 of the Song shi 宋史 (457.13420-22)

Chen Tuan was originally a Taoist master who created the diagram of "Prior Heaven" (Xiantian 先天), the "River Diagram" (Hetu 河圖), the "Luo Text" (Luoshu 洛書) and other diagrams which he used in his discussions of the Changes, and he passed these on to Mu Xiu 穆修 (zi Bochang 伯長). Mu Xiu passed them on to Li Zhicai 李之才 (zi Tingzhi 挺之). Li Zhicai passed them on to Shao Yong 邵雍 (zi Yaofu 堯夫). Later, when Zhu Xi wrote the Yi benyi 易本意 he appended the diagrams and their explanations to the text. He selected Shao Yong's explanation which said, "There is the Changes of Heaven, Earth, and Nature, there is the Changes of Fu Xi, there is the Changes of King Wen and the Duke of Zhou, and there is the Changes of Confucius....Confucius' explanations cannot be taken to be the explanations of King Wen." (See: Zhu Xi, Zhou Yi benyi 周易本易 (Taipei: Guangxueshe yinshuguan, 1975), 易圖.19a)

Qing dynasty scholars did not consider Song scholarship on the Changes to represent a correct and orthodox transmission [of the text], and

edited by Confucius were both thought to lack examples that elucidated proper principles, and thus Confucius' contribution to these two texts was considered to be no more than Prince Zhaoming's 昭明 contribution to the Wen xuan 文選,[44] or Yao Xuan's 姚鉉 role in the compilation of the Tang wen cui 唐文粹.[45] They were merely compilers and editors who made a few deletions here and there. Furthermore, Wang Bo 王柏 composed the Shi yi

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they were sharply critical of it. For a detailed evaluation, see Hu Wei's 胡渭 Yitu mingbian 易圖明辨 which is contained in the Xu Qing jingjie 續清經解.

[44](1/2, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Crown Prince Zhao Ming 照明太子 is Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531), the eldest son of Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (reg. 502-549). For his biography, see the Liang shu (8.165-72) and the Nan shi (53.1307-13). Xiao Tong compiled the Wen xuan in thirty juan in which he gathered together prose and verse from the Qin, Han and subsequent dynastic periods. It is considered the first comprehensive literary anthology.

[SVA: See: David R. Knechtges, trans., Wen xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp.4-11 for an English synopsis of information on his life and his compilation of the Wen xuan.]

[45](1/2, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Yao Xuan 姚鉉 (zi Baozhi 寶之; 968-1020) was a native of Hefei 合肥 in Luzhou 廬州. For his biography, see the "Wenyuan zhuan" 文苑傳 chapter of the Song shi (441.13054-5). Yao Xuan compiled the Tangwen cui 唐文粹 in one hundred juan, which brings together poetry and prose writings from the Tang dynasty. It is a famous work among Chinese literary anthologies.

詩疑 and the Shu yi 書疑[46] with their arbitrary deletions to and revisions of [the Songs and the Documents], inflicting great harm upon these texts and

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[46](1/2, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Bo 王柏 (zi Huizhi 會之; hao Luzhai 魯齋; 1197-1274) was a native of Jinhua 金華 in Wuzhou 務州. He was a third generation disciple of Zhu Xi. For his biography, see the Song shi (438.12980-822). Wang Bo wrote the Shu yi 書疑 in nine juan. With respect to the complete text of the Documents, he rearranged the text [in an attempt] to resolve [what appeared to be] inconsistencies. For example, in the "Yao dian" 堯典, "Gao yao mou" 皐陶謀, "Shuo ming" 說明, "Wu cheng" 武成, "Hong fan" 洪範, "Duo shi" 多士, "Duo fang" 多方 and "Li zheng" 立政 chapters, there are places where he removes one or two sections, and there are places where he removes one or two sentences, on the pretext that the bamboo strips [of early editions] had been mixed up. For a detailed evaluation of this text one can consult the Siku quanshu congmu tiyao, pp.260-2.

Wang Bo also wrote the Shi yi 詩疑 in two juan in which he removed parts of the original text of the Songs. For example in the "Shaonan" 召南 section he deleted #23, "In The Wilds There is a Dead Doe" (野有死麕), in the "Beifeng" 邶風 section he deleted #42, "Of Fair Girls" (靜女), in the "Yongfeng" 鄘風 section he deleted #48, "She Was To Wait for Me at Sangzhong" (桑中), and in the "Zhengfeng" 鄭風 section he deleted #76, "I Beg You, Zhong Zi" (將仲子), #83, "There Was a Girl With Us In Our Carriage" (有女同車), and #94, "Out In The Bushlands A Creeper Grows" (野有蔓草), along with other pieces for a total of thirty-two. For a detailed evaluation, one can consult the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, pp.336-8.

causing the Songs and the Documents to fall into great disarray. The Spring and Autumn Annals, written by Confucius, was thought to be based upon the general form and principles of composition established by the Duke of Zhou and thus Confucius' role in the composition of the Spring and Autumn Annals was merely similar to that of the Han shu's taking the Shi ji as its basis[47] or the Hou Han shu taking the San guo zhi as its source,[48] where

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[47](1/2, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: The Shi ji 史紀 in one hundred and thirty juan was compiled by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-ca. 86 B.C.) during the Western (Former) Han dynasty. The Han shu 漢書 in one hundred twenty juan was compiled by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92 A.D.) during the Eastern (Later) Han dynasty. In the Han shu, the annals (紀) and biographies (傳) beginning with the reign of Emperor Gaozu 漢高祖 (reg. 206-195 B.C.) and on down through the reign of Emperor Wu 漢武帝 (reg. 140-87 B.C.) for the most part copy the Shi ji, with a few revisions. During the Song dynasty Ni Si 倪思 (1174-1220) wrote the Ban Ma yitong 班馬異同 in which he examined how the Han shu was based on the Shi ji and how its contents were changed.

[48](1/2, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The Sanguo zhi 三國志 in sixty-five juan was compiled by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297) of the Jin 晉 dynasty. Of the one hundred and twenty juan of the Hou Han shu 後漢書, ninety juan, which contain the annals and biographies, were compiled by Fan Weizong 范蔚宗 (Fan Ye 范曄; 398-446) of the Song 宋 dynasty of the Six dynasties period. The eight treatises (志) in thirty juan were compiled by Sima Biao 司馬彪 (ob. ca.306 A.D.) of the Jin dynasty. With respect to the biographies

they are essentially copies, with a few additions and deletions. Du's 杜 Commentary and Kong's 孔 Subcommentary[49] also put no faith in even so much as a single word of Confucius' "praise" and "blame" interpretation and considered the Spring and Autumn Annals marred by missing passages and questionable meaning. Subsequently, Wang Anshi took the Spring and Autumn Annals to be incomplete and fragmented court reports,[50] and the

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and records of the individuals who lived during the later part of the Han dynasty, in every case Fan Ye bases himself on Chen Shou's text, which he polished and embellished.

[49](1/2, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: "Du's Commentary" (杜注) and "Kong's Subcommentary" refers to Du Yu's 杜預 (222-284) Chunqiu Zuozhuan jijie 春秋左傳集解 and Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 (574-648) Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi 春秋左傳正義. The Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏 edition of the Classics uses the works of Du Yu and Kong Yingda.

[50](1/2, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: The Song dynasty scholar Zhou Linzhi 周麟之 (zi Maozhen 茂振; 1118-1164) in his "Postface" (ba 跋) to Sun Jue's 孫覺 (zi Shenlao 莘老; 1028-1090) Chunqiu jingjie 春秋經解 states, "Early on Wang Jinggong 王荊公 (Wang Anshi) wanted to write an explanatory commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals and place it into wide circulation, but Shenlao's work had already appeared. As soon as he saw it, he became envious and knew that he would not be able to match it. He consequently disparaged the Classic of the Sage and abandoned it, saying, 'The Spring and Autumn Annals is made up of fragmented and incomplete court reports.'" (See: Chuqiu jingjie, Skqs, "Houba" 後跋 1a)

Spring and Autumn Annals was nearly discarded and abandoned. Each of these cases was owing to the fact that they did not understand that Confucius' purpose in composing the Six Classics was to instruct future generations; they had no confidence in the Han time explanations, were unrestrained in their subjective views, and discredited the scholars of the past. It began with casting doubt upon the Classics and gradually

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The Song dynasty scholar Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223-1296) in juan six of his Kunxue jiwen 困學紀聞 writes, "Yin Hejing 尹和靖 has said, 'Jiefu 介甫 (Wang Anshi) did not write a commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals because he objected to it. It was not his intent to abandon the Spring and Autumn Annals.'" (See: Kunxue jiwen, Sbck, 6.3b).

The Qing dynasty scholar Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709) in juan 181 of his Jing yi kao 經義考 quotes Li Xiyi 李希逸 who said, "Yin Hejing stated that Jiefu did not abandon the Spring and Autumn Annals. [The statement that] he abandoned the Spring and Autumn Annals because he considered it to be fragmented and incomplete court reports are the words of those unscrupulous individuals of a later age who wished to put words in the mouth of Jiefu." (See: Zhu Yizun, Jing yi kao, Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1979, p.181.9a)

Both cases are an attempt to redress a misinterpretation of Wang Anshi's position. In addition, the "court reports" (chaobao 朝報) he mentions resemble "court bulletins" (dibao 邸報) and are like modern official public reports from the government. There are many places in the Spring and Autumn Annals where text is missing, and as a result he dismissed it as

progressed to where they considered the Sage to be in error. Some esteemed the Duke of Zhou, thereby suppressing Confucius (as in Du Yu's explanation of the Spring and Autumn Annals),[51] and some esteemed Fu Xi and King Wen thereby putting down Confucius. (As in the Song dynasty explanations of the composition of the Changes).[52] The Classics which were the product of Confucius' own hand not only were not used for instruction, but were also thought not to be from the hand of Confucius and were ascribed to others. That the study of the Classics was muddled and confused, and that Confucius was not revered and respected, was not due to something that occurred in the span of a single day. The reasons for these things were due to a process that developed gradually over time. Therefore it is necessary to take the Classics as having been created by Confucius, then and only then can one speak of the study of the Classics and Classical learning. It is also necessary that one understand that Confucius composed the Classics with the intent of using them to instruct future generations, then and only then can one begin to speak of Classical Scholarship.

[1/3 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section Pi Xirui refers to

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fragmentary and incomplete.

[51](1/2, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: See 1/1, n.24.

[52](1/2, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: See: 1/2, n.8.

examples of how the Zuozhuan and Guoyu provide "explanations" for words, names, lines, or passages that appear in the Classics. His assumption is that both texts contain information that pre-dates Confucius' creation of the Classics and therefore what they are explaining are the pre-Classic versions of these texts. Pi's assumptions lead to inconsistencies for which he turns to Wang Yinglin's Kunxue jiwen to resolve. He then turns to other sources of information, such as the Zhou li and "forged" preface to the "Old Script" Documents, showing how the information provided is either understood in terms of, or based on, the annotations of Zheng Xuan or Ma Rong. Pi Xirui's purpose and point here appears to be that although there is information available on the pre-Classic texts, the nature of much of it is unclear and its relationship to the "Confucian Classics" is not important, at least in his mind, for the study of the history of Classical Scholarship.

It should be noted that Pi Xirui considers material in the Zuozhuan as pre-dating Confucius and also considers it as a source of historically reliable information. Some of the members of the so-called Qing Modern Script school were of the opinion that Liu Xin forged the Zuozhuan. Obviously, Pi Xirui did not hold to this view. (Cf. his opinion on the matter under the 1894 Nianpu entry.)]

1/3[53] Prior to Confucius, there was not the designation "Classic," but there were already explanations of the [texts which were later to become known as] "Classics," and they all appear in Master Zuo's Inner and Outer Commentaries 左氏內外傳.[54] The Inner Commentary records an

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[53][SVA: Section 1/3 corresponds to pp.30-36 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.14-21 of the Yiwen ed.]

[54](1/3, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Master Zuo's Inner Commentary 左氏內傳 refers to Master Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals 春秋左氏傳 and the Outer Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals 春秋外傳 refers to the Guoyu 國語. The "Appraisal" (贊) to the biography of Sima Qian 司馬遷傳 in the Han shu states, "Confucius took the historical records of the state of Lu 魯 as his basis and composed the Spring and Autumn Annals. Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 appraised and compiled the original events it contained and wrote the Commentary to it. In addition, he collected the similarities and differences and composed the Guoyu." (See: Han shu 62.2737) In his "Explanatory Preface" (解敘) to the Guoyu 國語, Wei Zhao 韋昭 (197-278) writes, "Zuo Qiuming selected and recorded [events] of the previous age from the time of King Mu 穆王 (956-918 B.C.) on down to the murders of Lu Dao 魯悼 (Duke Dao of Lu) and Zhi Bo 智伯 (the Earl of Zhi), thereby composing the Guoyu. It's text was not primary to the Classic (Chunqiu), therefore it was called the Outer Commentary" (See: Guoyu Weishi jie 國語韋氏解, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1975, p.5) Wang Chong 王充 (27-97 A.D.) writes in the "Anshu" chapter 案書篇 of the Lun heng 論衡, "The Guoyu is Master Zuo's Outer Commentary." (See: Wang Chong,

explanation of the line "Fundamental, prevalent, fit, and persevering,"[55] along with comments on the line "A yellow lower garment indicates

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Lun heng, Sbck, 29.2a) [SVA: Nei 內 and wai 外 can also be translated as "formal" and "informal." The Zuozhuan was referred to by some as the "formal" commentary to the Chunqiu and the Guoyu as the "informal" commentary.]

[55](1/3, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry in the Zuozhuan under Duke Xiang / Year Nine (襄公九年) reads, "Jiang 姜 (Mu Jiang 穆姜; d. 564 B.C.) said, 'No. About this [hexagram] the Changes says: Sui, is fundamental, prevalent, beneficial, persevering, and without blame. The fundamental is the leader of the person. The prevailing brings together that which possesses excellence. The beneficial is the harmony of that which is right. Perseverance is the trunk of all affairs. A person who possesses true humanity is able to lead others, excellence in virtue enables one to bring [others] into accord with what is proper, acting so as to be of benefit to other things brings about harmony with what is right, and perseverance is the trunk of all affairs." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, (Ssjzs), 30.26a; Legge, trans., Ch'un Ts'ew, p.440) This passage is the same as that in the "Commentary on the Words of the Text" ("Wen yan" 文言) of the Changes. The only difference is that there is only a slight difference of two characters, the line "體之長" ("leader of the person") in the Zuo Commentary is written as "善之長" ("leader of goodness") in the Changes, and "嘉德" ("excellent virtue") in the Zuo Commentary is written "嘉會" ("bringing together that which is excellent") in the Changes. (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, (Ssjzs), 1.10a; Wilhelm / Baynes, Book of Changes, p.376; Lynn, trans., I Ching, p.130) [SVA: On 元亨利貞, cf. ECT, p.217.]

fundamental good fortune."[56] It also records comments on the "Nine Services" and "Nine Songs" of Xia Hou,[57] the "Nine Virtues" of King Wen

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[56](1/3, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry in the Zuozhuan under Duke Zhao / Year Twelve (昭公十二年) reads, "Nan Kuai 南蒯 performed milfoil divination and obtained the hexagram 'Kun' 坤 ䷁ changing to 'Bi' 比 ䷇. The text read, 'A yellow lower garment. Fundamental good fortune.'...Huibo 會伯 said...'Yellow is the color of the center. A lower garment is ornamentation which is below. The fundamental is the leader of that which is good.' (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, (Ssjzs) 45.32a; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.640) The line "A yellow lower garment, fundamental good fortune." is the 6/5 line text under the "Kun" hexagram of the Changes. (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 1.25a; Wilhelm / Baynes, Book of Changes, p.15; Lynn, I Ching, p.148)

[57](1/3, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry in the Zuozhuan under Duke Wen / Year Seven (文公七年) reads, "The 'Xia Documents' 夏書 say, "Warn them using good words, supervise them by that which inspires awe, encourage them by means of the nine songs, and there will be nothing that causes demise." The virtues of the nine services can all be expressed in song and these are called the nine songs. The six commodities and the three affairs, these are the nine services. Water, fire, metal, wood, earth, and grain are referred to as the six commodities. Rectification of virtue, using things so as to derive full benefit, and enabling people to lead lives without want, these are the three affairs." (Translation following Legge; See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 19A.16b; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.249- 250)

The "Xia Documents" 夏書 is a lost section of the [original] Documents, which has been quoted and placed into the "Da Yu Mo" 大禹謨 chapter of the forged Old Script Documents (古文尚書). There is only a slight

and the "Seven Virtues" of King Wu,[58] and Shun's treatment of the Four

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difference with 勿使壞 ("there is nothing causing demise") being written 俾勿壞 ("there is caused no demise"). (See: Shangshu zhengyi, Ssjzs, 4.4b)

[58](1/3, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry in the Zuozhuan under Duke Zhao / Year Twenty-eight (昭公二十八年) reads, "One of the Songs goes, 'This King Wen, God gave his heart the ability of good judgment. The reputation of his virtue spread silently, The power of his virtue was manifested in extreme clarity. With extreme clarity came extreme discernment, excellence in leadership and excellence in rulership, In ruling as king this great nation. Being accommodating and concordant, [His subjects] were concordant with King Wen. His power and virtue were flawless, He received the blessing of God, And this he extended to his sons and grandsons.' When the mind is able to tell what is right, this is called 'judgment.' When the power of one's virtue through its correctness effects a response of harmony, this is called 'quiet influence.' To radiate good government throughout the four directions is called 'illumination.' Attentive beneficence without partiality is called 'discernment.' Being untiring in teaching and instruction is called 'leadership.' [Causing one's subjects] to enjoy the rewards he bestows and to be in awe of his punishments is called 'rulership.' Effecting compliance by all through kindness and gentleness is called 'rendering obedience.' Choosing what is good and following it is called 'concordance.' Acting as the warp and the woof, Heaven and Earth are called 'pattern., When the nine virtues are without error, then in undertaking affairs, there is nothing to regret. Thus, he received the blessings of Heaven and his sons and grandsons relied on him for the same." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 52.28a-30a; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew,"

p.727)

The quoted poem is "Sovereign Might" ("Huangyi" 皇矣, #241) in the "Da ya" section of the Songs. The first line in the version of the Songs which has come down to us is "This King Ji" (唯此王季) which is somewhat different [from the line quoted in the Zuozhuan]. The "nine virtues" refer to "judgment" (du 度), "quiet influence" (mo 莫), "clarity" (ming 明), "discernment" (lei 類), "leadership" (zhang 長), "rulership" (jun 君), "rendering obedience" (shun 順), "concordance" (bi 比), and "patterning" (wen 文).

In addition, The entry in the Zuozhuan under Duke Xuan / Year Twelve (宣公十二年) reads, "After King Wu defeated the Shang, he composed a hymn which goes, 'Put away the shields and battle axes, Case the bows and arrows. We have sought and acquired virtue of the highest order, We will spread it throughout Xia China. Truly the king will preserve and protect it.' He also composed the hymn 'Wu' 武, the last line of which goes, 'In this way the undertakings are accomplished." Its third stanza reads, 'Everywhere abundance was spread, We go to seek peace [in the kingdom].' Its sixth stanza reads, 'He gave repose to the ten thousand countries, And brought about continuous years of bountiful harvests.' King Wu is the one who has forbidden cruelty, put an end to warfare, preserved and protected great [virtue], accomplished undertakings, gave repose to the people, brought harmony to the numerous [states], and brought about abundant wealth. ...These are the seven virtues of King Wu." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 23.20a-22a; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.320)

For the four lines that begin with "Put away the shields," see the piece "He Goes" ("Shi yu" 時遇 #273) in the "Zhou song" section of the Songs.

Evil Ones and Sixteen Worthy Assistants enumerated in the "Yu" 虞 section of the Documents.[59] In the Outer Commentary's mention of Shu Xiang 叔向,

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For the piece that has the last line, "In this way the undertakings are accomplished," see the piece "Wu" ("Wu" 武 #285). For the third stanza, see the piece "Bestowal" ("Lai" 賚 #295). For the sixth stanza, see the piece "Bold" ("Huan" 桓 #294).

[59](1/3, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry in the Zuozhuan under Duke Wen / Year Eighteen (文公十八年) reads, "In ancient times Gaoyang 高陽 had eight talented descendants, ...and the people of the world referred to them as the Eight Harmonious Ones. Gao Xin 高辛 had eight talented descendants, ...and the people of the world referred to them as the Eight Worthies. ...When Yao served as Shun's minister he elevated the Eight Harmonious Ones to office, sending them to be in charge of the offices of the Minister of Lands, ...he elevated the Eight Worthies to office, sending them to disseminate the five teachings throughout the four regions. ...In ancient times, Emperor Hong 帝鴻 had a son who was incompetent...and the people of the world referred to him as Hundun 渾敦. Emperor Shaohao 少皞 had a descendant who was incompetent...and the people of the world referred to him as Qiongqi 窮奇. Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊 had a son who was incompetent, ...and the people of the world referred to him as Taowu 檮杌... Emperor Jinyun 縉雲 had an incompetent son, ...and the people of the world placed him with the other three malicious ones and they referred to him as Taotie 饕餮. When Shun became Yao's minister,... he expelled the four evil ones... And because of this, after Yao died all under Heaven united as one, and as if of one mind threw their support behind Shun, making him the Son

Shan Mugong 單穆公, Min Mafu 閔馬父, Historian of the Left Yi Xiang 左史倚相, Guan Shefu 觀射父, Baigong Zizhang 白公子張, and others, some give explanations of the Songs, and some give supporting evidence for the rites.[60]

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of Heaven, because he had elevated the sixteen worthy assistants to office and expelled the four evil ones." (Translation following Legge; See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 20.14b-20a; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.282)

The passage recorded in the Zuozhuan roughly matches what is contained in the "Yaodian" 堯典 chapter of the Documents.

[60](1/3, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Shu Xiang 叔向 was the zi of Yang She Xi 羊舌肸, a grandee of the state of Jin 晉. In the third juan of the Guoyu 國語, the "Zhou yu" 周語, Shu Xiang quotes a poem from the Songs and then explains it. He says, "One of its pieces goes, 'August Heaven had a clearly determined mandate, The two sovereigns received it. In perfecting the character of kings they did not dare to be idle, From early until late they labored to lay the foundations for this sacred trust, being magnanimous and tranquil, In brightness and splendor, they fortified their will, And consequently brought about peace.' This tells of the virtue of the perfected character of [King Wen and King Wu]. ...When it speaks of 'a clearly determined mandate' and elevates August Heaven,' this expresses respect for that which is superior. That the two sovereigns received the mandate expresses yielding to virtue. That sovereigns with the virtue of perfected kings did not dare to be idle expresses respect for the common people. 'From early until late' (夙夜) conveys the meaning of respectful diligence. 'Foundation' (基) has the sense of 'the beginning' (始). The 'mandate' (命) implies a sacred trust (信). To be 'magnanimous' (宥) means to be generous

and lenient (寬). To be 'quiet' (密) means to be peaceful (寧). 'Brightness' (緝) is brilliance (明). 'Splendor' (熙) means magnificence (廣). 'To fortify' (亶) is to strengthen (厚). 'Consequently' (肆) means 'as a result' (固). 'Tranquility' (靖) means to be peaceful (穌). In the first line, there is the expression of respect for what is superior, the yielding to virtue, and respect for the common people. In the middle part, there is the expression of diligence, frugality, being worthy of a sacred trust, and generosity, along with returning peace to the people. In the last part, it tells of how they both broadened and deepened their hearts, which resulted in peace and harmony. ...therefore it is said that they are 'perfected.'" (See: Guoyu 3.9b; [pp.116-7]; Mao Shi #271)

Duke Mu of Shan (Shan Mu Gong 單穆公) served King Ling of Zhou (周靈王) in the capacity of Minister. In the third juan of the Guoyu, the "Zhouyu," Duke Mu of Shan quoted from the Songs and explained the passage as follows: "The Songs contains a piece which goes, 'Look at the foothills of Mt. Han, Its hazels and redthorns thick and lush. Happy and joyous is our lord, In his quest for blessings joyous and happy.' The hazels and redthorns at the foot of Mt. Han have grown thick and lush, and therefore the lord is able, owing to joyousness and happiness, to seek and obtain blessings there." (See: Guoyu 3.11b; [pp.121-2]; Mao Shi #239; Translation following Waley)

Min Mafu 閔馬父 was a Grandee of the state of Lu. In the fifth juan of the Guoyu, the "Luyu" 魯語, Min Mafu explains the "Shang Hymns" ("Shangsong" 商頌) of the Songs as follows: "In ancient times, Zheng Kaofu 正考父 compared twelve famous Shang hymns from the Zhou Music Master, [in the process correcting problems with the text], and placed the piece

'Fine' ('Na' 那) first. The luan 亂 which he edited [and which ended the piece] went, 'From antiquity, in ancient times, The people of the past created it. Gentle and respectful, from morning until evening, We conduct our affairs with reverence and respect.' As for what was passed down by the sage kings of former times, out of respect and reverence they did not dare lay sole claim to it, so they said, 'from antiquity,' in antiquity they said 'in times of old,' and in times of old they said 'the people of the past.'" (See: Guoyu 5.12a; [pp.216-7]; Mao Shi #301)

Historian of the Left Yi Xiang 倚相, served the state of Chu 楚 in the capacity of Historian of the Left. In juan seventeen of the Guoyu, the "Chuyu" 楚語, Yi Xiang explains the poem "Grave" ("Yi" 抑) of the "Daya" section of the Songs as follows: "In the past, when Duke Wu of Wei 衛武公 was ninety-five years old, he would still give warnings and admonition to the people of his state, ...When in a carriage, there is the remonstration of the attendant troops, in the court there are the standards of those in official positions, at one's desk one can read the advice and admonition of the officials in charge of the artisans, when rising and retiring there is the advice of one's personal attendants, when overseeing affairs [such as sacrifices], there is the guidance of the Blind Music Master and the Grand Scribe, when having no official duties, there are the admonitions in the chants of the Blind Music Masters. The Grand Scribe did not leave his writings undone, and the Blind Music Master did not neglect his chants, in order to admonish and advise. Thereupon he composed the poem of admonition 'Grave' ('Yi' 懿) to serve as caution and warning to himself." (See: Guoyu 17.9a; pp.551-3; Mao Shi #256) "Yi" 懿 is none other than the poem "Yi" 抑.

(For details see Wang Yinglin's Kunxue jiwen 困學紀聞).[61] Not only are the

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Guan Shefu 觀射父 was a Grandee of the state of Chu. In juan eighteen of the Guoyu, the "Chuyu," Guan Shefu explains the Rites, "As for the sacrificial offering, there is something added to what is normally used for the feast on the first of the month. The feast of the Son of Heaven uses a cow, a sheep and a pig, and when there is a sacrificial offering, an additional cow, sheep, and pig is added. The feast of the feudal lords uses a single cow, and when there is a sacrificial offering, a cow, a sheep and a pig are used. The feast of the high ministers uses a sheep and a pig, and when there is a sacrificial offering, a cow is used. The feast of the grandees uses a pig, and when there is a sacrificial offering, a sheep and a pig are used. The scholar-officials eat fish and roasted meat, and when there is a sacrificial offering, they use a pig. The common people eat vegetable dishes, and when there is a sacrificial offering, they use fish. (The text that follows has been omitted)..." (See: Guoyu 18.2b; [pp.564-5])

Baigong Zizhang 白公子張 was a Grandee of the state of Chu. In juan seventeen of the Guoyu, the "Chuyu," Baigong Zizhang quotes from a Zhou poem: "There is a Zhou poem which goes, 'You do not do it personally, it is not done yourself, thus the people have no trust in you.'" (See: Guoyu 17.10a; [pp.556]; Mao Shi #191)

[61](1/3, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (zi Bohou 伯厚; 1223-1296) was a native of Qingyuan 慶元 who lived during the Song dynasty. He was a person of broad learning. He passed the jinshi 進士 exam during the Chunyou 淳祐 period (1241). He held successive official posts, and was promoted to the position of Minister in the ministry of Rites (Libu shangshu 禮部尚書). His writings include the Shenning ji 深寧集, the

above mentioned explanations of the "Classics" older than the ancient exegesis of the Han scholars,[62] but moreover they predate Confucius'

Yutang leigao 玉堂類稿, the Yiyuan leigao 掖垣類稿, the Shikao 詩考, the Shi dili kao 詩地理考, the Han shu "Yiwenzhi" kaozheng 漢書藝文志考證, the Kunxue jiwen 困學紀聞, the Xiaoxue ganzhu 小學紺珠, the Yuhai 玉海, and other writings, the number of his works totaling more than twenty in all. For his biography, see the Song shi 宋史 438.12987-91.

The Kunxue jiwen, in twenty juan, contains both miscellaneous notes and comments, and writings on the study of factual evidence. Eight juan contain explanations of the Classics, and two juan contain writings on "The Way of Heaven" (tiandao 天道), geography, and on the "thinkers" or "masters" (zhuzi 諸子). Historical investigations comprise six juan, critical opinions on poetry and prose comprise three juan, and writings on miscellaneous knowledge 雜識 make up one juan. It was a source for those engaged in evidential scholarship during the early Qing dynasty. For a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, pp.2491-2.

[SVA: For a biography of Wang Yinglin, see Sung Biographies, pp.1167-1176.]

[62](1/3, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese. 故 and 古 are closely connected in meaning to 詁. In the Mao Shi zhengyi 毛詩正義, Kong Yingda gives the following explanation of the Guxun zhuan 詁訓傳 to the poem "Guanju" 關雎 (#1), "Gu 詁 means gu 古 ('to explain ancient language and characters'). The language of ancient times and modern times are different, and [explaining how they are] connected to one another enables people to

editorial hand. However, Master Zuo exaggerates and what he says is not necessarily completely reliable. How is it that Mu Jiang's clarification of the meaning of the Sui 隨 hexagram tallies in whole with the "Commentary on the Words" ("Wen yan" 文言),[63] and as Ji Zha lived prior to the Songs being put in order, how is it that the "Ya" and "Song" had already obtained their proper places?[64] (The Kunxue jiwen cites the following passages from the

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understand. Xun 訓 means dao 道 ('to explain'). It explains the appearance of things so as to inform [the reader of its meaning]. ...Guxun 詁訓 [explains how] the different words of ancient and modern times are connected, clarifies the distinctions in the description of things, and thus all forms of explanation can be traced back to this." In addition, "The Mao Commentary reads, 'Gu 古 [conveys the sense of] gu 故 (ancient).'" (See: Mao Shi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 1-1.1b)

[63](1/3, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: See 1/3, n.2. Tradition has it that the "Commentary on the Words" ("Wen yan" 文言) was written by Confucius. As Mu Jiang 穆姜 predated Confucius, her explanation of the line "Fundamental, prevalent, fit, and persevering," of the "Sui" 隨 hexagram should not be a copy of the words found in Confucius' "Commentary on the Words."

[64](1/3, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry in the Zuozhuan under Duke Xiang / Year Twenty-nine (襄公二十九年, 544 B.C.) says that a son of the nobility from the state of Wu 吳, Ji Zha 季札, came to the state of Lu 魯. He requested to hear the music of Zhou. They sang for him the "Zhounan" 周南, the "Shaonan" 召南, the airs of Bei 邶, Yong 鄘, Wei 衛, Wang 王 (Royal

Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, "To overcome self interest and return to the rites [is benevolence]," "When away from home, behave as if you were receiving guests" and states: "Zuo [Qiuming] happened to overhear certain remarks in Queli 闕里 and in almost every case where people quoted something, they usually changed or altered it. Mu Jiang's citation of lines from the 'Commentary on the Words' (Wen yan 文言) in her explanation of the Sui hexagram, is a case in point.")[65] Mention of

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Domain), Zheng 鄭, Qi 齊, Bin 豳, Qin 秦, Wei 魏, Tang 唐, Chen 陳, and Kuai 鄶, along with the "Da ya" 大雅, the "Xiao ya" 小雅 and the "Song" 頌. (The passage has not been reproduced in its entirety) After Confucius returned to Lu from Wei 衛, the music was put in its proper form, and the "Ya" and "Song" each obtained their proper places. Ji Zha lived prior to Confucius, at a time when the songs were lost and the music had fallen into virtual ruin, and thus the singing of the songs should not have so neatly been in the proper order. (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 39.8 ff; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, pp.549-551)

[65](1/3, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: Juan six of the Kunxue jiwen discusses the Zuozhuan. It states, "'In ancient times it was recorded that to overcome self interest and return to the rites is benevolence.' Some have said that the [idea of] overcoming one's self interest and returning to the rites was that which was passed down from the ancients and did not originate with Confucius. Zhitang 致堂 (Hu Yin 胡寅) has said, 'The Master considered overcoming self interest and returning to the rites to be benevolent behavior, [but] it was not the case that overcoming self interest and

the San fen 三墳, Wu dian 五典, Basuo 八索, and Jiuqiu 九邱 appear in the Zuozhuan under the entry "Duke Zhao / Twelfth Year."[66] In the Zhou li it

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returning to the rites was identical with benevolence.' Xuchen 胥臣 said, 'When away from home treat others as you would guests, engage in affairs as if you were performing sacred rites, as this is the standard of benevolence.' Zuo happened to overhear certain remarks in Queli...." (See: Kunxue jiwen, Sbck, 6.15a-b)

The passage that contains the line "overcome self interest and return to the rites," appears in the Zuozhuan under Duke Zhao / Year Twelve (昭公十二年) where Confucius is quoted. (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 45.38b; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.641; cf. Lunyu 12/1) The passage which begins, "When away from home, treat others as you would guests" appears in the Zuozhuan under Duke Xi / Year Thirty- two (僖公三十二年). (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 17.17b; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.226; cf. Lunyu 12/2) In addition, both quotations appear in the Analects.

Wang Yinglin thought that as Duke Xi lived prior to Confucius, it should not be the case that one of his contemporaries should be using Confucius' words verbatim. Queli 闕里 is a place name and is a city located in modern Qufu County 曲阜縣 in Shandong. It was the area where Confucius taught.

[66](1/3, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry in the Zuozhuan under Duke Zhao / Year Twelve (昭公十二年) reads, "The king (King Ling of Chu 楚靈王) came out, resumed the discussion, and the Historian of the Left, Yi Xiang 倚相passed by. The king said, 'He is an excellent scribe, and you should look upon him favorably. He is able to read the San fen 三墳, the Wu dian 五典,

states that the office of the external secretary was in charge of the San fen and Wu dian documents. In his commentary, Zheng Xuan states that "These are what King Ling of Chu referred to as the San fen and Wu dian."[67] Based on this (Zheng Xuan's quote) the San fen and Wu dian thus were texts similar to the Documents. In the forged "Preface" to Kong Anguo's Documents Commentary it states,[68] "The documents of Fu Xi, Shen Nong,

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the Ba suo 八索 and the Jiu qiu 九丘.'" (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 45.37a; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.641) In the Chinese, qiu 丘 is interchangeable with qiu 邱.

[67](1/3, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Chun guan" 春官 section of the Zhouli it states, "The External Secretary (waishi 外史--Hucker 7604)...is in charge of the documents of the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors." (See: Zhouli zhengyi, Ssjzs, 26.26a) Pi Xirui's text is somewhat different from the original. "Zheng's Commentary" refers to Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (zi Kangcheng 康成) Zhouli Commentary 周禮注.

[68](1/3, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: The Old Script Documents 古文尙書, the Kong Anguo 孔安國 Commentary 傳 and "Preface" 序 to the Modern and Old Script Documents 今古文尙書 which is contained in the modern edition of the Thirteen Classics was presented to the throne by Mei Ze 梅賾 of the Eastern Jin and is a forgery. For a detailed analysis one can consult Yan Ruoqu's 閻若璩 Guwen Shangshu shuzheng 古文尙書疏證 and Hui Dong's 惠棟 Guwen Shangshu kao 古文尙書考. Pi Xirui's addition of the word "forged" (僞) in front of Kong Anguo's Documents Commentary and "Preface" was done for this reason. [SVA: For the biography of Yan Ruoqu, see: ECCP,

and Huang di are referred to as the San fen, while the documents of Shaohao, Zhuanxu, Gao Xin, Tang, and Yu are referred to as the Wu dian. Explanations of the eight trigrams are referred to as the Basuo, and the records of the Nine Provinces are referred to as the Jiu qiu."[69] The explanation of the San fen and Wu dian has its roots in Zheng Xuan's Zhou li commentary, and the origins of the explanations for the Basuo and Jiuqiu lie with Ma Rong.[70] According to this explanation, the Basuo should be

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p.908-910; for Hui Dong, see: ECCP, p.357-8.]

[69][SVA: See: Shangshu (Ssjzs), 1.3b-5b. The Jiuqiu is a lost geographical treatise.]

[70](1/3, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: Under the text in Duke Zhao / Year Twelve (昭公十二年) in the Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Kong Yingda 孔穎達 quotes from Ma Rong's 馬融commentary which states, "The Basuo 八索 is about the eight trigrams. The Jiuqiu 九丘 is the number of the Nine Provinces 九州." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 45.37a) Ma Rong (zi Jichang 季長; 79-166 A.D.) was a native of Maoling 茂陵 in Fufeng 扶風. He was highly talented and a person of wide learning, and was a scholar of wide ranging abilities. He worked on the collation of texts in the Eastern Library, successively held the positions of Governor (taishou 太守--Hucker 6221) of Wu Commandery 武郡 and of Southern Commandery 南郡. The number of students which he taught numbered in the thousands, and Zheng Xuan went and received instruction under him. He wrote the Sanzhuan yitong shuo 三傳異同說, and wrote commentary to the Classic of Filial Piety 孝經, the Analects 論語, the Changes 易, the Documents 書, the Songs 詩,

classified with the Changes. In all cases there is no clear evidence and thus these matters cannot be thoroughly investigated. The only text to come down to us is the Di dian 帝典. (The Documents transmitted by Fu Sheng only contained the "Yao dian" with the "Shun dian" contained within this section. Perhaps [the records of] the two emperors were combined to form a single document, and therefore the Great Learning (Da xue 大學) refers to it as the Di dian.)[71] Moreover, it is worth noting that during the Song dynasty a Sanfen shu 三墳書 was forged.[72] As to the "Shi yan" 十言 of Fu Xi, its

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the Three Rites 三禮, the Lienü zhuan 列女傳, the Laozi 老子, the Huainanzi 淮南子, and the "Lisao" 離騷. For his biography, see the Hou Han shu 後漢書 (60A.1953-78).

[71](1/3, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: The Great Learning (Da xue 大學) is a chapter in the Xiao Dai Liji 小戴禮記. Confucian scholars of the Song dynasty selected it, along with three other texts, the Doctrine of the Mean (Zhong yong 中庸), the Analects (Lunyu 論語), and the Mencius (Mengzi 孟子) and put them together to form what is known as the Four Books (Si shu 四書). The Great Learning quotes the Didian 帝典 which says, "He was able to make bright his lofty virtue." (See: Liji zhengyi, Ssjzs, 60.3a; Legge, Li Chi, II, p.415; cf. Shangshu zhengyi, Ssjzs, 2.7b; Karlgren, Book of Documents, p.1)

[72](1/3, n.18) Zhou Yutong comments: The Sanfen shu 三墳書 is in one juan. The notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao states, "The title Sanfen appears in the Zuozhuan. However, during the Zhou and Qin dynasties,

significance is manifested in "Xiao" 消 and "Xi" 息,[73] and as for the plowing

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there is not one single case of it being quoted in the Classics, their commentaries, the writings of the philosophers, or in the histories. [Not only] there, but from the Han through the Tang, there is no written record of this text. As for this text, Chao Gongwu 晁公武 writes in his [Junzhai] Dushu zhi 郡齋讀書志 that Zhang Shangying 張商英 obtained it from a commoner's residence in Beiyang 北陽. In his [Zhizhai] Shulu jieti 直齋書錄解題, Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 writes that Mao Jian 毛漸 obtained it at Tangzhou 唐州. It was probably written by someone during the Northern Song. ...Since ancient times, with respect to the clumsy nature of forged texts, there is none which has surpassed this one. Since the Song and Yuan dynasties, from Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-60) onward, there was no one who believed that this text was authentic. When we come to the Ming dynasty, He Tang 何鏜 reprinted it in the Han Wei congshu 漢魏叢書, and in addition wrote that the commentary (zhu 注) was by Ruan Xian 阮咸 of the Jin 晉 dynasty. This was a forgery within a forgery and does not merit any discussion." (See: Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, pp.217-8)

[73](1/3, n.19) Zhou Yutong comments: Zheng Xuan's Liuyi lun 六藝論 states, "Fu Xi 虙羲 created the teachings of the 'Shiyan' 十言, which are 'Qian' 乾, 'Kun' 坤, 'Zhen' 震, 'Xun' 巽, 'Kan' 坎, 'Li' 離, 'Gen' 艮, 'Xiao' 消 (`to wane, to diminish'), and 'Xi' 息 (`to wax, to grow')." (See: Zheng Xuan, Liuyi lun, Congshu jicheng ed., Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937, p.1)

Fu Xi 虙羲 is none other than Fu Xi 伏羲. The characters 虙 and 伏 have the same phonetic value and are interchangeable. The "Shiyan" are none other than the Eight Trigrams with the edition of the two characters,

of Shen Nong, the legend has been passed around since early antiquity.[74] The Ways of the Yellow Emperor and Zhuanxu were both extant in the Dan shu 丹書.[75] Shaohao set up the system of the names of the offices, and was established as the White Lord (Baidi 白帝).[76] The primordial era is far

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xiao 消 and xi 息.

[74](1/3, n.20) Zhou Yutong comments: In the second part of the "Duke Wen of Teng" 滕文公 chapter of the Mencius it states, "Xu Xing 許行 spoke of the teachings of Shen Nong ...the words of Xu Xing, 'the worthy ruler tills the land along side of his people and thus earns his keep. He prepares his own food while he rules." (See: Mencius 3A/4; Lau, Mencius, p.100) Xu Xing was referring to Shen Nong plowing the fields together with the people.

[75](1/3, n.21) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Wu Wang jianzuo" 武王踐祚 ("King Wu Ascends the Throne") chapter of the Da Dai Liji 大戴禮記 states, "'Do the Ways of the Yellow Emperor and Zhuanxu 顓頊 exist? Isn't it possible to see what their intentions were?' Shi Shangfu 師尙夫 replied, 'They are in the Dan shu (Crimson Document or Cinnabar Writings)." (See: Da Dai Liji, Sbck, 6.1a)

In his Da Dai Liji buzhu 大戴禮記補注, Kong Guangsen 孔廣森 writes, "The Dan shu was a canon passed down from ancient imperial archives. An old legend has it that it was a tablet carried in the mouth of a red colored bird, but this is ridiculous." (See: Kong Guangsen 孔廣森, Da Dai Liji buzhu, Congshu jicheng ed., Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939, 6.67)

[76](1/3, n.22) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry in the Zuozhuan under Duke Zhao / Year Seventeen (昭公十七年) reads, "Zhaozi 昭子 asked him about it,

removed, and there is no solid evidence to confirm the truth of the writings concerning this period, and while investigation of these matters contributes to a broadening of one's learning, it bears no relation to the main purpose [of our study]. (With respect to Fu Xi's teachings on the "Ten Words," in addition to the eight trigrams, the two characters xiao 消 and xi 息 are added. The commentaries on the Changes of Zheng 鄭, Xun 荀, and Yu 虞, all take this as the basis for their explanations.)[77]

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saying, 'Shaohao 少皞 used the names of birds in his office titles. What was the reason for this?' The Viscount of Tan 郯子 replied, '...When my great ancestor Shaohao Zhi 少皞摯 came to the throne, a phoenix flew in, and because of this he set up his administration around birds, creating bird officers and using the names of birds..'" Du Yu's Commentary states, "Shaohao, Jintian clan 金天氏, son of the Yellow Emperor 黃帝." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 48.3b-5a; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.667)

Shaohao 少皞 is none other than Shaohao 少昊. Legend has it that he ruled by means of the virtue of metal. In the system of the Five Colors (wuse 五色), metal is white, and therefore he was referred to as the "White Lord" (Baidi 白帝).

[77](1/3, n.23) Zhou Yutong comments: Zheng 鄭, Xun 荀, and Yu 虞 refer to Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), Xun Shuang 荀爽 (128-190), and Yu Fan 虞翻 (164-232). For Zheng Xuan's biography, see Hou Han shu 35.1207-13; for the Xun Shuang's biography, see Hou Han shu 62.2050-58; for Yu Fan's biography, see the "Wuzhi" 吳志 section of the Sanguo zhi 三國志

[1/4 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui continues to make the case that Confucius (and no one else) created the Classics by citing passages that support his argument. He also uses information from the texts to show that King Wen did not write the hexagram texts and the Duke of Zhou did not write the line texts of the Changes. He uses citations to support his claim that the Duke of Zhou did not create the original principles of compilation, that is, a system which uses examples to serve as precedents and render judgments, used in the Chunqiu. Note that he cites Han authors to bolster his claims, assertions that require grounding in textual authority.]

(57.1317-28). These three individuals all studied the learning associated with the Changes.

For discussions regarding "xiao" 消 and "xi" 息, one can refer to the detailed studies by the Qing dynasty scholars Hui Dong 惠棟 in his Yi Han xue 易漢學, and Zhang Huiyan's 張惠言 Zhouyi Zhengshi yi 周易鄭氏義, Zhouyi Xunshi jiujia yi 周易荀氏九家義, Zhouyi Yushi yi 周義虞氏義, and Zhouyi Yushi xiao xi 周易虞氏消息. In addition, one can obtain an outline of this information in the essay "Lun Zheng, Xun, Yu, Sanjia zhi yi" (論鄭, 荀, 虞三家之義 "A Discussion on the Meaning of Zheng, Xun, and Yu") in Pi Xirui's Jingxue tonglun 經學通論 (1.21-22).

1/4[78] In the "Wang zhi" ("Royal Regulations") 王制 chapter of the Li ji (Record of Rites) it states, "The Music Master honored the Four Disciplines (Sishu 四術) and established the Four Teachings (Sijiao 四教), giving instruction in the Songs, Documents, the Rites, and the Music of the former kings so as to mould the scholar-officials. In spring and autumn they were instructed in the Rites and Music, and in winter and summer they were instructed in the Songs and the Documents."[79] In the Wenxian tongkao 文獻通考, a person surnamed Ying 應 states, "The Music Master honored the Four Disciplines and used them in the training of the scholar-officials (shi 士), thus the Songs, Documents, Rites, and Music of the former kings had long been established as instructional materials. Although the Changes is

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[78][SVA: Section 1/4 corresponds to pp.36-38 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.21-24 of the Yiwen ed.]

[79](1/4, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Wang zhi" (王制 "Royal Regulations") is a chapter of the Liji 禮記 or Record of Rites. Zheng Xuan writes in his commentary, "The Music Master was the head of the Office of Music, and was in charge of the instruction of the sons of state. ...Chong 崇 means "to hold in high regard" (gao 高), these disciplines are honored and held in high regard as they are used in instruction." (See: Liji zhengyi, Ssjzs, 13.2a; Legge, Li Chi, pp.232-3.) The "Four Disciplines" (Sishu 四術) and "Four Teachings" (Sijiao 四教) refer to the Songs, the Documents, the Rites, and the Music.

used in divination, its fine and subtle principles are not something that can be discoursed upon in the early stages of instruction. As for the Spring and Autumn Annals, although its records and writings have been made public, they are not documents of decree that the common person is able to completely comprehend. Thus [in ancient times], as for the images of the Changes (Yixiang 易象) and the Spring and Autumn Annals, it was only after Han Xuanzi went to the state of Lu that he was able to see them. Therefore, in the various states, it was not necessarily the case that all six were used in instruction. Perhaps it was the case that after Confucius edited the texts, their transmission and study became even more widespread and the study of the Classics became popular."[80] In my opinion, Ying's explanation is close to being correct, but it is still incomplete. Mention of King Wen's combining of the eight trigrams so as to yield the sixty-four hexagrams appears in the "Zhou Basic Annals" of the Shi ji, but it

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[80](1/4, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The Wenjian tongkao 文獻通考 in 348 juan was compiled by the Yuan dynasty scholar Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (ca. 1254-1323), and is extant. For a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, pp.1702-4. For the quoted passage, see part one of the "Jingji kao" 經籍考 section of the Wenxian tongkao (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 174.1502.

does not say that he composed the hexagram texts.[81] In addition, the "Hereditary House of the Duke of Zhou" ("Lu Zhou gong shijia" 魯周公世家) chapter of the Shi ji makes no mention of the Duke of Zhou composing the line texts. Without text, there was no way to use [the Changes] to instruct scholar-officials. If at the time there were line texts, then as was to be the case in later ages with books compiled and edited under imperial direction, by necessity they would have been distributed to the Academy for the purpose of instructing scholar-officials. As we see that the Music Master did not use the Changes for instruction, we then know that King Wen and the Duke of Zhou did not compose the hexagram and line texts respectively. As for the Spring and Autumn Annals, it was transmitted from state historian to state historian, was straightforward and based on events. But as it only contained text and lacked interpretation of the significance of the text, it could not be used to instruct scholar-officials. If at the time it had already been edited so as to contain examples with indications of "praise" and "blame," such as in the relationship of the Faming 發明 and Shufa 書法 to Master Zhu's 朱子 Tongjian gangmu 通鑑剛目,[82] it also could have been used

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[81](1/4, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: See 1/1, n.5 and n.6. [SVA: See: Shi ji 33.1515]

[82](1/4, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Master Zhu 朱子 is none other than Zhu Xi 朱熹 (zi Yuanhui 元晦, Zhonghui 仲晦; 1130-1200) who was a native of

Wuyuan 婺源 who lived during the Southern Song dynasty. At first he resided in Chongan 崇安, where the tablet over the magistrate's office said "Ziyang shutang" 紫陽書堂, and as a result he was called Ziyang 紫陽. He built a retreat in Jianyang 建陽 and the tablet over it said "Huian" 晦庵, and thus he was also called "Huiweng" 晦翁. In his later years he lived in Kaoting 考亭 in Jianyang 建陽 County, changed his hao to Dunweng 遯翁, and owing to [his place of residence], was also called Kaoting. After he died, he was given the posthumous name of Wen 文, and was sometimes called Wen Gong 文公. For his biography, see Song shi 宋史 429.12751-70.

Zhu Xi wrote the Tongjian gangmu 通鑑綱目 in fifty-nine juan which was based on Sima Guang's 司馬光 Zizhi tongjian 資質通鑑, and modeled itself on the structure of the Spring and Autumn Annals, using the gang 綱 as the text of the "Classic" (jing 經) and the mu 目 as the commentary (zhuan 傳). It contains a chapter explaining the general principles governing the composition (structure and plan) of the work (fanli 凡例) in one juan, which was personally decided upon by Zhu Xi. The gang or main body of the work was compiled according to the principles put forth in the introduction (fanli 凡例). The mu 目 was principally compiled by Zhao Shiyuan 趙師源. For a detailed evaluation, consult the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.1840-41. [SVA: Zhou Yutong is referring to the entry for the Yuping tongjian gangmu 御批通鑑綱目.]

Later, the Yuan scholars Yin Qixin 尹起莘 (ca. 1270) wrote the Tongjian gangmu faming 通鑑綱目發明 in fifty-nine juan, and Liu Youyi 劉友益 wrote the Tongjian gangmu shufa 通鑑綱目書法 in fifty-nine juan. Both texts have survived. For their contents, see the history section of the Qing

for instruction. By noting that the Music Master did not use the Spring and Autumn Annals for instruction, we know that the Duke of Zhou did not create the principles of compilation, [i.e. a system which uses examples to serve as precedents,] used in the Spring and Autumn Annals. In the "Xu song" 須頌 chapter of the Lun heng it states, "When inquiring of one who explains the Documents, specifically about the passage which begins 'Reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful,' the question was asked, 'Whose words are these?' The reply was, 'The writer of the chapter.' When asked who the writer of the chapter was, the reply, 'Confucius.' was given"[83] Kuang Heng 匡衡 submitted a memorial which said, "Confucius,

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scholar Lu Wenchao's 盧文弨 (1717-1796) Bu Liao Jin Yuan Yiwenzhi 補遼金元藝文志. [SVA: The sole OCLC entry for Liu Youyi and his Zizhi tongjian gangmu shufa identifies him with the Song dynasty.]

[83](1/4, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The Lun heng 論衡in thirty juan was written by the Han scholar Wang Chong 王充 (27-ca.97 A.D.). Wang Chong (zi Zhongren 仲任) was a native of Kuaiji 會稽. He had studied with Ban Biao 班彪 (3- 54). He loved to read widely, was skilled at questioning anything of a dubious nature, and was a major thinker of the Eastern (Later) Han. For his biography, see the Hou Han shu (49.1629-30). For the "Xusong pian" 須頌篇, see juan twenty of the Lun heng. The line "Reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful," (欽明文思) is originally from the "Canon of Yao" (堯典) chapter of the Documents. (See:

when discoursing on the Songs, placed 'Guanju' 關雎 first."[84] In Zhang Chao's 張超 "Qiao qingyi fu" 誚青衣賦 he writes, "When the Zhou was in decline, King Kang rose late. Bi Gong sighed deeply, pondering the ancient Way. He was moved by the osprey, as its virtue is unparalleled. Confucius considered it great and placed it first."[85] Because of this, those of Han times

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Shangshu zhengyi, Ssjzs, 2.6b; Lun heng, Sbby, 20.1a)

[84](1/4, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Kuang Heng 匡衡 (zi Zhigui 稚圭; 1st. century B.C.) was a native of Donghai who lived during the Western (Former) Han dynasty, and was skilled at explaining the Songs. He held successive official positions, attaining the office of Junior Mentor to the Heir Apparent (taizi shaofu 太子少傅--Hucker 6251). During the reign of Emperor Yuan 元帝 (reg. 48-33 B.C) he was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Le'an 樂安侯. During the reign of Emperor Cheng 成帝 (reg. 32-7 B.C.), he was impeached for wrongdoing by Wang Zeng 王曾, and because of this, resigned from office. For his biography, see the Shi ji (96.2688-9) and the Han shu (81.3331-47). For the source of the quoted passage, see Han shu 81.3342. "Guanju" 關雎 is the first piece in the "Zhounan" 周南 section of the Songs.

[85](1/4, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhang Chao 張超 (zi Zibing 子並) was a native of Mo County 鄚 in Hejian 河間 who lived during the Later Han. He possessed exceptional literary talent and was skilled in writing "cursive script" (草書). During the reign of Emperor Ling 靈帝 (reg.168-189 A.D.), because he fought against the Yellow Turbans, he was appointed to the position of Commander of the Mounted Escort (biejia sima 別家司馬

--Hucker 4623, 5713). For his biography, see the "Wenyuan zhuan" 文苑傳 chapter of the Hou Han shu (80B.2652). Zhang Chao composed the "Qiao qingyi fu" 誚青衣賦, the text of which is in the Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚 (35.636) and the Chuxueji 初學集 (19.465). It is collected and reprinted in Yan Kejun's 嚴可均 (1762-1843) Quan shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (84.9a-b [p.929]). The theories and explanations of scholars of the Modern Script School and of the Old Script School differ with respect to the poem "Guanju." Scholars of the Old Script School consider "Guanju" to be a poem praising the virtue of King Wen and his spouse. The explanations found in the Mao interpretation of the Songs (Mao Shi 毛詩) are an example of this. Scholars of the Modern Script School consider "Guanju" to be a criticism of King Kang's rising late. The explanations of the Lu version of the Songs (Lu Shi 魯詩), the Han version of the Songs (Han Shi 韓詩), and the Qi version of the Songs (Qi Shi 齊詩) are examples of this. Zhang Chao was an advocate of the Modern Script School, and also thought that this poem was composed by Bi Gong 畢公, his explanation being especially clear. For a detailed account, see Pi Xirui's essays in his Jingxue tonglun (2.4-7), "論關雎爲刺康王詩, 魯, 齊, 韓三家同" ("'Guanju' Was a Poem Written to Criticize King Kang, On This Point, the Lu, Qi, and Han Schools Agree") and "論'關雎'刺康王晏朝, 詩人作詩之義; '關雎'爲正風之首, 孔子定詩之義; 漢人已明言" ("That 'Guanju' Criticizing King Kang's Rising Late, was the Intention of the Poet in Writing the Poem; That 'Guanju' is the First Piece of the Orthodox Airs, was Confucius' Intention in Editing the Songs; Han Scholars Have Already Clearly Stated This.") The line, "He was moved by the osprey, as its virtue is unparalleled." expresses the idea that the osprey is pure and chaste, and it has never been seen to

considered both the Songs and the Documents to have been edited by Confucius, however the Changes and the Spring and Autumn Annals were not discussed.

[1/5 SVA: Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui continues to make the case for Confucius' creation of the Classics by quoting from texts that he takes to be authoritative. The section ends with Pi refuting Gong Zizhen's position that the Classics existed prior to Confucius.]

1/5[86] It was only after Confucius came forth that these texts took on the designation of jing or "Classic." In the "Jingjie" 經解 ("Explaining the Classics") chapter of the Li ji it states, "Confucius said, 'When I enter a state, I am able know its teachings. If its people are warm and gentle, sincere and generous, this is due to being instructed in the Songs. If they have broad understanding and a knowledge of what is distant, this is due to being instructed in the Documents. If they are big-hearted and

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deviate from nesting in a place that matches its [virtue]. This is a metaphor for a husband and wife enjoying pleasure but not to excess, of loving one another but not beyond the bounds of propriety.

[86][SVA: Section 1/5 corresponds to pp.38-40 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.24-26 of the Yiwen ed.]

magnanimous, easy going and honest, this is due to being instructed in the Music. If they are pure and composed, refined and unassuming, they have been instructed in the Changes. If they are respectful and reserved, serious and reverent, they have been instructed in the Rites. If they are careful in their usage of words and arrange events so as to contrast them, then they have been instructed in the Spring and Autumn Annals.'"[87] This passage is the first time where the Songs, Documents, Rites, Music, Changes, and Spring and Autumn Annals are taken to comprise the Six Classics. However, even though the name of the chapter is "Jingjie," Confucius himself does not use the term jing or "Classic." In the "Tianyun" 天運 chapter of the Zhuangzi[88] it states, "Confucius addressed Laozi, 'I, Qiu, put

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[87](1/5, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Jingjie" ("Explanation of the Classics") is the twenty-sixth chapter (pian) of the Record of Rites (Li ji 禮記). Kong Yingda writes in the Liji zhengyi, "Zhu 屬 means he 合 ('to combine'); bi 比 means jin 近 ('close'). In the Spring and Autumn Annals, where the proper words are combined, they are referred to as "combined words" (zhuci 屬辭); where events that can be judged by either 'praise' or 'blame' are arranged to establish historical precedents, this is referred to as "closely arranged events" (bishi 比事). (See: Liji zhengyi, Ssjzs, 50.1a-b; Legge, Li chi, II, p.255)

[88](1/5, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Tianyun pian" 天運篇 ("Turning of Heaven") is the fourteenth chapter in Zhuangzi 莊子 and is one of the "Outer

in order the Songs, Documents, Rites, Music, Changes, and Spring and Autumn Annals, the Six Classics.'"[89] This is the first time Confucius clearly uses the term "Classic." Perhaps at the time when he edited the Six Classics, because their way could be enacted with constancy, the correct name (正名, i.e. "rectified name") was considered to be jing. In addition, in the "Tiandao" 天道 ("Turning of Heaven") chapter of the Zhuangzi it states, "Confucius went west to deposit texts at the house of Zhou, ...He went to see Lao Dan, but Lao Dan would not allow it, and he thereupon unwrapped his Twelve Classics and expounded upon them."[90] The Jingdian shiwen 經典釋

Chapters" ("Wai pian" 外篇).

[89][SVA: See Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 (1844-1896) Jiaozheng Zhuangzi jijie 校正莊子集解 (Rpt., Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1974) 5C.531; Burton Watson, trans., The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p.165; A. C. Graham, trans., Chuang-tzu: The Inner Chapters (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), p.133.]

[90](1/5, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Tiandao pian" 天道篇 ("The Way of Heaven") is the thirteenth chapter in Zhuangzi 莊子 and is one of the "Outer Chapters" ("Wai pian" 外篇). The passage following the quoted line, "Confucius went west to deposit documents at the house of Zhou" has been omitted and therefore the punctuation marks "..." have been added. With respect to "deposit documents" (藏書), Sima Biao's 司馬彪 (Jin dynasty) commentary reads, "He deposited the texts which he had written." (See: Zhuangzi jijie, 5B.477; Watson, Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, p.149;

文[91] states, "The explanations are as follows: The Songs, the Documents, the Rites, the Music, the Changes, and the Spring and Autumn Annals, along with the six Wei (Apocrypha) texts[92] total twelve. One explanation has it

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Graham, Inner Chapters, p.128)

[91](1/5, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The Jingdian shiwen 經典釋文 was written by Lu Deming 陸德明 (ca. 550- 630) of the Tang. It contains thirty juan, three of which are on the Zhuangzi text. For a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao (p.664). Lu Deming, whose ming was Yuanlang 元朗, but who went by his zi, was a native of Wu 吳 in Suzhou 蘇州. He was skilled at differentiating and analyzing things and their underlying principles (mingli 名理). He held successive positions in the Chen 陳 and Sui 隋 dynasties. During the reign of Emperor Gaozu of the Tang 唐高祖 (reg.618-626) he was appointed to the position of Erudite of the National University (guozi boshi 國子博士--Hucker 3543). He was enfeoffed as the Baron of Wu County (吳縣男). For his biography, see the "Ruxue zhuan" 儒學傳 chapters of the Xin Tang shu 新唐書 (198.5639-40) and of the Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書(189A.4944-5).

[92](1/5, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Western (Former) Han dynasty, during the reigns of Emperor Ai 漢哀帝 (reg. 6 B.C.-1 A.D.) and Emperor Ping 漢平帝 (reg. 1 A.D.-5 A.D.), the Apocrypha or Wei texts (緯書) suddenly appeared. Their content was mixed and unorganized, half an explanation of the Classics and half exaggerated and baseless discussions about numerology. According to legend and lore, they were written by Confucius, but the blatant attempt to deceive and absurdity of this claim goes without

that the two divisions of the Changes along with the 'Ten Wings'[93] add up to twelve. Another explanation has it that this refers to the twelve dukes[94] (gong 公) of the Spring and Autumn Annals."[95] The three explanations differ, but all can serve as evidence that during Confucius' time, he gave these texts the proper designation of jing or "Classic." With these texts having been correctly designated "Classics," and the sovereign having

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saying. The Six Apocrypha (Liu wei 六緯) refer to the apocrypha texts which parallel the Six Classics: the Songs, the Documents, the Rites, the Music, the Changes, and the Spring and Autumn Annals. Besides these, adding the Xiao jing wei 孝經緯 or the Classic of Filial Piety Apocrypha, they were called the Seven Apocrypha (Qi wei 七緯). The Ming dynasty scholar Sun Jue 孫瑴 [SVA: Sun Jue was born during the last years of the Ming dynasty] his Gu wei shu 古微書 and the Qing dynasty scholars Ma Guohan 馬國翰 in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu 玉函山房輯失書, along with the Qing dynasty scholar Huang Shi 黃奭 in his Huangshi yishukao 黃氏逸書考, have all compiled fragments from most of the Apocrypha texts. However, the Qiwei 七緯 in thirty-eight juan which was compiled by Zhao Zaihan 趙在翰, is more complete than the other compilations.

[93](1/5, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: On the "Ten Wings," see: 1/2, n.7.

[94](1/5, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The twelve dukes [recorded in] the Spring and Autumn Annals are Duke Yin 隱, Duke Huan 桓, Duke Zhuang 莊, Duke Min 閔, Duke Xi 僖, Duke Wen 文, Duke Yi 宜, Duke Cheng 成, Duke Xiang 襄, Duke Zhao 昭, Duke Ding 定, Duke Ai 哀, and Duke Lu 魯.

[95][SVA: See: Jingdian shiwen 經典釋文, 27.14a]

established the highest standards,[96] there is no one below who does not receive their influence. It is like the sun at the center of the sky, with all the myriad stars gathered around and facing it. Gong Zizhen stated, "Prior to the birth of Confucius the Six Classics were already in existence. After Confucius was born, he clearly declared that he did not create [them]. How is it possible that Confucius had his disciples record his words in order to personally compose a Classic!"[97] If I follow Gong's words, I do not know how

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[96](1/5, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Hong fan" 洪范 chapter of the Documents contains the lines, "The august one creates a central [plan]" (惟皇作極) and "The august one establishes the central [standards] which are his" (皇建其有極). The forged Kong Anguo Documents Commentary reads, "Huang 皇 means da 大 ('great, august, grand'); ji 極 means zhong 中 ('central'). (See: Shangshu zhengyi, Ssjzs 12.11a; Legge, Shoo King, p.329; Karlgren, Book of Documents, p.30) This is to say that the august one establishes his way, the way of the great center.

[97](1/5, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (zi Dingan 定庵; 1792-1841) was a native of Renhe 仁和 who lived during the Qing dynasty. His writings are contained in the Dingan shiwen ji 定庵詩文集. He excelled in the area of literature as well as in the study of the Classics. With respect to his study of the Classics, he held to the views of the Modern Script School, but he was not very pure in his approach as at times he mixed in the explanations of scholars of the Old Script School. For his biography, see the Dingan nianpu 定庵年譜 by Wu Changshou 吳昌綬 or a different work by the same title written by Huang Shouheng 黃守恆. For the quoted passage, see

to explain the Master's composition of the Spring and Autumn Annals. As for this, it seems like he was mislead by the explanations of Liu Xin and Du Yu,[98] and did not understand that prior to Confucius these texts could not,

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his Liujing zhengming 六經正名 in the Gong Zizhen quanji 龔自珍全集 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1975), p.38. [SVA: See ECCP, pp.431-4, for Gong Zizhen's biography.]

[98](1/5, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Xin 劉歆 (zi Zijun 子駿; ?-23 A.D.), who later changed his given name (ming 名) to Xiu 秀 and his zi to Pingshu 穎叔, was the son of the Han dynasty scholar Liu Xiang 劉向. He succeeded his father Liu Xiang in directing the collation of books in the Imperial Library. He collected various texts related to the Six Arts, categorized them [and wrote] the Qi lüe 七略 (Seven Summaries) which was the progenitor of all bibliography. In his study of the Classics, Liu Xin was a forceful advocate of Old Script texts and positions associated with them, and he wanted to establish official recognition in the Academy for the Zuo Commentary, the Mao Version of the Songs, the Lost Rites (Yi Li 逸禮), and the Old Script Documents. However, he was vilified by the majority of Confucian Scholars, and he was sent out to serve as a provincial governor. When Wang Mang 王莽 (reg. 9-23 A.D.) usurped the throne, Liu Xin became Preceptor of State (guoshi 國師--Hucker 3530). He later plotted to assassinate Wang Mang, the plot leaked out, and he committed suicide. For his biography, see the Han shu (36.1967-1974).

On Du Yu 杜預, see 1/1, n.24. Liu Xin was the creator of the so-called "Old Script School" of the Classics and Classics scholarship, and Du Yu was a successor in the tradition of the "Old Script School."

by definition, have the significance that would allow them to be called "Classics."

[1/6 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui now turns his attention to the Xiaojing 孝經 (Classic of Filial Piety), quoting from various sources (beginning with a wei 緯 or "apocryphal" text) to support Confucius' authorship as well as the fact that Confucius referred to the text as a "Classic" (jing 經). He goes on to quote other sources in order to shed some light on Confucius' purpose in composing the text as well as what the nature and significance of the text is. Cf. Pi Xirui's treatment of the Xiaojing in this section with the entry in ECT.]

1/6[99] In addition to the Six Classics, there is also the Xiaojing, which is also referred to as a "Classic." The Xiaojing wei gouming jue 孝經緯鉤命訣[100]

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[99][SVA: Section 1/6 corresponds to pp.41-42 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.26-29 of the Yiwen ed.]

[100](1/6, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: There are two Xiaojing wei 孝經緯 texts, the Xiaojing wei gouming jue 孝經緯鉤名訣 and the Xiaojing wei yuanshenqi 孝經緯援神契. The Qing dynasty scholar Zhao Zaihan's 趙在翰 Qiwei 七緯 contains compilations of fragments of these texts which are relatively complete.

states, "Confucius said 'My purpose and intent resides in the Spring and Autumn Annals, my conduct and actions are in the Classic of Filial Piety.'" He goes on to say, "The Spring and Autumn Annals belongs to Shang (Zixia) and the Classic of Filial Piety belongs to Shen (Ziyu)."[101] Here Confucius has already given the title of his writings as the Classic of Filial Piety. As for the reason that he refers to it as a jing or "Classic," the Han shu "Yiwen zhi" states, "Xiao embodies the constancy of Heaven, the significance of Earth, and the conduct of Man. It speaks to that which is great, and therefore it is called the Classic of Filial Piety."[102] Zheng commented in the

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[101](1/6, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: "Shang" 商 is Bu Shang 卜商, the given name of Zixia 子夏. "Shen" 參 is Zeng Shen 曾參, the given name of Ziyu 子輿. Both were disciples of Confucius. For the quoted passages, see the subcommentary (疏) to the Gongyang commentary to the entries under Duke Yin / First Year (隱公元年) and under Duke Ai / Year Fourteen (哀公十四年). (See: Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, "Xu," 序, 1b; 1.3a, 28.11b)

[102](1/6, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 is one of the ten zhi 志 ("monographs" or "treatises") of the Han shu 漢書. It is based on Liu Xin's Qi lüe ("Seven Summaries"), and after editing changes and revisions, attained its final form. It is divided into the following sections: (1) "Liuyi lüe" 六藝略, (2) "Zhuzi lüe" 諸子略, (3) "Shifu lüe" 詩賦略, (4) "Shushu lüe" 術數略, (5) "Bingshu lüe" 兵書略 and (6) "Fangji lüe" 方技略. The "Liuyi Lüe" in turn is divided into nine categories: the Changes 易, the Documents 書, the

"Preface" to the Classic of Filial Piety, saying, "The Classic of Filial Piety is the warp and woof of the three cai 才 (Heaven, Earth, and Man), and is the guideline for the five kinds of conduct. Xiao is the first of the hundred forms of conduct, and jing refers to that which is constant and unchanging."[103] Zheng commenting on the Doctrine of the Mean (Zhongyong 中庸)[104]

Songs 詩, the Rites 禮, the Music 樂, the Spring and Autumn Annals 春秋, the Analects 論語, the Classic of Filial Piety 孝經 and "Philology" 小學. For the quoted passage, see the Classic of Filial Piety section of the "Liuyi lüe." (See: Han shu 30.1719)

[103](1/6, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: "Zheng commented [in the 'Preface' to] the Classic of Filial Piety" refers to Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 Classic of Filial Piety Commentary 孝經注. The text has been lost, but Yuan Jun 袁鈞 in his Zhengshi yishu 鄭氏佚書, and Yan Kejun 嚴可均 have both compiled fragments of the text, each in one juan, which can be consulted. For the text of the quoted passage, see the "Preface" ("Xulu" 敘錄) to Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen. [SVA: I could not locate the quoted passage in the "Preface" to the Jingdian shiwen. Cf. the ECT entry on the identity of "Zheng."]

[104](1/6, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The Zhongyong 中庸 or Doctrine of the Mean was originally a chapter of the Xiao Dai Liji 小戴禮記 (Record of Rites). Song dynasty Confucian scholars were the first to take it and place it together with the Analects, the Mencius and the "Great Learning" ("Da xue" 大學) chapter from the Record of Rites to form what are called the Four Books (Sishu 四書). Zheng Xuan wrote commentary to the Record of Rites

passage,"...great standards, great foundations (dajing daben 大經大本)" writes, "The great standards refers to the Six Arts and points to the Spring and Autumn Annals, the great foundation is the Classic of Filial Piety."[105] Men of Han times in venerating Confucius, for the most part spoke of the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Classic of Filial Piety together. The "Shi Chen fengji Kongzi miao bei" 史晨奉祀孔子廟碑[106] states, "He then composed the Spring and Autumn Annals and in addition elaborated [his ideas in] the Classic of Filial Piety." The "Baishi zushi bei" 百石卒史碑[107]

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and thus Pi Xirui writes, "Zheng commenting on the Doctrine of the Mean (鄭注中庸)."

[105][SVA: See Liji zhengyi, Ssjzs, 53.13b; Legge, Li chi, p.327; cf. Wing-tsit Chan, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, p.122; Legge, The Doctrine of the Mean, p.429- 30.]

[106](1/6, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: This is a Han dynasty stone inscription. See: Yan Kejun, Quan San Dai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen 全三代秦漢三國六朝文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, rpt. 1965), Vol.1, "Quan Hou Han wen" 全後漢文, 101.7b. [SVA: This inscribed stone was erected in the second year of the Jianning 建寧 period (169 A.D.) during the reign of Emperor Ling 靈帝 (reg. 168-189) of the Later Han by Shi Chen 史晨 who held the rank of Grand Councilor (zaixiang 宰相 = Hucker 6819). It was erected at Confucius' Temple in Qufu County 曲阜縣 in Shandong.]

[107](1/6, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: This is a Han dynasty stone inscription. See: Yan Kejun, "Quan Hou Han wen," 99.2b. [SVA: This

states, "Confucius composed the Spring and Autumn Annals and created the Xiaojing." The Songs, Documents, Changes, and Rites were considered to have been worked on and revised by Confucius, while the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Classic of Filial Piety were thought to have been created by him. In Zheng Kangcheng's 鄭康成 Liuyi lun 六藝論[108] he writes, "As Confucius considered the topics covered by each of the Six Arts to be dissimilar, and their implications and significance to be different, he feared that the Way would become dispersed and scattered and that later generations would not know the roots and origins, so he composed the Classic of Filial Piety in order to bring it all together." According to Zheng Xuan's explanation, the Classic of Filial Piety was regarded as the most

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inscribed stone is also known as the "Han Kongmiao zhi shoumiao baishi zushi bei" 漢孔廟置守廟百石卒史碑. It was erected in the first year of the Yongxing 永興 period (153 A.D.) during the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (reg. 147-167) of the Later Han. It is located at Confucius' Temple in Qufu County.]

[108](1/6, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Zheng Kangcheng 鄭康成 is the zi of Zheng Xuan. In the Liuyi lun 六藝論which Zheng Xuan wrote, he discussed the essential points of the Six Classics. This book has been lost, but the Qing dynasty scholars Yuan Jun 袁鈞 in his Zhengshi shishu and Ma Guohan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu have both compiled fragments, each in one juan. Pi Xirui has written a Liuyi lun shuzheng 六藝論疏證 which can be consulted.

important of the Classics, and thus it was the first to be referred to as a "Classic" [by Confucius]. Wei Wenhou had already written a commentary, the Xiaojing zhuan 孝經傳,[109] and this commentary also appears prior to those to other classics, as it dates from the same period as Zixia's Yizhuan 易傳.[110] However, neither of these two texts is recorded in the "Yiwen zhi"

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[109](1/6, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Wei Wenhou 魏文候 (ob. 396 B.C.) was the wise and worthy [founder and] ruler of the state of Wei who lived during the Warring States period. His given name was Si 斯, [although] the Shi ji gives it as Du 都. For his biography, see "The Hereditary House of Wei" 魏世家 chapter of the Shi ji (44.1838-41). The Xiaojing zhuan 孝經傳 which he wrote is not recorded in the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu or in the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu. However, the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu has an entry for a Zazhuan 雜傳 in four juan, and perhaps Xiaojing zhuan of Wei Wenhou was contained within. The Xiaojing zhuan is lost, but Ma Guohan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu has compiled fragments of the Xiaojing zhuan in one juan, which can be consulted.

[110](1/6, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Zixia's 子夏 Yi zhuan 易傳 (Commentary on the Changes) is not recorded in the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu. The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Suishu states that it was in two juan, and the commentary states, "It is the commentary transmitted by Wei Wenhou's teacher Bu Zixia 卜子夏 and is in fragments." (See: Sui shu 32.909) Probably the author thought that it was written by Confucius' disciple Bu Shang Zixia 卜商子夏. However, Wang Jian's 王儉 Qizhi 七志 quotes Liu Xiang's Qi lüe 七略 which states, "Zixia of the Yi zhuan is Han

chapter of the Han shu.

[1/7 SVA Introductory Remarks: Most of this section is comprised of a quote from the "Hereditary House of Confucius" ("Kongzi shijia" 孔子世家) chapter of the Shi ji in which Sima Qian narrates the story of how Confucius edited (or "created") the Classics. Pi Xirui uses this to show how Confucius followed in the tradition of the "Music Master" (see: 1/4) by using the Songs, Documents, the Rites, and the Music to instruct 3,000 of his students. He goes on to state that the Changes and the Spring and Autumn Annals were reserved for the students of the highest calibre, and of Confucius' students,

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Ying 韓嬰." (See: Ma Guohan, Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, Zhouyi Zixia zhuan 周易子夏傳, "序" 1a) [SVA: As an independent text, Wang Jian's Qizhi is lost.] Thus, the writer thought that it was Han Ying Zixia 韓嬰子夏 of the early Han dynasty, who transmitted the Han Version of the Songs (Han Shi 韓詩). In addition to these opinions, some thought it to be Ding Kuan 丁寬, and some thought it to be Qianbi Zigong 駢臂子弓, but all cases lack the proof of definitive evidence. At present, the Zixia Yi zhuan 子夏易傳 in eleven juan which has come down to us is a forged attribution which is unreliable. For a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao (pp.2-3). Ma Guohan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu has compiled fragments of a Zhou Yi Zixia zhuan 周易子夏傳 in two juan, which was supposedly from the hand of Bu Shang [Zixia], but this attribution should not be taken as reliable.

only seventy-two were able to master all of the Six Classics. Note that the Changes and the Spring and Autumn Annals are two Classics that Pi considers Confucius to have written a significant portion of.]

1/7[111] [Confucius]' purpose for editing the Six Classics appears in [Chapter 47 of] the Shi ji. "The Hereditary House of Confucius"[112] states, "During the era in which Confucius lived, the House of Zhou was in decline, the rites and music had been abandoned, and parts of the Songs and the Documents were missing. He sought out[113] the rites of the Three Dynasties (Xia, Shang, and Zhou), and put in order what the Documents transmitted, chronicling events from the time of Tang 唐 and Yu 虞 on down to that of Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公,[114] and arranging the events in chronological order. He

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[111][SVA: Section 1/7 corresponds to pp.42-44 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.29-31 of the Yiwen ed.]

[112](1/7, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: For the "Hereditary House of Confucius" 孔子世家, see the Shi ji (47.1905-47). [SVA: For English translations, see Yang Hsien-i and Gladys Yang, Selections From Records of the Historian (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1979), pp.1-27; Lin Yu-Tang, ed. and trans., The Wisdom of Confucius (New York: Random House, 1938), pp.54-101.]

[113][SVA: Reading Shi ji ji 迹 for Jxls shu 述.]

[114](1/7, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The Documents (Shangshu 尙書)

remarked, 'I am able to speak [in general terms] of the rites of the Xia, but what survives in Qi 杞 is insufficient to support a detailed account. I am able to speak [in general terms] of the rites of [Shang] Yin, but what survives in Song 宋 is insufficient to support a detailed account. If it was sufficient, then I certainly would be able to provide evidence for it.'[115] Observing the changes which occurred between the Xia and Shang dynasties, he said, 'A hundred generations hence, they can still be known, as one has the character of cultural refinement (Shang) and one has the character of fundamental simplicity (Xia). Zhou looked into the two, the result being a spectacular manifestation of cultural achievement and refinement. Thus, I follow Zhou.'[116] Therefore what the Documents

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begins with the "Yao dian" 堯典 chapter and ends with the "Qin shi" 秦誓 chapter. The "Yao dian" chronicles the rise of Tang 唐 and Yu 虞 (Yao and Shun), while the "Qin shi" contains the text of the oath of Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公. Thus, [the Shi ji] writes "chronicling events from the time of Tang and Yu on down to that of Duke Mu of Qin."

[115](1/7, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: For the source of the quoted passage, see the "Ba yi" 八佾 chapter of the Analects. (See: Lunyu 3/9; Lau, Analects, p.68) The two states Qi 杞 and Song 宋 were the successors of Xia 夏 and Yin 殷.

[116](1/7, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The line, "A hundred generations hence, they can still be known," is from the "Wei zheng" 爲政 chapter of the

transmits and what the Rites records comes from Confucius. In speaking with the Grand Music Master of Lu,[117] he said, 'The principles of music may be known. Its beginning should be peaceful. It then develops with harmony and clarity, and closes with a continuation or repetition of the theme.'[118] After I returned from Wei to Lu, I was then able to put the music in proper

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Analects. (See: Lunyu 2/23; Lau, Analects, p.66) The line, "The Zhou combined the two, the result being a spectacular manifestation of cultural achievement and refinement. Therefore, I follow the Zhou." For the original text of this passage, see the "Ba yi" chapter of the Analects. (See: Lunyu 3/14; Lau, Analects, p.69)

[117](1/7, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: According to He Yan's 何晏 Lunyu jijie 論語集解 commentary, "the taishi 太師 is the name of an official in the Music Office (樂官)." (See: Lunyu zhushu, Ssjzs, 3.13b)

[118](1/7, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: For the text of the quoted passage, see the "Ba yi" chapter of the Analects. (See: Lunyu 3/23; Lau, Analects, p.71) In the Chinese, the Analects writes cong 從 for Jxls zong 縱, which [represents] the same word. In the original text of the Analects, 翕如, 純如, and 皦如 are each followed by the character ye 也. In his Lunyu jijie commentary, He Yan writes, "Xiru 翕如 means sheng 盛 ('when the rhythm gets going'). Chun 純 means hexie 和諧 ('in harmony'). Jiaoru 皦如 means that each note is clear." In his Lunyu zhengyi 論語正義 commentary, Xing Bing 邢昺 writes, "Yiru 繹如 means to be continuous and unbroken." (See: Lunyu zhengyi, Ssjzs, 3.13b-14a)

order and the Ya and Song each obtained their proper places.'[119] In ancient times, the Songs numbered over three thousand, and when Confucius [got involved in editing the Songs], he removed those that were redundant, and selected those which could be applied to the rites and to moral principles. From high antiquity he selected pieces about Qi 契 and Houji 后稷, chose pieces from the middle period covering the heyday of the Yin and Zhou, and included selections from the time of the fall, that is, the reigns of the tyrants You 幽 and Li 厲. [The anthology] begins with a poem about the sleeping mat,[120] and therefore it is said, 'The luan of "Guanju" 關雎 leads off the

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[119](1/7, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: For the text of the quoted passage, see the "Zi han" 子罕 chapter of the Analects. (See: Lunyu 9/15; Lau, Analects, p.98) Pei Yin's 裴駰 Shi ji jijie 史記集解 commentary quotes Zheng Xuan, "His return to Lu took place in the winter of the eleventh year of the reign of Duke Ai of Lu 魯哀公. At this time, the Way was in decline and the Music had been abandoned, and when Confucius returned, he then straightened things out, and as a result, the "Ya" 雅 and the "Song" 頌 each obtained their proper place." (See: Shi ji 47.1936, n.5)

In the present edition of the Songs, the "Ya" ("Elegantae") has a "Da ya" 大雅 ("Greater Elegantae") and a "Xiao ya" 小雅 ("Lesser Elegantae") section. The "Song" ("Elegies") has a "Zhou song" 周頌, "Lu song" 魯頌, and "Shang song" 商頌 section.

[120](1/7, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: With respect to "From high antiquity he selected pieces about Qi 契 and Hou Ji 后稷," one example is the poem

"Airs" (feng 風) and "Luming" 鹿鳴 begins the "Lesser Elegantae" (Xiaoya 小雅). "Wen Wang" 文王 begins the "Greater Elegantae" ("Daya" 大雅), and

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"The Dark Bird" (Mao # 303 "Xuan niao" 玄鳥) in the "Shang song" section, which is a poem about Qi. Another example is the poem "Birth to the People" (Mao # 245 "Sheng min" 生民) in the "Da ya" section which eulogizes Hou Ji.

As for "pieces from the middle period covering the heyday of the Yin and Zhou," two examples are the poem "Warriors of Yin" (Mao # 305 "Yin wu" 殷武) from the "Shang song" section which praises the "Exalted Ancestor" (Gaozong 高宗) [SVA: Qu Wanli identifies him as Duke Xiang of Song 宋襄公 (see: Shijing shiyi 詩經釋義, Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua daxue chubanbu, 1980, p.437] and the poem "The Hallowed Temple" (Mao # 266 "Qing miao" 清廟) from the "Zhou song" section which is interpreted as a sacrifice to King Wen.

Regarding "selections from the time of the fall, that is, the reigns of the tyrants You 幽 and Li 厲," examples are the poem "High Regard" (Mao # 264 "Zhan yang" 瞻卬) from the "Da ya" section which satirizes King You and "Our People Are Exhausted" (Mao # 253 "Min lao" 民勞) also from the "Da ya" section, which is a sharp criticism of King Li.

The words "begins with a poem about the sleeping mat" tell us that the poem "The Ospreys Cry" (Mao # 1 "Guanju" 關雎) leads off [the Anthology], and that "The Ospreys Cry" sings the praises of the virtue of the Royal Mate.

"Qingmiao" 清廟 starts off the "Eulogy" ("Song" 頌) section.'[121] Confucius sang and played stringed accompaniment to all 305 songs in order to ensure the harmony of the "Shao" 韶, "Wu" 武,[122] the "Ya" 雅, and the "Song" 頌. He was able to obtain the rites and music [of the former rulers] from these sources and passed it on. These materials served to make complete the "Way of Kings" (government) and to make complete the "Six Arts" (liuyi 六藝). In his later years, Confucius took pleasure in the Changes, arranging the "Commentary on the Decision," "Great Treatise," "Commentary on the

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[121](1/7, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: In his Zhengyi 正義 commentary to the Shi ji, Zhang Shoujie 張守節 writes, "Luan 亂 means li 理 ('to order'). The 'Lesser Preface' ('Xiaoxu' 小序) of the Songs states that the poem 'Guanju' is about the virtue of the Royal Mate, begins the 'Airs' (Feng 風), and is that which influences the people of the world while it makes correct the relationship between husband and wife. The poem 'The Deer Cry' (Mao # 161 'Lu ming' 鹿鳴) is about putting on a feast for various ministers and fine guests. The poem 'King Wen' (Mao # 235 'Wen Wang' 文王) is about King Wen receiving the mandate and founding the Zhou dynasty. The poem 'The Hallowed Temple' (Mao # 266 'Qing miao' 清廟) is a sacrificial piece to King Wen." (See: Shi ji 47.1937, n.2) The "Lesser Preface" to the Songs is none other than the "Preface" to the Mao Version of the Songs (毛詩序), which is extant.

[122](1/7, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: "Shao" 韶 is the music of Shun 舜 and "Wu" 武 is the music of King Wu 武王.

Images," "Explanation of the Trigrams," and the "Commentary on the Words of the Text."[123] In his study of the Changes he wore out the leather binding three times.[124] He said, 'Grant me several more years to devote to the Changes in this way my person would become more refined and perfected.'[125] Confucius taught his students, probably numbering around 3,000, using the Songs, Documents, Rites, and Music. Those who became

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[123](1/7, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The passage "arranging the 'Commentary on the Decision,' 'Great Treatise,' 'Commentary on the Images,' 'Explanation of the Trigrams,' and the 'Commentary on the Words of the Text'" (序彖, 繫, 象, 說卦, 文言) is considered suspect by scholars of the Modern era Modern Script school, some of whom consider it to be an interpolation by Liu Xin, due to the fact that most Modern Script school scholars do not believe that the "Explanation of the Trigrams" is a work which was composed during Confucius' lifetime. For detailed studies, see Kang Youwei's 康有爲 Xinxue weijing kao 新學僞經考, juan 2, and Cui Shi's 崔適 Shi ji tanyuan 史記探源, juan 6.

[124](1/7, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, wei 韋 is glossed as pi 皮 ("leather"). In ancient times, books were made out of bamboo strips on which text was written, and these were bound together with leather cords, and therefore it is called "leather binding."

[125](1/7, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Shu er" 述而 chapter of the Analects contains the passage, "Grant me several more years, so that after age fifty I can study the Changes, and will then able to be without major faults." (See: Lunyu 7/17; Lau, Analects, p.88) This is somewhat different

thoroughly versed in the Six Arts numbered seventy-two.'"[126] According to the passage above, Confucius edited the Six Classics, with the Documents and the Rites being interconnected, the Songs and the Music being interconnected, and the Rites and the Music also being interconnected. The Songs, Documents, Rites, and Music were used to instruct 3,000 students, but those thoroughly versed in the Six Arts numbered only seventy-two. Thus, Confucius in establishing instruction, retained the vestiges of the Music Master where the "Four Disciplines" were used to instruct [all students], but where the Changes and Spring and Autumn Annals were able to be thoroughly mastered only by the students of the highest calibre.

[1/8 SVA: Introductory Comments: In the final section of the first chapter, Pi Xirui again begins by quoting a passage from the "Hereditary House of Confucius" chapter of the Shi ji which he considers authoritative. As such, he uses information in the Shi ji to either confirm or refute information and/or viewpoints found in other texts. His focus here is Confucius' purpose in writing the Spring and Autumn Annals and Pi's presentation serves to reaffirm his belief that it contained great principles

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[from the text of the Shi ji].

[126][SVA: For the text of this passage, see Shi ji 47.1935-1938; Lin Yu-tang, Wisdom, pp.89-92; Yang and Yang, pp.21-22.]

for governing.]

1/8[127] According to the Shi ji, the Spring and Autumn Annals came forth independently and at a later time. [The Shi ji] states, "The Master said, 'Alas! Alas![128] What the superior man fears most is that he will die and not leave behind a name known for its achievements.[129] My Way is not going to be put into practice! How will I appear to future generations!' Then basing himself on existing historical records, he composed the Spring and Autumn Annals. He began with Duke Yin 隱公 (722 B.C.) and finished with the fourteenth year of Duke Ai 哀公 (481 B.C.). He wrote according to the point of view of the state of Lu, showed respect for the [universal sovereignty] of the Zhou royal house, and took [Shang] Yin [to embody] the ancient [institutions].[130] He fathomed the changes that had occurred[131] over the

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[127][SVA: Section 1/8 corresponds to pp.45-47 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.31-35 of the Yiwen ed.]

[128](1/8, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, fu 弗 is a phonetic loan for fu 怫, meaning "to be dejected, to be sad." In the "Gouxu zhi" 溝洫志 chapter of the Han shu, one annotation reads, "Fu means to be dejected and unhappy" (弗, 憂不樂也). (See: Han shu 29.1682-3, n.4)

[129][SVA: Cf. Lunyu 15/20; Lau, Analects, p.135.]

[130](1/8, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: On the line, "[He wrote] according to the point of view of the state of Lu, showed respect for the [universal

Three Dynasties, and he employed a writing style that was concise, but one with broad and profound implications. Thus, for example the rulers of the

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sovereignty] of the Zhou royal house, and took [Shang] Yin [to embody] the ancient [institutions]" (據魯, 親周, 故殷), scholars of the Modern Script School of the Classics consider this to be the explanation of the Three Eras ("Sanshi" 三世) of the Gongyang 公羊, and state that the character qin 親 is a mistake for the character xin 新. In his Shiji tanyuan, Cui Shi quotes He Xiu's Jiegu 解詁 commentary from the entry under Duke Yi / Year Sixteen (宜公十六年) in the Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan 春秋公羊傳, "Confucius considered the Spring and Autumn Annals appropriate for newly crowned kings, above he was critical of Qi 杞 (the house of Xia), below he considered Zhou to be recent, and took Song 宋 (the house of Yin) as ancient." In addition, he writes, "With respect to the newly crowned kings who Confucius considered the Spring and Autumn Annals to be appropriate for, this [refers to rulers] who have just received the mandate to serve as king. As for Zhou "the new," "new" means the later of those who rule as kings. If Zhou is the newest of the later kings, then Song was the oldest of the later kings. Yin 殷 is none other than Song 宋. (See: Cui Shi, Shiji tanyuan, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986, p.155)

[131](1/8, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: On the character yun 運, Cui Shi writes in his Shiji tanyuan, "It should be written tong 通, and the close resemblance in appearance led to this mistake. That a king preserves the descendants of the two previous dynasties is the means by which he honors the former sages, so as to bring continuity to the three reigns." (See: Cui Shi, Shiji tanyuan, p.155-6)

states of Wu 吳 and Chu 楚 referred to themselves as "kings" (wang 王), but the Spring and Autumn Annals censures them by referring to them as "viscounts" (zi 子).[132] As for the meeting in Jiantu 踐土, in reality the dukes summoned the Son of Heaven of Zhou 周天子, but the Spring and Autumn Annals taboos it by saying 'The king [with the Heavenly Mandate] went hunting at Heyang 河陽.'[133] By means of inferring through these kinds of

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[132](1/8, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: For example, see the Spring and Autumn Annals, Duke Ai / Year Thirteen (哀公十三年) "The duke had a meeting with Marquis of Qin 晉侯 and the Viscount of Wu 吳子 at Huangchi 黃池." The Zuozhuan entry is, "In the summer, the duke had a meeting with Duke Ping of Shan 單平公, Duke Ding of Qin 晉定公, and Fu Chai of Wu 吳夫差 at Huangchi." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 59.6a; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, pp.830-32) At the time, Fu Chai of Wu referred to himself as a king (wang 王), but the Spring and Autumn Annals implies criticism by referring to him as a viscount (zi 子).

Another example is the Spring and Autumn Annals entry under Duke Ai / Year Six (哀公六年), "In autumn, in the seventh month, on the gengyin 庚寅 day, Zhen, the viscount of Chu 楚子軫, died." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 58.1a; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, pp.809-10) Zhen, the viscount of Chu, was none other than King Zhao of Chu 楚昭王. At the time, the Chu ruler illegitimately assumed the title of king, but the Spring and Autumn Annals criticizes him by referring to him as a viscount.

[133](1/8, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry in the Spring and Autumn

[analogous examples] that could be used as standards for any age, he

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Annals under Duke Xi / Year Twenty-eight (僖公二十八) reads, "In the fifth month on a guichou 癸丑day, the duke met with the Marquis of Jin 晉侯, the Marquis of Qi 齊侯, the Duke of Song 宋公, the Marquis of Cai 蔡侯, the Earl of Zheng 鄭伯, the Viscount of Wei 衛子, and the Viscount of Ju 莒子, when they made a covenant at Jiantu 踐土...the Duke made a visit to the court at the place where the king was located." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 16.14b; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.207) In addition, it says, "[In the winter...] the King with the Heavenly Mandate engaged in a hunt at Heyang 河陽. On the Renshen 壬申 day, the duke made a visit to the court at the place where the king was located." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 16.16b; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.207) The Zuozhuan entry reads, "As for this meeting, the Marquis of Jin 晉侯 summoned the king in order for the feudal lords to have an audience, and moreover made him carry out a court of inspection. Zhongni 仲尼 said, 'The case of a subject summoning his ruler cannot be used as instruction of what is proper.' Therefore the text says, 'The King with the Heavenly Mandate engaged in a hunt at Heyang.' It says that this was not his territory, and makes clear the virtue." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 16.30a-b; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.212)

In his Zuozhuan jijie 左傳集解 commentary, Du Yu notes, "Jiantu is Zheng 鄭 territory." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 16.14b) He also notes, "Heyang is Jin 晉territory. There is a Heyang County 河陽縣 in present day Henei 河內." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 16.16b) Jiantu is located in present day Xingyang County 滎陽縣 in Henan. Heyang is located in present day Meng County 孟縣 in Henan.

implied criticism and condemnation. In later times, if a king were to take up the text and open it, and put the principles of the Spring and Autumn Annals into practice, then the corrupt ministers and disobedient sons of this world would be fearful of it, [and as a result refrain from inappropriate behavior]. When Confucius held office, in hearing cases, because the cases could be gone over together with others, he did not act alone. But when it came to writing the Spring and Autumn Annals, he wrote and deleted as he pleased, and even disciples such as Zixia could not add a single word. When the disciples were instructed in the Spring and Autumn Annals, Confucius said, 'Future generations will know me by the Spring and Autumn Annals and they will also condemn me by the Spring and Autumn Annals.'"[134] In my opinion, the Shi ji considers the Spring and Autumn Annals to have been produced separately and at a later time, and its explanations alone are

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[134](1/8, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The second part of the "Duke Wen of Teng" 滕文公 chapter of Mencius states, "For this reason Confucius said, 'Those who understand me will do it through the Spring and Autumn Annals. Those who condemn me will do so through the Spring and Autumn Annals.'" (Translation following Lau. See: Mencius 3b/9; Lau, Mencius, p.114) The text of the quoted passage [in the Shi ji is slightly different from that in the received Mencius text, but the meaning is the same.

[SVA: For the original text of the passage quoted above, see Shi ji 47.1943-44.]

detailed, it is perhaps the case that it highly esteemed Confucius' achievement of creating the Spring and Autumn Annals and considered it to be far superior to his editing of the other Classics. Mencius considered Confucius' composition of the Spring and Autumn Annals comparable to Yu's controlling the flood, or the Duke of Zhou's uniting of the Yi 夷 and Di 狄 tribal peoples.[135] As the Shi ji's explanation of the general principles of the Spring and Autumn Annals was for its part compatible with Mencius and the Gongyang, and as we understand the significance of Confucius' writing according to the point of view of the state of Lu, showing respect for the [universal sovereignty] of the Zhou royal house, and taking [Shang] Yin [to embody] the ancient [institutions], then we know that the Gongyang school's explanation of the Three Discriminations (sanke 三科) and Nine

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[135](1/8, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The second part of the "Duke Wen of Teng" 滕文公 chapter of Mencius states, "In ancient times Yu controlled the flooding waters and the empire was at peace, the Duke of Zhou brought together the Yi and the Di tribes, drove off the wild animals, and the people enjoyed peace and tranquility. Confucius completed the Spring and Autumn Annals and rebellious ministers along with disobedient sons trembled in fear." (See: Mencius 3b/9; Lau, Mencius, p.115) Zhao Qi's 趙崎 commentary to the Mencius 孟子注 reads, "Yi 抑 means zhi ("to manage," "to control"). (See: Mengzi zhushu 孟子注疏, Ssjzs, 6B.5a)

Indications (jiuzhi 九旨)[136] cannot be wrong. If we understand that

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[136](1/8, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: In his Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan shu 春秋公羊傳疏, Xu Yan 徐彦 writes, "As for Master He's (He Xiu) opinion, he considered the sanke 三科 and jiuzhi 九旨 to be a single set or entity. If we speak of it generally or collectively, we refer to this entity as the sanke, where ke is a 'division' (duan 段). If we speak of [this set] in detail or individually, we then refer to it as the jiuzhi, where zhi is 'to indicate meaning' or 'an indication' (yi 意). This is to say that within the three divisions there are these nine kinds of indication. Therefore, He Xiu in his Wenshili 文謚例 states that regarding the sanke jiuzhi ('three divisions and nine indications'), considering the Zhou 周 as recent, the Song 宋 as ancient, and the Spring and Autumn Annals as appropriate for instructing newly crowned kings, these are three indications of one division. He goes on to state that using different wording for that which the author personally witnessed, using different wording for that which he had heard about, and using different wording for that which he had learned of from indirect transmission, this [along with the above] are six indications of two divisions. In addition, to consider his state (Lu) to be the center while considering the various states of the feudal lords to be external, and to consider the various states of the feudal lords to be central while considering the Yi 夷 and the Di 狄 to be external, this [together with the above] are the nine indications of the three divisions. ...According to Song's commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, he explains the sanke as follows: The first is expanding of the Three Eras, the second is the preservation of the Three Unifying Reigns, and the third is the differentiation between the internal (Lu) and the external. These are the

Confucius applied a standard to his times, implying approval or disapproval through his choice of words, then we know that the theory of the specialists in the Zuo tradition which holds that the Spring and Autumn Annals was based on old histories and that these old histories were reports of favorable and unfavorable events[137] is certainly not worth believing. If we understand

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three divisions (sanke). As for the nine indications (jiuzhi), these are first, the season (shi 時), second, the month (yue 月), third, the day (ri 日), fourth, the term 'king' (wang 王), fifth, the designation 'king with the Heavenly mandate' (tianwang 天王), sixth, the term 'Son of Heaven' (tianzi 天子), seventh, wording conveying criticism (ji 譏), eighth, wording indicating blame (bian 貶), and ninth, wording indicating omission (jue 絕). Season, day, and month are indications of the degree of specificity. The designations 'king,' 'King with the Heavenly Mandate,' and 'Son of Heaven' are indications which record remoteness or proximity, along with closeness or distance. If criticism, blame, and omission are used, then these are indicators of relative importance. In this way, the sanke and jiuzhi are rather distinct from one another." (See: Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 1.4b; cf. Tjan Tjoe Som, trans., Po Hu T'ung, Vol. 1, p.115, n. 391 and 392. Cf. Benjamin Elman, Classicism, Politics, and Kinship (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p.231-7). Of the two explanations of the sanke jiuzhi, He Xiu's explanation is the most appropriate.

[137](1/8, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: In his "Preface" (序) to the Chunqiu Zuozhuan jijie 春秋左傳集解, Du Yu writes, "After the virtue of the Zhou had fallen into decline, officials did not maintain the integrity of their offices, those who preceded Confucius were not able to make the chronological

the meaning of the words that later generations will both know Confucius and judge Confucius [by the Spring and Autumn Annals], then we know that those of later generations who looked at the Spring and Autumn Annals from a purely historical point of view and said that it merely praised the good and condemned the evil, were greatly mistaken. (Master Cheng 程子 stated in his Chunqiu zhuan zixu 春秋傳子序, "Later generations, in

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records clear and manifest, reports of events unfavorable and favorable and documents of decree, that which was recorded and annotated, for the most part went against the old system of standards and norms. Zhongni basing himself on the historical documents of the state of Lu put the text together, and he examined questions of authenticity and forgery, while recording its system of norms and rites. ...As for the principles his teachings preserved, if the text contained something injurious to [his teachings], he then would cut it out and correct it, so as to express encouragement or admonition. For the remainder, he used old historical materials." According to this explanation, the Spring and Autumn Annals Classic was based on the history of the state of Lu, and the history of the state of Lu had as its basis reports of inauspicious occurrences as well as reports of other kinds of events.

Kong Yingda's Zhengyi commentary states, "With respect to neighboring states entering into covenants with each other, inauspicious occurrences are referred to as fu 赴, other occurrences are referred to as gao 告. Text that stands in opposition is then separated. Text that is scattered and disjointed is then brought together." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 1.9a-10a) Fu 赴 is the same as the modern character fu 訃.

looking at the Spring and Autumn Annals as pure history, said that it merely praised the good and condemned evil. They did not understand that it embodied the great principles for managing public affairs." This hits the mark with respect to the shortcomings and failures of post-Han explanations of the Spring and Autumn Annals.)[138]

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[138](1/8, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Master Cheng 程子 refers to Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1108). Cheng Yi (zi Zhengshu 正叔) was the younger brother of Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085), and he was also called Yichuan Xiansheng 伊川先生. For his biography, see the "Daoxue zhuan" 道學傳 in the Song shi (427.12718-23) For the quoted passage, see the "Zixu" 自序 in Cheng Yi's Chunqiu zhuan 春秋傳自序 [which is quoted in the Song shi 427.12722]. Zhiyu 至於 in Jxls is written zhiru 至如 in the original text. [SVA: The Zhonghua shuju edition of the Songshi writes zhiyu 至於 which matches Jxls.]

Chapter Two

經學流傳時代

The Period of Transmission of Classical Scholarship

[2/1 SVA Introductory Comments: In the opening section of this chapter, Pi Xirui begins with quotes from texts that provide information about Confucius' disciples and their split into scholastic lines, as well as about the nature of the "Ruists" who made up these lines. He then turns his attention to Zixia, the only one of Confucius' students about whom he feels there is any substantial information, and closes with a passage from Zhu Yizun's Jingyi kao that gives information about the activities of disciples other than Zixia.]

2/1[1] The designation Jing 經 or "Classic" begins[2] with Confucius, and the transmission (chuan 傳) of learning associated with the Classics [begins] with Confucius' disciples. The "Xianxue" 顯學篇 chapter of the Hanfeizi 韓非

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[1][SVA: Section 2/1 corresponds to pp.48-52 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.36-41 of the Yiwen ed.]

[2](2/1, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, fang 昉 means shi 始 "to begin." See the commentary to the "Huangdi" 黃帝 chapter of the Liezi 列子. (See: Liezi, Congshu jicheng ed., p.21)

子 states, "After Confucius, the Ruists split into eight lines. There was the Ruist line of Zizhang 子張, that of Zisi 子思, that of Yan 顏, that of Meng 孟, that of Qidiao 漆雕, that of Zhongliang 仲良, that of Gongsun 公孫, and that of Yuezheng 樂正."[3] In Tao Qian's 陶潛 Shengxianqun bulu 聖賢群補錄[4] it states, "Yan transmitted the Songs and his was a line of Ruists

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[3](2/1, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The Hanfeizi is a late Warring States period work composed by one Han Fei. It contains fifty-five pian in twenty juan. For the biography of Han Fei, see: Shi ji, 63.2146-56. For the "Xianxue" chapter, see juan nineteen, chapter fifty. The quoted passage roughly approximates the original. See: Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷, Hanfeizi jishi 韓非子集釋 (Taipei: Huazheng shuju, 1982), p.1080. Wang Xianqian 王先謙 in his Hanfeizi jijie 韓非子集解 reads "One surnamed Sun" 孫氏 for "One surnamed Gongsun" 公孫氏. He quotes Gu Guangqi's 顧廣圻 (zi Qianli 千里; 1776-1835) note which states, "Sun 孫 is none other than Sun Qing 孫卿 (Xun Qing 荀卿; Xunzi, Hsun Tzu, 313?- 238)." See: Hanfeizi jijie (Shijie wenku 世界文庫, Sibu kanyao 四部刊要 ed.), p.350. [SVA: For a brief biography of Gu Guangqi, see: ECCP, p.417-9.]

[4](2/1, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The Shengxianqun bulu in two juan also has the title the Siba mu 四八目, and was said to be compiled by Tao Qian. However, in reality it is a forgery that appeared late and is not a reliable source of information. See the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.2627. Tao Qian (original ming Yuanming 淵明; 365- 427) is best known as a famous Jin dynasty poet. For his biography see: Jin shu 晉書 94.2460-63; Song shu 宋書 93.2286-90; Nan shi 75.1856-60.

characterized by admonition and suasion. Meng transmitted the Documents, and his was a line of Ruists characterized by comprehensive and far-reaching understanding. Qidiao transmitted the Rites and his was a line characterized by respect, economy, solemnity, and reverence. Zhongliang transmitted the Music and his line were Ruists who altered common practices and changed customs. Yuezheng transmitted the Spring and Autumn Annals and his line of Ruists were skilled in combining proper wording and arranging events [so as to establish historical precedents]. Gongsun transmitted the Changes and his was a line of Ruists who were pure, tranquil, subtle, and focused on subtleties."[5] Of the various schools

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[5](2/1, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The quotation is made up of material from the "Jingjie" 經解 chapter of the Liji and the "Xianxue" 顯學 chapter of the Hanfeizi where there appears to be a connection where none really exists, and as a result has no value in itself as independent historical source material. The "Jingjie" chapter of the Liji states, "If they are warm, gentle, sincere, and big hearted, they have been instructed from the Songs. If they possess broad understanding and a knowledge of what is distant, they have been instructed from the Documents. If they are generous and open, easy going and honest, they have been instructed from the Music. If they are pure and tranquil, refined and subtle, they have received instruction from the Changes. If they are courteous and humble, serious and respectful, they have been instructed from the Rites. If they combine proper wording and arrange events so as to establish historical precedents, then they have received instruction from the Spring and Autumn Annals." When compared

and lines whose teachings were not transmitted, there is nothing to examine regarding the schools' rules [for reading the text]. There is only one we can examine and that is Bu Zixia.[6] Hong Mai's 洪邁[7] Rongzhai suibi 容齋

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to Pi Xirui's passage, only the phrasing regarding the Songs and Music is somewhat different. Cf. Liji, Shisanjing zhushu, 50.1a-b; Hanfeizi jishi, p.1080. Legge, Li Chi or Book of Rites, Vol. II, p.255. Watson, Han Fei Tzu: Basic Writings, p.188. For the text of the quoted passage, see: Yang Yong 楊勇, Tao Yuanming ji jiaojian 陶淵明集校箋 (Hong Kong: Wuxingji shuju, 1971), p.372-4. [SVA: Pi Xirui omits the words "weidao" 爲道 after each individual's transmission of the Classic. For example whereas the quoted passage in JXLS reads, 顏氏傳詩 ("Yan transmitted the Songs"), the Shengxianqun bulu reads, 顏氏傳詩爲道 ("Yan transmitted the Songs as the Way").]

[6](2/1, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Bu Zixia 卜氏子夏 is none other than Bu Shang Zixia 卜商子夏, one of Confucius' disciples. Of Confucius' disciples, he stood out due to his literary talent. For a more detailed account, on can consult the "Biographies of Confucius' Disciples" 仲尼弟子傳 chapter of the Shi ji (67.2202-3).

[7](2/1, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Hong Mai (zi Jinglu 景盧; 1123-1202) was a native of Fanyang 番陽 who lived during the Song. He was extremely well read. During the Shaoxing 紹興 period (1131-1163) he passed the Ci exam (詞科). He held successive posts, rising to the position of Academician of the Luminous Palace (Mingdian xueshi 明殿學士). He was sent as an envoy to the Jin 金, but refused to act in a subservient manner while on his

隨筆 states, "Of Confucius' disciples, the only documents extant regarding the Classics are those of Zixia. Although the miscellaneous discourses that have been passed down and recorded are not completely reliable, still in their essentials they are different from that of others. With respect to the Changes, there is the Commentary (Zhuan).[8] With respect to the Songs, there is the "Preface" (Xu 序).[9] Moreover, with respect to the transmission of

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official mission to the Jin court. He governed (as magistrate) Ganzhou 贛州 and Wuzhou 婺州 and had administrative achievements. His posthumous name was Wenmin 文敏. For his biography, see Song shi 373.11570-74. His writings include the Rongzhai suibi 容齋隨筆 in sixteen juan, the Xubi 續筆 in sixteen juan, the Sanbi 三筆 in sixteen juan, the Sibi 四筆 in sixteen juan, and the Wubi 五筆 in sixteen juan, the total number of juan numbering seventy-four. His discussion of evidence and examination of supporting documentation is extremely accurate and precise. On his writings, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, pp.2480-81.

[8](2/1, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Yiwen zhi" section of the Han shu does not record an Yizhuan 易傳 by Zixia. It first appears in the "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 chapter of the Sui shu (32.909). Some consider this work to be from the hand of Han Ying 韓嬰 of the early Han, not from Bu Shang Zixia. For more detailed information, see 1/6, n.10.

[9](2/1, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Under the "Preface" 序 to the poem "Guanju" 關雎 in Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 Maoshi zhengyi 毛詩正義 it states, "There is an old explanation that says, 'Beginning here (referring to "關雎,

后妃之德也" Guanju expresses the virtue of the Royal Mate) to "用之邦國焉" (Employed in larger states), this section goes by the name of the Guanju Preface and it is referred to as the "Lesser Preface." From "風, 風也" to the end, this is called the "Greater Preface." Based on this then, we see that the "Preface" in the Mao Version of the Songs has a distinction between "Greater" and "Lesser." However, there is still a question as to who after all composed the "Greater" and "Lesser" "Prefaces," and the various explanations are numerous and somewhat confusing. The opinion that Zixia wrote them is merely one explanation among many. The notice on the Songs "Prefaces" in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao states, "Zheng Xuan in his Shipu 詩譜 is of the opinion that Zixia composed the 'Greater Preface,' while Zixia and Mao Gong jointly composed the 'Lesser Preface.' Wang Su 王肅, in his 'Commentary' 注 to the 'Kongzi jiayu' 孔子家語 expresses the opinion that the current "Preface" to the Mao Version of the Songs is the preface which Zixia composed for the Songs. The "Rulin zhuan" section of the Hou Han shu states that it was Wei Hong 衛宏 who had received instruction from Xie Manqing 謝曼卿, who composed the "Prefaces" to the Songs. The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu states that Zixia was responsible for the initial version of the "Prefaces" and Wei Hong and Mao Gong added to and embellished it. Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) thought that Zixia did not compose the "Prefaces" to the Songs. Cheng Boyu 成伯璵 (8th cent.) thought that Zixia only tailored the beginning sentences and what followed was from the hand of Mao Gong.... thought that it was written by a boorish, ignorant, and self-opinionated person, openly stated that they would dismiss and not even consider it, the persons who advocated this opinion were Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1108-1166) and Wang Zhi 王質 (10-11th cent.), and Zhu Xi (1130-1200) was

the learning of the Mao Version of the Songs[10] it has been said that 'Zixia instructed Gao Xingzi 高行子, and after four steps in the process of transmission, it was passed on to Mao the Younger (Xiao Mao Gong 小毛公).[11] It is also said that Zixia transmitted the learning of the Songs to Zeng

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in agreement with this view." (See: Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.291-2)

[10](2/1, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: With respect to the Songs during the Han, there was a division between the Modern Script School and the Old Script School. In turn, the Modern Script School of the Songs had three "sub-schools" or divisions, that of Lu 魯, Qi 齊, and Han 韓. With respect to the Old Script school of the Songs, there was only one school, that of the Mao clan (Maoshi 毛氏) and this is [the source of the text] which is referred to as the Mao Version of the Songs (Maoshi 毛詩). The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Mao Gong was a native of Zhao 趙 and had a solid command of the Songs." (See: Han shu 88.3614) The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "The Songs were passed on by a native of Zhao, Mao Chang 毛萇. This is the Mao Version of the Songs (Maoshi 毛詩)." (See: Hou Han shu 69B.2569)

[11](2/1, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" ("Xulu" 序錄) of Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen states, "Xu Zheng 徐整 has said 'Zixia instructed Gao Xingzi 高行子, Gao Xingzi instructed Bi Cangzi 薛倉子, Bi Cangzi instructed Bo Miaozi 帛妙子, and Bo Miaozi instructed the Elder Mao Gong (the Venerable Elder Mao, Da Mao Gong 大毛公) of Hejian 河間. The Elder Mao Gong composed the Shi guxun zhuan 詩故訓傳 at home [as a private scholar] and used it to instruct the Younger Mao Gong (the Venerable

Shen 曾申, and after five steps in the process of transmission it was passed on to Mao Gong the Elder (Da Mao Gong 大毛公).[12] With respect to the Rites, there is the "Sangfu" 喪服 chapter of the Yili 儀禮,[13] to which Ma

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Younger Mao, Xiao Mao Gong 小毛公), who was a native of Zhao 趙.'" See: Lu Deming 陸德明 (550?-630) Jingdian shiwen 經典釋文 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1975), 1.19a.

[12](2/1, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: In Lu Ji's 陸璣 Maoshi caomu niaoshou chongyu shu 毛詩草木鳥獸蟲魚疏 he states, "Confucius edited the Songs, and instructed Bu Shang. Bu Shang composed the "Preface(s)" to them (the Songs), and instructed a native of Lu, Zeng Shen 曾申. Zeng Shen instructed Li Ke 李克 of Wei 魏. Li Ke instructed Meng Zhongzi 孟仲子 of Lu. Meng Zhongzi instructed Gen Mouzi 根牟子. Gen Mouzi instructed Xun Qing 荀卿. Xun Qing instructed Mao Heng 毛亨 of Lu. Mao Heng composed the Xungu zhuan 訓詁傳 and used it when instructing Mao Chang 毛萇 of Zhao. At that time people referred to Mao Heng as the Elder Mao Gong (大毛公), and to Mao Chang as the Younger Mao Gong (小毛公)." (See: Lu Ji 陸璣, 3rd cent., Maoshi caomu niaoshou chongyu shu, Congshu jicheng ed., "Xia" 下.70)

[13](2/1, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Sangfu" chapter (chapter 11) of Jia Gongyan's Yili zhengyi under the title (題下) it states, "As for the passages that begin 'the Tradition States' (傳曰), we do not know who composed these. Everyone says that it was composed by Confucius' disciple Bu Shang Zixia." (See: Yili zhushu, Ssjzs, 28.3a).

Rong,[14] Wang Su,[15] and other Confucian scholars wrote exegeses. With regard to the statement that [Zixia] could not assist with even a single word of the Spring and Autumn Annals,[16] this shows that he probably had also

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[14](2/1, n.13) On Ma Rong, see 1/3, n.16. Ma Rong wrote a commentary to the Sangfu jingzhuan 喪服經傳 in one juan. It is listed in the "Jingjizhi" chapter of the Sui shu (32.919), but is no longer extant. Ma Guohan has compiled fragments in one juan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu.

[15](2/1, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Su 王肅 (zi Ziyong 子雍; 195-256) was a native of Donghai Commandery 東海郡. He held official positions including Capital Commandant (zhonglingjun 中領軍--Hucker 1585) and Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary (sanqi changshi 散騎常侍--Hucker 4834). His posthumous name was Jing 景. He had high regard for the scholarship of Jia Kui 賈逵 and Ma Rong 馬容, but did not favor that of Zheng Xuan. He wrote exegesis to the Documents, the Songs, the Analects, the three Rites texts, and the Zuozhuan. In addition, he edited the Yizhuan 易傳, the text his father, Wang Lang 王朗, wrote about the Changes. During the Jin, these texts were placed in the Imperial Academy. In addition, his writings on discourses and deliberations that took place in the imperial court, on court rituals, and other matters, number over one hundred pian, and he wrote commentary to the Kongzi jiayu 孔子家語. For his biography, see Sanguozhi 13.414-20. He wrote a commentary to the Sangfu jingzhuan which is listed in the "Jingjizhi" chapter of the Sui shu (32.919), but is no longer extant. Ma Guohan has compiled fragments of this text in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu in one juan.

[16](2/1, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Hereditary House of Confucius"

engaged in this kind of activity. Gongyang Gao in reality received instruction in the Spring and Autumn Annals from Zixia.[17] As for Guliang Chi 穀梁赤,[18] the Fengsutong 風俗通[19] also states that he was a disciple of

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chapter of the Shi ji it states, "But when it came to [composing] the Spring and Autumn Annals (referring to Confucius), he wrote what he deemed appropriate, deleted what he saw fit, and Zixia and his disciples were not able to assist with even a single word." (See: Shi ji 47.1944) In the Chinese zan 贊 means zhu 助 ("to assist").

[17](2/1, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: Under He Xiu's 何休 "Preface" to Xu Yan's 徐彥 Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan shu it states, "Dai Hong's 戴宏 'Preface' states, 'Zixia transmitted it to Gongyang Gao 公羊高. Gao transmitted it to his son, Ping 平. Ping transmitted it to his son, Di 地. Di transmitted it to his son, Gan 敢. Gan transmitted it to his son, Shou 壽. At the time of Emperor Jing of the Han 漢景帝 (reg. 156-141 B.C.) Shou, together with his disciple, Humu Zidu 胡母子都 of Qi 齊, wrote it down on bamboo and silk." (See: Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, "Xu" 2a)

[18](2/1, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: Under the title (題下) in Fan Ning's 範寧 "Preface" to Yang Shixun's 楊士勛 Chunqiu Guliang zhuan shu 春秋穀梁傳疏, he writes, "Guliangzi's name (ming) was Shu 淑, his zi was Yuanshi 元始, and he was a native of Lu 魯. He also went by the name of Chi 赤. He received instruction in the Classic(s) from Zixia and composed a commentary (zhuan 傳) to the Classic. Thus it is said that Guliang transmitted it to Sun Qing 孫卿, and Sun Qing in turn transmitted it to Shen Gong 申公 who was a native of Lu. Shen Gong then transmitted it to

Zixia. With respect to the Analects, Zheng Kangcheng 鄭康成 (Zheng Xuan) thought that it was compiled and edited by Zhonggong 仲弓, Zixia 子夏, and others.[20] Xu Fang 徐防[21] of the Later Han submitted a memorial which

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the Erudite Jiang Weng 江翁." (See: Chunqiu Guliang zhuan zhushu, "Xu" 1b). This section of Yang Shixun's sub-commentary was probably based on the Fengsu tongyi.

[19](2/1, n.18) Zhou Yutong comments: The Fengsutong is an abbreviation for the Fengsu tongyi 風俗通義, which was written by Ying Shao 應劭 (ca. 140-204) of the Han. It is extant, in ten juan. Early on the "Xingshi" 姓氏 chapter was lost, but people of a later age recovered fragments and appended it to the text. As for calling it the Fengsu tongyi, Ying Shao offers this explanation in his own preface, "The implication of the title is that I thoroughly understand the mistakes and faults of common customs and practices, and have attempted to perfect them with respect to the essence of what is right." Therefore the title. For a detailed evaluation of this text, see the notice in the Siku quanshu congmu tiyao, p.2512-13.

[20](2/1, n.19) Zhou Yutong comments: Zheng Kangcheng 鄭康成 is Zheng Xuan's zi. See 1/1, n.23. The cited passage is from the preface ("xulu") to Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen "Xulu," 1.30a. Zhonggong 仲弓 is the zi of Ran Yong 冉雍, who was one of Confucius' disciples. Among Confucius' disciples, he stood out due to his virtuous conduct. For his biography, see the "Biography of Confucius' Disciples" chapter in the Shi ji (67.2189-90).

[21](2/1, n.20) Zhou Yutong comments: Xu Fang 徐防 (zi Yeqing 謁卿; fl. late 1st. cent. A.D.), was a native of Peiguo 沛國. During the Yongping 永平 era (58-75 A.D.) he attained the position of Filial and Incorrupt (xiaolian 孝廉

stated, 'The form of the texts proper of the Songs, Documents, Rites, and Music was set forth by Confucius. The elucidation of sections and lines began with Zixia.' This quote serves as evidence."[22] In Zhu Yizun's Jingyi kao[23] it states, "As for Confucius' disciples, in addition to Zixia being

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--Hucker 2418) and he held successive official posts, reaching the position of Minister of Education (situ 司徒-- Hucker 5801). Due to the occurrence natural disasters, he left his position and returned home. For his biography, see Hou Han shu, 44.1500-1502, which is the source of the quote (44.1500).

[22]For the source of this quoted passage, see: Hong Mai, Rongzhai suibi (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), V.1, p.390.

[23](2/1, n.21) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (zi Xichang 錫鬯, hao Zhucha 竹垞; 1629-1709) was a native of Xiushui 秀水. During the reign of the Kangxi 康熙 Emperor (reg. 1662-1722), he was recommended to take part in the special Boxue hongci 博學鴻詞 examination which he passed and was subsequently appointed to the position of Examining Editor (jiantao 檢討--Hucker 868). He participated in the compilation of the Ming shi 明史. Later, he entered the inner court, but for reasons of illness he left his position and returned home. He was skilled at Guwen 古文, his shi 詩 poetry was considered on par with that of Wang Shizhen 王士鎮 (1634-1711), and he was also fond of composing ci 詞 poetry. His written works include [that collected in] the Pushuting quanji 曝書亭全集, the Jingyi kao 經義考, the Mingshizong 明詩綜, the Cizong 詞綜, and the Rixia jiuwen 日下舊聞, among others. For his biography, see the first part of the "Wenyuan zhuan" 文苑傳 section of Ruan Yuan's 阮元 Guoshi 國史. The Jingyi kao contains 300 juan.

thoroughly versed in all 'Six Arts,' there was for example Zimu's 子木 receiving instruction in the Changes, Zikai's 子開 study of the Documents, Ziyu's 子輿 transmission of the Classic of Filial Piety (Xiaojing), Zigong's 子貢 inquiry into the Music, and the compilation of the Analects by You Ruo 有若, Zhong Gong 仲弓, Min Ziqian 閔子騫 and Yan You 言游. Moreover, the transmission of the 'Shisangli' 士喪禮 was in reality the achievement of Ru Bei 孺悲."[24]

However, three juan, the "Xuanjiang lixue," 宣講立學 the "Jia Xue," 家學 and the "Zishu" 自述 are listed as titles, but have no content. It is probably the case that they were never completed. The Jingyikao is extant. For a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.1785-86. [SVA: For Zhu yizun's biography, see: ECCP, p.182-5.]

[24](2/1, n.22) Zhou Yutong comments: Zimu 子木 is Shang Qu's 商瞿 zi, Zikai 子開 is Qidiao Kai's 漆雕開 zi, Ziyu 子輿 is Zeng Shen's 曾參 zi and Zigong 子貢 is Duanmu Si's 端木賜 zi. Min Zijian's 閔子騫 name (ming 名) was Sun 損. Yan You's 言游 zi was Ziyou 子游. The Kongzi jiayu 孔子家語 gives Youruo's 有若 zi as You 有. On Zhong Gong 仲弓, see 2/1, n.19. The above-mentioned individuals were all Confucius' disciples. For their biographies, see Shi ji 67.2185ff. On Ru Bei's transmission of the "Shisangli" 士喪禮 chapter of the Yili, see the "Zaji" 雜記 chapter of the Liji 禮記 (Ssjzs, 43.7a); Legge, Li Chi or Book of Rites, Vol. II, pp.166-7. Also see 1/1, n.15. [SVA: I was unable to locate the quoted passage in the Jingyi kao.]

[2/2 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section Pi Xirui goes into more detail with respect to writings that were possibly authored by Confucius' students. Pi acknowledges the uncertainty that goes along with attributing specific texts to particular individuals. He refers to the opinions of Shen Yue and Liu Huan that suggest that certain parts of the Li ji and Da Dai liji were related to Gongsun Nizi, the man or the text. The last part of this section consists of a discussion that centers on a quote from a chapter in the Da Dai liji that addresses the "shape" of Heaven and Earth and ends with Pi Xirui pointing out that the concept of a round earth occurs in the Zhoubi suanjing and the Huangdi neijing, and that this idea did not come from the West. Perhaps he is revisiting the subject of his conflict with his old friend Ye Dehui that occurred during the height of the Reform Movement, and which is mentioned above in the "History, Background, Context" chapter.]

2/2[25] The Hanfeizi states that of the eight Ruists, one is named Yan 顏. Of Confucius' disciples, eight are named Yan, so it is not necessarily the case that the one [mentioned in the Hanfeizi] is Ziyuan 子淵.[26] One of the eight

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[25][SVA: Section 2/2 corresponds to pp.52-54 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.41-44 of the Yiwen ed.]

[26](2/2, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: According to the information in the

Ruists named [in the Hanfeizi] is surnamed Zisi 子思. There is a text, the Zisi 子思 in twenty-three pian, listed under the Ruist (Rujia 孺家) category in the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu, but it is lost.[27] Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513) has stated that the "Zhongyong" 中庸, "Biaoji" 表記, "Fangji" 坊記, and the "Ziyi" 緇衣 chapters of the Liji 禮記 are all taken from the Zisizi.[28]

"Biographies of Confucius' Disciples" chapter in the Shi ji, in addition to Yan Hui 顏回 (zi Ziyuan 子淵), there were seven other disciples surnamed Yan. They were Yan Wuyao 顏無繇, Yan Xing 顏幸, Yan Gao 顏高, Yan Zu 顏祖, Yan Zhipu 顏之僕, Yan Kuai 顏噲, and Yan He 顏何. Therefore the statement, "Of Confucius' disciples, eight are surnamed Yan." (See: Shi ji 67.2185-2226) Ziyuan is Yan Hui's zi.

[27](2/2, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: A text with the title Zisi 子思 in twenty-three pian is listed in the "Rujia" 儒家 subsection of the "Zhuzi" 諸子 ("Masters" or "Thinkers") of the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu (30.1724). The Qing dynasty scholar Huang Yizhou 黃以周 (1828-1899) has compiled a text [of the] Zisizi 子思子 [fragments].

[28](2/2, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: For the cited passage see the "Yinyue zhi" chapter 音樂志 of the Sui shu (13.288). Shen Yue (zi Xiuwen 休文; 441-513) was a native of Wukang 武康 in Wuxing 吳興 Commandery. He was a famous literary personage of the Northern-Southern dynasties period. He served the Song and Qi governments, holding positions including that of Assistant Administrator to the Minister of Education (situ zuochangshi 司徒左長史--Hucker 185, 5801). During the reign of Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (reg. 483-493) he held the position of Vice Director of the

This being the case then, the passages in the "Fangji," "Biaoji," and "Ziyi" chapters which begin with the words "Zi yan zhi" 子言之 or "Zi yue" 子曰 are in some instances none other than the words of Zisizi, and therefore among them is a line quoted from the Analects.[29] Because of this, people of a later age suspected that these were not the words of Confucius; but understood in this way, there can be no doubt [that the quote from the Analects are the words of Confucius]. Various chapters that quote from the Changes, the Documents, the Songs, and the Spring and Autumn Annals, can all be used

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Department of State Affairs (shangshu puye 尚書僕射--Hucker 5052) and was transferred to the position of Director of the Department of State Affairs (shangshuling 尚書令--Hucker 5049). His written works include the Jinshu 晉書, Songshu 宋書, Qiji 齊紀 , Liang Wuji 梁武記, Eryan 邇言, Shili 謚例, Songwen zhangzhi 宋文章志, and a Wenji 文集 in 100 juan. For biographical information, see the "Autobiographical Postface" "Zixu" 自序 (Chapter 100) of the Song shu, as well as Liang shu 13.232-45 and Nanshi 57.1403- 15. The "Zhongyong" 中庸 (Chapter 31), "Biaoji" 表記 (Chapter 32), "Fangji" 坊記 (Chapter 30), and 'Ziyi" 緇記 (Chapter 33) are all chapters of the Xiao Dai Liji 小戴禮記.

[29](2/2, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Fangji" 坊記 chapter of the Liji there is a quote from the Analects, "If for three years a son does not change the way of his father, then it can be said that he is filial." See: Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, 51.16a-b; Legge, Li Chi or Book of Rites, Vol. II, p.290; Lunyu, 1/11, 4/20.

to verify the ancient meaning. Liu Huan 劉瓛 thought that the "Ziyi" chapter was composed by Gongsun Nizi 公孫尼子[30] and Shen Yue thought the "Yueji" 樂記 chapter drew from Gongsun nizi, the text.[31] Could this perhaps be the one surnamed Gongsun of the eight Ruists [mentioned in the Hanfeizi]? The Zengzi 曾子 in eighteen pian is listed under the Ruist category in the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Han shu. At present it is

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[30](2/2, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Under the chapter heading in the "Ziyi" 緇衣 chapter of Kong Yingda's Liji zhengyi it states, "Liu Huan 劉瓛 said that [this chapter] was composed by Gongsun Nizi." Liu Huan (zi Zigui 子珪) was a native of Xiang 相 in Peiguo 沛國. He was thoroughly versed in the Five Classics. He was appointed to the post of Commandery Aide (juncheng 郡丞--Hucker 1733) in Pengcheng 彭城, and then transferred to Kuaiji 會稽. During his lifetime he was known as a major figure among the Ruists. His posthumous name was Zhenjian xiansheng 貞簡先生 ("Mr. Loyalty and Simplicity"). There is a collection of his writings extant. For his biography, see Nan Qi shu 39.677-80 and Nan shi 50.1235-38. The "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu (30.1725) states that Gongsun Nizi was the disciple of one of Confucius' seventy disciples. The "Jingjizhi" chapter of the Sui shu (34.997) states that he was one of Confucius' disciples. Gongsun Nizi the text is listed as having 28 pian, but it has been lost. Ma Guohan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu has compiled fragments in one juan.

[31](2/2, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: See the "Yinyue zhi" 音樂志 chapter of the Sui shu (13.288) where it quotes Shen Yue. The "Yueji" 樂記 is the nineteenth chapter (pian) of the Liji.

preserved in the form of ten chapters (pian) in the Da Dai liji 大戴禮記.[32] The ten chapters are: (one) "Zengzi lishi" 曾子立事, (two) "Zengzi benxiao" 曾子本孝, (three) "Zengzi lixiao" 曾子立孝, (four) "Zengzi daxiao" 曾子大孝, (five) "Zengzi shi fumu" 曾子事父母, (six) "Zengzi zhiyan" shang 曾子制言上, (seven) "Zengzi zhiyan" zhong 曾子制言中, (eight) "Zengzi zhiyan" xia 曾子制言下, (nine) "Zengzi jibing" 曾子疾病, (ten) "Zengzi tianyuan" 曾子天員.[33] Within these chapters the text quotes and draws from the Classics and their meaning, and each instance is extremely faithful to the original. The "Tianyuan" chapter serves especially well to show that with respect to the learning of the great sages, there was nothing that they did not thoroughly

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[32](2/2, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The Da Dai Liji originally contained eighty-five chapters (pian). Later forty-six chapters were lost, and the extant version consists of thirty-nine chapters in thirteen juan. These are the chapters of Dai De 戴德 of the Western Han. During the Western Han the study of rites [and ritual texts] originally had a division between [the school of] the Elder Dai (Da Dai 大戴) and that of the Younger Dai (Xiao Dai 小戴). The Elder Dai was Dai De 戴德 and the Younger Dai was Dai Sheng 戴聖. At present, the Liji which is contained in the Thirteen Classics (Shisan jing 十三經) is none other than the Xiao Dai Liji 小戴禮記. The Qing dynasty scholar Kong Guangsen 孔廣森 (1752-1786) has composed the Da Dai liji buzhu 大戴禮記補注, which can be consulted.

[33](2/2, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: For yuan 員 read yuan 圓.

comprehend. "Shan Juli 單居離 inquired of Zengzi, 'As for Heaven being round and Earth being square, is this truly the way it is?' Zengzi replied, 'That which is begotten by Heaven have their heads on top (like animals) and that which is begotten by Earth have their "heads" on the bottom (like plants). Those with heads on top are said to possess the quality of roundness and those with their heads on the bottom are said to possess the quality of squareness. If it was truly the case that Heaven was round and the earth was square, then these four corners would not be covered.'"[34] Based on Zengzi's statement, we see that the reference to roundness and the reference to squareness are references to the Way (Dao 道) of Heaven and Earth, and not a reference to their shape or form. When something which is round is placed over something which is square, that which is round is not able to cover the four corners of that which is square. At present, the Earth is that which is encompassed by the Heavens, and clearly Earth is located within the Heavens. The form of the Heavens is completely round and the

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[34](2/2, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: In his Da Dai Liji buzhu, Kong Guangsen states, "Shangshou 上首 refers to animals while xiashou 下首 refers to plants. Round forms have movement and thus this is replicated by the animals, while square forms are still and as a result this is the quality of plants." (See: Da Dai Liji buzhu, Congshu jicheng ed., 5.62) Yan 揜 is a variant of the character yan 掩, meaning "to cover."

form of the Earth is also round, and this is compatible with the scientific explanation of the shape of the Earth. The Zhoubi suanjing 周髀算經[35] and the Huangdi neijing 黃帝內經[36] both state that the Earth is round, and this

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[35](2/2, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: The Zhoubi suanjing 周髀算經 in two juan first appears in the "Jingjizhi" chapter of the Sui shu (34.1081), but [by this time] the name of the author could not be reliably determined. In it there are statements such as, "The sun revolves and courses to a position in the extreme north, and in the north it is midday (noon), and in the south it is midnight. When the sun is located in the extreme east, in the east it is midday, and in the west it is midnight. When the sun is located in the extreme south, in the south it is midday, and in the north it is midnight. When the sun is located in the extreme west, in the west it is mid-day and in the east it is midnight." These statements contain the principle that the Earth is round. For detailed information about this text, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, pp.2172-73.

[36](2/2, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The Huangdi neijing 黃帝內經 in eighteen juan is listed under the "Fangjilüe" 方技略 sub-section of the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of Han shu (30.1776). In the "Preface" (序) to his Jiayi jing 甲乙經, Huangfu Mi 黃甫謐 (215-282) writes, "When adding the nine juan of the Zhenjing 鍼經 and the nine juan of the Suwen 素問 together they total eighteen juan and this is none other than the Neijing 內經." (See: Huangfu Mi, Zhenjiu jiayi jing 針灸甲乙經, Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1956, p.2)

Wang Bing 王冰 (fl. 762) writes in his "Preface" to the Neijing suwen 內經素問, "As for the Neijing in eighteen juan, the Suwen comprises nine

idea did not come forth from Western man.

[2/3 SVA Introductory Comments: This section begins with a quote from the Shi ji that states that both Mencius and Xunzi embraced Confucius' teachings and carried on the work of the Master. Pi Xirui then cites other sources to show that Mencius was versed in the Five Classics, but that little information exists about Mencius' transmission of his knowledge and understanding of the Classics to his students. This is not the case with respect to Xunzi however, and based on various sources, Pi shows

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juan of the canon (jing 經); together with the Lingshu 靈樞 in nine juan they equal the number of juan in the text." (see; Wang Bing, Huangdi neijing suwen 黃帝內經素問, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1955, Vol. 1, "Preface" 序, p.1) The Suwen constitutes one part of the Huangdi neijing, this the bibliographers are all but certain. However, with regard to the other part, whether or not it is the Zhenjing or the Lingshu, scholars are of different opinions. On this, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.2083-4. As to the finger pointing to the Yellow Emperor as the author, this is based on historical anecdote, and its origins are very clear. In the text there are passages such as, "The Yellow Emperor inquired of Qi Bo 岐伯, 'Is the Earth below or not?' Qi Bo answered, 'The Earth is below man, amidst the Great Void, and held up by the Great Qi (Da qi 大氣).'" (See: Wang Bing, Huangdi neijing suwen, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1955, p.340) It appears that this passage also contains the implication that the

how Xunzi passed on his knowledge and understanding of the Classics to his students, as well as how the lines of transmission of the Five Classics down to the early Han came through Xunzi at some point in the process.]

2/3[37] The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "Mencius, Xun Qing 荀卿,[38] and others like them all venerated the lifework of the Master, polishing it and making it more alluring, and thus learning was clear and evident during the times in which they lived."[39] Zhao Qi 趙岐[40] stated that

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Earth is round.

[37][SVA: Section 2/3 corresponds to pp.55-57 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.44-47 of the Yiwen ed.]

[38](2/3, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Xun Qing's 荀卿 name (ming 名) was Kuang 況, and he is also called Sun Qing 孫卿. His writings are contained in the Xunzi in 23 pian, and he was a famous late Warring States period Ruist whose name is often mentioned along with that of Mencius. For his biography, see Shi ji 74.2348-50.

[39][SVA: See: Shi ji 121.3116 for the source of this quote.]

[40](2/3, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhao Qi's 趙岐 (zi Binqing 邠卿; 108-201) original name (ming) was Jia 嘉, his hao 號 was Taiqing 臺卿, and he was a native of Changling 長陵 in Jingzhao 京兆 (the capital district). He served as an official at both the zhou 州 (regional) and jun 郡 (commandery) level. His character was honest and upright, and owing to this he defied high ranking officials. To avoid trouble he changed his name and sold pasta

Mencius was thoroughly versed in the Five Classics, and was especially strong in the Songs and the Documents. If we look closely at the book that bears his name, we see that in reality it was his grasp of the Spring and Autumn Annals which was especially profound. For example passages such as "The composition of the Spring and Autumn Annals was a matter [that was the exclusive privilege] of the sovereign"[41] and "I, Qiu 丘, have appropriated the didactic principles from [the Songs],"[42] are all subtle words

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in the Beihai 北海 market. Later, he was recruited and appointed to the position of Gentleman Consultant (yilang 議郎--HB; cf. Hucker 2972), and then promoted to the position of Grand Master of Ceremonies (taichang 太常--HB; cf. Hucker 6137). He composed the Mengzi zhangju 孟子章句, which is the commentary (zhu 注) to the Mengzi in the modern Shisanjing zhu shu. For his biography see Hou Han shu 64.2121. For the cited passage see the "Tici" 題辭 2b. The "Tici" ("Words Following the Title") is none other than the "Preface."

[41](2/3, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: For the quoted passage, see part two of the "Teng Wen Gong" 滕文公 chapter of Mencius (3B/9; Lau, Trans., Mencius, p.114). The original text reads, "As conditions in the world declined and the Way fell into disuse, heterodox doctrines and acts of violence began to arise. Ministers killed their sovereigns and sons killed their fathers. Confucius became fearful and composed the Spring and Autumn Annals. The composition of the Spring and Autumn Annals was a matter [that was the exclusive privilege] of the sovereign."

[42](2/3, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: For the quoted passage, see part two of

with profound implications. It is unfortunate that Mencius' study of the Spring and Autumn Annals has not been passed down to us. The Qunfulu 群輔錄 states that someone by the name of Yuezheng 樂正 transmitted the Spring and Autumn Annals, but we do not know whether this was Mencius' disciple Yuezheng Ke 樂正克 or not.[43] As for his learning, there is also nothing [surviving] for us to examine. Xun Qing's achievement in transmitting the Classics was extremely great. There is a quote about the Mao Version of the Songs in the "Preface" 序錄 to the Jingdian shiwen,[44]

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the "Lilou" 離婁 chapter of Mencius (4B/21; Lau, Trans., pp.131-32). The original text reads, "When the practice of song collection of the sage kings died out, the significance of the Songs was lost. When the significance of the Songs was lost, the Spring and Autumn Annals was composed. The Sheng 乘 of Jin 晉, the Taowu 檮杌 of Chu 楚, and the Spring and Autumn Annals of Lu 魯 are very similar. They record the events of Duke Huan of Qi and Duke Wen of Qin, and stylistically they are historical records. Confucius said, 'I, Qiu 丘, have appropriated the didactic principles from [the Songs].'"

[43](2/3, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhao Qi's commentary (zhu 注) to part two of the "Lianghui Wang" 梁惠王 chapter of Mencius states, "Yuezheng is his surname...He was Mencius' disciple, and served as a minister in the state of Lu 魯....Ke 克 was Yuezhengzi's 樂正子 given name." See Mengzi zhushu, Ssjzs, 2B.13b.

[44](2/3, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Shiwen "Xulu 釋文序錄 refers to the "Preface" ("Xulu") of Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen. See 1/5, n.4. [SVA: For

"Sun Qingzi 孫卿子 transmitted [the Songs] to the Venerable Elder Mao 大毛公 of Lu."[45] If that was the case then the Mao Version of the Songs was transmitted by Xun Qing. In the "Biography of King Yuan of Chu" 楚元王傳 in the Han shu it states "When he was young, together with Mu Sheng 穆生, Bai Sheng 白生, and Shen Gong 申公 of Lu, he received instruction in the Songs from Fuqiu Bo 浮丘伯. Fuqiu Bo was a disciple of Sun Qing."[46] If the Lu Version of the Songs (Lushi 魯詩) was passed on from Shen Gong,[47] then

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the source of this quote, see Jingdian shiwen, "Xulu," 1.19b.]

[45](2/3, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: This passage is based on Lu Ji's Mao Shi caomu chongyu shu. See 2/1, n.11.

[46](2/3, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: For the biography of King Yuan of Chu 楚元王, see Han shu 36.1921-1973. In the original Han shu text, tong 同 is written as ju 俱, there is no character zhi 之, and following the character ren 人 there is the character ye 也. These are minor differences. Fu Qian's 服虔 commentary to the Han shu states, "Bai Sheng 白生 was a native of Yanli 奄里 in the state of Lu. Fuqiu Bo 浮丘伯 was a Ruist of the Qin period." (See: Han shu 36.1921, n.2)

[47](2/3, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "Shen Gong 申公 was a native of Lu....Shen Gong alone used the Songs as instructional material when teaching. He did not instruct that about which he had doubts. Anything suspect was left out and not passed on." (See: Shi ji 121.3120-21; Watson, Records, Vol. II, pp.401-2). During the Han, the "Modern Script School" (今文) of the Songs [was divided into] three

the Lu Version of the Songs for its part was also transmitted by Xunzi. At present, the "Waizhuan" 外傳 of the Han Version of the Songs (Hanshi 韓詩)[48] is extant and it contains forty-four instances where it cites explanations of the Songs from the Xunzi, and thus the Han Version of the Songs is also closely aligned with the Xunzi text. The "Preface" [section of the Jingdian

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sub-schools. There was what was called the Lushi 魯詩 (Lu Version of the Songs) which came from Shen Gong of Lu, the Qishi 齊詩 (Qi Version of the Songs) which came from Yuan Gusheng 轅固生 of Qi, and the Hanshi 韓詩 (Han Version of the Songs), which came from Han Ying 韓嬰 of Yan 燕.

[48](2/3, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: The Hanshi 韓詩 was established by Han Ying 韓嬰 (fl. 150 B.C.). The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "Master Han [Ying] was a native of Yan. During the reign of Emperor Wen (reg. 179- 156 B.C.) he held the position of Erudite (boshi 博士)." Master Han [Ying] promoted the content and meaning of the Songs, and composed an "Inner" and "Outer" commentary, the words of which numbered in the tens of thousands. The Han version is somewhat different from that of Lu and Qi, however their similarities outweigh their differences." (See: Shi ji 121.3124) Under the "Liuyi lüe" 六藝略 section of the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu it lists the following titles, "Han Inner Commentary 韓內傳 in four juan; Han Outer Commentary 韓外傳 in six juan." (See: Han shu 30.1708). The Inner Commentary is no longer extant, but the Qing dynasty scholar Ma Guohan has compiled fragments in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu in one juan. The Outer Commentary is still extant and divided into ten juan. For a detailed evaluation see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao,

shiwen] states, "Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 composed his commentary [to the Spring and Autumn Annals] and used it in instructing Zeng Shen. Zeng Shen passed on what he had learned to Wu Qi 吳起 of Wei 衛. Wu Qi passed it down to his son Wu Qi 吳其. Wu Qi (the son) transmitted it to Duo Jiao 鐸椒 of Chu. Duo Jiao transmitted it to Yu Qing 虞卿 of Zhao 趙. Yu Qing instructed Xun Qing who was from the same commandery. In this way then, the Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals was transmitted by Xunzi. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states "Jiang Gong of Xiaqiu 瑕丘江公 received instruction in the Guliang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals (Guliang chunqiu 穀梁春秋) and the Songs from Shen Gong of Lu."[49] Shen Gong was a disciple of Xun Qing once removed, and thus the Guliang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals was also transmitted by Xunzi. The "Zengzi lishi" 曾子立事 chapter of the Da Dai Liji records passages from the "Xiushen" 修身 and "Dalüe" 大略 chapters of the Xunzi 荀子,[50] and in the Xiao Dai Liji 小戴禮記, the "Yüeji" 樂記, the

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p.333-4.

[49](2/3, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: See the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu (88.3617) for the source of this quote.

[50](2/3, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: Da Dai 大戴 is none other than the Da Dai Liji 大戴禮記 which was transmitted by Dai De 戴德 of the Han. [Dai De] is usually referred to as Da Dai 大戴 (The Elder Dai), the reason being to

"Sannian wen" 三年文 and "Xiangyin jiuyi" 鄉飲酒義 chapters record passages from the "Lilun" 禮論 and "Yüelun" 樂論 chapters of the Xunzi.[51] Thus, the Da Dai Liji and the Xiao Dai Liji also contain material that was transmitted by Xunzi. Liu Xiang stated that Xun Qing was good at the Changes, and that this can be seen in the "Feixiang" 非相 and "Dalüe" 大略 chapters.[52] The above indicates that Xunzi was able to instruct students in

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differentiate him from Dai Sheng 戴聖 who transmitted the Xiao Dai Liji 小戴禮記. The "Zengzi lishi" 曾子立事 chapter is the forty-ninth chapter (pian 篇) of the Da Dai Liji. In addition, the "Xiushen" 修身 chapter is the second chapter of the Xunzi, and the "Dalüe" 大略 is the twenty-seventh chapter of the Xunzi.

[51](2/3, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: Xiao Dai 小戴 is none other than the Xiao Dai liji 小戴禮記, which in modern times is referred to as the Liji 禮記, and was transmitted by Dai Sheng 戴聖 of the Han. [Dai Sheng] is referred to as Xiao Dai 小戴 (the Younger Dai), so as to differentiate him from the transmitter of the Da Dai liji, Dai De 戴德 (Da Dai 大戴, the Elder Dai). The "Yueji" 樂記 is the nineteenth chapter of the Liji, the "Sannianwen" 三年問 is the thirty- eighth chapter, and the "Xiangyinjiu" 鄉飲酒 is the forty-fifth chapter. In addition, the "Lilun" 禮論 and the "Yuelun" 樂論 are the nineteenth and twentieth chapters of the Xunzi, respectively.

[52](2/3, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Xiang's 劉向 (zi Zizheng 子政; 57-6 B.C.) original name (ming 名) was Gengsheng 更生 and he was a fourth generation descendant of King Yuan of Chu 楚元王 of the Han dynasty. He

the Changes, the Songs, the Rites texts, The Music, and the Spring and Autumn Annals, and at the beginning of the Han, instruction in the tradition of his scholarship thrived.[53]

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had a strong command of the Guliang chunqiu 穀梁春秋. The first position he held was that of Grandee Remonstrant (jian dafu 諫大夫-- HB; cf. Hucker 865), and he submitted several confidential memorials lamenting the problems arising from the activities of the consort clans. During the reign of Emperor Yuan (reg 48-32 B.C.) he served in the position of Director of the Capital Garrison (zhonglei xiaoling 中壘校令--cf. Hucker 1582). He collated texts at the Tianluge 天祿閣, and composed the Bielu 別錄. He also composed the Hongfan wuxing zhuan 洪範五行傳, the Lienü zhuan 列女傳, the Liexian zhuan 列仙傳, the Xinxu 新序, and the Shuoyuan 說苑. For his biography, see Han shu 36.1928-66. "Feixiang" 非相 is the fifth chapter of the Xunzi, and "Dalüe" 大略 is the twenty-seventh chapter. The passage drawn on was originally located in Liu Xiang's Jiao Xunzi xulu 校荀子敘錄. (See: Xunzi, Sbck, 20.33a-36a)

[53](2/3, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: This paragraph's narration of Xunzi's transmission of the Classics is based on the Qing dynasty scholar Wang Zhong's 汪中 (zi Rongfu 容甫; 1745-1794) Shuxue Xun Qingzi tonglun 述學荀卿子通論. In addition, [it should be noted that] Hu Yuanyi's 胡元儀 (1848-1907) Xun Qing biezhuan 郇卿別傳 and his Xun Qing biezhuan kaoyi 郇卿別傳考異 are more precise and detailed than Wang Zhong's study. The first juan of Wang Xianqian's 王先謙 Xunzi jijie 荀子集解 also contains this information and should be consulted. [SVA: For the biography of Wang Zhong, see: ECCP, p.814-5.]

[2/4 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui begins this section by reiterating that Confucius created the Classics and that his disciples then split up and went forth, some transmitting the Classic texts, perhaps to Xunzi and Mencius. He then turns his attention to the appearance of separate factions or camps ("modern" jin 今 and "old" gu 古), centered around the Zhouguan and the "Wangzhi" chapter of the Li ji, but makes the point that although divisions develop, their lineages goes back to a common origin. He then gives examples of people who discoursed on the content of the Classics, and goes on to praise scholars who lived through difficult times, but nevertheless were able to preserve and pass on the Classics, thus performing a great service for subsequent generations.]

2/4[54] The writings of the Six Classics of the Five Emperors and Three Kings, (See Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 [179-117 B.C.] "Feng shan shu" 封禪書. The wusan 五三 refers to the "Five Emperors" 五帝 and "Three Kings" 三王),[55]

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[54][SVA: Section 2/4 corresponds to pp.57-62 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.47-52 of the Yiwen ed.]

[55](2/4, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: In his "Fengshan shu" which is in the "Biography of Sima Xiangru," in the Shi ji there is the line 五三六經載籍之傳 ("The transmission of the texts of the Six Classics of the Five [Emperors]

were put into their final form by Confucius.[56] Seventy-two of his disciples branched out,[57] went forth, and disseminated [the Six Classics] throughout the Warring States. As for Hanbi Zigong's 馯臂子弓 transmission of the Changes, in reality he taught it to Lanling 蘭陵 (Xunzi). (The Xunzi text

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and Three [Kings]"). Sima Zhen's 司馬貞 commentary 索隱 states, "'Five' 五 refers to the 'Five Emperors' 五帝 and 'Three' 三 refers to the 'Three Kings 三王.'" (See Shi ji 117.3064-65, n.1).

[56](2/4, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "The Hereditary House of Confucius," chapter of the Shi ji it states, "[Shuliang] He 叔梁紇 and a girl from the Yan family had sexual relations without being married to one another and Confucius was born as a result of their union. She prayed at Niqiu 尼丘 and [as a result of her prayers] Confucius was born." Zhang Shoujie's 張守節 "Zhengyi" 正義 commentary reads as follows, "The 'Yudi zhi' 輿地志 states: There is a Mt. Niqiu 尼丘山 [near] Queli 闕里 (Que Village) which is located in the area to the west of Zoucheng 鄒城 (the town of Zou). At the present, there is a Mt. Niqiu located [near] Queli in the vicinity of Zoucheng which is in Yan district 兗州. It is none other than this mountain." (See Shi ji 47.1905, and n.1). Nishan 尼山 is an abbreviation for Niqiushan 尼丘山. This designation represents Confucius.

[57](2/4, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Hereditary House of Confucius" chapter of the Shi ji, it states, "Confucius used Songs, Documents, Rites, and Music to teach his students who numbered 3,000. Those who were personally thoroughly versed in the Six Arts [possibly a reference to the Six Classics], numbered seventy-two." The seventy-two disciples refers to

refers to Zhongni 仲尼 and Zigong 子弓, and perhaps this is the Zigong who transmitted the Changes).[58] As for Gao Hang's 高行 and Meng Zhong's 孟仲 discourses on the Songs (Gao Hangzi and Meng Zhongzi who both transmitted the Songs are none other than those mentioned in the Mencius

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Confucius' most talented students. (See: Shi ji 47.1938).

[58](2/4, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu it states, "Shangqu Zimu 商瞿子木 of Lu received instruction in the Changes from Confucius, and he used it when teaching Qiaobi Ziyong 橋庇子庸 of Lu. Ziyong then instructed Hanbi Zigong 馯臂子弓 of Jiangdong 江東." (Han shu 88.2597). The "Biography of Confucius' Disciples" chapter of the Shi ji writes hong 弘 for Han shu gong 弓, and moreover says he was a disciple of Shangqu and thus it is somewhat different from the Han shu. (See: Shi ji 67.2211).

In the "Biography of Xun Qing" chapter of the Shi ji it states, "Xun Qing then went to Chu, and Chun Shenjun 春申君 appointed him District Magistrate of Lanling 蘭陵. After Chen Shenjun died, he was dismissed from office and made Lanling as his home." Zhang Shoujie's commentary states, "Lanling County was located in Donghai commandery 東海郡. At present, there is a Lanling Mountain located in Cheng County 承縣 in Yi District 沂州." (See: Shi ji 74.2348, and n.6). Accordingly, this passage takes "Lanling" to represent Xunzi. In addition, in the "Fei shier zi" 非十二子 chapter of Xunzi (荀子引得 16/6/18) Zhongni 仲尼 and Zigong 子弓 are mentioned together, however the commentary considers the Zigong in the Xunzi to be the Zigong who transmitted the Changes. I'm afraid that these

text), perhaps they served as teachers to Zouyi 鄒嶧 (Mencius).[59] As for the "Royal Regulations" ("Wangzhi" 王制) appearing after the time of King Nan of the Eastern Zhou 赧王 (reg. 314-256 B.C.), this explanation originated with Zheng Xuan.[60] That the Zhouguan 周官 (Zhouli 周禮) was a text of the Six States (六國) period is a theory which originated with He Xiu.[61]

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are merely words of conjecture.

[59](2/4, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Tradition has it that Gao Hangzi and Meng Zhongzi both transmitted [what was to become] the Mao Version of the Songs. See 2/1, n.10 and n.11. In the "Biography of Mencius" chapter of the Shi ji it states, "Meng Ke 孟軻 was a native of Zou 鄒." (See: Shi ji 74.2343). Zoushan 鄒山 is referred to as Yishan 嶧山, and is also called Zouyishan 鄒嶧山 as well as Zhuyishan 邾嶧山. It is located in the southeast of modern Zou County 鄒縣 in Shandong. In this passage Zouyi 鄒嶧 represents Mencius.

[60](2/4, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Zheng Xuan's Da Lin Shi nanli 答臨碩難禮 as quoted in Kong Yingda's Li ji "Wangzhi" zhengyi 禮記王制正義 states, "Mencius lived during the reign of King Nan of Zhou (314-256 B.C.). The composition of the 'Royal Regulations' ("Wangzhi" 王制) occurred later than this." (See: Liji, Ssjzs, 11.1a). The "Royal Regulations" is the fifth chapter in the Xiao Dai Li ji 小戴禮記. In the Chinese text, Zhengjun 鄭君 is Zheng Xuan 鄭玄.

[61](2/4, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Zhouli feixing" 周禮廢興 section of the "Preface" ("Xu" 序) to Jia Gongyan's 賈公彥 Zhouli zhengyi it states, "He Xiu for his part considered it to be a text of secret plots of the Six

Generally speaking, the two major factions, the Modern [Script] and Old [Script] factions,[62] were in each case removed from the [original] eastern

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States." (Zhouli zhushu, Ssjzs, "Xu," 13a). The original title of the Zhouli was the Zhouguan 周官. Heshi 何氏 refers to He Xiu. He Xiu (zi Shaogong 邵公) was a native of Fan 樊 in Rencheng 任城. He held successive posts, achieving the position of Grand Master of Remonstrance (jianyi dafu 諫議大夫--Hucker 831). His study of the Six Classics was very precise and he was skilled at calendrical calculations. He was especially fond of the Gongyang Chunqiu and composed the Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan jiegu 春秋公羊傳解詁. While he was composing it, he was deeply immersed in thought, never once looking out his door through the course of seventeen years. Additional writings include the Gongyang moshou 公羊墨守, the Zuoshi gaohuang 左氏膏肓, and the Guliang feiji 穀梁廢疾, along with other texts. He was a famous classicist aligned with the Modern Script school during the Eastern (Later) Han dynasty. For his biography, see: Hou Han shu 79B.2582-3.

[62](2/4, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: With respect to Classical Scholarship during the Han dynasty, there was the difference between [the schools of] Modern Script scholarship (or learning) and Old Script scholarship (or learning). Its origins lie in the differences of the style of the script in which certain Classic texts were written, but later scholarship became closely associated with [the two different] scholastic factions and almost all other problems relating to Classics Scholarship, for their part all followed suit, and came to occupy two opposing positions. For detailed information, see Liao Ping's 廖平 Jingu xuekao 今古學考, Zhou Yutong's Jing jinguwen xue 經今古文學, and the "Preface" to [the Zhonghua shuju edition of] Jingxue

school(s) of Lu by three or four steps in the process of transmission. (The "Royal Regulations" ("Wang zhi" 王制) was highly venerated by the Modern [Script] Scholarship (School) and the Zhouguan (Zhouli or Rites of Zhou) was highly venerated by the Old [Script] Scholarship (School). Zheng Xuan wished to bring together Modern and Old Script, and he took the "Royal Regulations" to be the regulations of the Yin 殷 and the Zhouguan the regulations of the Zhou, reconciling their views and interpretations.)[63]

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[63](2/4, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Royal Regulations" chapter of the Liji it states, "For those of the rank of gong or hou, a territory one hundred li square, for those of the rank of bo, a territory seventy li square, and for those of the rank of zi or nan, a territory fifty li square." (See Liji zhushu, Ssjzs 11.1b; Legge, Li Chi, Vol. 1, p.209.) The Zhouli states, "Enfeoffing those with the rank of gong with territory 500 li square, is appropriate for four gong; a territory four hundred li square is appropriate for six hou; a territory three hundred li square is appropriate for seven bo; a territory two hundred li square is appropriate for twenty-five zi; and a territory one hundred li square is appropriate for one hundred nan." (See Zhouli zhushu, Ssjzs, 33.16a). As the two explanations were not the same, Zheng Xuan attempted to reconcile the two, taking the system in the "Royal Regulations" to be that of the Yin, and the system found in the Zhouli to be that of the Zhou. Therefore, in his commentary to the "Wangzhi" chapter of the Liji he states, "As for these territories, it is the Yin system of three ranks of feudal nobility which was based on that of the Xia....The Duke of

While it is said that the leaves and the branches are well spaced, in reality they are also like waves which, although separate, have their origins in a common source. For this reason, [Wei] Wenhou in achieving nobility and prominence, was able to discourse on the Imperial Academy (Daxue 大學) and the Luminous Hall (Mingtang 明堂).[64] Mengli 蒙吏 (Zhuangzi 莊子) in

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Zhou acted as regent, brought about great peace, opened up the great domain of the nine territories, created and established rites and rituals, and completed what was the will and intention of King Wu. He enfeoffed the descendants of those who served as kings as gong, along with feudal lords of achievement and merit. The largest were territories of five hundred square li. Next were territories of four hundred li for the hou; next were territories of three hundred li for the bo; next there were territories of two hundred li for the zi; and then there were territories of one hundred li for the nan." (Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, 11.3a).

There is an essay in Pi Xirui's Jingxue tonglun titled "Lun Zhengjun hetong gujinwen yu Zhouguan guwen Wangzhi jinwen liqiu shutong youde youshi" 論鄭君和同古今文於周官古文王制今文力求疏通有得有失 ("A Discussion of Zheng Xuan's Attempt to Combine the Modern Script and Old Script Schools, by Taking the Zhouguan (Zhouli) as the Old Script text and the "Royal Regulations" as the Modern Script text, His Efforts to Remove and Reconcile Inconsistencies, and the Strong Points and Weaknesses in his Approach"), which can be consulted. (See Jingxue tonglun, 3.53-55)

[64](2/4, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Wenhou is Wei Wenhou 魏文侯, who composed the Xiaojing zhuan 孝經傳, and who already appears in 1/6, n.9. Ma Guohan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu has compiled fragments from

his absurdity and preposterousness, explained the Way in the Songs, Documents, Ritual Texts, and Music.[65] In the discussion of the rites in the

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Wei Wenhou's Xiaojing zhuan in one juan. Under the phrase "There was an ancestral sacrifice performed to King Wen at the Luminous Hall" 宗祀文王於明堂 there are the entries 大學, 中學, 明堂之位也, 大學, 中學也.... ("The Academy and Intermediate School are located at the site of the Luminous Hall. The Academy and the Intermediate School are located [in the same place]..."), and 明堂在國之陽 ("The Luminous Hall is located in the southern part of the state.". (See: Ma Guohan, Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, 40.3b-4a) [SVA: following the original text and reading 位 for 地] As Wei Wenhou was nobility and a feudal lord, therefore the statement "He achieved nobility and prominence." In his Xiaojing zhuan, he explains in detail the Daxue 大學 ("Academy") and the Mingtang 明堂 ("Luminous Hall") and thus Pi Xirui's statement, "He was able to discourse on the Imperial Academy and the Luminous Hall."

[65](2/4, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Mengli 蒙吏 refers to Zhuangzi. In the "Biography of Zhuangzi" chapter of the Shi ji it states, "Zhuangzi was a native of Meng 蒙 and his given name was Zhou 周. Zhou served as a clerk (li 吏) at Qiyuan 漆園 in Meng 蒙." (Shi ji 63.2143-45). In the "Tianxia" 天下 chapter of the Zhuangzi it states, "Zhuang Zhou... with his absurd and ridiculous explanations, fantastic and exaggerated words, unrestrained rhetoric that knew no limits, at times did as he pleased, but was never partisan." See: Zhuangzi jijie, p.1098; Watson, Complete Works, p.373; Graham, Inner Chapters, p.282-83. Therefore Pi Xirui states, "Mengli 蒙吏 ("the Meng clerk") in his absurdity and preposterousness." In addition in

Qin court, they cited the line, "For the Son of Heaven, seven temples." 天子七廟 (See the "Annals of the First Qin Emperor").[66] The Jizhong jinian 汲冢

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the "Tianxia" chapter, "As for that which is contained in the Songs, Documents, Rites, and Music, there are scholars of Zou and Lu, many gentlemen of sash and rank, who are able to grasp it with clarity of mind. The Songs speak of spirit and emotion, the Documents speak of events, the Rites speaks of conduct, and the Music speaks of harmony, the Changes speaks of Yin and Yang, and the Spring and Autumn Annals speaks of names and differentiation." See: Zhuangzi jijie, p.1067; Watson, Complete Works, p.363; Graham, Inner Chapters, p.275. Therefore Pi Xirui states, "explained the Way in the Songs, Documents, Rites, and Music."

[66](2/4, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Basic Annals of the First Qin Emperor" of the Shi ji states, "The Second Qin Emperor issued an edict ordering an increase in the number of sacrifices performed at the temple of the First Qin Emperor along with an increase of the rites of the one hundred sacrifices as well as to those sacrifices to the mountains and rivers. He ordered the assembled ministers to discuss venerating (increasing) the temples of the First Qin Emperor. The assembled ministers knelt and bowed their heads as they spoke. 'From antiquity the Son of Heaven has had seven temples, the feudal lords five, and the grandees three. Although 10,000 generations have passed, the number can be neither increased nor decreased." (See: Shi ji 6.266). On the seven temples of the Son of Heaven, see the "Royal Regulations" chapter of the Liji. The "Royal Regulations" states, "The [temple complex] of the Son of Heaven was comprised of seven smaller temples; the three on the left, plus the three on the right, together with that of his founding ancestor, numbering seven in all." See: Liji

紀年 imitates the "code and model for a king" style of the Spring and Autumn Annals.[67] From the time of the First Qin Emperor's unbridled cruelty, the erudites venerated and preserved the texts that had been

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zhushu, Ssjzs 12.13b; Legge, Li Chi or Book of Rites, Vol. 1, p.223.

[67](2/4, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The Jizhong jinian 汲冢紀年 is the Zhushu jinian 竹書紀年. According to the "Biography of Shu Xi" 束晳傳 in the Jin shu 晉書, in the second year of the Taikang period 太康二年 (281 A.D.--the seventeenth year in the reign of Emperor Wu [reg. 265-290] of the Western Jin), a resident of Ji County 汲縣 opened the burial mound of King Xiang of Wei 魏襄王 and obtained seventy-five pian of ancient texts, among them was the Zhushu jinian in thirteen pian. (See: Jin shu 51.1432). The Zhushu jinian that is extant in two juan is a text forged by a person or persons of a later era. For a more detailed treatment see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.1022-24. In addition, see Wang Guowei's 王國維 Jinben Zhushu jinian shuzheng 今本竹書紀年疏證, and Guben Zhushu jinian jijiao 古本竹書紀年輯校.

The "Autobiographical Postface of the Grand Historian" of the Shi ji states, "During Confucius' time, there was no wise and enlightened ruler above, and below worthy men were without position or influence. Therefore Confucius composed the Spring and Autumn Annals, handing down theoretical writings in order to determine proper behavior and propriety, and to serve as a model for a king." (See: Shi ji 130.2399). The Zhushu jinian is arranged by entry according to year, the same format as the Spring and Autumn Annals, and thus Pi Xirui's statement.

handed down.[68] After the unicorn was captured and the writing of the Spring and Autumn Annals was complete, Xihe 西河 (Zixia) was able to pass on the old history.[69] It was a time when scholars in straightened

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[68](2/4, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: In the original Chinese, zulong 祖龍 ("First Dragon") is a reference to the First Qin Emperor. In the "Basic Annals of the First Qin Emperor" chapter of the Shi ji it states, "In autumn, an emissary was coming from East of the Pass and at night was travelling the road between Huayin 華隱 and Pingshu 平舒 when a person holding a piece of carved jade blocked his path and said, 'Give this to the spirit of Gao Pond 滈池 for me.' He went on to say, 'This year the First Dragon will die.'" Pei Yin's 裴駰 commentary states, "Zu 祖 means first or to begin (shi 始); and long 龍 is the image of the leader of men (人君象); it refers to the First Emperor." (See: Shi ji 6.259 and 6.260, n.5). In addition, sinüe 肆虐 refers to the First Qin Emperor's burning of the books in 213 B.C. and his putting to death 460 Confucian scholars in 212 B.C. (See Shi ji 6.254-58). "Erudite" (boshi 博士) was a Qin office. After the Qin burning of the books, Fu Sheng 伏勝, who held the position of Erudite, hid away a copy of the Documents, and during the Han he instructed Chao Cuo 朝錯 (晁錯). This is one example of an Erudite who venerated and preserved a lost text. See the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji 121.3115-29 for the details.

[69](2/4, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulinzhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "A unicorn was captured during the western hunt, and Confucius exclaimed, 'My way is over!' As a result, basing himself on the historical records, he composed the Spring and Autumn Annals so as to set forth a model and rules for future kings....After the death of Confucius, his seventy

circumstances,[70] along with recluses and those who remained hidden from

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disciples spread out and travelled among the feudal lords, the prominent ones serving as teachers and high ranking ministers, and those of lesser renown were the friends and teachers of officials and grandees. Some went into reclusion and were never seen again. Therefore...Zixia went to live in Xihe 西河....others such as Tian Zifang 田子方, Duangan Mu 段干木, Wu Qi 吳起, and Qin Huali 禽滑釐 all received instruction from Zixia and his associates, and they went on to serve as the teachers of kings." Zhang Shoujie's commentary states, "Xihe was in the location of present day Fenzhou 汾州." (See: Shi ji 121.3115-16 and n. 5; Watson, Records, Vol. II, p.396). In addition, in the Zuozhuan, Duke Ai / Year 14 (482 B.C.) it states, " In the spring, there was a hunt in the west in the Great Wilds (大野). Xu Shang 鉏商 who was one of Shusun's 叔孫氏 coachmen captured a unicorn. Considering it to be an unlucky creature, they turned it over to the Forester. Confucius looked at it and said, 'It's a unicorn.' After this they came and took it away." (See: Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde, Vol. 1, p.488; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.834.). Legend has it that Confucius was so moved by the unicorn's death that he put aside his brush, thereby ending his composition of the Spring and Autumn Annals. Thus Pi Xirui's statement, "...the unicorn was captured and the writing of the Chunqiu was complete..." Xihe 西河 refers to Zixia. As for Zixia's transmission of his learning, in the Han, the Zuozhuan, the Gongyang zhuan and the Guliang zhuan all had their origins with Zixia.

[70](2/4, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: "Huandu zhishi 環堵之士" means "scholars in straightened circumstances." In the "Ruxing" 儒行 chapter of the Liji there is the line 儒有一畝之宮, 環堵之室. "A scholar has a house on a single mu of land, and a dwelling with each wall one du 堵 long." Zheng

the world, in the midst of difficulties and during military campaigns, passed their works back and forth from hand to hand, and it is a shame that their era is part of the long and distant past,[71] and that their names have sunk into oblivion. For example, in the Gongyang Commentary there are six individuals, Shenzi 沈子, Simazi 司馬子, Beigongzi 北宮子, Luzi 魯子, and Gaozi 高子,[72] and in the Guliang Commentary there are two individuals,

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Xuan's commentary states, "Five board measures make up one du." (五版爲堵). Kong Yingda's commentary states "Huan 環 refers to the measure of the periphery, and the east, west, south, and north sides are each one du 堵. See: Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, 59.6b; Legge, Li Chi or Book of Rites, Vol. 2, p.405.

[71](2/4, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, Mianmiao 綿邈 means guangyuan 廣遠 "long and distant."

[72](2/4, n.18) Zhou Yutong comments: For the passages where the Gongyang zhuan quotes Zishenzi 子沈子, see Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde 22/隱11/4公, 57/莊10/3公, 437/定1/4公; for quotes of Zisimazi 子司馬子, see 77/莊30/7公; for quotes of Zibeigongzi 子北宮子, see 471/哀4/6公; for the numerous quotes of Luzi 魯子, see 49/莊3/4公, 69/莊23/10公, 95/僖5/6公, 116/僖20/3公, 125/僖24/4公, 135/僖28/17公; for quotes of Gaozi 高子, see 150/文4/2公. Pi Xirui states that "there were six individuals," but names only five. He probably left out Zinuzi 子女子. For the quote of Zinuzi, see 81/閔1/6公. The six individuals were probably all teachers of the Classics who transmitted the Gongyang, however nothing survives that allows us to examine their efforts in greater detail.

Shenzi 沈子 and Shizi 尸子,[73] who in every case alone carried on the Classics that had been handed down, and this was a meritorious service for later scholars.

[2/5 SVA Introductory Comments: In this short section, Pi Xirui uses examples of ancient texts to show that although they are ancient and can be associated in some way with the Classics, as they did not go through the process of being edited by Confucius, they cannot be used to elucidate the meaning of the Classics. He goes on to point out that while many statements were made regarding various historical figures and events, one must consider the source and circumstances under which these statements came forth, and one must ultimately use one's powers of discernment to ascertain whether or not they provide accurate and reliable information.]

2/5[74] The Mozi's 墨子 quotations form what the Documents transmitted in

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[73](2/4, n.19) Zhou Yutong comments: For the Guliang zhuan passage where it quotes Shenzi 沈子, see Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde 437/定1/4 穀; for the passage where it quotes Shizi 尸子, see 13/隱5/5 穀. Shizi 尸子 is perhaps none other than Shi Jiao 尸佼.

[74][SVA: Section 2/5 corresponds to pp.62-64 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.52-55 of the Yiwen ed.]

every case differ from that of Confucius' disciples,[75] and the Spring and Autumn compiled under Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (Lüshi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋) has a basic structure that differs from the form mandated by the Zhou [which is found in the Spring and Autumn Annals].[76] At the time, the Nine Currents[77] struggled for supremacy, with the various thinkers disputing

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[75](2/5, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: The Mozi's quotations of the Lost Documents are rather numerous. For example in the "Shangxian" 尚賢 chapter there is the following quote from the "Tangshi" 湯誓 chapter of the Documents, "Then I sought out an eminent sage, with whom to unite in strength and mind in order to bring order to the empire." (Mozi yinde 11/9/45; Watson, Basic Writings of Mo Tzu, p.29) The received text of the "Tangshi" chapter in the Documents does not contain this passage, and thus Pi Xirui states that in every case the quotations differ from that of Confucius' disciples.

[76](2/5, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Scholars assembled under the employ of Lü Buwei composed the Lüshi chunqiu in twenty-eight pian. Although the title contains the words "Chunqiu" ("Spring and Autumn"), its form and structure is different from the Chunqiu (Spring and Autumn Annals) of Confucius which is a history of the state of Lu. Therefore, Pi Xirui states that it "has a basic structure that differs from the form mandated by the Zhou."

[77](2/5, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Zhuzi lüe" section of the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu divides the zhuzi 諸子 ("masters" or "thinkers") into the following categories, 1. Ruists or Confucians (Rujia 儒家), 2. Taoists (Daojia 道家), 3. The Yin-Yang School (Yinyangjia 陰陽家), 4.

and arguing among themselves. Although there were ancient documents that had been handed down, they had not passed through Confucius' editorial hand. Quotations from the Documents came from beyond the one hundred pian, and as for quotations from the Songs, some came from the three thousand poems. However these can only be classified[78] as strange or different, and should not be taken as evidence of the meaning of the text of the Classics. It is difficult to supplement the lost text of the "Canon of Shun" ("Shun dian" 舜典) chapter of the Documents with Wan Zhang's 萬章 inquiry about the well and the granary from the Mencius.[79] Zheng Xuan, in writing

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Legalists (Fajia 法家), 5. Nominalists (Mingjia 名家), 6. the Moists (Mojia 墨家), 7. Strategists (Zonghengjia 縱橫家), 8. the Syncretics (Zajia 雜家), and 9. the Agriculturalists (Nongjia 農家). And thus the reference to the "Nine Currents" (九流).

[78](2/5, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese lu 臚 means xu 敘 ("classify"). See Erya yinde 6/2/15; Erya yishu A2.7a (p.375). Lu has the meaning of "to order" or "to classify."

[79](2/5, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Wan Zhang" 萬章 chapter of the Mencius, there is the following passage, "Wan Zhang said, 'Shun's parents sent him to repair the barn. They moved the ladder away and then the Blind Man set fire to the barn. They sent Shun to dredge the well, set out after him and blocked the well over him. Xiang (Shun's younger brother) said, the credit for plotting against the life of Shun goes to me. The cattle and sheep go to you, father and mother, and the granaries as well. But the

commentary on "Southern Airs" ("Nanfeng" 南風) [in the "Yueji" 樂記 chapter of the Liji], did not draw from the miscellaneous explanations of the Shizi 尸子.[80] Lies were told about Yi Yin 伊尹 being killed,[81] and based [on

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spears go to me and the zither and the ti bow as well. His two wives should also be made to look after my quarters.' Xiang went to Shun's house and there Shun was, seated on the bed playing the zither. Xiang, in some embarrassment, said, 'I was thinking of you.' Shun said, 'I am thinking of my subjects. You can help me in the task of government.'" (Trans. D. C. Lau, Mencius, pp.139-40; Mengzi yinde, 35/5a/2). The "Canon of Shun" 舜典 chapter of the Documents is no longer extant. In the forged Old Script version of the Documents, one section of the "Canon of Yao" 堯典 chapter is divided and separately referred to as the "Canon of Shun." This should not have been done.

[80](2/5, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Yueji" chapter of the Liji there is the passage, "In ancient times, Shun made a zither with five strings, and used it to accompany himself when he sang the 'Nan feng' 南風." Zheng Xuan's commentary reads, "'Nanfeng' is a tune about nurturing and caring, and it speaks of the nurturing and caring by the father and the mother, but its lyrics I have not heard." Kong Yingda's Zhengyi commentary states, "The Shengzhenglun's 聖證論 quotations from the Shizi 尸子...are at variance with what Zheng Xuan has said. 'In ancient times, Shun accompanied himself on the five stringed zither. His lyrics went, "The gentle warm breeze from the south,/ blows my people's cares away./ When that gentle south wind blows,/ my people's wealth and prosperity grows." Zheng Xuan said that he had not heard the lyrics, and that its meaning had been lost.' At

the statement in the Shi ji] that the Duke of Zhou escaped to another state,[82] I suspect that these are all words of those of no official position who

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present...the various explanations of the Shizi cannot be used as evidence for the 'correct' [meaning of] the Classics, and therefore he said that he had not heard the lyrics." (Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, 38.1a-b; Legge, Li Chi or Book of Rites, Vol. II, p.105).

[81](2/5, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: In Wang Guowei's Guben Zhushu jinian jijiao 古本竹書記年輯校 he writes, "Zhong Ren 仲壬 died, Yi Yin banished Tai Jia 太甲 to Tong 桐, and installed himself as ruler....seven years hence the king secretly returned from Tong and killed Yi Yin..." (See: Wang Guowei, Guben Zhushu jinian jijiao 古本竹書記年輯校 in Wang Zhongque Gong yishu sanji 王忠慤公遺書三集, Haining: Wangshi paishi yinben 王氏排石印本, 1927-1928, 4a) Tai Jia's murder of Yi Yin does not appear in the standard histories.

[82](2/5, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Biography of Meng Tian" 蒙恬列傳 chapter of the Shi ji it states, "[Meng] Tian said...In ancient times after King Cheng of Zhou 周成王 had just ascended the throne, but before he was out of swaddling clothes, the Duke of Zhou, Dan, carrying him on his back, entered the court, and finally brought peace to the world....After King Cheng grew to an age where he was able to manage the affairs of state on his own, treacherous ministers told him that for a long time the Duke of Zhou had harbored the intent to create turmoil and disorder, and if the king did not make the proper preparations, a great disaster will certainly befall him. The king then became greatly enraged, and the Duke of Zhou left and fled to Chu." (Shi ji 88.2569). The episode where the Duke of Zhou flees to Chu does not appear in the Documents.

express their opinions at will,[83] and misunderstandings based on common hearsay. Although the Weishi 魏史 (Zhushu jinian 竹書紀年) was a product of the era of Anxi 安釐,[84] and Meng Tian 蒙恬 saw the texts before they were

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[83](2/5, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: On the phrase 處士橫議 "those of no official position who express their opinions at will," see the second part of the "Teng Wen Gong" chapter of the Mencius (3B/9; Lau, Mencius, p.114). Zhao Qi's commentary states, "Those of no official position who are clothed in plain cloth offer their views to any party so as to seek out a patron among the feudal lords." (Mengzi zhushu, Ssjzs, 6B.4b).

[84](2/5, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: The Zhushu jinian were originally historical documents from the state of Wei 魏, and therefore [Pi Xirui] calls them the Weishi or History of Wei. This text ends with the twentieth year of the reign of the King of Anxi 安釐 (reg. 286-243 B.C.), and therefore the statement that it came from the era of Anxi. The "Biography of Shu Xi" 束晳傳 in the Jin shu states, "In the second year of the Taikang period 太康二年 (281 A.D.-- the seventeenth year in the reign of Emperor Wu [reg. 265-290] of the Western Jin), Buzhun 不準 who was a native of Ji Commandery 汲郡 pilfered the tomb of King Xiang of Wei 魏襄王, some say it was the burial mound of Anxi Wang 安釐王, and obtained several tens of cartloads of documents written on bamboo strips. Among them was the [Zhushu] jinian in thirteen pian. Its historical records begin with the Xia 夏, and continue to the time when King You of the Zhou 周幽王 was wiped out by the Quan Rong 犬戎 tribe. It takes events and links them together, and when the three hereditary houses divide, it continues to recount the events of the state of Wei until the twentieth year of King Anxi. It is a text which records

burned,[85] their meaning is different from the standard Classics, and it is difficult to take what they say as reliable or believable. In this way then, what is taught and what is learned [from these texts] have origins as different as the Western Star and the Eastern Star;[86] and it is a shame that

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the history of the state of Wei, and its structure roughly matches that of the Spring and Autumn Annals." (See: Jin shu 51.1432). [The mention of this text] is a reference to the murder of Yi Yin.

[SVA: In order to explain Pi Xirui's mention of the Zhushu jinian, Zhou Yutong bases his explanation on the passage from the Jin shu quoted above. However, there are discrepancies between the information given in the Jin shu passage and current scholarly opinion. See the entry in Early Chinese Texts, p.39-47 which gives the date of the last entry of the received version of the Zhushu jinian as 299 B.C.]

[85](2/5, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Meng Tian was a Qin general who committed suicide as a result of the intrigue on the part of the Second Qin Emperor [that followed the death of the First Qin Emperor]. For his biography, see Shi ji 88.2565-70. Meng Tian was alive during the reign of the First Qin Emperor and witnessed the burning of the books, and thus should have been able to see the texts before they were burned. This refers to Meng Tian's statement about the Duke of Zhou fleeing to Chu.

[86](2/5, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: Shen 參 and Shang 商 are originally the names of two stars. Shen (Orion) is located in the western region of the sky and Shang (Lucifer) is located in the eastern region, and as they are located opposite from one another they never see each other. This is used as an analogy for two explanations being vastly different. This expression has

the words are arbitrary and that they did not pass through Meng of Zou's 孟鄒 editorial hand.[87] One should have the power of discernment that enables one to distinguish and differentiate, so one will not be ridiculed for being mired in antiquity.[88] (As for passages from the Zhushu jinian which state, "Yao was imprisoned, Yi 益 challenged Qi's position, and Tai Jia 太甲 killed Yi Yin 伊尹," how do they differ from the passages Xianqiu Meng 咸邱蒙 inquired about?[89] Meng Tian's statement that the Duke of Zhou fled to Chu

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its origin in Kong Guangsen's "Preface" ("Xu" 序) to the Daishi yishu 戴氏遺書. [SVA: I was not able to locate an edition of the Daishi yishu that contains the preface written by Kong Guangsen. The only copy listed in OCLC is at the University of California, Berkeley and the preface in this edition is by Lu Wenchao 蘆文弨. For Kong Guangsen's biography, see ECCP, p.434]

[87](2/5, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: Meng of Zou 孟鄒 refers to Mencius. Mencius was a native of Zou and thus he was called Meng of Zou.

[88](2/5, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese ni 泥 is glossed as zhi 滯 ("mired, bogged down"). Cf. Han shu 30.1735. Nigu 泥古 ("mired in antiquity") means to be restricted to what is old and not understand change.

[89](2/5, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Wudi benji" 五帝本記 chapter of the Shi ji, Zhang Shoujie's commentary quotes the following passage from the Zhushu 竹書, "In ancient times, when Yao's virtue was in decline, he was imprisoned by Shun." (See: Shi ji 1.31, n.5). The Jinben Zhushu jinian does not contain this passage. In the biography of Shu Xi 束晳傳 in the Jin shu, there is the following quotation from the Jinian 紀年, "Yi 益 challenged

was also something which was said during Warring States times. Meng Tian was not a scholar of the Classics, and although his words date from ancient times, they are not reliable.)

[2/6 SVA Introductory Comments: in this section, which is for the most part a quote from Liu Xin's "Letter Reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain of Ceremonials," Pi Xirui recounts the early years of the Han, a time when texts of the Classics were incomplete. This was owing to the prohibition against the private ownership of books as well as to the Qin's

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Qi's 啓 position, and Qi killed him." (See: Jin shu 51.1432). The present received version of the Zhushu jinian also does not contain this passage. On Tai Jia's murder of Yi Yin, see 2/7, n.7. Xianqiu Meng 咸邱蒙 was one of Mencius' disciples. In the first part of the "Wan Zhang" chapter of the Mencius there is the passage, "Xianqiu Meng asked, '...Shun stood facing south, while Yao stood facing north, at the head of the feudal lords, paying homage to him. The Blind Man likewise stood facing north, paying homage to him. Shun saw the Blind Man and a distressed look came over his face. Confucius commented, "At that moment, the Empire was precariously balanced." I wonder if this was really so?' 'No,' said Mencius. 'These are not the words of a gentleman, but of a rustic from Eastern Qi.'" (Mencius, 5A/4; Trans. Lau, Mencius, p.141). Pi Xirui says that all of what is recorded in the Zhushu is in the same category as the words of rustics from eastern Qi, and therefore he refers [to them] as being no different from the passage inquired about by Xianqiu Meng.

burning of the books and to the effects of the turmoil and destruction that took place during the fall of the Qin. Although Pi is critical of Liu Xin's historical narration which he views self-serving, he considers it an accurate portrayal of the "patience and resolve" on the part of those who recovered and transmitted the Classics during the early Han.]

2/6[90] One of the mistakes which Zheng of Qin committed later in his life was the burning of the books.[91] The grand plans of Han Gaozu included little time for educational institutions.[92] Shusun Sheng 叔孫生 and Fu Sheng 伏

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[90][SVA: Section 2/6 corresponds to pp.65-67 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.55-58 of the Yiwen ed.]

[91](2/6, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: As the given name (ming 名) of the First Qin Emperor was Zheng 政, Pi Xirui refers to him as Qin Zheng 秦政 or "Zheng of Qin." In the Chinese, fanshao 燔燒 refers to the First Qin Emperor's order which resulted in the burning of the books in the thirty-forth year of his reign (213 B.C.--reckoned from the time he ascended the throne as the King of the state of Qin). For details, see Shi ji, 6.255.

[92](2/6, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji it states, "The Han arose and afterward, for the first time the Ruists were able to study their Classics, ...but there were still military actions taking place in order to bring peace and stability to the realm bounded by the four seas, and there was still not sufficient time to devote to matters pertaining to educational institutions." (See: Shi ji 121.3117; Watson, Records, Vol. II, p.397-98). Pi Xirui bases himself on this passage. In the Chinese, "Han Gao"

生 were both Erudites and former officials[93] and Du Tiansheng 杜田生 and Shen Gong 申公 were old scholars of the former dynasty.[94] They gathered and collected books after the Qin's destruction, as well as treasuring the

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漢高 refers to Han Gaozu 漢高祖 or Liu Bang 劉邦, [the founder of the Han dynasty].

[93](2/6, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Shusun Sheng is none other than Shusun Tong 叔孫通. In the Shi ji "Biography of Shusun Tong" it states, "Shusun Tong was a native of Bi 薛. During the Qin he was recruited on account of his literary talent, and appointed to the post of Erudite Awaiting Appointment (daizhao boshi 待詔博士; cf. Hucker 6127). Several years later...he was appointed to the position of Erudite (boshi)." (See: Shi ji 99.2720; Watson, Vol. I, p.291). Fu Sheng's 伏生 given name (ming 名) was Sheng 勝. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "Fu Sheng was a native of Ji'nan 濟南, and formerly served the Qin in the capacity of Erudite." (See: Shi ji 121.3124; Watson, Records, Vol. II, p.406).

[94](2/6, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Du Tiansheng 杜田生 was none other than Tian He 田何 who lived at the beginning of the Han dynasty and transmitted the Changes. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "After the Han arose, Tian He, because the Tian 田 clan of Qi 齊 had relocated to Duling 杜陵, was known by his hao 號 as Du Tiansheng 杜田生." (See: Han shu 88.2597)

Shen Gong 申公 discoursed on the Lu Version of the Songs during the early years of the Han." [On Shen Gong], See 2/3, n.9.

books which were sequestered away in walls prior to the Han.[95] How is it that they only took ceremonial vessels when they entered the service of Chen She[96] and played and sang about Lu in remembrance?[97] Liu Xin's 劉欣

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[95](2/6, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Legend has it that the Old Script Documents (Guwen shangshu 古文尚書), and the Lost Rites (Yili 逸禮), along with other texts, were all discovered hidden away in the wall of a house during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han 漢武帝 (reg. 141-87 B.C.). The Han shu "Biography of Liu Xin" 劉歆傳 states, "King Gong of Lu 魯恭王 demolished Confucius' former residence, as he wanted to build a palace on the site. Texts written in Old Script were discovered in the rubble of the walls, among them the Yili 逸禮 in thirty-nine pian and the Shu 書 in sixteen pian." (Han shu 36.1969). The "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu contains similar information. (See Han shu 30.1706)

[96](2/6, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji it states, "When Chen She 陳涉 became king, the Ruists from the state of Lu took the ceremonial vessels that were once Confucius' and went to serve King Chen. Thereupon Kong Jia 孔甲 became an Erudite under Chen She, and in the end he died together with him." (See: Shi ji 121.3116; Watson, Records, Vol. II, pp.396-97)

[97](2/6, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "After Han Gaozu had killed Xiang Yu, he led his troops and surrounded the state of Lu. However, within Lu the Ruists continued as usual, discussing and reciting their texts, practicing their rites and playing their music, and the sounds of the music from the strings of their lutes and the sounds of their voices in song continued uninterrupted." (See: Shi ji

"Letter Reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain of Ceremonials" ("Yi taichang boshi shu" 移太常博士書)[98] states, "When the Han arose, it was a time far removed from that of the sage emperors and wise kings of the past. The Way of Confucius had been cut off and there was nothing on which to base laws and regulations. At the time there was only one Shusun Tong 叔孫通, who was able to determine, and then only in an approximate way, the rites and ceremonies. In the empire there was only the Changes which was used for divination and there were no other books. During the reign of Emperor Hui (reg. 194-187 B.C.), the law which prohibited the private

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121.3117; Watson, Records, Vol. II, p.397)

[98](2/6, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: On Liu Xin, see 1/5, n.10. The position of Erudite for the Chamberlain of Ceremonials (taichang boshi 太常博士 --Hucker 6143) was originally a Qin office which was continued under the Han. At the time, Liu Xin wanted to establish Erudite positions in the Academy (Xueguan 學官) for the Old Script texts, that is, for the Old Script Documents, the Lost Rites, and the Zuo Commentary. However, the Erudites who were advocates of the Modern Script school opposed this and as a result, Liu Xin submitted a memorial reprimanding them. For the text of the memorial, see the "Biography of Liu Xin" chapter in the Han shu 36.1967-71; Wenxuan 43.21b-25b. [SVA: For a translation, see: Eva Yuen-wan Chung, "A Study of the Shu (Letters) of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.)," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1982, pp.482-95.]

ownership of books was done away with.[99] However, the high ranking officials such as Jiang 降 and Guan 灌 were for the most part military men,[100] and none considered [the removal of the prohibition against privately held books] to be of significance. During the reign of Emperor Wen, for the first time an official, in this case Chao Cuo 晁錯 who held the position of Authority on Ancient Matters, was sent to receive instruction in

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[99](2/6, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: In the thirty-fourth year of his reign (213 B.C.) [reckoned from the time he became the king of Qin], the First Qin Emperor, on the advice of Li Si, issued an edict which prohibited the private ownership of texts. The "Annals of the First Qin Emperor" chapter in the Shi ji states, "[Texts] that do not pertain to the affairs of office of the Erudites, and those that people dare to collect such as the Song, Documents, and the works of the Hundred Thinkers, are all to be taken to the office of the Acting Commandant (shouwei 守尉--cf. Hucker 5355, 7657) and burned." (See: Shi ji 6.254-55) During the reign of Emperor Hui of the Han (reg. 194-188 B.C.) this prohibition was rescinded for the first time.

[100](2/6, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Jiang 降 refers to the Marquis of Jiang 降侯, Zhou Bo 周勃. For his biography, see Shi ji 57.2065-80; Watson, Records, Vol. I, pp.427-40 and Han shu 40.2050-66. Guan 灌 refers to the Marquis of Yingyin 潁陰侯, Guan Ying 灌嬰. For his biography, see Shi ji 95.2667-73 and Han shu 41.2080ff. These two men were both enfeoffed during the early years of the Han dynasty due to their achievements on the battlefield.

the Documents from Fu Sheng 伏生.[101] When the Documents was first taken out of the wall of the house where it was hidden,[102] it was decayed, broken, scattered, and incomplete. At present of course, the text appears to be intact, but at that time the masters who specialized in the text only transmitted it orally. The Songs then began to sprout up. Throughout the Empire, numerous texts came forth from everywhere, and in every case

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[101](2/6, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Rulin zhuan' chapter of the Shi ji it states, "During the reign of Emperor Wen (reg. 179-157 B.C.) they sought a person who had a command of the Documents, but there was no one in the Empire who was qualified. Then word came that Fu Sheng had mastered this text and he was summoned to the court. But at this time Fu Sheng was over ninety, old, and unable to travel. Thereupon the emperor ordered the Chamberlain for Ceremonials (taichang 太常--Hucker 6137) to send Chao Cuo, who held the position of Authority on Ancient Matters (zhanggu 掌古--HB; cf. Hucker 140), to go and receive instruction from him." (See: Shi ji 121.3124-25; Watson, Records, Vol. II, p.406-7). In the Chinese 朝錯 is none other than 晁錯.

[102](2/6, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji it states, "During the Qin when the texts were burned, Fu Sheng hid away a copy of the Documents in the wall of his residence. Later, there were military uprisings and he was forced to flee his home. After the Han had restored stability, Fu Sheng went back home and looked for his texts. However, several tens of pian were missing, and he was only able to find twenty-nine pian." (See: Shi ji 121.3124; Watson, Records, Vol. II, pp.406-407)

thinkers of various intellectual persuasions passed on their interpretations and explanations of these texts. The texts were widely established as an integral part of the schools, and Erudite positions were set up for each. At the imperial court, there was only one Confucian and that was Jia Yi 賈誼.[103] During the reign of Emperor Wu (reg. 141-87 B.C.), the states of Zou, Lu, Liang, and Zhao all had official masters of instruction for the Songs, Rites, and Spring and Autumn Annals. At this time a single individual was not able to have complete command of an entire classic. Some were versed in the pieces of the "Ya" 雅 section of the Songs and some were versed in the selections in the "Song" 頌 section of the Songs, and they would join together what they knew well to make it complete. [In the case of the Documents,]

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[103](2/6, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: Jia Sheng 賈生 (Master Jia) is none other than Jia Yi 賈誼. Jia Yi (200-168 B.C.) was a native of Luoyang 雒陽 and was a Confucian (Ruist) who made a name for himself during the reign of Emperor Wen. He served as the Grand Tutor (taifu 太傅--HB; cf. Hucker 6158) to the Prince of Changsha 長沙王 and as Grand Tutor to the Prince of Liang, and therefore is sometimes referred to as "Grand Tutor Jia" (Jia Taifu 賈太傅) or as "Jia of Changsha" (Jia Changsha 賈長沙). He is also referred to as "Master Jia" (Jia Sheng 賈生). His writings include the Xinshu 新書 in ten juan, which is extant. For his biography, see Shi ji 84.2491-2504 and Han shu 48.2221-66.

the "Taishi" 泰誓[104] was found at a later time, and the Erudites gathered together and deciphered it. Thus, an imperial decree was issued which stated, 'The Rites have fallen into decay and the Music has crumbled into ruin, the texts have parts missing and the bamboo strips are scattered, and we are very upset over this.'[105] At the time the Han had already been flourishing for seventy or eighty years, and this was a time that was already far removed from when the Classics were still in their complete form." In my

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[104](2/6, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Taishi" 泰誓 is a chapter (pian) of the Documents. At present, only the Old Script version of the Documents (古文尚書) contains the "Taishi" chapter, but it is a forgery of the Eastern Jin (317-420).

[105](2/6, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapters of the Shi ji and Han shu both contain the text of Gongsun Hong's 公孫弘 memorial to Emperor Wu. However, they both only record the passages, "The Rites have fallen into decay and the Music has crumbled into ruin, ...and I am very upset over this" (禮廢樂崩, ...朕甚愍焉) and neither records the passage "the texts have parts missing and the bamboo strips are scattered" (書缺簡脫). (See: Shi ji 121.3118, Watson, Records, p.399; Han shu 88.3529). As a result, many members of the Modern Script School considered that this passage was deliberately inserted by Liu Xin in order to advance the position of the Old Script School. For a detailed evaluation, see chapter three "Han shu 'Yiwenzhi' bianwei" 漢書藝文志辨僞, in Kang Youwei's 康有爲, Weijingkao 僞經考. (See: Kang Youwei, Xinxue Weijing kao 新學僞經考, Beiping: Wenhua xueshe, 1931, 3A.1-6)

opinion, Liu Xin desired to elevate and promote the Old Script texts and was therefore extreme in his condemnation of the Modern Script [School].[106] That which he says greatly overstates the case, but [in his words] we can also perceive the patience and enduring resolve applied to the transmission of the Classics during the early years of the Han dynasty.

[2/7 SVA Introductory Comments: In the closing section of the second chapter, Pi Xirui differentiates the jing 經 that Confucius personally edited or created from the zhuan 傳 and the ji 記 that contain the explanations of Confucius' disciples, as well as from the shuo 說 (exegesis or elucidation) that for Pi are that which Confucius' disciples circulated among themselves or taught to one another. He states that the "Xici" 繫辭 and the ""Sangfu" 喪服 were appended to the Changes and Rites, but that both were written by Confucius' students for the purpose of explaining the respective Classics proper and should not be confused and mixed with the jing. He then goes on to give a sketch of how the full set of thirteen jing came to be, but is critical of the use of the term when referring to texts other than the original five

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[106](2/6, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese guwen 古文 refers to the Old Script School of Classics Studies, and jinwen refers to the Modern Script School of Classics Studies.

jing (six counting the Yue 樂) that Confucius created. (Cf. Pi Xirui's treatment of the Xiaojing in this section with that in 1/6.)]

2/7[107] The texts that Confucius edited and put in final form, we refer to as Jing 經 or Classics. The texts which contain the explanations of Confucius' disciples, we refer to as zhuan 傳 or commentary, and some we refer to as ji 記 or records. And the [ideas, knowledge and understanding] which the disciples passed between themselves and taught to one another we refer to as shuo 說 or exegesis and elucidation. Only the Songs, Documents, Rites, Music, Changes, and Spring and Autumn Annals, that is, the Six Arts 六藝, passed through Confucius' editorial hand and are able to be called Jing or Classics. This is like the Buddhists who consider the texts which are the words of the Buddha to be sutras and the words of the Buddhist Masters (禪師) to be vinaya (律) and sastra (論).[108] The "Great Treatise" ("Xi ci" 繫辭)

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[107][SVA: Section 2/7 corresponds to pp.67-68 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.58-59 of the Yiwen ed.]

[108](2/7, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: In Buddhism there is what is referred to as the "Tripitaka" which is made up of the Sutra-pitika (經藏), the Vinaya-pitaka 律藏 and the (sastra) Abhidharma-pitaka 論藏. The sutra 經 are the words spoken by the Buddha. The sastra 論 were written by the Bodhisattvas and explain and expound upon the teachings of the Buddha.

of the Changes and the "Sangfu" 喪服 chapter of the Rites were appended to these Classics early on. Moreover, the Shi ji refers to the "Great Treatise" 繫辭 as commentary 傳,[109] and considers the "Great Treatise" to have been composed by the disciples, with its significance primarily being to explain the Classic, and it should not be mixed in and confused with the Classic proper. The "Sangfuzhuan" 喪服傳 was composed by Zixia 子夏, with its purpose primarily is to explain the Rites, and for its part it should not be mixed in and confused with the "Sangli" 喪禮. The Analects records the words of Confucius, but it was not composed by Confucius. It was the

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The vinaya 律 record the monastic regulations and rituals which are strictly adhered to by the monks and nuns. In addition, "Buddhist Masters" (Chanshi 禪師) is a term of respect for the disciples of Buddhism.

[109](2/7, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Autobiographical Postface" chapter of the Shi ji contains a quote of a passage from the "Xici" of the Changes, "In this world the same conclusion is reached, but by a hundred different ways of contemplation; we all return to the same place, but by many different routes." 天下一致而百慮, 同歸而殊塗. [At the beginning of the quote, the "Xici"] is referred to as the "Yidazhuan" 易大傳, "Great Commentary to the Changes." See: Shi ji 130.3288-89; Burton Watson, Ssu-ma Ch'ien: Grand Historian of China, New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, pp.43-44; Zhouyi yinde 周易引得, 46/繫下/3; Wilhelm/Baynes, Book of Changes, p.338. [SVA: Note that the phrase order in the Shi ji quote is different from that in the original text of the Changes.]

product of Confucius' disciples who compiled and edited it, and therefore it too should only be referred to as zhuan 傳 ["records" in this case]. During the Han, when quoting from the Analects, people, for the most part, referred to it as a zhuan. Although the Classic of Filial Piety (Xiaojing 孝經) is referred to as a Classic (Jing 經), when it was quoted from during the Han it was referred to as a zhuan, and it was never placed among the "Six Arts" 六藝. During the Han, because the Music Classic (Yuejing 樂經) had been lost, people only established Erudite positions for each of the Five Classics, the Songs, Documents, Changes, Rites, and Spring and Autumn Annals. Later a position was added for the Analects to make six, and then a position was also added for the Classic of Filial Piety, to bring the total to seven. During the Tang dynasty, the three Rites texts were separated, and so were the three Zhuan,[110] and when added to the Changes, the Documents, and the Songs, the number totaled nine. During the Song 宋, the Analects, Classic of Filial Piety, Mencius and the Erya were added to the above nine for a total of thirteen Classics. In each of the above cases they did not understand that

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[110](2/7, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The San li 三禮 or "Three Rites Texts" refers to the Zhouli 周禮, Yili 儀禮, and Xiao Dai Liji 小戴禮記. The "Sanzhuan" 三傳 or "Three Commentaries" refers to the Zuo Commentary 左氏傳, Gongyang Commentary 公羊傳, and Guliang Commentary 穀梁傳.

the jing and the zhuan should be differentiated and kept separate, and that zhuan and ji could not be referred to as Jing or "Classics" when speaking in a general way. (The [original] "xici" 繫辭 ("appended words") of the Changes are hexagram texts (guaci 卦辭) and line texts (yaoci 爻辭). At present when we say "Xici" we are referring to the "Xicizhuan" 繫辭傳 or the "Great Treatise" which was probably composed by Shang Ying 商瞿 and others. Consequently, the text clearly contains quotations marked by the words zi yue 子曰 ("the Master said"). In the Jingdian shiwen, Lu Deming states that in Wang Su's text he uses the word zhuan, [referring to it as the "Xici zhuan" 繫辭傳].[111] The Shi ji when quoting from the "Xici' refers to it as the "Yi Dazhuan" 易大傳 ("Great Commentary of the Changes").)

[111]See Jingdian shiwen, 2.24b ("Zhouyi yinyi" 周易音義 24b).

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.]

3/1[1] The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "When the present emperor[2] 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

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[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 jinshang 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

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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 菑川. As for instruction in the Spring and Autumn Annals, in Qi and Lu it came from Master Humu 胡母生, 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 Matters[7] 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

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[6]Shi 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

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[8]Shi ji 121.3121-2.

[9]Shi ji 121.3122-4.

[10]Shi 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

a 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 Ceremonials[12] 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,

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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

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[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" 高宗肜日, 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 Documents[14] 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

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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" 汩作, 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.

[15]Shi 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. Originally[17] 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

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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.

[19]Shi 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 steps[21]

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[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 周子家竪 (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

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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.

[22]Shi 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" 彖 ("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 lüe" 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 emperors[24] 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 胡母生 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

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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 Zuoshi[27] (Zuozhuan). At the time, the Grand Historian Sima Qian [who

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[25]Shi ji 121.3127-8.

[26]Shi 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 form 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

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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.]

3/2[28] The Kunxue jiwen 困學紀聞 states, "Zhai Pu 翟酺 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

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[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

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[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 胡母生 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

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"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 Dukes[36] 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

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[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 Official[37] 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 Ceremonials[38] 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.

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[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 start[42] 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

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[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

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[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 jinshi 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 Pei[46] [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

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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.]

3/3[47] 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

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

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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

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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

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[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

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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

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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 碭, 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, specialized[62] 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

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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 顓 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.]

3/4[63] 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

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[63][SVA: Section 3/4 corresponds to pp.77-81 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.70-74 of the Yiwen 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 dalu 大麓 to be the wilds of a dalu (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

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[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 dalu 大錄 or "great record," using the explanation of the Elder Xiahou.[66] This is evidence that the Elder Xiahou

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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 dalu 大麓 to be dalu 大錄 ("record"), and is not the same as the Shangshu dazhuan. Chen Qiaocong 陳喬樅 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

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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

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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., "Quewen" 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

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[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 陳喬樅 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 皇清經解續遍, 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,

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[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.

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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

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[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]

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[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 lines[76] border on numerology, and in all

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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

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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 shiying 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 shiying.

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.]

3/5[77] 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,

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

it would be better to preserve[79] 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 retrieve[80] what had been scattered and lost, and [the texts that

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[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]

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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

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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

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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 lüe" 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

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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 趙崎 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

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[85]See: 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,

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[87]See: Shi ji 121.3117; Han shu 88.3592.

and did not accord them any special status.]

3/6[88] 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 曰 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.

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[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

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[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

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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

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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

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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

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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 chunqiu 晏子春秋[98] or the Lüshi chunqiu 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

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[98](3/6, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Legend has it that the Yanzi chunqiu 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 chunqiu 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

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[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

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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 chunqiu, 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

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

[101](3/6, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: All these texts appear listed in the "Liuyi lüe" 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

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'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

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[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

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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

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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.]

3/7[106] 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

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[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 where overwhelmed with legal matters. If they were in a hurry to reduce the workload and make things

Classics[108] 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

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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 下邽, 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 崎陽[110] and what is written in the Shuowen as

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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

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[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 xiao zhuan form, then the guwen and zhouwen forms appear below the xiao zhuan form. For example, in juan one, under the classifier (radical) yi 一, below the character yi 一, it states, "弋, 古文一" (弋, 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, " 丙, 古文旁. 丙, 籀文." (丙 is the guwen form of 旁. 丙 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

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zhu, 15A.9a)

[113]Shi 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 Rong[116] in turn added to and supplemented [these commentaries and interpretations],

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[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 chunqiu), and the Guliang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals (Guliang chunqiu). During the Yongping 永平 period (58-75), he submitted two works, the Zuoshi zhuan jiegu 左氏傳解詁 in thirty pian and the Guoyu jiegu 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 古尙書), along with explanations of the Xiahou and Ouyang versions of the Modern [Script] Documents (Jin Shangshu 今尙書), explanations of the Old [Script] Mao Version of the Songs (Gu Mao Shi

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[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 許愼 (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 jijiu 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 absorbtion 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.]

3/8[119] 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

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[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

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[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

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[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

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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 lüe" 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 fanlu[126] expounded upon the sanke jiuzhi 三科九旨[127] system of

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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

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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

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[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.]

3/9[130] The text of The Grand Historian[131] 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

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[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 "Chunqiujia" 春秋家 subsection of the "Liuyi lüe" 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 dalu 大麓 to be shanlu 山麓 (a mountain forest),[135] xuanji yuheng

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[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 shanlu 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

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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 Qiaocong 陳喬樅 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 Qiaocong'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

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[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 尙書緯帝命驗 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

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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 僞孔傳) 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 Ssjzs, 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, Ssjzs, 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

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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

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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" 金縢 was opened

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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 Ling 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 陳喬樅 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 重 of Jin 晉,[145] and that Lu

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[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

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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 Qiaocong'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 肹 (肸), and composed the 'Xi shi' 肹誓 (肸誓)." (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

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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

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[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" 野有死麕 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, Beiping: 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

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[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 講康王 (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 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" (仁義淩遲) to have its origin in the Lu Version of the Songs. For a detailed examination, see Chen Qiaocong'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

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[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 add[156] another word."[157] Thus Du Yu's opinion that it was "the [structure of the] records of

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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

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

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[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

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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 an native of Yingyin 潁隱 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

that could not be 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 檮杌 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

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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.]

which the commentaries 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

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[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, Ssjzs, 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

composition] contributed by the Duke of 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 State[166] 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 "Huojing" 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 to[167] the detailed nature of the (Zuoshi) Zuozhuan.[168] He criticized the Sage as

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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 Yiwen 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 "Huojing" 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

lacking a method or model, and from 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

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"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.]

transmits says: in the case of a ruler being murdered, when he is referred to by his name, it is because he was lacking the Way[170]...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

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[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 伯沖; 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,

hexagrams, and 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 accord with the "Three Sages who created the

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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 chunqiu 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"

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

("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 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."

stated, "The [final form of the] 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

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(See: Shi ji 47.1947)

[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.

who venerate Confucius must follow the earliest [explanations] of the ancient meaning of the Former Han and 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.

Chapter Four

經學極盛時代

The Golden Age of Classical Scholarship

[4/1 SVA Introductory Comments: In this, the opening section of the chapter, Pi Xirui explains why this period became the "Golden Age" of Classical scholarship. For him, this period begins with the recognition on the part of the imperial court of the value and the importance of the learning a person acquires from the serious study of the Classics. This, in the form of the appointment of Gongsun Hong by Emperor Wu, drew the attention of scholars and was certainly a motivating factor. Subsequent reigns saw the increase in the number of men versed in the Classics appointed to high positions. In addition, there was state support for the study of the Classics in the form of an increase in the number of government supported students at the Imperial Academy. Furthermore, there were positions in the bureaucracy that required the holder to be versed in Classical Learning. In the case that one did not hold an official position, there were opportunities to teach at the numerous schools which were located throughout the empire.]

4/1[1] The period beginning with the reigns of Emperor Yuan 元 (reg. 48-33 B.C.) and Emperor Cheng 成[2] (reg. 32-6 B.C.) of the Former Han dynasty to the Later Han dynasty was the highpoint of Classical Scholarship. The reason it flourished to the highest degree was that during the early part of the Han, Ruists were not employed in official capacities,[3] but when

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[1][SVA: Section 4/1 corresponds to pp.101-3 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.98-101 of the Yiwen ed.]

[2](4/1, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Yuan 元 and Cheng 成 refer to Emperor Yuan 元帝 and Emperor Cheng 成帝 of the Former Han dynasty. Emperor Yuan was on the throne for sixteen years, from 48 to 33 B.C. and Emperor Cheng was on the throne for twenty-six years, from 32 to 7 B.C.

[3](4/1, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "The Han arose...but there were still battles being fought in the process of bringing peace and stability to the realm bounded by the four seas. It was also the case that there was little time to devote to matters of establishing schools. During the reign of Emperor Hui (reg. 194-188 B.C.) and the Empress Lü period (187-180 B.C.) the high ranking officials were all ministers who had attained their positions by virtue of their military achievements... Emperor Wen (reg. 179-157 B.C.) originally was fond of the discourses of the Xingming legalists. During his reign, Emperor Jing (reg. 156-141 B.C.) did not employ Ruists, while Empress Dou was enamored with the theories and explanations of the Huang-Lao school. Thus, there were Erudites who filled the positions and [on occasion] were asked for advice, but there were never any who advanced beyond this." (See: Shi ji 121.3117; Watson, Records, II, p.398). Based on this account then, from the

Emperor Wu first appointed Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 to the position of Counselor-in-Chief[4] and enfeoffed him as a marquis, throughout the Empire learned scholars to a man followed the prevailing winds.[5] Emperor Yuan especially favored Ruists,[6] with Wei Xian 韋賢 and his son Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成, Kuang Heng 匡衡, Gong Yu 貢禹, and Xue Guangde 薛廣

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time the Han arose through the reign of Emperor Jing, there were no Ruists employed.

[4][SVA: Counselor-in-chief = chengxiang 丞相--Hucker 483.]

[5](4/1, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "After the present emperor (Emperor Wu) ascended the throne...Gongsun Hong, because of his command of the Spring and Autumn Annals, went from commoner status to become one of the Emperor's three highest ranking officials (san gong 三公--Hucker 4871), and was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Pingjin 平津侯. Scholars throughout the empire came in great numbers as if blown by the wind." (See: Shi ji 121.3118; Watson, Records, II, pp.398-9). Gongsun Hong was a native of Xue 薛 who lived during the Han and had a solid command of the Spring and Autumn Annals. During the Yuanshuo 元朔 period (128-123 B.C.), he held the position of Counselor-in-Chief and was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Pingjin. For his biography, see Han shu 58.2613-24. In the Chinese xiang 鄉 is a loan character for xiang 向.

[6](4/1, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" of the Han shu states, "Emperor Yuan was partial towards Ruists. Those thoroughly versed in a single Classic were all exempt from taxes and conscript service." (See: Han

德[7] all serving as ministers of state. From this time on, with respect to the highest ministerial ranks, no one advanced who did not follow the methods

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shu 88.3596)

[7](4/1, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: [In the original] the Weis 韋 refer to Wei Xian 韋賢 and his son Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成. Wei Xian (zi Zhangru 長孺) was a native of Zou 鄒 who lived during the Former Han dynasty and had a strong command of the Lu Version of the Songs 魯詩. He passed on this knowledge to his son Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成 (zi Shaoweng 少翁). Both father and son, owing to their skill in Confucian learning, attained the position of Counselor-in-Chief (chengxiang 丞相--Hucker 483). For the biography of Wei Xian, see Shi ji 96.2686 and Han shu 73.3101-7. For the biography of his son, Wei Xuancheng, see Shi ji 96.2688 and Han shu 73.3108-15).

Kuang 匡 refers to Kuang Heng 匡衡. See 1/4, n.6. He had a strong command of the Qi Version of the Songs 齊詩 and attained the position of Counselor-in-chief.

Gong 貢 refers to Gong Yu 貢禹 (zi Shaoweng 少翁) who lived during the Former Han and was a native of Langye 琅邪, had expertise in the Qi Version of the Lunyu 齊論, and served in the position of Censor-in-Chief (yushi daifu 御史大夫--Hucker 8181). For his biography, see Han shu 72.3069-80.

Xue 薛 refers to Xue Guangde 薛廣德 (zi Zhangqing 長卿) who lived during the Former Han and was a native of Pei commandery 沛郡. He had a thorough command of the Lu Version of the Songs and held the position of Censor-in-Chief. For his biography, see Han shu 71.3046-48.

[acquired from the study] of the Classics. There was a saying that attaining the blue and purple robes of officialdom was as easy as picking up a mustard seed,[8] and carriages and fine robes were the glorious rewards for investigating antiquity.[9] A basket full of gold did not measure up to

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[8](4/1, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The biography of Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝 in the Han shu states, "Every time Xiahou Sheng instructed his students, he would invariably tell them, 'A scholar-official is deficient if he does not clearly understand the Classics. If classical learning is clearly understood, then attaining the blue and purple will be [as easy as] bending over and picking up a mustard seed off the ground. If one is not clear in his study of the Classics, then it's better to go back to plowing.'" Yan Shigu offers the following explanation on this passage in his notes, "Dijie 地芥 refers to the seed of a plant lying across the ground. 'To bend over and pick it up' speaks to the ease of this action and the certainty of obtaining it." (See: Han shu 75.3159 and note 1 to this passage.) Wang Xianqian notes in his Hanshu buzhu, "During the Han, those who held the rank of Counselor-in-Chief and Defender-in-Chief (dawei, taiwei 大尉--Hucker 6260) carried seals made of gold and a purple sash. Those of the rank of Censor-in-Chief (yushi daifu--Hucker 8181) carried seals made of silver and a blue sash. These three offices were the most highly venerated." (See: Han shu buzhu 75.5a)

[9](4/1, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Gao yao mo" chapter of the Documents there is the phrase, "Carriages and garments are bestowed upon them due to their efforts." (See: Karlgren, Book of Documents, p. 11.) The forged Kong commentary states, "To officially bestow carriages and garments shows they are able to employ them." (See: Shangshu zhengyi,

teaching one's son a single Classic.[10] The continuous prominence of successive generations effected the admiration of an entire age. During the Later Han, [successive generations] of the Huan family in turn acted as imperial tutors[11] and [successive] generations of the Yang family served at

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Ssjzs, 5.10b). The biography of Huan Rong 桓榮傳 in the Hou Han shu states, "[The emperor] appointed Huan Rong to the position of Junior Mentor (shaofu 少傅--Hucker 5096), and bestowed upon him a canopied carriage and a team of fine horses. Huan Rong convened a meeting of his students, showing off his carriage, horses, seal, and sash to them and said, 'That which I received today is the result of efforts made investigating antiquity." (See: Hou Han shu 37.1251)

[10](4/1, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Biography of Wei Xian" 韋賢傳 in the Han shu, it states, "To pass on a basket full of gold to one's son is not as good as passing on [the command of] a single Classic." In the note to this passage, Ru Chun 如淳 comments, "A 'ying' 籯 is a bamboo container which holds three or four dou 斗 (pecks)." (See: Han shu 73.3107 and n.1).

[11](4/1, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Huan Rong 桓榮 (zi Chunqing 春卿) was a native of Pei commandery 沛郡 who lived during the Later Han, and who studied the Ouyang interpretation of the Documents. During the reign of Emperor Guangwu (reg. 25-57), he instructed the future Emperor Ming (reg. 58-75) in the Classics in his capacity as Junior Tutor to the Heir Apparent (taizi shaofu 太子少傅--Hucker 6251). His son Huan Yu 桓郁 (zi Zhongen 仲恩), attained the position of Commander-in-Chief of Chariots (shizhong fengche duwei 侍中奉車都尉--Hucker 1956), and instructed both the future Emperor Zhang 章帝 (reg. 76-88) and the future Emperor He 和帝

the level of the Three Dukes.[12] The necessity of using highly educated individuals for high ministerial positions[13] began with Emperor Wu of the

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(reg. 89-105) in the Classics. Huan Rong's grandson, Huan Yan 桓焉 (zi Shuyuan 叔元) reached the rank of Defender-in-Chief (taiwei 太尉--Hucker 6260), and was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Yangping 陽平侯. He instructed the future Emperor An 安帝 (reg. 107-125) and the future Emperor Shun 順帝 (reg. 126-144) in the Classics. Thus, Pi Xirui's statement, "Successive generations served as imperial tutors." For their biographies, see: Hou Han shu 37.1249-57.

[12](4/1, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Yang Zhen 楊震 (zi Boqi 伯起), was a native of Huayin 華陰 who lived during the Later Han. He had a solid command of the Ouyang interpretation of the Documents, and was referred to as the "Confucius of Guangxi" 廣西孔子 by other scholars. In his career as an official, he reached the level of Defender-in-Chief. His sons, Yang Bing 楊秉 and Yang Shujie 楊叔節 continued their father's tradition of scholarship and transmitted it to others. They both possessed a clear understanding of Master Jing's 京氏 interpretation of the Changes. In their official careers, both attained the rank of Defender-in-Chief. Yang Zhen's grandson, Yang Si 楊賜 (zi Boxian 伯獻) carried on the family's tradition of scholarship, and attained the rank of Minister of Works (sikong 司空--Hucker 5687). Thus, Pi Xirui's statement, "successive generations of the Yang family served at the highest possible level." For their biographies, see: Hou Han shu 54.1759-91.

[13][SVA: I have translated zaixiang 宰相 as "high ministerial positions." However, it also can be rendered "Stewards and Ministers" or "Grand Counselor." See Hucker 6819.]

former Han, and continued through the reigns of Emperors Yuan and Cheng and on through the reigns of Emperor Guangwu 光武 (25-57 A.D.), Emperor Ming 明 (reg. 58-75) and Emperor Zhang 章[14] (reg. 76-88), this practice was followed. This was one reason that Classical Scholarship flourished to the highest degree. Emperor Wu established [and filled] fifty student-officials-in-training positions for the Erudite offices, exempting[15] them from taxes as well as conscript service. Emperor Zhao 昭 (reg. 86-74 B.C.) increased this number to one hundred. During the last years of the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣 (reg. 73-49 B.C.), this number was doubled. Emperor Yuan favored Ruists, and those individuals who were versed in a single Classic were all exempted from taxes and conscript service. In several years, because the number was insufficient to meet the demand, the

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[14](4/1, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Guangwu 光武, Ming 明, and Zhang 章 refer to Emperor Guangwu 光武帝, Emperor Ming 明帝and Emperor Zhang 章帝of the Later Han. Emperor Guangwu was on the throne for thirty-three years, from 25 to 57 A.D. Emperor Ming was on the throne for eighteen years, from 58 to 75 A.D. Emperor Zhang was on the throne for thirteen years, from 76 to 88 A.D.

[15](4/1, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: On the word fu 復, Yan Shigu in his notes to the Han shu comments, "It means to exempt someone from conscript labor and taxes." (See: Han shu 88.3596, note 1). Juan 蠲 in Yan Shigu's gloss means mian 免 "to exempt from."

number of personnel was increased to one thousand; and the one hundred bushel position of Clerk, the holders of which were versed in the Five Classics, was established in the commanderies and kingdoms. Under Emperor Cheng, the number of student-officials-in-training was increased to three thousand. During the reign of Emperor Ping, [this policy] was expanded, as now the sons of the elite were able to receive instruction like the student-officials-in-training, but they did not enjoy "official" status. Depending on their rankings in the annual exams, they became Gentlemen of the Interior,[16] Housemen of the Heir Designate,[17] Literary Scholars,[18] or Authorities on Ancient Matters.[19] In later ages, the process by which government students were recruited by examination in actuality had its origins in this. Even if students of the Classics were not able to attain high

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[16][SVA: Gentlemen of the Interior = langzhong 郎中-- Hucker 3556.]

[17][SVA: Houseman of the Heir Designate = taizi sheren 太子舍人--cf. Hucker 6239, 5136; HB, p.223.]

[18][SVA: Literary Scholars = wenxue 文學--HB; Clerks--Hucker 7704.]

[19](4/1, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: From the sentence which begins "Emperor Wu established student-officials-in-training positions for the Erudite offices" (武帝爲博士官置第子) to here is based on the prefatory section of the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu, with some additions and emendations. (See: Han shu 88.3594) [SVA: Authority on Ancient Matters = zhanggu 章故--HB; Clerks--Hucker 140].

office, they were still for their part able to achieve prominence, and for this reason within the realm bounded by the four seas, schools were [as numerous] as trees in a forest. During the later years of the Han dynasty, the number of students at the Imperial Academy approached thirty thousand,[20] and this was a great event that had not occurred from the time of antiquity. This is an additional reason why Classical Scholarship flourished to such a high degree.

[4/2 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui discusses how jingshu 經術,[21] a term perhaps best understood in this context as "the methods, techniques, and skills acquired from the serious study of the Classics," were held in high regard during the Han and were applied in the area of statecraft. He points out that all officials were well versed in at least

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[20](4/1, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" ("prefatory matter," "Xu") to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "From here, the number of travelling students (referring to [students at] the Imperial Academy) increased and expanded, reaching in excess of 30,000." (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2547)

[21][SVA: Contrast Pi Xirui's use of jingshu 經術 with that of jingxue. The definition of the terms overlaps, and jingshu is defined as jingxue by some reference works, but for Pi Xirui the range of meaning of one is different from that of the other.]

one of the Classics, and compares this to later times when literary ability alone became the criterion for selecting officials. The result was that officials were merely concerned with following the letter of the law and did not draw upon the Classics for guidance. In Pi's opinion, although the Han never fully achieved the ideals embodied in the Chunqiu and the Liji, of the dynasties that followed, none measured up to the Han. He then closes with a quote by Gu Yanwu in which he states that while the first three emperors of the Later Han had great achievements in transforming the nation, they still fell short of attaining the Way.]

4/2[22] During the Han, the methods, techniques, and skills [acquired from the serious study] of the Classics were held in high regard, and they were actually able to see practical application and use. Emperor Wu dismissed the thinkers of the Hundred Schools, praised the Six Classics, and Confucius' teachings were determined as the only ones to be singled out for honor.[23] However, both Emperor Wu and Emperor Xuan were both fond of

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[22][SVA: Section 4/2 corresponds to pp.103-6 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.101-3 of the Yiwen ed.]

[23](4/2, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Emperor Wu's dismissal and suppression of the thinkers of the Hundred Schools and his praise and sanctioning of the Six Classics originated in the proposals of Dong Zhongshu. The "Biography of Dong Zhongshu" chapter of the Han shu

Xingming 形名 Legalism,[24] and as such, they did not exclusively value classicists [Ruists]. Gai Kuanrao 蓋寬饒 said that laws and regulations (Legalism) should be considered the equal of [i.e. respected like] the Songs and the Documents, and that the methods of the Classics were not the only thing that should be used.[25] After the reigns of Emperor Yuan and Emperor Cheng, Xingming Legalism was gradually abandoned. At the upper levels

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states, "At present the teachers follow different paths, people put forth differing theories, the Hundred Schools have different objectives, their intentions are not the same, and for this reason, those above lack that by which they can maintain unity and uniformity. The methods and systems go through numerous changes, and those below do not know what to hold to. I respectfully suggest that what is not part of the curriculum of the Six Arts, or that of the teachings of Confucius, should have its way cut off and not be allowed to advance side by side with [Confucian Learning]." (See: Han shu 56.2523)

[24][SVA: On xingming 形名, see: Herrlee G. Creel, "The Meaning of 形名 Hsing-ming," in What is Taoism? (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p.79-91; A. C. Graham, Disputers of the Tao (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1989), p.283-5.]

[25](4/2, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The biography of Gai Kuanrao 蓋寬饒 in the Han shu states, "Kuanrao submitted a confidential memorial which stated, 'At present the Way of the sages has gradually been abandoned and Ruist learning is not practiced. The castrated are treated like the Duke of Zhou or Duke of Shao, and laws and decrees are the equal of the Songs and the Documents.'" (See: Han shu 77.3247)

there was no variation in what was taught, and at the lower levels there was no variation in what was studied. The emperor in his edicts, and the various officials in their memorials and deliberations, never failed to draw from the Classics, which were taken as the foundation.[26] In times of great doubt in the affairs of state, the Spring and Autumn Annals was immediately consulted to resolve the difficulties.[27] At one time, upright

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[26](4/2, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: During the Former and Later Han dynasties, whenever the emperor issued an edict, he would quote from the text of Classics. For example, Emperor Yuan 元帝 (reg. 48-33 B.C.) issued an edict in the fourth month of the first year of his reign in which he quoted from the "Gao yao mo" chapter of the Documents. It reads, "Does not the Documents state, '...the legs and arms are in fine form! The numerous affairs go well.'" (See: Han shu 9.279; cf. Shangshu zhengyi, Ssjzs, 5.17a-b; Karlgren, Book of Documents, p.12). This is one example. When it came to the ministers quoting from the Classics in their memorials, this can be found everywhere. For example, Dong Zhongshu in one of his proposals quotes from both the poem "Zhengmin" 烝民 from the "Daya" section of the Songs and from the "Gao yao mo" chapter of the Documents. "In the Songs it says, 'Day and night did not become lax,' and in the Documents states, 'Strive on, strive on!' Both are words of strong encouragement." (See: Han shu 56.2499; cf. Mao #260; Waley, Book of Songs, p.276; Shangshu zhengyi, Ssjzs, 4.27a; Karlgren, Book of Documents, p.9). This is another example. For additional details, see the Han shu and Hou Han shu.

[27](4/2, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The use of the Spring and Autumn Annals in resolving matters about which there were major questions or

officials were, for the most part, able to clearly deduce the significant implications contained within the Classics, and employ them in such a way as to effect a shift and change in the moral climate, and it was called using the methods of the Classics to manage official matters.[28] That Han

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problematic legal cases was something that was a very common practice during the Han dynasty. In the "Biography of Dong Zhongshu" chapter of the Han shu it states, "When Dong Zhongshu was at home, if there was a major deliberation at the imperial court, a messenger would be dispatched along with Zhang Tang 張湯 who held the rank of Chamberlain for Law Enforcement (tingwei 廷尉--Hucker 6767) to Dong Zhongshu's residence in order to ask his opinion. He always responded with a clear method for resolving the problem." (See: Han shu 56.2525) In his Han shu buzhu, Wang Xianqian states, "The 'Yiwenzhi' chapter of the Han shu lists a Gongyang Dong Zhongshu zhiyu 公羊董仲舒治獄 in sixteen pian....Ying Shao 應劭 commented, 'The court sent the Chamberlain for Law Enforcement Zhang Tang to inquire about the strongpoints and shortcomings. He thereupon composed the Chunqiu jueyu 春秋決獄 regarding twenty-three different matters, the responses initiated by the Classic.' This refers to it." (See: Han shu buzhu 30.20b) This is one actual clear example.

[28](4/2, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "preface" (prefatory material) to the "Biographies of Upright Officials" 循吏傳 chapter of the Han shu it states, "Dong Zhongshu, the Administrator (xiang 相--Hucker 2303) of Jiangdu 江都, and the Chamberlain(s) of the Capital (neishi 內史--Hucker 4236) Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 and Ni Kuan 兒寬 held official positions and could exercise control. The three men were all Ruists, were thoroughly

government administration approximated that of antiquity, was in reality owing to this. And it was because it was a time when virtually all government officials including the dukes (gong 公), ministers (qing 卿), grandees (daifu 大夫), scholar-officials (shi 士), and clerks (li 吏) were thoroughly versed in at least one of the Classics. In later times, the selection of officials placed an emphasis on their literary skill, not on whether or not they had a clear understanding of the Classics. As officials, they only maintained the statutes and precedents, and did not consult the Confucian texts. They did not utilize Classical Scholarship and it was maintained in name only. Furthermore, they suspected that Classical Scholarship was really of no use, and at the same time wished to do away with its practical application. Looking back upon the events of long ago which took place during the Former and Later Han, one can muse and contemplate things which occurred in the remote past. The Way of Confucius is contained within the Six Classics, whose original purpose was to transmit moral teachings to the myriad generations to follow. Only the Han especially

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versed in public affairs, were clear minded and familiar with the legal system, and used classical learning to manage government matters." Yan Shigu glosses xunli 循吏 ("upright officials"): "Xun 循 is equivalent to shun 順; above they follow the public laws and below they follow the mood of the people." (See: Han shu 89.3623-24 and 89.3623 note to the chapter title.)

revered the methods of the Classics, and was even able to put into practice Confucius' teachings. Although the ideal of the Great Peace embodied in Spring and Autumn Annals,[29] and the image of the Grand Unification contained in the "Liyun" 禮運 chapter of the Liji,[30] were still things that

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[29](4/2, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: According to the view of the Gongyang School, in the Spring and Autumn Annals there are three distinct ages. The first is the "Age of Disorder," the second is the "Age of Ascending Peace," and the third is the "Age of Great Peace." The "Age of Great Peace" refers to the time when society attains the ideal of perfect order.

[30](4/2, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Liyun" 禮運 is a chapter in the Xiao Dai Liji (Record of Rites). Its discussion of the Grand Unification ("Datong" 大同) is as follows, "When the Grand course was pursued, a public and common spirit ruled all under Heaven; they chose men of talent, virtue, and ability; their words were sincere, and what they cultivated was harmony. Thus men did not only love their own parents, nor treat as children only their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able bodied, and the means of growing up for the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all provided with adequate means of support. Males had their proper work and females had their homes. [They accumulated] articles [of value], disliking that they should be thrown away upon the ground, but not wishing to keep them for their own gratification. They labored with their strength, disliking that it should not be exerted, but not exerting it [only] with a view to their own advantage. In this way [selfish] schemes

were never attained, with respect to the magnificence of political teachings and the excellence of moral influence which came after the Three Dynasties, there was nothing like that of the Former and Later Han. Coming to the Tang and the Song, we see that neither was able to approach this level. As for the effects of holding the Classics in high regard, there was already clear evidence. If they upheld the ideal of the Great Peace, and the image of the Grand Unification and actually put these things into practice, then would we not increasingly see the form of the Dark Sage's[31] synthesis of learning,

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were repressed and found no development. Robbers, filchers, and rebellious traitors did not show themselves, and hence the outer doors remained open, and were not shut. This was [the period] which we call the Grand Union." (Translation: Legge, Li Chi or Book of Rites, Vol. I, pp.365-6; Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, 21.3a-b) Members of the Modern Script School consider this to be the time when society has attained the ideal of perfect order.

[31](4/2, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, xuansheng 玄聖 ("Dark Sage") refers to Confucius. Legend has it that Confucius' mother was deeply moved by the Black Emperor 黑帝 and gave birth to Confucius. For this reason he is referred to as the "Dark Sage" (xuansheng 玄聖) as the color black 黑色 is dark 玄. In the Chunqiu wei yan Kongtu 春秋緯演孔圖 it states, "Confucius' mother Zhengzai 徵在 was roaming the hills around the great marsh. She fell asleep and dreamt that the envoy of the Black Emperor invited her [to go to him]. She went, dreaming that they had sexual relations. Someone said, 'You must nurse [your child] in the middle of a barren mulberry field. She awoke and felt a sensation, and gave birth to

that of the system of institutions he established, and that of his true spirit and intelligence? This is what Gu Yanwu meant when he said, "Emperor Guangwu, Emperor Ming, and Emperor Zhang truly had the achievement of transforming a Qi 齊 into a Lu 魯, but it was a pity that they did not achieve purity with respect to the Way."[32]

Confucius in a vacant mulberry field. Therefore he is referred to as the 'Dark Sage.'" (See: Yasui Kozan 安居香山, Nakamura Shohachi 中村璋八, eds., Choshu isho shusei 重修緯書集成, Tokyo: Meitoku Shuppansha 明德出版社, 1971-1992, Vol. 4, pt. 1, p.12)

[32](4/2, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (original name ming Jiang 絳; 1613-1682) was a native of Kunshan 崑山 in Jiangsu who lived during the last years of the Ming dynasty and [the early years of the Qing]. He lived in Tinglin Village 亭林鎮 and took the name Tinglin as his style name, and also signed his name as Jiang Shanyong 蔣山傭. He was a First Degree Graduate (xiucai). During the Luwang 魯王 period, together with Gui Zhuang 歸莊, he raised an army, and he held the position of Director (langzhong 郎中--Hucker 3565) in the Bureau of Operations (zhifang 職方 --Hucker 978) in the Ministry of War (bingbu 兵部-- Hucker 4691). After the Ming fell, he swore that he would never serve the Manchus, and he chose to reside in Huayin 華陰 until his death. He was given to the precise examination of evidence and started the current of scholarship during the Qing known as puxue 樸學 ("Unadorned Learning"). His writings were plentiful, the best known being the Rizhilu 日知錄, the Yinxue wushu 音學五書, the Tianxia guojun libingshu 天下國君利兵書, and the Tinglin shiwenji

[4/3 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui discusses the part of the early Chinese world view that centers on the relationship between Heaven (天) and Man (人). This view focuses specifically on how natural disasters and unusual occurrences, such as earthquakes and eclipses, would be interpreted in the context of the times as signs from Heaven that something was amiss on the part of the ruler, thereby striking fear into his heart and causing him to examine his behavior and make appropriate corrections on his part. The last part of this section finds Pi acknowledging modern Western scientific explanations, but still holding to the view that Confucius' Spring and Autumn Annals was correct in its recording of these events and their significance. Without being an apologist for superstitious views, it is possible that Pi Xirui's point is that at the time, although the modern scientific explanations for these events were unknown, unusual occurrences in the natural world served the purpose of

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亭林詩文集. For his biography, see Ruan Yuan's Guoshi rulinzhuan 國史儒林傳 and Jiang Fan's 江藩 Guochao Hanxueshi chengji 國朝漢學師承記, juan eight. For the quoted passage, see the section "Zhoumo fengsu" 周末風俗 in juan thirteen of his Rizhilu. (See: Rizhilu, Vol.2, p.38) The "Yongye" chapter of the Lunyu states, "The Master said, 'A single change and Qi can become a Lu. A single change and Lu can attain the Way.'" (See: Lunyu 6/24; Lau, trans., Analects, p.84).

causing rulers to examine their behavior and correct their shortcomings. Thus, although it was a view grounded in superstition, it can be seen as having positive aspects, and therefore we should understand it in its historical context and not judge it solely from a modern scientific point of view.]

4/3[33] During the Han there was a kind of learning which focused on the relationship between Heaven and Man,[34] and [this kind of learning]

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[33][SVA: Section 4/3 corresponds to pp.106-8 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.103-7 of the Yiwen ed.]

[34](4/3, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: "Learning which focused on the relationship between Heaven and Man," (天人之學) concentrated on explaining the mutual relationship between heavenly phenomena and human affairs. Dong Zhongshu stated in one of his proposals, "Observing the coincidence of the mutual interactions between Heaven and Man, causes one to be in awe. If the state is on the verge of some kind of failure owing to losing the Way, then Heaven will first produce natural disasters to serve as a warning and reprimand. If it is not understood that self-examination and introspection are appropriate, Heaven then produces strange and abnormal occurrences to warn and strike fear into people. If they still do not know enough to change their ways, then disaster and ruination befall them." (See: Han shu 56.2498) This is an explanation of the mutual interaction and relationship between Heaven and Man.

particularly thrived in [the intellectual currents of] the state of Qi.[35] The Five Phases theory contained in Master Fu's 伏生 Shangshu dazhuan,[36] the Five Periods 五際 theory of the Qi Version of the Songs,[37] and the numerous

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[35](4/3, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: "The intellectual activities of Qi" (齊學) refers to the learning of the Qi area scholars who transmitted the Classics during the early years of the Former Han dynasty. Generally speaking, their learning combined Yinyang dualism with numerology, and in addition made use of natural disasters and unusual occurrences explaining the Classics. For example, Master Fu 伏生 who transmitted the Documents, was a native of Ji'nan 濟南 in Qi. Master Yuan Gu 轅固生, with whom the [history of] Qi Version of the Songs begins, was a native of Qi. They both appear in the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji. Gongyangzi 公羊子, who composed the Gongyang chunqiu 公羊春秋 was also a native of Qi. See the note under the entry in the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Hanshu (30.1713)

[36](4/3, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The third juan of Master Fu's 伏生 Shangshu dazhuan 尙書大傳, which is in four juan, is the Hongfan wuxingzhuan 洪範五行傳. It focuses on explaining the mutual production and mutual conquest theories regarding the "Five Phases" found in the "Hongfan" chapter of the Documents. Notes were written to this work by Zheng Xuan. Some say that the Shangshu wuxingzhuan is a separate text which differs from the "Hongfanzhuan" which is found in the Shangshu dazhuan. Yuan Jun 袁鈞 (juren? / jinshi 1796) holds this view in his Zhengshi yishu 鄭氏佚書.

[37](4/3, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The Qi Version and of the Songs had a theory of the "Five Junctures." The "Biography of Yi Feng" 翼奉傳 in the

discourses on natural disasters and unusual occurrences in the Gongyang Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals[38] all belong to the category

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Han shu states, "The Songs has Five Junctures." (See: Han shu 75.3172) It also states, "Yi Feng secretly studied the Qi Version of the Songs, and heard the essentials of the Five Junctures." (Han shu 75.3173) Yan Shigu's commentary states, "In a year in which there is a conjunction of the end and beginning of the yinyang [cycles], there is then a change in government." (See: Han shu 75.3173, n.2) The Shiwei silishu 詩緯汜歷樞 states, "Hai 亥 is [the time of] change which reflects the Mandate of Heaven. This is the first Juncture. Hai is also Heaven's Gate, where one awaits Heaven's call. This is the second Juncture. Mao 卯 is the conjunction of yin and yang. This is the third Juncture. Wu 午 is when yang is in decline and yin is ascending. This is the fourth Juncture. You 酉 is when yin is ascending and yang is on the decline. This is the fifth Juncture." (See: Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, 54.1b) [SVA: This work is also known as Shiwei fanlishu 詩緯氾歷樞. Cf. Hsiao / Mote, A History of Chinese Political Thought, Vol. 1, p.511, n.113.]

[38](4/3, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Those who had a strong command of the Gongyang chunqiu all discoursed on natural disasters and unusual occurrences. For example, the "Biography of Dong Zhongshu" chapter of the Han shu states, "In his administration of the state, Dong Zhongshu used the changes of natural disasters and unusual occurrences in the Chunqiu to investigate and deduce the interaction and interchange of yin and yang." (See: Han shu 56.2524) In addition, in the biography of Sui Hong 眭弘 in the Han shu it says that Sui Hong (zi Meng 孟) also used his strong command of the Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals in his discussion of natural disasters and unusual occurrences, and that he was

of Qi learning. For the Changes there were images and numerology [associated with] divination,[39] and the Rites contain information on the Luminous Hall (Mingtang 明堂) and yinyang dualism,[40] and while these do

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executed owing on account of this. (See: Han shu 75.3153-54)

[39](4/3, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: In the study of the Changes in the Former Han, scholars delighted in discussing the images and numerology which were derived from bone and milfoil divination. For example, the biography of Jing Fang 京房 states, "His theories were strong with respect to natural disasters and unusual occurrences. He divided up the sixty-four hexagrams so that each one had control of the events of certain days. Wind, rain, cold, and heat were considered to be manifestations, and there were prognostic omens for each." (See: Han shu 75.3160) This is one example. [SVA: Cf. Fung / Bodde, A History of Chinese Philosophy, Vol. II, pp.109-110; Dull, Apocryphal, p.79; Hsiao / Mote, A History of Chinese Political Thought, p.507, n.107]

[40](4/3, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The Luminous Hall (Mingtang 明堂) was a place where administrative affairs as well as ritual sacrifices were carried out in ancient times. Theories about it are numerous and confusing, and scholars have still not arrived at a consensus and settled the controversy. The "Lijia" 禮家 ("Rites Specialists") sub-section of the "Liuyi lüe" section of the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu lists a Mingtang yinyang 明堂陰陽 in thirty-three pian along with a Mingtang yinyang shuo 明堂陰陽說 in five pian, but both works are no longer extant. (See: Han shu 30.1079) In the "Yue Ling" 月令 and "Mingtang wei" 明堂位 chapters of the Xiao Dai liji and in the "Shengde" 盛德 chapter of the Da Dai liji, we can get

not wholly fall under the heading of Qi learning, their objective, however, is roughly the same. At the time the Ruists considered the ruler worthy of being venerated to the highest degree, and that there was nothing which he feared. They relied on the images of Heaven to serve as admonitions, and they hoped that in the case that their ruler had flaws and errors in his judgment and behavior, these signs from Heaven would cause him to know fear and awe, and reform his conduct through self-examination. This is what it means in the Spring and Autumn Annals where it considers the primal and fundamental to be in control of Heaven, and considers Heaven to be in control of the ruler of men,[41] and this is also the main idea and intent

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a glimpse of the various ideas associated with it. The Rites texts [in discussing] the Luminous Hall at times mixes the theory of yinyang dualism, positional and directional theory, ideas about ghosts and spirits, along with numerology. If we look at the "Fengshan shu" 封禪書 chapter of the Shi ji and the "Jiaosi zhi" 郊祀志 chapter of the Han shu we can see the exaggerations of the Rites scholars of the early Han.

[41](4/3, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: In Xu Yan's "Subcommentary" 疏 to the Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan under the entry for the Chunqiu text for the first year of Duke Yin 隱公元年, "Year one, Spring, the king corrects the month," it says, "Therefore the explanation of the Chunqiu states, 'The depth and profundity of the primal and primordial makes correct the beginnings of Heaven. The beginnings of Heaven make correct the government of the one who rules as king.'" (See: Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 1.7b)

of the passage in the Changes where it states that the Divine Way was used to establish teachings.[42] During the Han, the Ruists relied on this in order to correct the faults of their rulers. During these times, the rulers of men held the methods of the Classics in the highest regard, valued Ruist ministers, and thus when an eclipse or an earthquake occurred, by necessity they would issue an edict placing blame upon themselves, or blame those who served as the Three Dukes and dismiss them from office.[43] Although

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[SVA: Translation following the Ssjzs text. Jxls writes qi 氣 for the Ssjzs edition shen 深.] This is to say that the Primordial controls Heaven and Heaven controls the ruler.

[42](4/3, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The Judgment Text [SVA: For "Tuan" 彖, Jxls writes "Xiang" 象, "Image"] of the "Guan" 觀 hexagram of the Changes states, "Observing the divine Way of Heaven, the Four Seasons never waver. The Sage uses the divine Way in establishing his teachings, and all under Heaven respect them." (See: Zhouyi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 3.9a; Wilhelm / Baynes, trans. Book of Changes, p. 82; Lynn, trans. Classic of Changes, p.260.)

[43](4/3, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: During the Han dynasty, if an eclipse or an earthquake occurred, the emperor would issue an edict placing the blame upon himself or blaming and punishing his highest ranking ministers. The "Basic Annals" and "Biographical" chapters of the Han shu contain many examples. For example, In the "Basic Annals of Emperor Xuan" 宣本紀 chapter of the Han shu there is an edict dating from the third year of Emperor Xuan's reign which reads, "The natural disasters and

they were not necessarily able to be like King Xuan of Zhou 周宣王 who was struck with fear upon encountering a natural disaster, and did not dare to remain complacent and thus reformed his behavior,[44] there was still the

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unusual occurrences are the warnings of Heaven and Earth...Not long ago the earthquakes in Beihai 北海 and Langye 琅邪 destroyed the ancestral temple and this causes me great fear. Those of the rank of Counselor-in-chief, Censor (yushi 御史--Hucker 8167) and their Adjunct Marquis (liehou 列侯--Hucker 3698), the scholar-officials of the full 2,000 bushel rank (zhong erqian shi 中二千石--Hucker 1551) who have inquired widely into the learning of the Classics and possess that which can be used to protect against calamities, shall assist me when my abilities prove inadequate, and [in doing so] there is nothing that is taboo." (See: Han shu 8.245) This is one example of the emperor issuing an edict placing blame on himself as the result of the occurrence of an earthquake. In addition, in the "Biography of Zhai Fangjin" 翟方進傳 in the Han shu, we see that Zhai Fangjin, who held the rank of Counselor-in-chief, was put to death due to the occurrence of successive natural disasters. (See: Han shu 84.3422-24) [SVA: According to HS he committed suicide.] This is a clear example of a high ranking minister being punished due to the occurrence of natural disasters.

[44](4/3, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" (序) to the poem "Yun han" 雲漢 (#258) of the "Daya" 大雅 ("Greater Elegantae") section of the Songs states, "'Yun Han' was composed in praise of King Xuan 宣王 by Reng Shu 仍叔. King Xuan inherited his father's, King Li 厲王, excessive nature [SVA: following the Kong Commentary gloss 烈餘也] and within the

tradition of mutual cautionary admonition[45] between the ruler and his ministers. This is also one piece of evidence that during the Han dynasty Confucius' teachings were actually carried out. In later ages the significance of this was not clearly understood, and it was said the Han Ruists should not have spoken of natural disasters or unusual occurrences or quoted from the apocryphal texts,[46] and thereupon theories that the changes of Heaven

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government there was the intent to bring this under control. Then a natural disaster occurred, one which struck fear into his heart, causing him to step back, reform his behavior, and [motivated him] to want to do away with the problem. All under Heaven delighted in the king's transformation and return to proper behavior, and the common people saw his remorse. Therefore this poem was composed." (See: Maoshi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 18-2.12b-13a) This poem is in eight stanzas and it narrates King Xuan's meeting with a natural disaster in the form of a drought, his blaming himself, reforming his behavior, and his ability to develop a love for his subjects. In the Chinese, the character zai 栽 is a variant of zai 災.

[45](4/3, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, jing 儆 means jie 戒 "to admonish, to warn, to caution." (See: Xiong Zhong 熊忠, ed., Gujin Yunhui juyao 古今韻會舉要, Skqs, 23.22b) It is interchangeable with the character jing 警.

[46](4/3, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: Chen 讖 refers to the clever use of ambiguous language to predict and determine auspicious and inauspicious events. For example, during the Qin dynasty there were the statements "Hu 胡 will be the end of Qin," and "This year the Founding Dragon will perish."

did not merit fear and awe came forth. Recently, Western [scientific] methods have been introduced into China so that eclipses and other celestial phenomena all can be predicted, and those who put their faith in [Western science] think that the wrong conclusions should not be drawn as to their being the omens of either good fortune or misfortune. However, could Confucius' recording of eclipses and other celestial phenomena[47] in his

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The Wei 緯 or weft texts might well be described as tributaries of the Classics proper. They contained redundant and collateral material, and were texts such as the Qi wei 七緯. Scholars are of different opinions as to when the Chen wei texts came into being, but generally speaking, they were popular during the reigns of Emperors Ai 哀 (reg. 6-1 B.C.) and Ping 平 reg. 1-5 A.D.), as well as during the Later Han dynasty. In addition, wei 緯 has both a broad and a restricted meaning. In the restricted sense, it specifically refers to the Qi wei 七緯 (Seven Apocrypha), that is the Wei counterparts to the Songs, Documents, Rites, Music, Changes, Spring and Autumn Annals, and the Classic of Filial Piety. In the broad sense it includes the Chen 讖 and other numerological texts, including texts that have the words Tu 圖 and Hou 候 in their titles, and other texts of this kind.

[47](4/3, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: It was mandatory for the Spring and Autumn Annals to record eclipses. For example, in the third year of the reign of Duke Yin, "In the Spring, in the King's second month, on the jisi 己巳 day, there was an eclipse of the sun." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 3.1a; Legge, trans., The Ch'un Ts'ew, pp.10- 12). Celestial phenomena was also recorded, for example in the seventh year of the reign of Duke

Spring and Autumn Annals be totally without significance? This cannot be discussed from one aspect alone, and its significance has its appropriate application, so we cannot take the ancients lightly solely because of the views of modern man.

[4/4 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui continues his discussion of the chen and wei texts along with natural disasters and unusual occurrences. He begins by giving examples of how when during the Han, scholars spoke of omens and portents in the form of natural disasters or unusual occurrences, they did so based on evidence. He goes on to point out that there were cases where information in the chen texts was used to elucidate the meaning of the Classics. In addition, he explains that the chen and wei texts were not the same, and that lines of the chen texts (as prognostication) existed during the Qin dynasty. He makes the case that although the chen and wei texts are problematic, they do contain valuable information that is useful for our understanding of the Classics and should not be dismissed or excised from the commentaries to the Classics as had

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Zhuang, "In the Summer, in the fourth month, on the xinmao 辛卯 day, at night, the stars which were normally visible could not be seen. In the middle of the night stars fell like rain." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 8.13b; Legge, trans., The Ch'un Ts'ew, pp.79-80).

been advocated in the past. He points out that doing so would have greatly increased the difficulty of the researches of certain Qing dynasty scholars.

It is difficult to discern whether Pi really was superstitious, that is actually believed in portents and omens, or if it was the case that he was so tightly bound to the texts that he holds in such high regard that he embraces them in their totality, regardless of the implications of their shortcomings, even if this conflicts with his personal views.]

4/4[48] When the Han dynasty Ruists spoke of natural disasters and unusual occurrences, there actually was evidence and proof [for their assertions]. For example, during the reign of the King of Changyi 昌邑王, Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝 believed that a long period of clouds without rainfall was an indication of a conspiracy among the ministers against their sovereign and this was borne out in the activities of Huo Guang 霍光.[49] During the reign of Emperor Zhao 昭弟 (reg. 86-74 B.C.), Sui Meng 眭孟 believed it was the case

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[48][SVA: Section 4/4 corresponds to pp.108-113 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.107-112 of the Yiwen ed.]

[49](4/4, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: For this event, see the biography of Xiahou Sheng in Chapter 75 of the Han shu (75.3155). See 3/8, n.3 regarding the use of the "'Hongfan' 洪範 chapter of the Documents in the investigation of unusual occurrences."

that a commoner would become emperor, and this was reflected in the ascension of Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (reg. 73-48 B.C.) to the throne.[50] During

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[50](4/4, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: In the biography of Sui Hong in Chapter 75 of the Han shu it states, "Sui Hong 眭弘 whose zi was Meng 孟,...he received instruction in the Chunqiu from Ying Gong 嬴公, and because of his clear understanding of the Classic(s), he attained the position of Court Gentleman for Consultation (yilang 議郎--Hucker 2972) ....during the third year of the Yuanfeng 元鳳 period (78 B.C.) of the reign of Emperor Zhao (reg. 86-74 B.C.) in the first month, to the south of Mt. Tai 泰山 and Mt. Laiwu 萊蕪山 there was the clamorous sound of several thousand people. People gazed in that direction and a great stone stood upright all by itself...At the time, in Changyi 昌邑there was a dried up and withered tree at the shrine of the earth god which had fallen down came back to life. In addition, in the Shanglin Park there was a large willow tree which was broken, withered and lying on the ground and it also stood up by itself. There was a hatch of insects which ate the leaves of the tree so as to form the shape of characters which said that Gongsong Bingji 公孫病已 would ascend. Sui Meng fathomed the meaning implicit in the Spring and Autumn Annals and concluded that...there would be a commoner who would become emperor....Sui Meng did not know the whereabouts of this person...the Chamberlain for Law Enforcement (tingwei 廷尉--Hucker 6767) submitted a memorial which stated that Si 賜 and Meng 孟 had concocted a baseless doctrine for the purpose of misleading the masses and were traitors on a grand scale who lacked the Way. They were subsequently executed. Five years later Emperor Xuan 宣帝 arose from among the people." (See: Han

the reign of Emperor Cheng 成帝 (reg. 32-6 B.C.), Xia Heliang 夏賀良 believed that the Han would get an omen that it had again received the Mandate, and this was manifested with Emperor Guangwu (reg. 25-57 A.D.).[51] During the Wang Mang 王莽 (reg. 6-22 A.D.) era, the prognostication stated, "Liu Xiu 劉秀 is about to become the Son of

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shu 75.3153-4.)

[51](4/4, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The biography of Li Xun 李尋傳 which is contained in chapter 75 of the Han shu states, "Early on during the reign of Emperor Cheng 成帝 (reg. 32-7 B.C.) Gan Zhongke 甘忠可, who was a native of Qi, with the intent to deceive wrote, the Tianguanli, baoyuan taipingjing 天官曆, 包元太平經 in twelve juan. It spoke of how the House of Han would meet with the great end of Heaven and Earth and how it would again receive Heaven's mandate...and he used it in his instruction of Xia Heliang 夏賀良 of Chongping 重平...Xia Heliang along with the others all held the rank of Expectant Appointee of the Imperial Gate (daizhao huangmen 待詔黃門--Hucker 2841, 6127) and were summoned for an imperial audience several times at which time they laid out explanations of how the Han House was in the middle of a declining phase, and would again receive Heaven's mandate...the emperor thought that their words were not true to claim...consequently he sent Heliang and the other clerks to prison,...and they were all executed." (See: Han shu 75.3192-3). Later, Emperor Guangwu arose, and at the time this was taken to indicate that the House of Han had again received Heaven's mandate.

Heaven,"[52] and this served as especially clear proof. Thus as Emperor Guangwu had received the Mandate[53] through the crimson tally, he deeply believed in the prognostication and apocryphal texts.[54] [Questions of]

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[52](4/4, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Basic Annals of Emperor Guangwu" 光武本紀 in the Hou Han shu it states, "The prognostication record reads, 'Liu Xiu sent forth troops to capture the lawless. Maojin 卯金 cultivates virtue and will become the Son of Heaven." (See: Hou Han shu 1A.22) Emperor Guangwu's given name (ming 名) was Xiu 秀. Maojin 卯金 in a concealed reference to the character Liu 劉.

[53](4/4, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Basic Annals of Emperor Guangwu" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "My late father early on served as the Director (ling 令--Hucker 3733) of Jiyang 濟陽 and during the night of the jiazi 甲子 day of the twelfth month of the first year of the Jianping 建平 period (6 B.C.) when Emperor Guangwu was born in the quarters of the county official, there was a crimson glow which shone in the room...when the army first arose it returned to Chunling 春陵. In the distance they gazed to the south of the residences and there was a fiery glow which shone bright in the sky. In a moment, it was gone....Their ruler in receiving the mandate surely believed in the tally." (See: Hou Han shu 1B.86)

[54](4/4, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The biography of Huan Tan 桓譚傳 in Chapter 28A of the Hou Han shu states, "At this time the emperor (Guangwu) had just begun to trust in the prognostications and in many instances used them to decide suspicious and doubtful matters." (See: Hou Han shu 28A.959) In the Dongguan Hanji 東觀漢記 it states, "Emperor

meaning in the Five Classics were determined by using the prognostication (chen 讖) texts. Jia Kui 賈逵 (30-101) made use of this to elevate the Zuoshi 左氏[55] and Cao Bao 曹褒 (ob. 102) made use of this to determine the Han rites.[56] Thereupon the Five Classics thus became unofficial or esoteric

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Guangwu would retreat from the central palace, reading the prognostication texts while sitting in the corridors below, there was a light dew and he caught cold and began to cough hard." (See: Liu Zhen, et al. comps., Wu Shuping 吳樹平, ed., Dongguan Han ji jiaozhu 東觀漢記校注 (Zhongzhou: Guji chubanshe, 1987), Vol. 1, p.11) [SVA: The original text reads, 上以日食避正殿, 讀圖讖多, 御坐廡下淺露, 中風發疾, 苦眩甚.] Both these quotes provide evidence that Emperor Guangwu believed in the chenwei 讖緯 texts.

[55](4/4, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The biography of Jia Kui 賈逵 in chapter 36 of the Hou Han shu states, "During the Yongping 永平 period (58-75) I submitted a memorial discussing where the Zuoshi 左氏 and the prognostication texts are in agreement....Furthermore none of the specialists in (schools of) the Five Classics can prove that the prognostication texts make clear that the Liu ruling house is descended from Yao, only the Zuoshi contains clear text....The Zuoshi says that Shao Hao 少昊 took the place of the Yellow Emperor and this is none other than the one which the prognostication texts refer to as Di Xuan 帝宣. (See: Hou Han shu 36.1237)

[56](4/4, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The biography of Cao Bao 曹褒傳 in Chapter 35 of the Hou Han shu states, "Cao Bao (zi Shutong 叔通) was a

learning (waixue 外學) and the Seven Apocrypha became official or exoteric learning (neixue 內學), and this subsequently became the "spirit of the age." Emperor Guangwu was not one given to being deluded by absurd beliefs, and it was because he really had personal experience that he held these beliefs. Heaven and Man basically are not distant from one another, so with complete sincerity one can have foreknowledge of the future.[57] Explained in this way, we should not fault Emperor Guangwu, and we also should not fault Dong Zhongshu, Liu Xiang, He Xiu and Zheng Xuan.[58] Furthermore,

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native of Xue 薛 in the state of Lu....He put the Rites and related matters in the proper order basing himself upon and taking as the standard the old canonical texts. He mixed text from both the Five Classics and prognostication records, and wrote down and organized the system [of rites and rituals] beginning with the Son of Heaven and extending to the common people and related to matters including capping, marriage, the auspicious and inauspicious, the final stages and the proper beginnings. These comprised 150 chapters (pian 篇)." (See: Hou Han shu 35.1201-3)

[57](4/4, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Zhongyong" 中庸 chapter of the Liji states, "The way of absolute sincerity allows one to have foreknowledge." (See: Liji Ssjzs, 53.4a; Legge, trans. Li Chi, Vol. II, p. 320; Chan, Sourcebook, p.108).

[58](4/4, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Dong 董 refers to Dong Zhongshu, Liu 劉 refers to Liu Xiang, He 何 refers to He Xiu, and Zheng 鄭 refers to Zheng Xuan. Dong Zhongshu had a strong command of the Gongyang Commentary and was fond of discoursing on yinyang theory along with

there are differences between the wei texts and the chen texts. Kong Yingda was of the opinion that "As for the wei and hou 候 texts, their forgery began during the reigns of Emperor Ai (reg. 6 B.C.-1 A.D.) and Emperor Ping (reg. 1-5 A.D.)."[59] In reality this was not the case. The "Hereditary House of Zhao" 趙世傳 chapter of the Shi ji states, "The chen texts came forth during the Qin."[60] The "Basic Annals of Qin" chapter of the Shi ji contains the

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natural disasters and unusual occurrences. A rough outline of his thought can be seen in the Chunqiu fanlu. Liu Xiang wrote the Hong fan wuxing zhuan 洪範五行傳 and in addition he obtained from the Prince of Huainan 淮南王 the Zhenzhong hongbaoyuan mishu 枕中鴻寶苑祕書 which stated that yellow and metal would prevail. He Xiu wrote the Gongyang zhuan jiegu 公羊傳解詁and at times discoursed on natural disasters and unusual occurrences. Zheng Xuan wrote notes to the wei texts as well as to Fu Sheng's Shangshu wuxing zhuan 尙書五行傳.

[59](4/4, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: For this quote, see the "Hong fan" chapter of Kong Yingda's Shangshu zhengyi. Ai 哀 and Ping 平 refer to Emperor Ai and Emperor Ping of the Western Han dynasty. (See: Sheng shu zhengyi Ssjzs, 12.3b).

[60](4/4, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Hereditary House of Zhao" 趙世家 chapter of the Shi ji states, "Zhao Jianzi 趙簡子 fell ill and for five days did not recognize anybody [= was delirious or unconscious]. The grandees were all very much afraid. The physician Bian Que examined him. When he came out, Dong Anyu 董安于 inquired about his condition. Bian Que replied, 'His circulation is normal, but why are there these unusual symptoms? In the

following passages, "The one who will bring an end to the Qin is Hu"[61] and

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past there was a case where Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 had this condition. After seven days passed and he finally regained consciousness. On the day he came to, he said to Gongsun Zhi 公孫支 and Ziyu 子輿 that, 'I had been to the dwelling place of the Heavenly Lord and it was very enjoyable. The reason that I was there so long was because I was receiving instruction. The Heavenly Lord informed me that the state of Jin 晉 was on the verge of great turmoil and there will not be peace for five generations. Later there will be one who reigns as tyrant, but he will die before reaching old age. The son of the tyrant will also rule with no differentiation made between the men and women of the state. Gongsun Zhi wrote this down and stored it away. The Qin prognostication thereupon came forth.'" (See: Shi ji 43.1786)

[61](4/4, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Basic Annals of the First Qin Emperor" chapter of the Shi ji states, "Lu Sheng 盧生, a native of Yan, was sent out to sea and returned. In order to explain the matters of ghosts and spirits, he submitted a memorial consisting of records, charts, and writing which contained the text, 'Hu will be the end of Qin.' (亡秦者胡也) The First Emperor thereupon ordered General Meng Tian to lead 300,000 troops northward to attack the Hu tribe, and they captured a large section of territory south of the Yellow River." Pei Yin's 裴駰 jijie 集解 commentary states, "Zheng Xuan said: Hu refers to Hu Hai 胡亥, the name of the Second Qin Emperor. The First Emperor looked at the chart with its writings, but he didn't know that this was a person's name, and contrary to what he should have done, he made preparations against the Northern Hu tribes." (See: Shi ji 6.252 and n.2)

"Next year the Founding Dragon will perish,"[62] both of which are chen [writings]. The charts and diagrams (tu 圖),[63] along with the texts of

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[62](4/4, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Basic Annals of the First Qin Emperor" chapter of the Shi ji states, "An emissary was coming from East of the Pass (Guandong 關東) and at night was travelling the road between Huayin 華隱 and Pingshu 平舒 when a person holding a piece of carved jade blocked his path and said, 'Give this to the Spirit of Gaochi Pond 滈池 for me.' He went on to say, 'This year the Founding Dragon will die.' The emissary inquired as to why, but the person suddenly disappeared, leaving behind his piece of carved jade." Pei Yin's 裴駰 commentary states, "Zu 祖 means first or to begin (shi 始); and long 龍 is the image of the leader of men (人君象); it refers to the First Emperor." (See: Shi ji 6.259 and 6.260, n.5) Pi Xirui in quoting this line mistakenly wrote "next year" 明年 for "this year" 今年.

[63](4/4, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: The term chen 讖 has both a broad and narrow sense. In the broad sense, chen refers in a general way to all prophecy based on yinyang, Five Phases, numerology, divination, etc. The "Shidian" 釋典 chapter of Liu Xi's 劉熙 Shiming 釋名 states, "Chen 讖 means xian 纖 (minute, fine, detailed). Its significance is that it is minute yet effective." (See: Li Weifen 李維棻, Shiming yanjiu 釋名研究, Taipei: Dahua shuju, 1979, p.28). In its narrow sense, chen specifically refers to the "Hetu" 河圖 and "Luoshu" 洛書. The commentary to the "Sixuan fu" 思選賦 in the Wenxuan quotes from Cang Jie 蒼頡, "The chen documents are the 'He' and 'Luo.'" (讖書,河駱也.) (See: Wenxuan 15.10a) The Yiqie jingyinyi 一切經音義 in juan nine quotes from the Sancang 三蒼 which states, "Chen are

prophecy were originally the texts of diviners (fangshi 方士)[64] and had little to do with the content of the Classics. During the Han, the Ruists increased and added the mysterious and apocrypha, and then took writings from the chen texts and forced a combination with the meaning of the Classics [into a single entity]. When they were something that was combined with the meaning of the Classics, they were relatively pure, but when compromised with writings from the chen texts, they were mostly convoluted and confused. Therefore in the wei texts, both the pure and the commingled appear together, and thus they cannot be totally dismissed. [These texts] contain many explanations of the Classics by the Han Ruists. For example, the explanation of the "seven days and nine divisions" came from the Yiwei

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mysterious and abstruse documents which come from the 'He' and 'Luo.'" (See: Yuan Ying 元應 (Tang) Yiqie jing yinyi, Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1973, 9.11a)

[64](4/4, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: The fangshi 方士 (my "diviners" in this case) refers to those who had a clear understanding of medicine, divination, occultism, etc. (方術). See the note to the section "Wuzang bielun" 五藏別論 in the Suwen 素問. (See: Huangdi neijing suwen, p.67) Fangshi refers to those who sought out the immortals, those who made drugs of immortality, and those who were able to fend off evil by prayer or ritual. These practices flourished through the Qin and the Han, and were the source of the religious Taoism of the Later Han.

易緯,[65] that the full circuit of the sun had 360 and 1/4 degrees came from the Shuwei 書緯,[66] and that the Xia took the thirteenth month as the first in their calendar, etc., came from the Yuewei 樂緯.[67] Later generations in explaining the Classics could not but quote from these texts. As for the greater implications of the Three Bonds and that which is venerated by the Rectification of Names, there is no clear reference to them in the Classics, and [information] comes from the Liwei hanwenjia 禮緯含文嘉.[68] Ma Rong in his annotations to the Analects quoted from them,[69] and Zhu Xi in his

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[65](4/4, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: See the Yiwei jilantu 易緯稽覽圖. (See: Choshu isho shusei, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p.140, 162)

[66](4/4, n.18) Zhou Yutong comments: See the Shuwei kaolingyao 書緯考靈耀. (See: Choshu isho shusei, Vol. 2, p.35, 44)

[67](4/4, n.19) Zhou Yutong comments: See the Yuewei jiyaojia 樂緯稽耀嘉. (See: Choshu isho shusei, Vol. 3, p.93, 94)

[68](4/4, n.20) Zhou Yutong comments: The Liwei hanwenjia 禮緯含文嘉 states, "The 'Three Bonds' refer to the bond between ruler and minister, the bond between father and son, and the bond between husband and wife." (See: Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, 54.18b)

[69](4/4, n.21) Zhou Yutong comments: Under the line in the "Weizheng" 爲政 chapter of the Lunyu which reads, "The Yin based themselves on the ritual practices of the Xia." (2/23) He Yan's jijie commentary quotes from Ma Rong's notes which read, "That which they based themselves on were the Three Bonds and Five Constants." (See: Lunyu zhushu, Ssjzs, 2.8a) He

annotations also quoted from them,[70] so how can we say that the explanations found in the wei texts are all corrupt? Ouyang Xiu did not believe in omens and portents in the form of unusual occurrences, and he sought to purge the commentaries and sub-commentaries to the Five Classics of all references to, and quotations from, the chen and wei texts, but fortunately at the time there was no one who followed his suggestions.[71]

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probably used the Liwei 禮緯.

[70](4/4, n.22) Zhou Yutong comments: Under the line in the "Weizheng" 爲政 chapter of the Lunyu which reads, "The Yin based themselves on the ritual practices of the Xia." (2/23) Zhu Xi's jizhu 集注 commentary reads, "In my humble opinion, the Three Bonds refer to the bond between ruler and minister, the bond between father and son, and the bond between husband and wife." See: Zhu Xi, Sishu jizhu 四書集註 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1966), p.39下. He probably also used the original text of the Liwei.

[71](4/4, n.23) Zhou Yutong comments: Juan 16, In his "Qingshanqu Jiujing zhengyi zhong chenwei zhazi" 請刪去九經正義中讖緯劄子 in juan 16 of the "Zouyiji" 奏議集 in the Ouyang Wenzhong Gong ji 歐陽文忠公集 Ouyang Xiu states, "During the reign of Emperor Taizong 太宗 (reg. 627- 649) of the Tang, well known scholars were first summoned to decide upon various points and write sub-commentary to the Nine Classics. The title of this work was the zhengyi 正義 ("correct meaning")...however what they wrote down had a wide range and what they selected was neither precise nor accurate. They quoted extensively from the chen and wei texts, mixing in these materials in a confused manner, [thus bringing in] the strange, unusual,

Following his suggestion would have rendered the commentaries and sub-commentaries incomplete. Later, Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 in editing the Wujing yaoyi 五經要義 roughly followed Ouyang's idea and [the result was a text which] did away with concrete evidence in favor of empty verbiage.[72] If

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extraordinary, and unorthodox. It was something which was not the text of the sages and was at great variance from the meaning of "zhengyi." I respectfully request that you only summon well known scholars who are education officials, gather all the sub-commentaries to the Nine Classics, and remove the passages which were derived from the chen and wei texts." (See: Ouyang Wenzhong Gong ji, Sbck, 112.13a)

Lü Xizhe's 呂希哲, Lüshi zaji 呂氏雜記 states, "At the time those in control of the government did not strongly support this and in the end the proposal was not carried out." (See: Lu Xizhe, Lüshi zaji, Skqs, 下.15a)

[72](4/4, n.24) Zhou Yutong comments: The notice in the Siku quanshu congmu tiyao under the entry for the Guweishu 古微書 states, "During the Song dynasty Ouyang Xiu made an official request for the revision and correction of the Five Classics in which he expressed his desire to completely remove passages (from the chen and wei texts) from the commentary and sub-commentary. However, in the end his proposal was not carried out. Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 (1178- 1237) in composing the Jiujing zhengyi was the first to completely remove these passages. (See: Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.690)

Wei Liaoweng (zi Huafu 華父, ming Heshan 鶴山) was a native of Linqing 臨慶 who lived during the Southern Song. He held successive official positions including Academician of the Duanming Palace 端明殿學士

at the time [the material from the wei texts had been] excised from the commentaries and sub-commentaries, the result would have been like the Wujing yaoyi with its puerile verbiage and lack of substance, and the ancient meaning would have been completely lost. Then Hui Dong 惠棟 (1697-1758), Dai Zhen 戴震 (1724-1777)[73] and other scholars who arose

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and Notary of the Bureau of Military Affairs (qianshu shumi yuan shi 僉書樞密院事--Hucker 924). Upon his death he was posthumously honored as Grand Preceptor (taishi 太師--Hucker 6213) and his posthumous name was Wenjing 文靖. His written works include the Heshan ji 鶴山集, Jiujing yaoyi 九經要義, Gujinkao 古今考, Jingwai zachao 經外雜鈔, and the Shiyou yayan 師友雅言. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Song shi (437.12965-71). [SVA: See: Franke, Sung Biographies, Vol. II, pp.1180-83] The Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao has four entries for the Jiujing yaoyi. These are Zhouyi yaoyi 周易要義, Shangshu yaoyi 尙書要義, Yili yaoyi 儀禮要義, and Chunqiu Zuozhuan yaoyi 春秋左傳要義.

[73](4/4, n.25) Zhou Yutong comments: Hui 惠 refers to [the Qing dynasty scholar] Hui Dong 惠棟 and Dai 戴 refers to [the Qing dynasty scholar] Dai Zhen 戴震. Hui Dong (zi Dingyu 定宇, hao Songyai 松崖; 1697-1758) was the second son of Hui Shiqi 惠士奇 and a native of Wu County 吳縣. He was the founder of the Wu School 吳派 of Han Learning during the Qing dynasty. His written works are numerous and include the Jiujing guyi 九經古義, Yi Hanxue 易漢學, Zhouyi shu 周易述, Mingtang dadaolu 明堂大道錄, Guwen Shangshu kao 古文尙書考. For his biography, see juan two of Jiang Fan's 江

during the imperial era, for their part would have encountered much difficulty in their efforts.

[4/5 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui discusses factors that he believes influenced Classical Scholarship during the Later Han. He begins with a passage from the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu that describes how during the Emperor Guangwu period, the emperor favored Classical Scholarship and took steps to renovate the Imperial Academy. His successor, Emperor Ming, through his personal involvement with the Classics and support of education, caused interest in

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藩 Guochao Hanxueshi chengji 國朝漢學師承記 and Ruan Yuan's 阮元 Guoxue rulinzhuan 國學儒林傳, juan xia 下.

Dai Zhen (zi Dongyuan 東原; 1724-1777) was a native of Xiuning 休寧. He was the founder of the Wan School 皖派 of Han Learning during the Qing dynasty. His scholarship was strong in the area of evidential scholarship (考證學) and in the area of philology his approach was marked by precision and accuracy. His written works include the Dongyuan ji 東原集, Shengyun kao 聲韻考, Shenglei biao 聲類表, Fangyan shuzheng 方言疏證, Jiao Shuijingzhu 校水經注, and Mengzi ziyi shuzheng 孟子字義疏證. For his biography, see juan five of the Guochao Hanxueshi chengji and Guoxue rulinzhuan, juan xia.

[SVA: For biographies of Hui Dong and Dai Zhen, see: ECCP, p.357-8 and p.695-700 respectively.]

the Classics to flourish. For Pi Xirui, this was a high point that was never again matched in the history of Classical Scholarship. After a lull in imperial interest, Emperor Shun and Empress Liang acted so as to increase interest in the Classics and at the same time the number of students at the Imperial Academy greatly expanded. He goes on to describe how outward appearances were deceiving and how the quality of Classical Studies had deteriorated to the point where it was merely a display of verbiage. The value of the Classics had been lost and this ultimately led to the decline of the Han, which, in his opinion, should serve as a lesson for those involved in establishing an educational curriculum.]

4/5[74] When we look at the rise and fall of Classics Studies during the Han, we see that there are [certain factors] which influenced it. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Emperor Guangwu (reg. 25-57) in restoring the Han house to power, strongly favored Classical studies and methods. In the fifth year of the Jianwu[75] 建武 period (29 A.D.), he

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[74][SVA: Section 4/5 corresponds to pp.113-7 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.112-7 of the Yiwen ed.]

[75](4/5, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Jianwu 建武 is the title of the first reign period of Emperor Guangwu of the Later Han. It lasted thirty-one years, from 25 through 55 A.D.

renovated the Imperial Academy. In the first year of the Zhongyuan[76] 中元 period (56 A.D.), he began construction of the Three Harmonious Chambers.[77] After Emperor Ming 明帝 (reg. 58-75) had ascended the throne, he personally carried out the rites. The Son of Heaven first donned the Communicating with Heaven Hat[78] and wore clothing decorated with the

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[76](4/5, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhongyuan 中元 is the title of the second reign period of Emperor Guangwu of the Later Han. It lasted for two years, from 56 through 57 A.D.

[77](4/5, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Three Harmonious Chambers" (sanyong 三雍) refer to the Luminous Hall (Ming tang 明堂), Circular Moat Hall (Bi yong 辟雍) and Divine Tower (Ling tai 靈臺). See the note to the biography of Chen Zhong 陳忠 in chapter 46 of the Hou Han shu (46.1562, n.10). In the "Annals of Emperor Ming" 明帝紀 chapter of the Hou Han shu it states, "Looking up to the former emperor (Emperor Guangwu) who received the mandate and restored the Han ruling house...constructed the Luminous Hall, built the Circular Moat Hall, and erected the Divine Tower." (See Hou Han shu 2.100). [SVA: Also see Knechtges, trans., Wen xuan, Vol.1, pp.152-4, L.103 note for information on the Three Harmonious Chambers. I have followed Knechtges' translation.]

[78](4/5, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: In a note to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu we find the following information, "Xu Guang's 徐廣 Yufu zazhu 輿服雜注 states that 'when the Son of Heaven held court, he wore the Communicating with Heaven Hat which was nine inches high, a turban like hat of plain black cloth, with gold boshan 博山 designs, and which was

sun and moon.[79] They prepared the imperial carriage[80] and performed the

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usually worn.'" (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2546, n.5)

[79](4/5, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: A note to the "Annals of Emperor Ming" 明帝紀 chapter of the Hou Han shu is as follows, "Dong Ba's 董巴 Yufu zhi 輿服志 states, '...as for clothing, the upper garments are dark colored and the lower garments are light red. The one who mounts the carriage is provided with such patterns as the sun, the moon, and the stars, in twelve designs.'" (See: Hou Han shu, 2.101, n.1) The "one who mounts the carriage" (乘輿) is a reference to the Son of Heaven who he does not dare mention directly. Thus he refers to him as the "one who mounts the carriage," which is like the usage of bixia 陛下 (lit. "the steps below the throne") when referring to the emperor.

[80](4/5, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: A note to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter to the Hou Han shu reads as follows, "Hu Guang's 胡廣 Han zhidu 漢制度 states, 'When the Son of Heaven goes out, there is the Grand Cortege, the Standard Cortege, and the Minor Cortege....as for the Standard Cortege, the Duke(s) (gong 公) are not among the Riders of the Escort Carriages (lubushi 鹵簿使, Escort Carriage Riders--Hucker 3855), the Magistrate of Henan, the Chamberlain for the Imperial Insignia (zhi jinwu 執金吳-- Hucker 964) and the Prefect of Luoyang took the lead. The Palace Attendants (shizhong 侍中 --Hucker 5229) were seated on the right of the carriage, the Gentleman of the Imperial Equipages (fengju [alt. pronunciation--che] lang 夆車郎) drove, and there were thirty-six auxiliary carriages in the retinue. (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2546, n.5). [SVA: See: Knechtges, trans., Wenxuan, Vol. 1, p.137, L.327n; p.273, L.372n.]

Clearing the Roads ceremony.[81] He sat in the Luminous Hall while holding court with the various nobles,[82] and ascended the Divine Tower to gaze at

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[81](4/5, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: A note to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu reads as follows, "The Han guanyi 漢官儀 states, 'Clearing the Way entails having the Standard Bearers (maotou 旄頭, Oxtailed-haired Court Gentlemen--Hucker 3926) ride in the vanguard.'" (See: Hou Han shu, 79A.2546, n.6) [SVA: See Knechtges, trans., Wenxuan, Vol. 1, p.274, L.378n.]

[82](4/5, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Annals of Emperor Ming" 明帝紀 chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "In the second year of the Yongping period (59 A.D.) in the Spring, in the first month, on a xinwei 辛未 day, rites of homage were performed to Emperor Guangwu at the Luminous Hall, the emperor (Emperor Ming) along with the Dukes (公), Chamberlains (卿) and Adjunct Marquises [see below] for the first time clothed themselves hats, upper and lower garments, jade waist pendants, and decorated sandals, when carrying out [the rites]. After the rites were completed, they ascended the Divine Terrace and the Director of the Imperial Secretariat (shangshu ling 尚書令--Hucker 5049) was dispatched with a tally and an imperial edict to the Calvary General (piaoji jiangjun 驃騎將軍--Hucker 4618) and the Three Dukes (sangong 三公--Hucker 4871) which read, "Today is an auspicious day in a favorable month and the rites of homage have been performed to the August Emperor at the Luminous Hall along with the rites to the Five Emperors. The implements carried by the imperial honor guard have been readied for the rites, and for the Music the eight notes have been put in harmony. Songs of blessings and good fortune are sung, and there are dances celebrating achievement and virtue. His proclamation of the change

the clouds [for signs of what lay ahead].[83] At the Circular Moat Hall, the emperor, while stripped to the waist, personally sliced into the sacrificial animals so as to show reverence to the Thrice Venerable and Quintuply Experienced.[84] After the post-banquet ritual archery contest was finished,

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of seasons was decreed to the feudal lords." (See: Hou Han shu, 2.100). In Pi Xirui's text 群侯 refers to 列侯. (liehou = Adjunct Marquis--Hucker 3698)

[83](4/5, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Annals of Emperor Ming" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "He ascended the Divine Terrace, gazed at the primal qi 氣, sounded the pitch which was in tune with the changing of the seasons, and observed things for indications of change." The note to this passage reads, "The 'Baozhangshi' 保章氏 chapter of the Zhouli says, 'by the five colors of the clouds he perceives the (unfavorable) signs of the auspicious and inauspicious, flood and draught, abundance and famine.'" [Du Yu's notes state that] "Wu 物 refers to indications of natural disasters by the color of the qi 氣(clouds and sky)." (See: Hou Han shu 2.100, n.5)

[84](4/5, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Annals of Emperor Ming" chapter of the Hou Han shu under the second year of the Yongping period (59 A.D.) states, "In Winter, in the tenth month, on the renzi 壬子 day (28 November) the emperor visited the Circular Moat Hall and for the first time carried out the rites honoring and serving the aged (Entertaining the Aged). His decree read, '...on the first day of this auspicious month, we again set foot upon the Circular Moat Hall where we honor as most venerable the Thrice Venerable, and honor as elder brothers the Quintuply experienced. ...I will remove the upper outer garment and personally slice the meat from the sacrificial animals, take up the goblets and serve the wine for rinsing the

mouth. ...the Thrice Venerable Li Gong 李躬 is a man of many years and clear and insightful learning; the Quintuply Experienced Huan Rong 桓榮 instructed me in the Documents...'" The note to this passage reads, "The Xiaojing yuanshenqi 孝經援神契 states, 'The rite of honor and service to the Thrice Venerable, is in the image of that to one's father.' Song Jun's 宋均 note reads, "Older individuals understand the events and affairs of Heaven and Earth.'...The Quintuply Experienced are older individuals who understand how the Five Phases alternate and replace one another." There is an additional note, "The Xu Hanzhi 續漢志 states, '...on this day the Son of Heaven personally goes to the Circular Moat. After the rites are completed, he goes to the palace and sits in the eastern chamber. He dispatches a messenger and a comfortable carriage to meet the Thrice Venerable and the Quintuply Experienced. The Son of Heaven greets them at the gate where they exchange bows, and he leads them to the steps on the east side. The Thrice Venerable ascend the guests' stairs on the east side, the Three Dukes arrange the table and staff, the Nine Chamberlains properly arrange the footwear, the Son of Heaven personally slices the meat on the ritual cutting board, he takes up the sauce and serves it to the guests and holds the goblets and serves wine. The Quintuply Experienced faces south, the Three Dukes come forward and offer sacrifices; the rites and ceremonies are like those [performed by the emperor]. The next day they all visit the imperial court to offer thanks, and this is because he displayed great honor to them in the rites.'" (See: Hou Han shu, 2.102 and n.4). Emperor Ming appointed Li Gong to the level of Thrice Venerable and Huan Rong to the level of Quintuply Experienced. [SVA: See: Bodde, Festivals, pp.361-80; Knechtges, trans. Wen xuan, Vol.1, p.176, L.5 note; 284, L.448n.]

the emperor would sit upright and personally lecture, with various scholars positioned in front of him, holding their copies of the Classics and asking about that which they had difficulty understanding. The officials of the cap and sash and of the tablet and waistband[85] who circled around the gate to the bridge over the moat[86] while gazing and listening, were in numbers too great to be counted. Later, a separate school was established for the sons and grandsons of meritorious ministers as well as for members of the four consort clans,[87] with those of high ability sought out, selected and

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[85](4/5, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Jinshen 搢紳 (lit., "stick into the sash") means to "stick a tablet into the sash." Those who served as officials in ancient times had their sash hanging down into which they stuck a tablet, thus by extension it came to refer to the scholar-official class in general. At times it is written 縉紳 using a phonetic loan.

[86](4/5, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: The note to "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "The Han guanyi reads, 'Outside the four entrances of the Circular Moat Hall there is water in order to keep onlookers at a distance. Beyond each entrance there is a bridge.'" As the onlookers are located on the outside of the moat it says, "circle the entrances to the bridges." In the Chinese, yuan 圜 is glossed as rao 繞 "to encircle." (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2546, n.8)

[87](4/5, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The sixing 四姓 (lit., "four surnames") refers to the four consort clans, the Fan 樊 clan, the Guo 郭 clan, the Yin 陰 clan, and the Ma 馬 clan. In the "Annals of Emperor Ming" chapter of the Hou Han shu under the ninth year of the Yongping period (66 A.D.) it reads,

instructed in the traditional curriculum. From officials who held the rank of Gate Guardsman[88] and Palace Guard,[89] all were ordered to become

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"Schools were established for the Lesser Marquises (xiaohou 小侯) of the four consort clans and instructor positions for the Five Classics were set up." The note to this passage reads, "Yuan Hong's 袁宏 Han ji 漢記 states, "During the Yongping period Confucian scholarship was held in high regard....schools were set up for the younger members of the Fan, Guo, Yin, and Ma consort clans, with their titles being the 'Lesser Marquises of the Four Clans' 四姓小侯, with instructor positions established for the Five Classics. Because they were not Adjunct Marquis (liehou 列侯), therefore they were called Lesser Marquis (xiaohou). (See: Hou Han shu 2.113, n.2)

[88](4/5, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: Qimen 期門 (Gate Guardsman) is an official title. During the Han the position of qimen lang 期門郎 was established. They were directed by a supervisor (puye 僕射) and in charge of the imperial hunting excursions. Emperor Wu of the Han was fond of travelling in disguise, recruited the sons of good families from the areas of Longxi 隴西 and Beidi 北地 who possessed archery skills to meet him at the palace gate (期諸殿門) and thus the title qimen 期門 (lit., "meet at the gate"). In the Later Han the title qimen puye 期門僕射 was changed to rongcong pushe 冗從僕射 (Hucker 3095--"Supervisor of the Entourage"). [Gate Guardsman = qimen lang 期門郎--Hucker 629]

[89](4/5, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: Yulin 羽林 (lit., "Plume Grove") is the designation of the Palace Guard. Emperor Wu of the Han established the jianzhang yingqi 建章營騎 (HB--"Cavalry of the Encampment at the Palace of Established Brilliance") and later the name was changed to yulin.

thoroughly versed in the Classic of Filial Piety and its commentary. Even the Xiongnu sent their sons to receive an education. How magnificent! How glorious! Such was the greatness during the Yongping 永平[90] period (58-75 A.D.)."[91] According to this account, the Yongping period was one of splendor and magnificence,[92] one which occurs only once in a thousand years, and which was never approached again in later ages. After Emperor An 安帝 (reg. 107-125 A.D.) [ascended the throne], the Erudites put away their mats

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Emperor Xuan sent the qi duwei 騎都尉 (HB--"Chief Commandant of the Cavalry") of the zhonglang jiang 中郎將 (Hucker 1581--"Leader(s) of the Court Gentlemen) to supervise them. The hundred Court Gentlemen (lang 郎) under his direction were referred to as yulin lang 羽林郎 (lit., "Gentlemen of the Plume Grove") and were drawn from the sons and grandsons of those who had died in armed battle [for the purpose of] supporting them. [Palace Guard = yulin 羽林--Hucker 8153]

[90](4/5, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: Yongping is the title of the reign period of Emperor Ming of the Han 漢明帝. He was on the throne eighteen years, from 58 through 75 A.D.

[91][SVA: For the source of this quote, see: Hou Han shu, 69A.2545-6.]

[92](4/5, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: Ban Gu's "Liangdu fu" 兩都賦 contains the line, "Coming to the time of the Yongping period, there was redoubled splendor and continuous bounty." (See: Wenxuan, 1.22b) This speaks to the peaceful nature of the era. [SVA: Cf. Knechtges, trans., Wenxuan, Vol. 1, p.153, L.101-2.]

and stopped lecturing.[93] Emperor Shun 順帝 (reg. 126-144 A.D.) again turned attention to the schools and added the jia 甲 and yi 乙 grades (ke 科).[94] Empress Liang 梁太后 (146 A.D.) ordered that those in public employ, from the generals on down to the holders of 600 bushel offices, all send their

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[93](4/5, n.18) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" (序) to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "From the time that Emperor An (reg. 107-125 A.D.) oversaw the government, he did not have a favorable view towards the arts and literature, so the Erudites put their mats aside and did not lecture." The note to this passage reads, "Yixi 倚席 ('put their mats aside') is to say that they did not sit on their mats and lecture." (See: Hou Han shu, 79A.2547 and n.3)

[94](4/5, n.19) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Emperor Shun 順帝 was influenced by the words of Zhai Pu 翟酺 and thereupon undertook the construction of schools. In all, the structures which were built numbered 240 separate buildings containing 1,850 rooms. Those who did not pass the mingjing 明經 exams supplemented the ranks of the students. Jia 甲 and yi 乙 grades (ke 科) were added, each with ten officials (yuan 員). The elder scholars were removed from the commanderies and states and employed to supplement the ranks of the Imperial Diarists (lang sheren 郎舍人--Hucker 3575)." The note to this passage reads, "The Shuowen glosses hong 黌 as xue 學 ('school'). Hong 黌 is equivalent to heng 橫 ('school')." (See: Hou Han shu, 79A.2547) [SVA: Modern editions of the Shuowen do not contain the character hong 黌.]

sons to school.[95] From then on the number of those who traveled to study there increased dramatically, to where it reached to over thirty thousand students. From ancient times the volume of talented people at the Imperial Academy, was never greater than this. Fan Weizong 范蔚宗 (Fan Ye) discussed this saying, "The commentaries by section and line (zhangju 章句) gradually became slipshod and wider and wider of the mark, with most using ornate and flowery language to outdo one another, and the influence of the Confucian scholars fell into decline."[96] This decline in the influence of

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[95](4/5, n.20) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu reads as follows, "In the first year of the Benchu 本初 period (146 A.D.) Empress Liang issued an edict: '[Those in government employ], from generals on down to the holders of 600 bushel ranks, all must send their sons to school. Every year in the months for the archery ceremonies, they will gather for ritual feasting.' Thus, this will become a regular event.'" (See: Hou Han shu, 79A.2547)

[96](4/5, n.21) Zhou Yutong comments: For this passage, see the "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu (79A.2547). The Hou Han shu was compiled by Fan Ye 范曄 (398-446). His zi was Weizong 蔚宗 and he was a native of Nanyang 南陽 who lived during the (Liu) Song. He was widely learned in the Classics and in history, was skilled in composition, produced fine calligraphy in the lishu 隸書 style, and was very knowledgeable about music. He held several official positions, attaining the position of General of the Left Guard to the Heir Apparent (taizi zuowei jiangjun 太子左衛將軍). Later, because he plotted rebellion, he was

the Han Confucian scholars, was owing to the methods of the Classics not being considered important. The methods of the Classics were not considered important, there was merely an unrestricted increase in the number of talented people, in reality, the quality of scholarship had already declined, but outward appearances were just the opposite and it seemed to thriving to an extremely high degree. Thus many informal discussions took place [among friends] in the Imperial Academy, while disastrous fighting between factions occurred throughout the empire.[97] People fled for their

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executed. For his biography, see Songshu 69.819-23 and the "Fan Tai zhuan" 范泰傳 chapter of the Nan shi (33.848-56).

[97](4/5, n.22) Zhou Yutong comments: During the reign of Emperor Huan 桓帝 (reg. 147-167) of the Eastern Han the power wielded by the eunuchs increased dramatically. Officials such as Li Ying 李膺 along with others detested them, and wanted to round the members of the faction up and kill them. The eunuchs accordingly said that Li Ying and his group had joined with the scholars at the Imperial Academy to form a political clique, slandered them at the court, implicating more than 200 individuals, and they were imprisoned for life. Later, during the reign of Emperor Ling 靈帝 (reg. 168-189), Li Ying and the others, [having been released], again attained positions in the government, hatched a plot with General Dou Wu 竇武 to execute the eunuchs. The plan failed and Li Ying along with over 100 others were put to death. In all, those who were executed, punished, or banned from holding office numbered in the range of six or seven hundred. For a detailed account, see the "Danggu liezhuan" 黨錮列傳 chapter of the

lives, the nation fell into a state of ruin and exhaustion,[98] and in reality, this arose from explanations [of the Classics] that were slipshod and wide of the mark, and commentaries which were merely ornate and flowery being held in high regard. Looking at the reason why the Han ascended and the reason it fell into decline, we see that in every case it turns on the rise and decline of the nature and quality of Classical Scholarship. This being the case then, when establishing an educational curriculum it is necessary to first venerate the Classics, and in the case when the Classics are not held in high regard, this by necessity leads to a long line of negative consequences. Those of later ages who establish educational curricula can take this as an example.

[4/6 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui discusses imperial patronage and support of activities related to the study of the Classics. He begins by stating that some of the emperor's most important

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Hou Han shu, 67.2191-7.

[98](4/5, n.23) Zhou Yutong comments: For these two lines, see the poem "Zhanqiong" 瞻邛 (#264) in the "Daya" section of the Songs. The Mao commentary glosses tian 殄 as jin 盡 ("exhausted"), and cui 瘁 as bing 病 ("in distress"). Zheng Xuan's commentary states, "The worthy people are said to all flee and thus the states of the Empire find themselves on the verge of falling into total ruin." (See: Maoshi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 18-5.12a)

activities had their foundation in the Classics, but contrasts this with the rulers of later times, who limited their literary pursuits to banquet poetry. Shifting back to the subject of imperial interest in the Classics, he describes the imperial sponsored meetings that took place at the Stone Canal Pavilion and at the White Tiger Hall, noting that although only fragmentary information remains about the Stone Canal Pavilion discussions, the Baihu tongyi preserves many of the views of the Modern Script school. He then turns to the Classics that were carved in stone, lamenting the fact that only fragments survive, and thus cannot provide complete texts of the standard Han time Classics. He closes this section by mentioning the works of two scholars who studied the stone Classics. It is worth noting that Pi Xirui had a strong interest in stone inscriptions.]

4/6[99] If one is not the Son of Heaven, then one does not discuss the rites, or determine the standard measures, or examine and determine written forms.[100] The discussion of the rites, the determination of the standard measures, and the examination and determination of written forms all have

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[99][SVA: Section 4/6 corresponds to pp.117-121 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.117-122 of the Yiwen ed.]

[100](4/6, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: For this passage, see the "Zhong yong" 中庸 chapter of the Liji. (See: Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, 53.9b; Legge, trans., Li chi,

their basis in the Classics. The rulers of later ages who held written forms in high regard[101] merely shared poetry with their officials at banquets, pursuing the grand occasions celebrated in Shijing poem "A Bend in the Hillside" where verse is sung forth.[102] However, there were none who were

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Vol. 2, p.324, #43).

[101](4/6, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, you 右 is glossed as zun 尊 "to hold in high regard, to respect, to revere, etc." Youwen 右文 means to highly value literary works and related matters. The ancients took 右 to mean 尊. (See the "Annals of Emperor Gao" 高帝紀 chapter of the Han shu 1B.67, n.1 "師古曰: 古者以右爲尊")

[102](4/6, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The poem "A Bend In The Hillside" 卷阿 (#252) in the "Daya" section of the Songs begins, "There's a bend in the hillside, the wind gusts from the south, A fine lord, Comes travelling, comes singing, Sending forth song." The Mao commentary glosses juan 卷 as qu 曲 "bend, curve" and glosses piaofeng 飄風 as huifeng 迴風 "a whirling, gusting wind." And it glosses shi 矢 as chen 陳 "to show forth, to display." Zheng Xuan's commentary states, "A large hill is referred to as an e 阿and when there is a large hill with a bend in it and it is curved, gusts of wind whip around from the direction of 'nurture and nourishment' (長養之方) and enter there. The evocative image: it is analogous to the king bending when greeting the wise and worthy ones, who then go to him in great numbers, like the gusts of wind entering the bend in the hillside, their coming nurturing and nourishing the people. If the king's treatment of the wise and worthy ones is like this, then happy, amiable lords will come to the king,

able to lecture on the Classics and discuss the rites. Emperor Xuan of the Han 漢宣帝 (reg. 73-49 B.C.) widely recruited a group of scholars to discuss and decide various issues regarding the Five Classics at the Stone Canal Pavilion.[103] Emperor Zhang 章帝 (reg. 76-88 A.D.) convened a great meeting of scholars at the White Tiger Hall, where they examined in fine detail the

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singing while they travel, sending forth their voices, expressing their arrival so as to delight their king, which moves the kind heart of the king." (See: Maoshi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 17-4.1a) In Pi Xirui's text, not only do the ruler and his ministers recite poetry at a banquet, but like in the poem "A Bend In The Hillside" the lords sing forth while traveling to see their king.

[103](4/6, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Under the third year of the Ganlu 甘露 period (51 B.C.) in the "Annals of Emperor Xuan" 宣帝紀 chapter of the Han shu it states, "The Confucian scholars were summoned by imperial order to deliberate about the similarities and differences relating to the Five Classics. The tutor to the heir apparent, Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 along with others, assessed the results of their deliberations and submitted them to the emperor. The sovereign lent imperial authority to the project and personally made the final decisions." (See: Han shu 8.272) In addition, the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "During the Ganlu period, together with Confucian scholars of the Five Classics they held various and mixed discussions about similarities and differences at the Stone Canal Pavilion." The note to this passage reads, "The Sanfu gushi 三輔故事 states, 'The Stone Canal Pavilion is located north of the Weiyang Palace 未央殿 and is used to store special texts and documents.'" (See: Han shu, 88.3598 and n.3) The third year of the Ganlu period is 51 B.C.

similarities as well as the differences in the Classics, and concluded only after several months of continuous discussion. This conference was personally overseen by the emperor and carried out with imperial authority just like the meeting at the Stone Canal in former times. The last order he gave to his scribes and ministers before his death was to compile the Baihu tongyi 白虎通義 which was a landmark work unequaled by its contemporaries and the kind that appears only once during a generation.[104]

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[104](4/6, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Annals of Emperor Zhang" 章帝紀 chapter of the Hou Han shu states in the text under the eleventh month of the fourth year of the Jianchu 建初 period (79 A.D.), "The Chamberlain For Ceremonies (taichang 太常--Hucker 6137), the Leader of the Officials (jiang 將--Hucker 690), Grandees, Erudites, Gentlemen Consultants of the Court (yilang 議郎--Hucker 2972), Court Gentlemen (langguan 郎官--Hucker 3573), students, and Confucian scholars all met at the White Tiger Hall to discuss and deliberate the similarities and differences of the Five Classics...the emperor personally lent imperial authority to the project and personally oversaw the proceedings and made the final decisions in the same manner as Emperor Xuan did in the past during the Ganlu period when a similar event took place at the Stone Canal Pavilion. [The conclusions] were written in the Baihu yizou 白虎議奏 The note to the passage reads, "At present it is titled Baihutong 白虎通." (See: Hou Han shu 3.138 and n.10) In addition, the "Preface" to the "Rulinzhuan" chapter states, "During the Jianchu period there was a large meeting of Confucian scholars held at the White Tiger Hall in which the similarities and

The Shiqu yizou 石渠議奏has been lost[105] and only bits and pieces of it appear in Du You's 杜佑 (735-812) Tongdian 通典.[106] The Baihu tongyi is

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differences were examined in detail. It continued for several months before they were finished. Suzong 肅宗 personally oversaw the proceedings and lent imperial sanction to the activities in the same manner as at the Stone Canal Pavilion in the past. He issued an imperial edict to his scribes and ministers to compile the Tongyi." The note to this passage reads, "This is none other than the Baihu tongyi." (See: Hou Han shu, 79A.2546-7 and n.2) Suzong 肅宗 refers to Emperor Zhang 章帝. The fourth year of the Jianchu 建初 period is 79 A.D. Pi Xirui is using the original text from the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu.

[105](4/6, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Liuyi lüe" sub-section of the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu says that for the Shu 書 (Documents) there is an Yizou 議奏 in forty-two pian 篇, for the Li 禮 (Rites) there is an Yizou in thirty-eight pian, for the Chunqiu 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals) there is an Yizou in thirty-nine pian, and for the Lunyu 論語 (Analects) there is an Yizou in eighteen pian. In his notes, Ban Gu consistently titles it the Shiqu lun 石渠論. This is none other than the text referred to as the Shiqu yizou 石渠議奏, which has been lost.

[106](4/6, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The Tongdian 通典 in two hundred juan is still extant, and was compiled by Du You 杜佑 of the Tang dynasty. Du You (zi Junqing 君卿) was a native of Wannian 萬年 in Jingzhao fu 京兆府. He served in office, rising to the position of Grand Guardian (taibao 太保 --Hucker 6195). His posthumous name was Anjian 安簡. For his biography, see Tang shu 166.5085-98 and Jiu Tang shu 147.3978-88. Du You

still extant in four juan[107] and brings together the great achievements of Modern Script (jinwen 今文) scholarship. Relying on this single volume we can catch a small glimpse in rough outline form of what was taught by the fourteen Erudites.[108] During the present dynasty, Chen Li 陳立 (1809- 1869)

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considered Liu Zhi's 劉秩 Zhengdian 政典 to be incomplete, wanted to expand those areas which he felt were lacking, examined and added new material on rites and ritual and compiled this text. It is divided into eight areas of classifications: "Shihuo" 食貨 ("Food and Commodities"), "Xuanju" 選舉 ("The Examination System," "Zhiguan" 職官 ("Official Positions"), "Li" 禮 ("Rites and Rituals"), "Yue" 樂 ("Music"), "Bingxing" 兵刑 ("Military and Penal Law," "Zhoujun" 州郡 ("Regions and Commanderies") and "Bianfang" 邊防 ("Border Defenses"). Each area of classification was further divided into areas of content. From high antiquity it traces the origins of the Yellow Emperor and Yu the Great 虞 and extends to the Tianbao 天寶 period (742-756) of the Tang. It is a well known work among historical-political works. For a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.1695. Normally it is combined with the Tongzhi 通志 of Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 of the Song dynasty and the Wenxian tongkao 文獻通考 of Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 of the Yuan dynasty, and together they are referred to as the Santong 三通. For the quotations from the Shiqu yizou, see juan 33, 43, 49, 50, 52, 56, 59 and 63 of the Li 禮 section.

[107](4/6, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: On the Baihu tongyi, see 3/4, n.5 above.

[108](4/6, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: On the "Fourteen Erudites" see 3/3 above.

composed the Baihutong shuzheng 白虎通疏證[109] and scholars who engage in Modern Script scholarship should hold it up like a treasure. During the reign of Emperor Zhang 章帝, he personally issued an edict which ordered talented students to receive instruction in the Old Script Documents, the Mao Version of the Songs, the Guliang Commentary, and the Zuoshi chunqiu, [all "Old Script" texts]. However, the explanations of the Old Script [School] that were selected by the Baihu tongyi were exceedingly few, and this was because Yang Zhong 楊終, Lu Gong 魯恭, Li Yu 李育 and Wei Ying 魏應 were all masters of Modern Script scholarship.[110] In the fourth

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[109](4/6, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Chen Li 陳立 (zi Zhuoren 卓人; 1809-1869)) was a native of Jurong 句容 who lived during the Qing dynasty. During the Daoguang 道光 period (1821-1850) he became a jinshi 進士 and later held the position of Prefect (zhifu 知府--Hucker 983) of Qujing 曲靖. He was a student of both Ling Shu 淩曙 and Liu Wenqi 劉文淇. His writings include the Gongyang yishu 公羊義疏, the Erya jiuzhu 爾雅舊注, the Shuowen xiesheng 說文諧聲, and the Juxi zazhu 句溪雜著, as well as other works. For biographical information, see the "Ruxue" 儒學 Four in juan 74 of Miao Quansun's 繆荃蓀 Xubei zhuanji 續碑傳集. His Baihutong shuzheng 白虎通疏證 is included in the Xu Qing jingjie 續清經解, in juan 1265-76.

[110](4/6, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Yang Zhong 楊終(zi 子山) was a native of Chengdu 成都 who lived during the Later Han dynasty. He had firm control of the learning associated with the Spring and Autumn Annals. He

year of the Xiping 熹平 period (176 A.D.) during the reign of Emperor Ling 靈帝 (reg. 168-189 A.D.) the emperor ordered scholars to establish a correct text for the Five Classics and then have the text carved into stone. Cai Yong

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submitted a memorial to Emperor Zhang requesting that discussions be convened similar to those held in the past at the Stone Canal Pavilion under the auspices of Emperor Xuan, to examine and deliberate the similarities and differences of the Five Classics. In reality, the discussions at the conference at the White Tiger Hall had their beginnings with Yang Zhong's suggestions. For biographical information, see Hou Han shu, 48.1597-1601.

Lu Gong 魯恭 (zi Zhongkang 仲康) was a native of Pingling 平陵 who lived during the Later Han dynasty. He studied the Lu Version of the Songs and attained the position of Erudite. When Emperor Zhang assembled the Confucian scholars at the White Tiger Hall, Lu Gong, because of his clear understanding of the Classics, obtained an imperial summons to participate in the discussions. For biographical information, see Hou Han shu 25.873-83.

Li Yu (zi Yuanchun 元春) was a native of Qi 漆 who lived during the Later Han dynasty. He studied the Gongyang Chunqiu and attained the position of Erudite. Together with the other Confucian scholars, he discussed the Five Classics at the White Tiger Hall. For biographical information, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu (79B.2582).

Wei Ying 魏應 (zi Junbo 君伯) was a native of Rencheng 任城 who lived during the Later Han dynasty. He studied the Lu Version of the Songs and attained the position of Erudite. During the conference at the White Tiger Hall he was solely in charge of difficult questions. For biographical

personally wrote the characters with red ink for the inscriptions, ordered artisans to do the chiseling and carving, and the tablets were placed outside the gate of the Imperial Academy. Afterwards, scholars and students of later generations all took it to be the standard text.[111] It served as the

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information, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu (79B.2571).

[111](4/6, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "...money and other things were privately passed around [as bribes], and the characters of the Classics of the lacquer books stored at the Magnolia Terrace (Lantai 蘭臺) were decided so as to match those of privately held texts. In the fourth year of the Xiping period, Emperor Ling issued an edict to the Confucian scholars ordering them to determine and decide upon the proper text of the Five Classics and have it carved on stone slabs. They were carved in three script styles, Old Script (guwen 古文), Seal Script (zhuan 篆) and Clerical Script (li 隸), (the Han stone classics were in a single script style, not in three distinct styles. The text is in error, see below.) so they can be examined and cross checked. They were stood upright outside the gate of the academy, and throughout the Empire everyone took them as the standard." (See: Hou Han shu, 79A.2547) In addition, the "Biography of Cai Yong" 蔡邕傳 in the Hou Han shu states, "Cai Yong thought that the text of the Classics was long removed from the Sages, that [in its present form] the written text contained many errors, that the average scholar had developed forced arguments and explanations on account of this, and he suspected that this would lead to mistakes and misunderstandings in later scholarship. In the fourth year of the Xiping period, he, along with men of official position, Tang Xidian 堂谿

landmark text for a single age. If the stone slabs were still extant, they would provide sufficient material to investigate the text of the Classics during the Han. It is unfortunate that after the Six Dynasties the stone texts gradually became broken, scattered and lost, with only 1,900 plus characters being preserved in the Song dynasty personage Hong Gua's 洪适 (1117-1184) Lishi 隸釋.[112] It contains [fragments of] the Lu Version of the

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典 who held the post of Leader of Court Gentlemen (zhonglang jiang 中郎將 --Hucker 1581), Yang Si 楊賜 who held the position of Grand Master for Splendid Happiness (guanglu daifu 光錄大夫--Hucker 3349), Ma Ridi 馬日磾 who held the position of Grand Master of Remonstrance (jianyi daifu 諫議大夫--Hucker 831), Zhang Xun 張馴 and Han Yue 韓說 who held the position of Court Gentleman for Consultation (yilang 議郎--Hucker 2972), and Shan Yang 單颺 who held the position of Grand Astrologer (taishi ling 太史令 --Hucker 6218), submitted a memorial to the emperor requesting that they be allowed to examine and correct the written text of the Six Classics. Emperor Ling agreed to their request. Cai Yong then wrote the characters in red ink on stone slabs, the artisans were ordered to chisel and carve the characters, and they were placed outside the gate of the Imperial Academy. Thereupon scholars of later generations all took it to be the standard text." (See: Hou Han shu 60B.1190)

[112](4/6, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: [In Pi Xirui's text] Hong 洪氏 refers to Hong Gua 洪适 (1117-1184). Hong Gua's original name (ming 名) was Zao 造 (zi Jingbo 景伯) and he was a native of Poyang 鄱陽, who lived during the Song dynasty. He held successive official positions, eventually rising to the

Songs, the Younger Xiahou's (Xiahou Jian) Documents, the Yili, the Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, and the Lu Version of the Lunyu (魯論語), which together with the Changes makes six Classics. In addition to the Five Classics, the Lunyu was added, and there was the Gongyang chunqiu which had the commentary without the main text (i.e. the Chunqiu). During the Han [the Classics which enjoyed official recognition] in the Academy were similar to these. The carved stone tablets of Penglai Pavilion 蓬萊閣 of the Song dynasty have also fallen into ruin.[113]

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post of Assistant Vice Director of the Imperial Secretariat (shangshu zuopuye 尚書左僕射-- Hucker 5052). His posthumous name was Wenhui 文惠. For his biography, see Song shi 373.11561-5. [SVA: See: Sung Biographies, Vol. 1, pp.466-68] Hong Gua wrote the Lishi 隸釋 in 27 juan and the Lixu 隸續 in 21 juan, both of which are still extant. For a detailed evaluation, see the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.1790-91. In his collection of fragments from the Han stone classics he counted 547 characters from the Documents, 173 characters from the Lu Version of the Songs 魯詩, 45 characters from the Rites and Ceremonials 儀禮, 375 characters from the Gongyang chunqiu, and 971 characters from the Analects for a total of 2,111 characters. When Pi Xirui states that there are in excess of 1,900 characters, he is probably basing this on Weng Fanggang's 翁方綱 Shijing canzikao 石經殘字考.

[113](4/6, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: The carved stone tablets of Penglai Pavilion 蓬萊閣 of the Song dynasty are none other than the re-carved

At present, as for the re-engraved texts at the two seats of learning located at Nanchang 南昌 in Jiangxi and at Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang, there are only 675 characters remaining, and there are many differences between them and the Old Script Classics which have been passed down through the ages. The Han stone Classics were carved in clerical script (lishu 隸書), and

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tablets based on the fragments of the Han stone classics collected by Hong Gua 洪适. The "Postface" (跋尾) to the "Fragments of the Stone Classic Documents" 石經尙書殘碑 section of Hong Gua's Lishi 隸釋 states, "When the present dynasty (Song) was unified, the broken pieces of the stone Classics which had been handed down were stored away in the homes of those overly involved in almost everything, like the pieces of jade from Kunshan 崑山 which we are now unable to view. At the present, the capital has been reduced to a tribal encampment (lit. "rug village"), with the fragments of the stone Classics becoming increasingly fewer with each passing day. I have collected and compiled them in the Lishi, according to the chiseled inscriptions [以所有鐫之] at the Penglai Pavilion of Kuaiji 會稽." (See: Hong Gua, Lishi, n.p., postface dated 1778, 14.5a)

Weng Fanggang's 翁方綱 (1733-1818) Han shijing canzikao 漢石經殘字考 states, "In the past, during the Qiandao 乾道 period (1165-1173) of the Song dynasty, Hong Wenhui (Hong Gua) of Poyang took more than 1,900 characters which he obtained from the [Han Stone Classic] Documents, Lu Version of the Songs, Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, and chiseled them into eight tablets at the Penglai Pavilion at Kuaiji." (See: Weng Fanggang, Han shijing canzi kao, Csjc, p.20)

were not stone classics carved in the three script styles (santi 三體) of Wei.[114] This (the Han Cai Yong version) was placed outside the gate of the Imperial Academy, not outside the Hongdu Gate 鴻都門. The explanations of those in the past have been wrong for the most part. Take a close look at Hang Shijun's 杭世駿 Shijing kaoyi 石經攷異[115] and Feng Dengfu's 馮登府

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[114][SVA: During the Zhengshi 正始 period (240-249) of the Wei dynasty Handan Chun 邯鄲淳 wrote the text of the Classics on stone using three script styles, old script (guwen 古文), small seal (xiaozhuan 小篆) and Han clerical script (Han li 隸). After the tablets were carved, they were placed to the west of the Xiping Stone Classics.]

[115](4/6, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: Hang Shijun 杭世駿 (zi Dazong 大宗; hao Jinpu 堇浦; 1696-1773) was a native of Renhe 人和 who lived during the Qing dynasty. In 1724, during the Yongzheng 雍正 period (1723-35), he became a juren 舉人 and he held the official position of Censor (yushi 御史 --Hucker 8167). However, because he expressed opinions which were not in accord with imperial views, he was sentenced to death, but he was then released and sent home [to permanent retirement]. He was widely read, possessed a strong memory and his written works were many. His writings include the Daogutang shiwenji 道古堂詩文集 and the Hangshi qizhong 杭氏七種. For his biography, see juan 41 of Li Yuandu's 李元度 Guochao xianzheng shilüe 國朝先正事略. In his Shijing kaoyi 石經考異 which is in two juan, in the paragraph under the section heading "一字非三字" in juan one, he states that the Han Stone Classics were carved in one script style, not three script styles. In the paragraph under the section heading "鴻都學非太

Shijing bukao 石經補考.[116]

學," he states that the Han Stone Classics were placed outside the Imperial Academy, not outside the Hongdu Gate 鴻都門. His words are not reproduced here, but one can refer to the original text. [SVA: See ECCP, pp.276-7 for his biography.]

[116](4/6, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: Feng Dengfu 馮登府 (zi Liudong 柳東, hao Yunbo 雲伯, alt. hao Zhuoyuan 勺園; 1783-1841) was a native of Jiaxing 嘉興 who lived during the Qing dynasty. In 1820, during the Jiaqing 嘉慶 period (1796-1820) he became a jinshi 進士, and he served as the Director of Schools (fu jiaoshou 府教授--cf. Hucker 740) at Ningpo 寧波. His writings include the Shisanjing gu dawen 十三經詁答問, the Sanjia shi yiwen shuzheng 三家詩異文疏證, the Shijing kaoyi 石經考異, and the Shijing ge wenji 石經閣文集 along with other works. His Han shijing kaoyi 漢石經考異 in two juan is contained in the Qing jingjie 清經解, in juan 1402. Its "Preface" states, "During the Later Han dynasty, in the fourth year of the Xiping period (175 A.D.), there was an imperial order given to place the Stone Classics at the Imperial Academy. The "Annals of Emperor Ling," the "Rulin zhuan" and "Huanzhe zhuan" 宦者傳chapters of the Hou Han shu all state that it was the Five Classics. The biographies of Cai Yong and Zhang Xun 張馴 state that it was the Six Classics, and in addition, the "Jingjizhi" chapter of the Sui shu states that it was seven Classics, but they are all wrong. Zhonglang 中郎 (Cai Yong) used small characters eight fen 分 in size and wrote them in red, and the artisans were ordered to chisel them into the stone. The "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" says that they were carved in three script styles, "Old Script" (guwen 古文), "Seal Script" (zhuan 篆) and

[4/7 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui revisits the idea that Confucius created the Classics, and especially the Chunqiu, for the purpose of providing a standard model for all subsequent generations to follow. He addresses the claim that Confucius created these works for the Han by arguing that as the Classics were created for all generations, any generation or dynasty could claim that Confucius had them in mind when he created these texts. Pi then turns his attention to the apocrypha which in his opinion should not be quoted by the commentators to the Gongyang or the Zuozhuan.]

4/7[117] Wang Chong's Lunheng states, "The Five Classics were for their part established by the Han ruling house, and the grand principles of good government of the Confucian scholars came forth from them. Dong Zhongshu in making clear the meaning inherent in the Spring and Autumn Annals did it in a way which was consistent with the regulations and lacked

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"Clerical Script" (li 隸), but this is also incorrect. The three script styles (santi 三體) were done during the Wei dynasty." (See: Han shijing kaoyi, HQjj, 1402.38b) [SVA: For his biography, see ECCP, p.243-4]

[117][SVA: Section 4/7 corresponds to pp.121-4 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.122-5 of the Yiwen ed.]

anything which went against or was at variance with them. In this way then, the Spring and Autumn Annals was the Classic of the Han dynasty. Confucius' created [the Classic], and it was passed down to the Han."[118] According to this, Wang Zhongren 王仲任[119] thought that Confucius created it and bequeathed it to the Han, and [he] uses the theories and explanations found in the Gongyang chunqiu.[120] The Han Chi stone 韓敕碑[121] inscription

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[118](4/7, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: For the quoted passage, see chapter 34, (篇第三十四) "Chengcai" 程材, in juan 12 of Wang Chong's Lunheng. (See: Lunheng, Sbck, 12.5a-b)

[119](4/7, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Zhongren 王仲任 is Wang Chong's zi.

[120](4/7, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The explanations of the Gongyang chunqiu for the most part advocate the view that Confucius composed the Spring and Autumn Annals in order to provide instruction for the Han dynasty. Under the book title in the Tang [scholar] Xu Yan's 徐彦 "Subcommentary" (疏) to the Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan he states, "That we have certain knowledge that Confucius composed the Spring and Autumn Annals in order to instruct the Han [is borne out by] the following explanations regarding the Spring and Autumn Annals, 'Fu Xi created the Eight Trigrams, Qiu 丘 (Confucius) brought together and expanded his text, went beyond [Fu Xi] bringing out his true spirit, and he composed the Spring and Autumn Annals in order to reform corrupt institutions.' Another passage reads, 'Qiu had control of the historical records, he drew from and cited the ancient charts, reckoned and assembled the changes of Heaven,

reads, "Confucius was a recent sage and determined the Way for the Han."[122] The Shi Chen stone 史晨碑[123] inscription reads, "In the west a unicorn was captured,[124] and it was created for the Han."[125] Ouyang Xiu

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created a model for the Han emperors, setting forth and recounting the charts and records.' In addition it reads, 'Qiu was the essence of water, he set up a model, and on behalf of the crimson (the Han) he created [this]. In light of these passages, it is clear that the Spring and Autumn Annals was composed for the Han." (See: Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 1.2b.)

[121]Standard dictionaries give two pronunciations for the character 勅, lai, and chi, when it is a variant for the character 敕. Han Chi (zi Shujie 叔節), while serving in the capacity as Administrator (xiang 相--Hucker 2303) in the state of Lu during the Yongshou 永壽 period (155-158), was responsible for the creation of the inscribed stone known as the Kongmiao liqi bei 孔廟禮器碑. I do not know how 韓勅pronounced his given name.

[122][SVA: See: Yan Kejun, "Quan Hou Han wen," 101.2b-3a.]

[123]Shi Chen (zi Boshi 伯時) was a native of Henan. During the Jianning 建寧 period (168-172) while serving in the position of Grand Counselor (zaixiang 宰相--Hucker 6819) he was responsible for two stone inscriptions at the Confucian temple located at Qufu in Shandong.

[124](4/7, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan the entry under the Fourteenth Year of Duke Ai 哀公十四年 reads, "In the spring, a unicorn was captured in the west...The unicorn is a benevolent creature and if there is a true king then it appears; if there is no true king, then it does not appear. Someone reported it's appearance, saying, 'There is a roebuck, but with a horn.' Confucius said, 'Who is coming! Who is coming!'

thought that the Han dynasty Confucian scholars [who held these views] were narrow and base, for in creating the Spring and Autumn Annals, how could Confucius do this in such a limited way, that is solely for the Han![126] He did not understand that the Sage's Classic originally was for the purpose

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He turned his sleeve and wiped his face, his tears soaking his gown." (See: Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 28.7a-10a) Xu Yan's Subcommentary quotes the following passage from the Kong Congzi 孔叢子, 'The Shusun's 叔孫 driver's name was Chu Shang 鉏商 and when they were cutting wood out in the wilds he captured a unicorn there. No one among them recognized it, and thinking it to be unlucky, they dumped it off at the road to Wufu 五父. Ran You 冉有 told Confucius about it, 'There is a deer with a fleshy horn. How can the world have such strange things!' The master said, 'Where is it now? I'm going to go and have a look at it.' He then left and as they were riding, he said to Gao Chai 高柴, 'If it's like I (Qiu 求) say, then it must be a unicorn!' They got there, he took a look at it and said, 'The venerable Zhou is on the verge of disintegration and is without a true leader. Who will come! On this day a unicorn comes forth and dies. My way is done for!'" (See: Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 28.9b).

[125][SVA: See: "Quan Hou Han wen," 101.7a.]

[126](4/7, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Ouyang Xiu's "Hou Han Luxiangzhen Kongzi miao bawei" 後漢魯相晨孔子廟跋尾, which is located in juan two in the Jigulu bawei 集古錄跋尾 section in the Ouyang Wenzhong Gong ji states, "How narrow minded and base were the scholars of the Han! How could Confucius' composition of the Spring and Autumn Annals have been done solely for the Han!" (See: Ouyang Wenzhong Gong ji, Sbck, 135.4b)

of establishing rules and models for future generations. And although it was not solely written for the Han, if we consider the Han as a continuation of the Zhou, and do not include the Qin's intercalary occupation of the throne[127] in our calculations, then the view that the creation of the Sage's Classic was done for the Han, is certainly permissible. In addition, it is fitting that they would speak of the Han during the Han, and expressing admiration for the present age is none other than expressing admiration for the Former Sage. This is like the case of Ouyang Xiu living during the Song, when during the Song, the veneration of the teachings of Confucius and the study of the Classics of Confucius is none other than speaking to the point that the Classics of the Sage were created to serve as rules and models for the Song, and this also is certainly permissible. Presently, we live during the Qing dynasty, when during the Qing, the veneration of the teachings of

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[127](4/7, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Appraisal" 贊 to the "Biography of Wang Mang" 王莽傳 chapter in the Han shu states, "The color purple, a note out of tune, an extra division, an illegitimate reign." Fu Qian's note to the line reads, "This is to say that Wang Mang did not obtain the mandate given to a true and proper ruler, and it resembles the case of the extra division of the months of the year being an intercalary period." (See: Han shu, 99C.4194 and n.9) In the text, Pi Xirui is saying that although the Qin ruled with imperial authority, it was not a legitimate member of the orthodox succession of rulers, and was like the intercalary month added to the

Confucius and the study of the Classics of Confucius speak to the point that the Classic texts of the Sage were created to serve as rules and models for the Qing, and this also is certainly permissible. How could the words of Ouyang Xiu be such an obstacle to understanding? The reason that the study of the Classics flourished during the Han squarely rests with [the belief that] the Sage's Classics were created for the Han, and therefore they received the veneration and respect of the rulers. This was the motivation behind the Confucian scholars' desire to carry out the Way [of the Classics], and the universal principle underlying putting into actual practice the Sage's Classics and it continuing through ten thousand generations. Some suspect that the creation of the Spring and Autumn Annals upon the capture of the unicorn merely came from the words of the apocrypha (chen wei 讖緯) school.[128] The episode of the crimson bird at the city gate[129] is an

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standard twelve months.

[128](4/7, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: On the chen 讖 and wei 緯 texts, see 4/4, n.15.

[129](4/7, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The Chunqiu wei yan Kongtu 春秋緯演孔圖 states, "After the capture of the unicorn, Heaven sent down a blood-red colored document and it landed on the inside of the city gate of Lu. It read, 'Go quickly and create a model, Kong the sage will be no more and the Ji clan of Zhou is finished. The broomstar comes forth from the east, Zheng of Qin (First Qin Emperor) rises, and Hu [Hai] engages in destructive tactics.

event which borders on gross exaggeration, and the language which describes it is base and vulgar. The Gongyang Commentary for its part lacks any clear explanation, and thus He Xiu should not have included it in his Jiegu 解詁 commentary to the [Gongyang zhuan].[130] However, let us take a look at a line from the Zuoshi zhuan which reads, "Those who stayed

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The documents and records are scattered, but Kong is not cut off. The next day Zixia went and had a look at it. The blood red document took flight, becoming a crimson bird which transformed into a white colored document which was called the Yan Kong tu 演孔圖. It contained within it an instruction to create plans and establish models. Confucius looked up and deduced Heaven's mandate, looked down and investigated the changes manifested in time. He stepped back and observed what was yet to come, and he understood beforehand that which is without end. He knew that the Han would carry on after a period of great disorder, and therefore he created a model for doing away with disorder in order to instruct [the Han]." (See: Choshu isho shusei, Vol. 4, pt. 1, p.14) When Pi Xirui refers to the "crimson bird landing at the city gate," he is referring to this passage.

[130](4/7, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry under the Fourteenth Year of Duke Ai 哀公十四年 in the Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan we find the following entry, "Why did the Master create the Spring and Autumn Annals? To do away with disorder in the world and return it to its proper condition. There is nothing closer than the Spring and Autumn Annals." He Xiu's Jiegu 解詁 in explaining this line quotes from the passage which contains the words 赤鳥端門 in the Chunqiuwei yan Kongtu. (See: Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 28.13b-14.a)

there took Liu as their surname." (其處者爲劉氏)[131] Kong Yingda's subcommentary states, "Inserting these words from annotations, was done to flatter the present age. During the reign of Emperor Ming, Jia Kui submitted a memorial which said, 'The Five Classics all lack any evidence, the charts (tu 圖) and prognostication texts chen (讖) clarify that those surnamed Liu are descendants of Yao, while the Zuoshi zhuan alone has clear text.' I think that previous generations relied on this, hoping to make the meaning clear, and as a result it was later cited as an explanation."[132]

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[131](4/7, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: For this passage, see the commentary (傳) to the entry under the Thirteenth Year of Duke Wen 文公十三年 in the Chunqiu Zuoshizhuan. According to legend, a descendant of Yao named Liu Lei 劉累, who was skilled in the care and feeding of dragons, served the Xia ruler, Kongjia 孔甲 (trad. dates 1857-1827 B.C.). [SVA: See Knechtges, trans., Wen xuan, 1: 330, LL.245-250, n.] During the Spring and Autumn period, Shi Hui 士會, who was a native of Jin 晉, resided in Qin 秦 and the clan name (姓) of [Liu] Lei was restored as the Liu family name (氏). (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 19B.11a; Legge, Tso Chuen, pp.262-4) [SVA: On the ancient distinction between the clan name 姓 and the family name 氏 in pre-Han times, see Dubs, HFHD, 1:147, n.1] Later, Shi Hui returned to Jin and those of his clan who remained behind in Qin took the surname Liu, and this was the origin of the ancestors of Emperor Gaozu of the Han.

[132](4/7, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Kong Yingda's Chunqiu zhengyi

Based on the subcommentary, this is a case of the prognostication records being held in high regard in the Later Han. If the prognostication records were not cited, then people would not respect the Classics. However, if the Zuoshi zhuan scholars added and/or interpolated commentary into the text, and if the Gongyang scholars only preserved this explanation in the annotations, then the transgressions of the Gongyang scholars in quoting the prognostication texts should not be considered less than those of scholars of the Zuoshi school.

[4/8 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui stresses

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under the line "Those who resided there took the family name Liu" (其處者爲劉氏) reads, "As for the legend that those residing there took Liu as their family name, I do not know how to explain this. I have examined and evaluated the text preceding and following this line and this line is of a different type [as it does not fit]. I suspect that this line was not in keeping with the original intent [of the author.] It was probably because the Han ruling house had just arisen, ancient learning had been abandoned, the Zuozhuan was not well known, and the first scholars of that era had no way to enhance their position. [Members of] the Liu family came from Qin and from Wei, but their origins were with Liu Lei. The inserting this line as commentary was done to flatter those of the present age. [The commentary contains the continuation of the quoted text.] " (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 19B.11a [疏])

the practical application of the content of the Classics, not in the sense of scholarship, but in the area of self-cultivation, personal refinement, and service to the state. He draws examples from the Former and Later Han in order to support his position. He goes on to make the point that when the principles in the Classics are learned and embodied by the individual, the results can only be positive, even in challenging times.]

4/8[133] During the Later Han, the selection of officials by necessity turned on a clear understanding of the Classics and the refinement of one's conduct. It was the case that emphasis was not only placed on one's talents with regard to the written word, but that it was also necessary to closely examine one's conduct. During the Former Han, Kuang Heng 匡衡, Zhang Yu 張禹, Kong Guang 孔光 and Ma Gong 馬宮[134] all held ministerial positions owing to

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[133][SVA: Section 4/8 corresponds to pp.124-6 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.125-8 of the Yiwen ed.]

[134](4/8, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Chapter 81 of the Han shu contains biographical information on Kuang Heng 匡衡 (81.3331-47), Zhang Yu 張禹 (81.3347-52), Kong Guang 孔光 (81.3352-65) and Ma Gong 馬公 (81.3365-66). For Kuang Heng, see: 1/4, n.6.

In the third year of the Jianzhao 建昭 reign period (36 B.C.) of Emperor Yuan 元帝 (reg. 48-33 B.C.) Kuang Heng was appointed to the position of Counselor-in-chief (chengxiang 丞相--Hucker 483). At the time,

the Secretariat Director (zhongshu ling 中書令--Hucker 1616), Shi Xian 石顯, was very powerful and as Kuang Heng was afraid of him and did not dare to cause him to be displeased.

Zhang Yu (zi Ziwen 子文) was a native of Zhi 軹 in Henei 河內. He had a strong command of the Changes and the Analects. In the fourth year of the Heping 河平 period (25 B.C.) of the reign of Emperor Cheng 成帝 (reg. 32-7 B.C.) he was appointed to the position of Counselor-in-chief. At the time members of the Wang 王 consort clan monopolized the government and Zhang Yu did not dare to do anything to correct the situation.

Kong Guang (zi Zixia 子夏) was a fourteenth generation descendant of Confucius. He had a strong command of the Documents. During the reigns of Emperor Cheng 成帝, Emperor Ai 哀帝 (reg. 6-1 B.C.) and Emperor Ping (reg. 1-5 A.D.) he served in the capacity of Counselor-in-chief. At the time, Wang Mang was becoming increasingly powerful and Kong Guang was so full of anxiety and fear that he almost did not know what to do.

Ma Gong (zi Youqing 游卿) was a native of Qi 戚 in Donghai 東海. He had a strong command of the Spring and Autumn Annals. During the reign of Emperor Ping, he served in the capacity of Counselor-in-chief. After Wang Mang usurped the throne, he appointed Ma Gong tutor to the Heir Apparent.

The "Appraisal" (贊) of the Han shu states, "From the time that Emperor Wu elevated the status of learning, Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 was appointed to the position of Grand Counselor (xiang 相--Hucker 2303) owing to his being a Confucian Scholar; after him Cai Yi 蔡義, Wei Xian 韋賢, Xuan Cheng 玄成, Kuang Heng, Zhang Yu, Zhai Fangjin 翟方進, Kong Guang 孔光, Ping Dang 平當, Ma Gong and Ping Dang's son, Ping Yan 平晏, because

their being masters of the Classics, but they did not offer any correctives or remedies. Emperor Guangwu took a lesson from this and as a result he sought out and appointed hermits and recluses,[135] treated scholars in residence as guests, placed a high value on integrity, and he felt that to honor the Classics one must surely honor those men who can put the

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they were learned Confucian scholars were all respected and occupied the position of Grand Counselor. They wore the clothing and caps of Confucian scholars, taught the words of the ancient sage kings, and they were reserved in manner. Thus they all maintained high positions and its rewards, and were ridiculed as flatterers." (See: Han shu, 81.3366)

[135](4/8, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Chapter 83 of the Hou Han shu is the "Yimin liezhuan" 逸民列傳 ("Biographies of Recluses and Hermits"). Its "Preface" states, "Emperor Guangwu kept solitary mats [for the men who had withdrawn from the world], he sought them and if they did not come quickly enough, there were enticements such as praise banners, bolts of silk and comfortable carriages with their wheels padded with cattails [offered to them], and he had them searched for in the mountains and caves. Those like Xue Fang 薛方 and Feng Meng 逢萌 were invited to court, but they weren't willing to come, while those such as Yan Guang 嚴光, Zhou Dang 周黨 and Wang Ba 王霸 came, but were not able to submit [to authority]. They arrived from all over, upright individuals who harbored humanity. This is truly what is meant by the phrase, 'Promote men who have withdrawn from the world and the hearts of all under Heaven will turn to you.'" [SVA: See: Lunyu 20/1]. (See: Hou Han shu 83.2756) Yimin 逸民 (hermits and recluses) refers to men who have withdrawn from the world and live in seclusion.

meaning contained in the Classics into actual practice. In the Later Han, those who held the positions of the Three Dukes 三公[136] such as Yuan An 袁安, Yang Zhen 楊震, Li Gu 李固, Chen Fan 陳蕃[137] and others, held fast to

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[136][SVA: Three Dukes = sangong 三公--Hucker 4871]

[137](4/8, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Yuan An 袁安 (zi Zhaogong 昭公) was a native of Ruyang 汝陽 who lived during the Later Han. He had a firm command of Meng's 孟氏 interpretation of the Changes. During the reign of Emperor Zhang 章帝 (reg. 76-88 A.D.) he held the positions of Minister of Works (sikong 司空--Hucker 5687) and Minister of Education (situ 司徒 --Hucker 5801). He steadfastly held to what was right and did not waver and he often engaged in disputes with the Dou 竇 consort clan. For his biography, see chapter 45.1517-22 of the Hou Han shu.

On Yang Zhen 楊震, see 4/1, n.10. Yang Zhen was thoroughly versed in the Ouyang interpretation of the Documents. In the first year of the Yongning 永寧 period (120 A.D.) during the reign of Emperor An 安帝 (reg. 107- 125) he became Minister of Education and he submitted a memorial accusing the emperor's wet nurse Wang Sheng 王聖 and her daughter Bo Rong 伯榮 of various crimes. In the second year of the Yanguang 延光 period (122), he was appointed to the position of Defender-in-chief (taiwei 太 尉- -Hucker 6260) and he again submitted several memorials in which he took strong stands. Later, he drank poison and died.

Li Gu 李固 (zi Zijian 子堅) was a native of Nanzheng 南鄭 who lived during the Later Han. He was widely read in areas ancient and modern. During the reigns of Emperor Chong 沖帝 (reg. 145 A.D.), Emperor Zhi 質帝

what was correct and did not waver [in their convictions],[138] and we can see the vast difference between them and Kuang Heng, Zhang Yu, Kong Guang and Ma Gong of the Former Han, a difference as pronounced as that between the most fragrant flower and stinkweed.[139] Those who are mentioned in the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the History of the Later Han Dynasty, such as Dai Ping 戴憑, Sun Qi 孫期, Song Deng 宋登, Yang Lun 楊

(reg. 146), and Emperor Huan (reg. 147-167) he held the position of Defender-in-chief. On several occasions he was in contention with Liang Ji 梁冀, a member of the Liang consort clan, the final consequence being that he was put to death. For his biography, see Hou Han shu 63.2073-89.

Chen Fan 陳蕃 (zi Zhongju 仲舉) was a native of Pingyu 平輿 who lived during the Later Han. During the reign of Emperor Huan, he held the position of Defender-in-chief. Later, together with Dou Wu 竇武 who held the rank of General-in-chief (da jiangjun 大將軍--Hucker 5897) they plotted to kill the Palace Attendant-in-ordinary (zhong changshi 中常侍--Hucker 1532) Cao Jie 曹節, Wang Fu 王甫, and others. The affair leaked out and he was put to death. For his biography, see Hou Han shu 66.2159-71.

[138](4/8, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese e 阿 is glossed as si 私 "to favor personal interests." See the note to the "Guigong" chapter 貴公篇 of the Lüshi chunqiu. (See: Lüshi chunqiu jishi, Vol. 1, p.76)

[139](4/8, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Xun 薰 is an aromatic plant, while you 蕕 foul smelling plant. See the notes to the entry under the fourth year of Duke Xi 僖公四年 in the Zuozhuan. (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi, Ssjzs, 12.15a-b)

倫 and Fu Gong 伏恭[140] and others, are all very impressive as they

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[140](4/8, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: For the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu, see chapter 79. Dai Ping 戴憑 (zi Cizhong 次仲) was a native of Pingyu 平輿 in Runan 汝南. He studied the Master Jing's 京氏 interpretation of the Changes 京 and at the time it was said of him, "Unravelling the intricacies the Classics does not exhaust Palace Attendant Dai." (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2553-4).

Sun Qi 孫期 (zi Zhongyu 仲彧) was a native of Chengwu 成武 in Jiyin 濟陰. He studied the Changes of Master Jing and the Old Script Documents. When the Yellow Turbans rose up they mutually agreed not to touch Sun Qi's dwelling. (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2554-5).

Song Deng 宋登 (zi Shuyang 叔陽) was a native of Chang'an 長安 in Jingzhao 京兆 (the Capital District). He taught the Ouyang version of the Documents. Several times he submitted sealed and confidential memorials regarding curbing and demoting powerful officials. (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2557).

Yang Lun 楊倫 (zi Zhongli 仲理) was a native of Donghun 東昏 in Chenliu 陳留. He studied the Old Script Documents. The three demotions which took place during his official career were all owing to his straightforward admonitions to the emperor being met with disfavor. (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2564-5).

Fu Gong 伏恭 (zi Shuqi 叔齊) was a native of Dongwu 東武 in Langye 琅邪. He taught the Qi Version of the Songs. He was well known for his compassionate administration and his public-minded incorruptibility. (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2571)

established themselves [in a manner which was proper and correct]. Fan Weizong 范蔚宗 (Fan Ye) in discussing them expressed the following opinion, "That which they spoke of was humanity (ren 仁) and propriety (yi 義) and that which they taught and passed on was the way of the sages. As a result, people came to recognize and understand the essentials of the bonds between ruler and minister and between father and son, and families knew the route by which evil is avoided and by which what is proper is adhered to. Starting from the time of Emperors Huan 桓 (reg. 147-167 A.D.) and Ling 靈 (reg. 168-189 A.D.),[141] the way of the ruler had become corrupt[142] and heretical, the moral standards and discipline of the court declined day by day, and rifts in the state had erupted on numerous occasions. From those of mediocre intelligence on down there was no one who did not know that dynastic collapse and the fragmentation which follows was imminent, but nevertheless powerful ministers put to rest their plots to seize power while

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[141](4/8, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Emperor Huan 桓帝 was on the throne for twenty-one years, from 147 to 167 A.D. Emperor Ling 靈帝 was also on the throne for twenty-one years, from 168 to 189 A.D.

[142](4/8, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, in the note to this passage in the Hou Han shu, bi 秕 is glossed as unripened grain and is used as a metaphor for the evils of a corrupt government and culture. (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2590, n.1)

men of outstanding talent submitted to the critical discourse of the humble scholars. This was because men recited the words of the former kings [which forbid seizing control of power] and those below feared going against legitimate rule[143] ...If we trace the path from where the decline began to where it finally ended, and the reasons that the empire was yet able to endure for so many years, was this not owing to the effects resulting from the study of [the Classics]!"[144] Gu Yanwu thought that Fan really knew what he was talking about. He commented, "From the Three Dynasties onward, the quality of the cultural atmosphere never surpassed that of the Eastern Capital."[145] In this way then, when the state holds the Classics in the highest regard and emphasizes learning, not only does it purify the cultural atmosphere, but it also guards against and provide support in

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[143][SVA: The original HHS reads 執 for JXLS 勢.]

[144](4/8, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: For the original text, see the "Lun" 論 of the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu (79B.2589-90).

[145](4/8, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: For the quoted passage, see juan 13 of Gu Yanwu's Rizhilu, under the heading "兩漢風俗." The original text has the character chun 淳 above the character mei 美. This is an error of omission on Pi Xirui's part. In addition, Gu Yanwu cites the original text from the "Lun" of the "Rulin zhuan" of the Hou Han shu along with that of the "Lun" to chapter 61 of the Hou Han shu which contains the biography of Zuo Xiong 左雄. It reads, "Therefore as for Fan Ye's discussion...he knows

times of decline.[146] Those who lack understanding believe that the study of the Classics is of no benefit and wish to do away with it. However, when we look at the Later Han, we see that we should not be like the king of the state of Qin who said that scholars were of no benefit to the nation.[147]

[4/9 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui contrasts and compares the Classical Scholarship of the Former Han with that of the Later Han. He illustrates, by means of examples, that during the Former Han it was rare for a person to be versed in more than one Classic, while

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what he is talking about." (See: Rizhilu, Vol.2, pp.39-40)

[146](4/8, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhizhu 搘拄 is a variant of 榰柱. The "Shiyan" 釋言 chapter of the Erya contains the gloss "榰,柱也," zhu 柱 being a post, or post-like support. Guo Pu's note reads, "相榰柱," "to support something." (See: Erya yinde 1/228; Erya yishu, p.514-5) The 木 classifier section in juan six of the Shuowen contains the following entry, "榰,柱氐也." (榰 is the base of a post, pillar, etc.) Duan Yucai's note to this entry reads, "It is the stone base of a pillar...the stone base is located under the pillar so the pillar can stand upright and thus by extension refers to supporting posts, pillars, and their foundation. (See: Shuowen jiezizhu, 6A.32a-b). 榰柱 was originally a noun which by extension has the sense of "to support."

[147](4/8, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Ruxiao" chapter 儒效篇 in juan four of Xunzi states, "King Zhao of Qin 秦昭王 inquired of Sun Qingzi 孫卿子, 'The Ruists are of no benefit to the state.'" (See: Xunzi, Sbck, 4.2b)

during the Later Han there were scholars who had command of all the Classics. He goes on to point out that the writings (commentaries) on the Classics written during the Former Han were relatively short in length and fewer in number when compared to those produced during the Later Han. For Pi, an increase in scholarly activity and output did not necessarily imply an increase in quality, a point he makes at the close of this section.]

4/9[148] That Classical Scholarship in the Later Han flourished to a higher degree when compared to that of the Former Han, is manifested in two ways. First, during the Former Han scholars for the most part concentrated on a single Classic, and few were versed in more than one. In the early stages of Classical Scholarship's rise, the texts which had been hidden away began to come forth.[149] Moreover, [in the case of the Songs], some people

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[148][SVA: Section 4/9 corresponds to pp.126-131 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.128-133 of the Yiwen ed.]

[149](4/9, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Xin's "Letter Reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain of Ceremonials," states, "During the Qin...a law was enacted restricting texts, there was the practice of considering it a crime to take the ancient to be correct and proper...During the reign of Emperor Hui 惠帝 (reg. 194-188 B.C.) the law prohibiting the private ownership of texts was done away with...during the reign of Emperor Wen 文帝 (reg. 179-157 B.C.)...the Documents first came forth from the walls of

concentrated on the Elegantae (Ya 雅) and some were engaged in the study of the Eulogies (Song 頌), but no one person was able to master the entire Classic.[150] Those like the Venerable Shen (Shen Gong 申公) who was thoroughly versed in both the Songs and the Spring and Autumn Annals,[151]

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the dwelling,...and everywhere throughout the Empire numerous texts appeared." (See: Han shu 36.1938-9) Pi Xirui's line "the texts which had been hidden away began to come forth" is probably based on this passage. However, during the modern era scholars of the Modern Script School of Classical Studies reject this explanation because they consider it insufficiently credible.

[150](4/9, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Xin's "Letter Reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain of Ceremonials," states, "At this time (during the reign of Emperor Wu; reg. 141-86 B.C.) a single individual was not able to master an entire Classic all by himself. Some focused on the 'Elegantiae' and some concentrated on the 'Eulogies' and when they got together [only then] would it be complete." (See: Han shu 36.1969) Pi Xirui's statement is probably based on this passage.

[151](4/9, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: On the Venerable Shen 申公, see 2/3, n.9. He was the founder of the Lu Version of the Songs and he also taught the Guliang chunqiu. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "The Venerable Shen used the complete texts of the Songs and Spring and Autumn Annals when he taught. The Venerable Jiang 江公 of Xiaqiu 瑕丘 was able to pass it on in its entirety." "The Venerable Jiang of Xiaqiu received instruction in the Guliang chunqiu and the Songs from the Venerable Shen of Lu." (See: Han shu 30.1703)

Han Ying 韓嬰 who was versed in the Songs and the Changes,[152] and Meng Qing 孟卿 who was proficient in both the Rites and the Spring and Autumn Annals,[153] were already considered to be exceptionally commendable. As for

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[152](4/9, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: On Han Ying 韓嬰, see 2/3, n.10. Han Ying was the person who originated the so-called Han Version of the Songs. He also taught the Changes. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Han Ying came to an understanding of what the poets were expressing and composed the Nei wai zhuan, the words of which numbered in the tens of thousands." (See: Han shu 88.3613) "Master Han also used the Changes to teach others, he examined the meaning of the Changes and composed commentary to it. The Songs were popular in Yan 燕 and Zhao 趙, and as a result the Changes was much less so, with only Master Han personally teaching it." (See: Han shu 88.3613)

[153](4/9, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Meng Qing 孟卿 was a native of Donghai 東海 and he served Xiao Fen 蕭奮." "...Xiao Fen, because of his command of the Rites, was appointed to the position of Governor (taishou 太守--Hucker 6221) of Huaiyang 淮陽." It also states, "The Venerable Ying 嬴公 maintained a solid hold on what he had learned (referring to the Gongyang chunqiu which was taught by Dong Zhongshu), didn't lose sight of the teacher's rules for teaching the text, served under Emperor Zhao 昭帝 (reg. 86-74 B.C.) in the capacity of Grand Master of Remonstrance (jian dafu 腱大夫--Hucker 865), and instructed Meng Qing of Dong Hai." (See: Han shu 88.3614-5) Based on this evidence then, Meng Qing did in fact transmit the Rites along with the Gongyang chunqiu.

Xiahou Shichang's 夏侯始昌 mastery of the Five Classics,[154] this was very, very rare. In the Later Han, we have Yin Min 尹敏 studying the Ouyang interpretation of the Documents, and also being proficient in the Mao Version of the Songs, the Guliang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, and the Zuoshi chunqiu.[155] Jing Luan 景鸞 was able to master the Qi Version of the Songs 齊詩 and Shi Chou's 施讎 [interpretation of the] Changes]. Together with this, he received instruction in the He 河 and Luo 洛apocrypha diagrams (tuwei 圖緯), and in addition he composed the Li neiwai shuo 禮內外說.[156] He Xiu 何休 studied the Six Classics in thorough

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[154](4/9, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Chapter seventy-five of the Han shu states, "Xiahou Shichang 夏后始昌 was a native of Lu. He was thoroughly versed in the Five Classics. He taught the Qi Version of the Songs and the Documents." (See: Han shu 75.3154)

[155](4/9, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulinzhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Yin Min 尹敏 (zi Youji 幼季) was a native of Duyang 堵陽 in Nanyang 南陽. When he was young he was a student in the Confucian tradition, early on he studied the Ouyang interpretation of the Documents and later received instruction in the Old Script [Documents], and in addition he was skilled at the Mao Version of the Songs, the Guliang [chunqiu] and the Zuoshi chunqiu." (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2558)

[156](4/9, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulinzhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Jing Luan 景鸞 (zi Hanbo 漢伯) was a native of Zitong 梓潼 in Guanghan 廣漢. When he was young he followed various teachers

detail,[157] Xu Shen's 許慎 command of the Five Classics was without peer,[158] and Cai Xuan 蔡玄 thoroughly studied the Five Classics.[159] These are all

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studying the Classics, travelling through the territory of the Seven Regions while doing so. He had a thorough understanding of the Qi Version of the Songs, Master Shi's 施氏 interpretation of the Changes, and along with this received instruction in the He 河 and Luo 洛 apocrypha. He wrote the Yishuo 易說 and the Shijie 詩解, his writings drawing from both the He and Luo apocrypha, taking the passages and grouping them by category, and its title is the Jiaoji 交集. He also wrote the Li nei wai ji 禮內外記, the alternate title being the Lilüe 禮略. In addition, he copied from assorted divination texts, arranged the oracles, and compiled the Xingdao 興道 in one pian. He also wrote the Yueling zhangju 月令章句. In all, that which he wrote numbered over 500,000 words." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2572)

[157](4/9, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: On He Xiu, see 2/4, n.7. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "As a person, He Xiu was simple, not ostentatious, and not particularly talkative, was often deep in thought, engaged in penetrating studies of the Six Classics, and none of his contemporaries measured up to him." (See: Han shu 79B.2582)

[158](4/9, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: On Xu Shen, see 3/7, n.11. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "People of the time said about him, 'When it comes to the Five Classics, there is no match for Xu Shuzhong 許叔重 (Xu Shen).'" (See: Han shu 79B.2588)

[159](4/9, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Cai Xuan 蔡玄 (zi Shuling 叔陵) was a native of Nandun 南頓 in Runan 汝南. He was thoroughly versed in the study of the Five

cases which illustrate one way in which the Classical Scholarship of the Later Han flourished to a higher degree than that of the Former Han.

Another way was that during the Former Han, scholars paid careful attention to the Classics that had been passed down to them, and very few [of the texts] had written explanations. While their philological exegesis was more or less complete, the elegance of their literary works was not noteworthy. The commentaries recorded in the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu are only one or two pian 篇 in length. Unique among [the listed commentaries] is the Zaiyi Mengshi Jing Fang 災異孟氏京房,[160] which at sixty-four pian is the largest. The "Yiwenzhi" does not list Dong Zhongshu's Chunqiu fanlu 春秋繁露.[161] Han Ying composed his Nei wai zhuan 內外傳

Classics. His students often numbered one thousand. Those that were recorded numbered 16,000 individuals." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2588)

[160](4/9, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: Under the heading "Yijia" 易家 in the "Liuyilüe" subsection of the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu the following is recorded, "Zaiyi Mengshi Jing Fang 災異孟氏京房 in sixty-six pian." (See: Han shu 30.1703) Jing Fang himself said that his interpretation of the Changes was derived from Meng Xi 孟喜, and in addition his focus was on discussing yinyang 陰陽theory along with natural disasters and unusual occurrences, thus the title of the text.

[161](4/9, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: On the Chunqiu fanlu 春秋繁露, see 3/8, n.7. Entries for Dong Zhongshu's writings in the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of

and its words numbered in the tens of thousands, but currently only the Wai zhuan survives.[162] The words which Hou Cang 后倉 wrote to explain the Rites numbered in the tens of thousands. The title of the work was Houshi Qutaiji 后氏曲臺記,[163] but it is something that has not come down to

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the Hou Han shu are only found under the "Chunqiu jia" 春秋家 heading in the "Liuyilüe" subsection where the title Gongyang Dong Zhongshu zhiyu 公陽董仲舒治獄 in sixteen pian is recorded, and under the "Rujia" 儒家 heading in the "Zhuzi lüe" 諸子略 subsection where we find the entry "Dong Zhongshu in 123 pian." Wang Xianqian 王先謙 in his Han shu buzhu wrote, "These 123 pian were lost early on, and they are not contained in the various writings of the [Chunqiu] fanlu." (See: Han shu buzhu 30.31b) Thus, the Chunqiu fanlu is in fact not recorded in the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu.

[162](4/9, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: Han Ying wrote the Han Shi nei zhuan 韓詩內傳 in four juan and the Han Shi wai zhuan 韓詩外傳 in six juan, and the entries can be seen under the "Shi jia" 詩家 heading in the "Liuyilüe" subsection of the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu. In his Han shu buzhu, Wang Xianqian wrote, "After the Southern Song, the Han Version of the Songs was lost, and only the [Han shi] waizhuan was extant." "The 'Jingjizhi' chapter of the Sui shu lists the Han Shi waizhuan in ten juan which is extant. The modern scholar Zhao Huaiyu 趙懷玉 has made a compilation of the lost text and appended it at the end." (See: Han shu buzhu 30.9a)

[163](4/9, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Hou Cang 后倉 (zi Jinjun 近君) was a native of Tan 郯 in

the present age. In the Later Han, Zhou Fang 周防 composed the Shangshu zaji 尚書雜記 in thirty-two pian, with its words numbering 400,000.[164] Jing Luan 景鸞 composed the Yishuo 易說 and Shijie 詩解, wrote the Lilüe 禮略, and in addition composed the Yueling zhangzhu 月令章句, and in all he

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Donghai 東海. He served Xiahou Shichang 夏侯始昌. Xiahou Shichang was thoroughly versed in the Five Classics and Hou Cang, for his part, was versed in the Songs and the Rites. He was appointed to the position of Erudite and rose to the position of Chamberlain for Palace Revenues (shaofu 少府--Hucker 5097)." (See: Han shu 88.3613) "Meng Qing 孟卿 ...taught Hou Cang...Hou Cang wrote explanations to the Rites which numbered in the tens of thousands of words, and the title of this work was the Houshi Qutaiji 后氏曲臺記." The note to this passage reads, "He collated the texts and wrote his explanations at the Qutai, and thus the title. The Qutai Hall was located at the Weiyang Palace 未央宮." (See: Han shu 88.3615 and n.1) In addition, under the "Li jia" 禮家 heading of the "Liuyilüe" subsection of the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu there is an entry recorded for the Qutai Hou Cang ji 曲臺后倉記 in nine pian, but it is no longer extant. (See: Han shu 30.1709)

[164](4/9, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Zhou Fang 周防 (zi Weigong 偉公) was a native of Ruyang 汝陽 in Runan 汝南...he received instruction in the Old Script Documents....He composed the Shangshu zaji 尚書雜記 in thirty-two pian and it contained 400,000 words." (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2559-60)

wrote over 500,000 words.[165] Zhao Ye 趙曄 wrote the Wu Yue chunqiu 吳越春秋, the Shi xi 詩細, and the Li shen yuan 歷神淵.[166] Cheng Zeng's 程曾 written works exceeded one hundred pian, and they all covered the universal difficulties of the Five Classics. In addition, he composed the Mengzi zhangju 孟子章句.[167] He Xiu composed the Gongyang jiegu 公羊解詁, and in addition wrote commentaries to the Xiaojing 孝經 and Lunyu 論語. He used the Spring and Autumn Annals to critique events during the Han and this amounted to over six-hundred items. He composed the

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[165](4/9, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: See 4/9, n.8.

[166](4/9, n.18) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Zhao Ye 趙曄 (zi Changjun 長君) was a native of Shanyin 山陰 in Kuaiji 會稽....he received instruction in the Han Version of the Songs 韓詩, and made an exhaustive study of its learning....He wrote the Wu Yue chunqiu 吳越春秋, the Shixi 詩細 and the Lishenyuan 歷神淵. When Cai Yong travelled to Kuaiji, he read the Shixi and then sighed as he considered it superior to the Lunheng." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2575)

[167](4/9, n.19) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Cheng Zeng 程曾 (zi Xiusheng 秀升) was a native of Nanchang 南昌 in Yuzhang 豫章. He received his education in Chang'an, studying the Yanshi chunqiu 嚴氏春秋...his written works exceed one hundred pian, and they all thoroughly dealt with problematic aspects of the Five Classics. He also wrote the Mengzi zhangju 孟子章句." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2581)

Gongyang moshou 公羊墨守, the Zuoshi gaohuang 左氏膏肓, and the Guliang feiji 穀梁廢疾.[168] Xu Shen wrote the Wujing yiyi 五經異義 and also compiled the Shuowen jiezi in fourteen pian.[169] Jia Kui 賈逵 compiled the

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[168](4/9, n.20) Zhou Yutong comments: On He Xiu 何休, see: 2/4, n.7. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, " As He Xiu had been prohibited from holding government office, he then wrote the Chunqiu Gongyang jiegu 春秋公羊解詁. He was so immersed in thought that for seventeen years he didn't even look out the door. In addition, he wrote philological notes to the Classic of Filial Piety, the Analects, wind angle divination, [six day] seven divisions, and in the case of all the Classics, apocrypha, canons, and consultations [謨--following Han shu], his explanations differed from the accepted precedents. He also utilized the Spring and Autumn Annals to critique events during the Han and these amounted to over six-hundred items, subtly obtaining the fundamental meaning of the Gongyang commentary. He Xiu was skilled at calendrical calculations, and together with his teacher Yang Bi 羊弼, who served in the position of Erudite, he investigated and recounted in writing the thought of Li Yu 李育 and used it to refute two traditions, [i.e. the Zuoshi and Guliang traditions]. He wrote the Gongyang Mo shou 公羊墨守, the Zuoshi gaohuang 左氏膏肓 and the Guliang feiji 穀梁廢疾." The note to this passage states with respect to the Gongyang Mo shou, "In it he says that the integrity of the Gongyang cannot be breached, like the protective barrier wall of Mo Di 墨翟." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2583 and n.2)

[169](4/9, n.21) Zhou Yutong comments: On Xu Shen 徐愼, see 3/7, n.11. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu chapter states, "Early on, Xu

Guwen Shangshu tongyi 古文尙書同異 in three juan, wrote on the similarities and differences between the versions of the Songs of the Qi, Lu, and Han schools and the Mao school, along with composing the Zhouguan jiegu 周官解故.[170] Ma Rong wrote the Sanzhuan yitong shuo 三傳異同說,

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Shen examined and evaluated the strongpoints and weaknesses of, along with the similarities and differences between, the commentaries to the Five Classics and thereupon composed the Wujing yiyi 五經異義. In addition he compiled the Shuowen jiezi in fourteen pian, and both were in circulation." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2588)

[170](4/9, n.22) Zhou Yutong comments: On Jia Kui 賈逵, see: 3/7, n.8. The biography of Jia Kui is contained in chapter 36 of the Hou Han shu. It states, "He had an especially clear grasp of the Zuoshi zhuan 左氏傳 and the Guoyu 國語 and he wrote a philological explanation and commentary to these texts in fifty-one pian. During the Yongping 永平 period (58-75 A.D.) he presented it to the throne. Xianzong 顯宗 (Emperor Ming 明帝) thought highly of his work and ordered that a copy of it be made and stored in the archives...on several occasions Jia Kui spoke to the emperor about whether the exegesis of the Erya which functioned as commentary to the Classics was fitting with respect to the Old Script Documents. He was ordered by the emperor to compile the similarities and differences between the versions and interpretations of the Documents of the Elder and Younger Xiahou and the Old Script Documents. Jia Kui assembled these in three juan and the emperor held it in high regard. He was also ordered to compile the similarities and differences between the Qi, Lu, and Han versions of the Songs and the Mao version. Along with these works, he composed the

wrote commentaries to the Classic of Filial Piety, Analects, Songs, Changes, three Rites texts, and the Documents.[171] These are examples which illustrate the second way in which Classical Scholarship during the Later Han flourished to a higher degree than that of the Former Han. As the intellectual atmosphere opened up, natural disposition and intelligence took off. The reasons for [the scholarship of the Later Han] surpassing the pure and simple nature of that of the men of the previous era, along with the reasons for their expanding upon and going beyond [that of the former Han] lie in these factors. The reasons for [the scholarship of the Later Han] not measuring up to the pure and simple nature of that of the men of the previous era, along with their inability to avoid intermixing and adulterating [the various schools] also lie in this. [Finally,] Zheng Xuan

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Zhouguan jiegu 周官解詁... The works which Jia Kui wrote on the Classics, their commentaries, their meaning and significance, exegesis, and those which discussed difficult topics contained an excess of one million words. In addition, he composed poetry, laudatory pieces (song 頌), dirges (lei 誄), letters (shu 書), linked pearls (lianzhu 連珠), and drinking pieces, nine pian in all." (See: Hou Han shu 36.1234-41)

[171](4/9, n.23) Zhou Yutong comments: On Ma Rong 馬融, see 1/3, n.16. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "He composed the Sanzhuan yitong shuo 三傳異同說, and wrote notes to the Classic of Filial Piety 孝經, Analects, Songs, Changes, three Rites texts, and the

came forth and wrote commentary to all the various classics. His words numbered one million,[172] which brought together the great accomplishments of Han learning.

[4/10 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui begins this section with a quote from the Han shu that addresses the role salary played in the motivation to study the Classics as well as in the expansion of the number of students and teachers. He notes that a uniform curriculum based on the Classics was the foundation for training scholar-officials who would fill the official ranks. This was superior to the selection of officials based on their literary skill, a practice that took place during the Tang and Song. After

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Documents... (See: Hou Han shu 60A.1972)

[172](4/9, n.24) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, Zheng Jun 鄭君 is an honorific reference to Zheng Xuan 鄭玄. On Zheng Xuan, see 1/3, n.23. Zheng Xuan's biography which is contained in chapter 35 of the Hou Han shu states, "Zheng Xuan wrote notes and commentary to the Changes, Documents, the Mao Version of the Songs, Ceremonials and Rites (Yili), Record of Rites (Liji), Analects, Xiaojing, Shangshu dazhuan, Zhong hou 中候, and Qian xiang li 乾象曆. In addition, he wrote the Tianwen qizheng lun 天文七政論, the Luli dixiayi 魯禮禘祫義, the Liuyi lun 六藝論, the Mao Shi pu 毛詩譜, the Bo Xu Shen Wujing yiyi 駁許慎五經異義, and the Da Lin Xiaocun Zhouli nan 答臨孝存周禮難. In all, his writings contain over one million words." (See: Hou Han shu 35.1212)

giving examples of master teachers whose students numbered in the thousands, Pi goes on to explain the conditions of the times. Texts were written on bamboo strips and difficult to obtain and thus the primary medium for teaching and learning was oral transmission. It was therefore necessary to study with a teacher if one wanted to learn. In addition, given the great increase in the number of students, not all were able to personally study with a master teacher, and thus a master's advanced students assumed much of the teaching load as in the case of when Zheng Xuan studied under Ma Rong.]

4/10[173] The "Appraisal" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "From the time that Emperor Wu established the Erudite positions for the Five Classics, began having government sponsored students,[174] established a curriculum and set up examinations, and provided motivation by means of an official salary, to the Yuanshi 元始 period (1-5 A.D.), over one hundred years had passed.[175] Those who instructed others [in the Classics] gradually

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[173][SVA: Section 4/10 corresponds to pp.131-3 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.133-136 of the Yiwen ed.]

[174][SVA: "Government Students" = dizi yuan 弟子員-- Hucker 6391. In Hucker this is given for the Qing.]

[175](4/10, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Yuanshi 元始 is the name of the reign

began to arise from a state of near dormancy, becoming abundant like leaves on branches. The words written as commentary to a single Classic came to where they would exceed one million, [the students of] prominent teachers numbered over one thousand, and this was most probably owing to [learning being] the road to salary."[176] [In saying] that the rise of Classical Scholarship was owing to the reward of salary, Mengjian 孟堅[177] hit the nail

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period of Emperor Ping of the Han 漢平帝 (reg. 1-5 A.D.). Starting from the first year of the Jianyuan 建元 period of the reign of Emperor Wu which was 140 B.C., the time period Pi Xirui is referring to spanned 145 years.

[176](4/10, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: For the original text of this passage, see Han shu 88.3620-1.

[177](4/10, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Mengjian 孟堅 is Ban Gu's 班固 zi 字. Ban Gu was a native of Anling 安陵 who lived from 32 to 92 during the Later Han. His written works were wide ranging and yet thorough and penetrating. During the reign of Emperor Ming (reg. 58-75), he was in charge of collating books in the imperial archives. When the general Dou Xian 竇憲 led a northern expedition against the Xiongnu, he took along Ban Gu as his assistant, appointing him to the position of Army Supervisor (zhong hujun 中護軍--Hucker 1564). In 92 Dou Xian was accused of plotting to murder the emperor, stripped of his rank and subsequently committed suicide. As Ban Gu was aligned with the Dou faction he was thrown into prison where he died at age sixty-one. [SVA: The previous passage in Zhou Yutong's note is somewhat ambiguous here, so I have rewritten it.] Ban Gu continued his father's work, compiling the Han shu in one hundred juan.

right on the head. The emperor wanted to maintain a single kind of learning and have its effects felt throughout the Empire, but it was not the case that there were those who would follow it in a compliant manner if they were not enticed by salary. The Han followed the methods put forth in the "Royal Regulations" chapter [of the Liji] using the learning and methods of the Classics to mould scholar-officials and this was far superior to the examination and selection process of the Tang and Song which used pure literary skill as their criterion. In the later part of the Former Han, if the [students of] of a major teacher exceeded one thousand, he was already considered an unqualified success, but according to the Hou Han shu the number of students registered as pupils of Zhang Xing 張興 was ten thousand,[178] the number on record as having studied with Mou Chang 牟長

For a more detailed account, see the "Autobiographical Postface" ("Xuzhuan" 敘傳) in the Han shu (100A-B.4197-4273) and Ban Gu's biography in the Hou Han shu (40A-B.1330-94).

[178](4/10, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Zhang Xing 張興 (zi Junshang 君上) was a native of Yanling 鄢陵 in Yingchuan 潁川. He studied the Liangqiu 梁丘 interpretation of the Changes and used it in his teaching...his reputation was well known, the students who came from distant places are recorded as numbering ten thousand, and they constituted the school of Liangqiu." (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2552)

throughout his career was ten thousand,[179] the number of students on record as having studied with Cai Xuan 蔡玄 is sixteen thousand,[180] the number of students listed as having studied under Lou Wang 樓王 exceeds nine thousand,[181] Song Deng 宋登 taught several thousand students,[182] Wei

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[179](4/10, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Mou Chang 牟長 (zi Jungao 君高) was a native of Linji 臨濟 in Le'an 樂安...when he was young he studied the Ouyang version of the Documents...he was appointed to the position of Erudite, and when he was in Henei 河內, his students and those he lectured to usually numbered in excess of a thousand, and the number of students on record as having studied with him throughout his career is ten thousand. He wrote the Shangshu zhangju 尙書章句 which has its basis in the interpretation of Master Ouyang. It is commonly referred to as the Moushi zhangju 牟氏章句." (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2557)

[180](4/10, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: On Cai Xuan, see 4/9, n.11.

[181](4/10, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Lou Wang 樓王 (zi Cizi 次子) was a native of Yongqiu 雍丘 in Chenliu 陳留. When he was young he studied Master Yan's Spring and Autumn 嚴氏春秋 was untiring in his teaching and was a scholar revered throughout the land. His students on record as having studied with him exceeded nine thousand." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2580)

[182](4/10, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Song Deng 宋登 (zi Shuyang 叔陽) was a native of Chang'an 長安 in Jingzhao 京兆(the Capital District)....when he was young

Ying 魏應 and Ding Gong 丁恭 are on record as having several thousand students,[183] the number who came to study with Jiang Gong 姜肱 was over three thousand,[184] Cao Zeng's 曹曾 students numbered three thousand,[185]

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he transmitted Master Ouyang's interpretation of the Documents, instructing several thousand individuals." (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2557)

[183](4/10, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: On Wei Ying 魏應 see 4/6, n.11. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Wei Ying had a clear understanding of the Classics and his conduct was cultivated and refined, students came from far off to study with him, and those on record number several thousand." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2571) In addition, it states, "Ding Gong 丁恭 (zi Ziran 子然) was a native of Dongmin 東緡 in Shanyang 山陽. He studied the Gongyang Yanshi Chunqiu 公羊嚴氏春秋 (Master Yan's interpretation of the Gongyang commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals). Ding Gong's learning was precise and clear and he usually instructed several hundred students...the students who came from distant places are on record as numbering several thousand, and during his lifetime he was referred to as a great scholar." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2578) [SVA: The Gongyang Yanshi Chunqiu 公羊嚴氏春秋 was also known as the Yanshi chunqiu 嚴氏春秋 and the Yanshi Gongyang Chunqiu 嚴氏公羊春秋. It's author was Yan Pengzu 嚴彭祖 of the Former Han dynasty. For his biography, see Han shu 88.3616. Also cf. Hou Han shu, 79B.2577; Sui shu 32.930, 933.]

[184](4/10, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: The biography of Jiang Gong 姜肱 in chapter fifty-three of the Hou Han shu states, "Jiang Gong (zi Bohuai 伯淮) was a native of Guangqi 廣戚 in Pengcheng 彭城...Jiang Gong was widely

and Yang Lun 楊倫, Du Fu 杜撫 and Zhang Xuan 張玄 all had over a thousand students each.[186] Compared to the Former Han dynasty, [these

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versed in the Five Classics and had a clear knowledge of the apocrypha relating to celestial phenomena. More than three thousand scholars came from far off places to study with him." (See: Hou Han shu 53.1749-50)

[185](4/10, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Ouyang Xi's 歐陽歙 biography in the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Cao Zeng 曹曾 received instruction in the Documents from Ouyang Xi and his (Cao's) students numbered three thousand." (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2556)

[186](4/10, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: On Yang Lun 楊倫, see 4/8, n.6. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Yang Lun lectured and taught in the middle of the great marsh, and his students numbered over one thousand." (See: Hou Han shu 79A.2564) In addition it states, "Du Fu 杜撫 (zi Shuhe 叔和) was a native of Wuyang 武陽 in Jianwei 犍爲. As a youth his exceptionable ability was recognized, he received instruction from Xue Han 薛漢, and decided the final form of the Han Shi zhangju 韓詩章句. Later, he returned to his native village to teach,...and his students numbered over one thousand." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2573) Also, "Zhang Xuan 張玄 (zi Junxia 君夏) was a native of Heyang 河陽 in Henei 河內. When he was young, he studied Master Yan's 顏氏 interpretation of the Spring and Autumn Annals and was also versed in the interpretations of several other schools...he would be engrossed in what he was investigating and inquiring into, to the extant that he would not eat for the entire day. When he came to something particularly difficult, he would usually give his explanation along with that of several other schools, allowing others to

numbers] were especially many. The reason that learning thrived in this way was that during the Han, there was no one who studied and learned [a Classic] without a teacher, as the commentary and explanations were all taught orally. Is was not like in later times when there were books, with the sound glosses all available, and where one could look at the text and recite it. The texts were all on bamboo strips and they were not easy to obtain, so if one did not study with a teacher, there was nothing from which to copy and record. It was not like the books of later ages where purchasing them was extremely easy where one could [buy them] by the cartfuls[187]and carry them [home]. For this reason students shouldering their bookboxes[188] gathered

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choose and follow what they thought appropriate, and the other scholars all subordinated themselves to his vast command of the material. It is recorded that he had over one thousand students." (See: Hou Han shu 79B.2581)

[187](4/10, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, as for liang 兩, we refer to a single cart or vehicle as "one liang" 一兩. A cart has two (liang 兩) wheels, so therefore we call a cart a liang. For this explanation, see the "Subcommentary" 疏 to the "Preface" 序 of the "Mu shi" 牧誓 chapter of the Documents. (See: Shangshu zhengyi, Ssjzs, 11.14a) Jian 兼 is glossed as bei 倍 "multiple." See the "notes" 注 to the "Xijing fu" 西京賦 in the Wenxuan. (See: Wenxuan, 2.9b) [SVA: Reading "Xijing fu" for Zhou Yutong's "Liangdu fu"] "Jianliang 兼兩 is like saying 'several carts.'"

[188](4/10, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: A ji 笈 refers to the bookboxes carried by students. See the Yiqiejing yinyi 一切經音義, 3.18a.

like clouds. When it came to a single teacher being able to instruct a thousand or ten thousand students, it was certainly the case that the most talented disciples carried out the instructional duties, as in the case of Zheng Kangcheng 鄭康成 studying under Ma Jichang 馬季長, but not seeing him for three years.[189] Thus the students on record did not necessarily all receive personal instruction from the master teacher.

[4/11 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section Pi Xirui takes a closer look at what it means for Classical Scholarship to be "thriving" or "flourishing" (sheng 盛). He begins by quoting two lines and a passage from Ban Gu's Han shu. These quotes serve to illustrate that while the number of teachers and students along with the number and length of commentaries to the Classics in certain cases were quite large, this did not necessarily

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[189](4/10, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: Zheng Kangcheng 鄭康成 is the zi of Zheng Xuan. See 1/3, n.23. Ma Jichang 馬季長 is the zi of Ma Rong. See 1/3, n.16. The biography of Zheng Xuan in chapter 35 of the Hou Han shu states, "...he served Ma Rong of Fufeng 扶風. Ma Rong had over four hundred students and fifty or so were able to ascend the hall and approach him [for actual face to face instruction]. Ma Rong was usually conceited and haughty, Zheng Xuan was his student, and he wasn't able to see him for three years. The most talented and advanced of his students were sent by Ma Rong to teach Zheng Xuan." (See: Hou Han shu 35.1207-1216)

mean that the study of the Classics was "thriving" in so far as the quality of scholarship and learning was wanting. Scholarship became focused on minutiae, became defensive in nature, and tried to pass off glib and clever verbiage as a substitute for the serious study and understanding of what is important in the Classics. For Pi, scholarship of the former kind was useless, and regardless of the number of students a teacher may have or the number of words a scholar may generate, if the quality was not there then scholarship cannot be said to be "thriving" or "flourishing." He feels that the shift to quantity was certainly lamentable and cites examples from the Later Han where commentaries truly became excessive in size. He closes by examining the nature of the scholarship of the Younger Xiahou which Pi Xirui feels embodies many objectionable qualities and should not have been officially recognized.]

4/11[190] Mengjian wrote that "the students of the prominent teachers numbered in excess of 1,000," and [from this we see] that learning was truly flourishing. He wrote that "the words of explanation on a single Classic numbered more than one million" and thus the reason for the rise and decline of Classical Scholarship during the Han, along with the harmful and

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[190][SVA: Section 4/11 corresponds to pp.133-6 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.136-9 of the Yiwen ed.]

proper practices reside with these statements, and these are things which scholars must investigate. Mengjian wrote in the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu, "The scholars of the past plowed and cultivated ("cultivated virtue"), spent three years on a single Classic before they were thoroughly versed in it, embraced its greater significance, and limited themselves to studying and learning from the text of the Classics. As a result, the time they spent was relatively little, but the degree of self cultivation was considerable, and thus by age thirty one could master the Five Classics. In later ages the teaching and transmission of the Classics had already deviated [from the way of the past], in addition those of wide learning did not contemplate the meaning of the phrase 'listen to much, but put aside that which you are in doubt.'[191] Instead they engaged in breaking the meaning apart and in avoiding the criticism of others.[192] With expedient

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[191](4/11, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Yan Shigu's note to this passage reads, "The Analects quotes Confucius as saying, 'Listen to much, but put aside that which you are in doubt, be careful when speaking of the remainder, and your mistakes will be few.' This speaks to the Way of learning. Make an effort to listen to as much as possible, disregard that which you have doubts, be careful about what you say, and then your mistakes will be few. Therefore the 'Yiwenzhi' quotes this line." (See: Han shu 30.1723, n.4; cf. Lunyu 2/18; Lau, Analects, p.65)

[192](4/11, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The note to the Han shu reads, "As if the meaning is made to be obscure and fragmented, in order to avoid the

words and clever explanations they broke up and destroyed the body of the text,[193] and the explanations of a five character phrase reached twenty or thirty thousand words.[194] The younger generation of students[195] rushed headlong in this pursuit to an even greater degree. As a result, in youth a pupil holds tight to a single Classic and when one is old and grey, then and only then is he able to discuss it. It is the case that they safeguard that

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critical attacks of others." (See: Han shu 30.1724, n.5)

[193](4/11, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The note to the Han shu reads, "Therefore they use expedient wording and clever explanations, thereby breaking apart the form of the writing as a whole." (See: Han shu 30.1724, n.5)

[194](4/11, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The note to the Han shu reads, "This speaks to the misplaced effort and absurdity [which came to characterize the Classical Scholarship of this period]. Huan Tan 桓譚 writes in his Xin lun 新論, "Qin Jinjun was able to expound upon the two words which make up the title of the "Yao dian" to the extent of over 100,000 words. However, he only used 30,000 words to explain the phrase '曰若稽古' ('examining antiquity')." (See: Han shu 30.1724, n.6)

[195](4/11, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, "houjin 候進 is like saying 'the later generation' or 'the later generation of students.' In He Yan's 何晏 Jijie 集解 commentary in the "Xianjin" chapter of the Analects, we see the following explanation, "Xianjin 先進 and houjin 候進 refer to the first or previous generation of scholars and to the later generation of scholars." (See: Lunyu zhushu, Ssjzs, 11.1a; Lunyu 11/1)

which they study, slander that which they have not laid eyes on, and in the end hide themselves [from knowledge and understanding].[196] This was scholars' and scholarship's great misfortune."[197]

Mengjian sums up the reasons for the rise and the decline of Classical Scholarship in the Former and Later Han in just a few words. Learning thrives when it is useful and falls into decline when it is not. When the greater significance is embraced and the Classics themselves are studied and learned from, then scholarship is useful. When scholarship concentrates on breaking the meaning apart, avoiding the criticism of others, and employing expedient words and clever explanations, then it is of

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[196](4/11, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The three previous lines are words of criticism directed against the Modern Script School of Classical Scholarship. At the time, the Old Script Classics had just been discovered and scholars aligned with the Modern Script School considered these texts to be forgeries and unreliable. For this reason, Liu Xin compiled the "Qi lüe" 七略 ("Seven Summaries"), and criticized the Modern Script scholars for finding safety in and safeguarding that which they studied, and demeaning that which they had not seen. The "Yiwenzhi" chapter of Ban Gu's Han shu is based on the "Qi lüe" and therefore it contains these lines. For a more detailed treatment, see juan three of Kang Youwei's 康有爲 [Xinxue] Weijing kao 新學僞經考, "Han shu 'Yiwenzhi' bianwei" 漢書藝文志辨僞.

[197](4/11, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: For the source of this passage, see the last part of the "Liuyilüe" section of the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu.

no use. When scholarship is useful, it is respected and held in high regard by others and learning flourishes, but when it has no practical value it is taken to task and severely criticized by others, and the quality of scholarship and learning declines. During the early years of the Han, Shen Gong 申公 taught the Songs, but he didn't pass on anything about which he was in doubt.[198] When Ding Jiangjun 丁將君 explained the Changes, he limited himself to its greater significance and implications.[199] This is

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(See: Han shu 30.1723-4)

[198](4/11, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: On the Venerable Shen (Shen Gong 申公), see 2/3, n.9. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Shi ji states, "The Venerable Shen alone devised explanations for the text of the Songs and used them for teaching purposes, not passing on anything about which he was in doubt. If he had doubts about something, he would leave it out and not pass it on." (See: Shi ji 121.3121) The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "The Venerable Shen alone devised explanations for the text of the Songs and used them for teaching purposes, [he wrote] no commentary, and anything about which he had doubts he left out and did not pass on." (See: Han shu 88.3608) The passages are very similar. Sima Zhen's 司馬貞 Shi ji Suoyin 索隱 commentary states, "This refers to the Venerable Shen's not composing a commentary to the Songs, but only teaching them, and leaving out that which he had doubts about." (See: Shi ji 121.3121, n.7)

[199](4/11, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" of the Han shu states, "Ding Kuan 丁寬 (zi Zixiang 子襄) was a native of Liang 梁...During the reign of Emperor Jing 景帝(reg. 156-139 B.C.), Ding Kuan served King

exactly what is meant by embracing the greater significance and studying and learning from the text of the Classics. In just one hundred years Classical Scholarship became so convoluted and fragmented[200] that it gradually became a useless academic discipline. How pathetic! The example of the explanation of a single Classic exceeding one million words, and that of the explanation of a five character phrase reaching twenty or thirty thousand words both refer to Qin Gong 秦恭. Huan Tan 桓譚 wrote in his Xinlun 新論,[201] "Qin Jinjun 秦近君 (Qin Gong) was able to expound upon the

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Xiao of Liang 梁孝王 in the capacity of general. He took part in the resistance against Wu 吳 and Chu 楚, and was referred to as General Ding. He composed the Yi shuo 易說 in 30,000 words, only taking up the greater significance when explaining the meaning of the text. This it what is currently referred to as a 'short explanation of the text.'" (See: Han shu 88.3597-98) In the Chinese, 誼 is glossed as 義 "meaning."

[200](4/11, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, zhili 支離 has the meaning that the form and structure is trivial, fragmented, and does not form a coherent whole. See the notes to the "Renjianshi" 人間世 chapter of Zhuangzi. (See: Zhuangzi jijie, p.180) It also means "scattered" or "dispersed." See the note to the "Lu Ling guang dian fu" 魯靈光殿賦 in the Wenxuan. (See: Wenxuan 11.17b) Zhili 支離 is a rhyming binome.

[201](4/11, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: On Huan Tan 桓譚, see 3/6, n.16. Huan Tan wrote the Xinlun 新論 in twenty-nine pian, but it is no longer extant.

meaning of the two characters which constituted the title words "Yao dian" 堯典[202] to the extent that his explanation exceeded 100,000 words. To explain the line, '曰若稽古' ('Examining antiquity'),"[203] he only used thirty thousand words.[204] The Hou Han shu states, "Qin Gong Yanjun 秦恭延君 of Xindu 信都 maintained the Younger Xiahou's 小夏侯 explanation of the text, expanding the interpretation of his teacher to one million words."[205] Yanjun

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[202](4/11, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: "Yao dian" 堯典is the title of the first chapter of the Shangshu (Documents).

[203](4/11, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The four character line "曰若稽古" ("Examining antiquity") is the opening line of the "Yao dian" chapter of the Documents.

[204](4/11, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: For this passage, see 4/11, n.4 where it is quoted in Yan Shigu's note to the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of the Han shu.

[205](4/11, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Zhang Shanfu 張山拊...he studied with the Younger Xiahou Jian 小夏侯建...he taught Zhang Wugu 張無故 (Zhang Ziru 張子儒) of Shanyang 山陽, and Qin Gong 秦恭 (Qin Yanjun 秦延君) of Xindu 信都. Zhang Wugu was skilled in the study of philological exegesis and was appointed to the position of Grand Mentor (taifu 太傅--Hucker 6158) at Guangling 廣陵, and he held fast to the Younger Xiahou's interpretation of the text. Qin Gong expanded upon his teacher's way of teaching the text to the extent of one million words, and was appointed to the position of Administrator (neishi 內史--Hucker 4236) at Chengyang 城陽." (See: Han shu 88.3605) The note to this passage reads, "It is saying that originally the

延君 and Jinjun 近君 are one and the same person[206] and his learning came from the Younger Xiahou. The Younger Xiahou served and studied with Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝 and Ouyang Gao 歐陽高, drawing and selecting from both of them, and in addition, he followed scholars who were versed in the Five Classics, inquiring about discrepancies between the Documents and other texts. He drew from and dragged in their opinions, arranging them into his commentary, using their words to embellish his explanations, and Xiahou Sheng ridiculed this as smashing [the Great Way] into trivial bits and pieces.[207] This was the scholarship of the Younger Xiahou, which at its root broke apart the meaning and was constructed to avoid criticism. Qin Gong expanded the interpretation of his teacher, increasing it to the point of being meaningless. Therefore I conclude that those like the Younger Xiahou

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size of the text of the Younger Xiahou's explanations was not that great, but that Qin Gong expanded upon and added to it and as a result it came to reach one million words." (See: Han shu 88.3605, n.2) In Pi Xirui's text he quotes from the Hou Han shu and I suspect that is not the earliest source.

[206](4/11, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: Jinjun 近君 is a mistake for Yanjun 延君. Under the line from the "Yiwenzhi" chapter, 說五子之文至二三萬言 in Wang Xianqian's Hanshu buzhu he states, "Wang Yinglin 王應麟, stated, '"The Rulin zhuan" reads "Qin Yanjun 秦延君" and the character jin 近 in the note 注 is an error.'" (See: Han shu buzhu, 30.27a)

[207](4/11, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: See 3/4, n.7. [SVA: For the source of

should not have had their scholarship officially recognized.

[4/12 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section Pi Xirui discusses the difference between shifa 師法 ("a teacher's rules for (or way of) reading the text") and jiafa 家法 ("a school's rules for (or way of) reading the text.") Again we see Pi's view that as the original teachers were closest to and therefore had the best understanding of the Classics, and for someone to diverge from their teachings was both unnecessary and wrong. He does go on to point out, supporting his position with quotes from the Hou Han shu, that adherence to a school's rules for reading texts was necessary if one was to be successful in attaining a position in government via examination on the Classics. Pi closes this section by lamenting how the successive divisions in scholastic lineages only serve to remove one further and further from the origins, that is, what the Classics really mean. Instead, the ideas of a school or a particular teacher become the focus, and the original and profound ideas found in the Classics are lost.]

4/12[208] During the Former Han, the emphasis and importance was placed

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this passage, see: Han shu 75.3159]

[208][SVA: Section 4/12 corresponds to pp.136-8 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.139-142 of the Yiwen ed.]

on a teacher's rules for teaching a text, while in the Later Han it was placed on a school's rules for teaching a text. First there are a teacher's rules, and then later the doctrine of an entire school is able to develop out of them. A teacher's rules for instruction can be traced back to its origin; a school's rules for instruction overflows its proper channel [and cannot be traced back]. There are divisions and distinctions between an individual teacher's rules for instruction and between the rules for various schools. For instance, with respect to the Changes, there are the teachings and learning of Master Shi (Chou) 施雠, Master Meng (Xi) 孟喜, and Master Liangqiu (He) 梁丘賀,[209] and these are examples of what are known as teachers' rules for instruction. In the school of Master Shi Chou, there are the teachings of Zhang Yu 張禹 and Peng Xuan 彭宣.[210] In the school of Master Meng Xi,

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[209][SVA: For biographical information on Shi Chou, Meng Xi, and Liangqiu He, see Han shu 88.3598, 88.3599, and 88.3600-1 respectively.]

[210](4/12, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhang 張 is Zhang Yu 張禹 and Peng 彭 is Peng Xuan 彭宣. The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "(Shi) Chou taught Zhang Yu and Lu Bo 魯伯, who was a native of Langye 瑯琊. Lu Bo became the Governor (taishou 太守--Hucker 6221) of Kuaiji. Zhang Yu reached the position of Counselor-in-chief (chengxiang 丞相--Hucker 483). Zhang Yu taught Peng Xuan of Huaiyang 淮陽 and Dai Chong 戴崇 (zi Ziping 子平) who was a native of Pei 沛. Dai Chong became one of the Nine Chamberlains (jiu qing 九卿--Hucker 1296) and Peng Xuan

there are the teachings of Zhai 翟, Meng 孟, and Bai 白.[211] In the school of Master Liangqiu, there are the teachings of Shisun 士孫, Deng 鄧, and Heng 衡.[212] These are examples of what is referred to as a school's rules [or way of

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held the position of Grand Minister of Works (da sikong 大司空-- Hucker 6037). Zhang Yu (Han shu 81.3347-52) and Peng Xuan (Han shu 71.3051-3) both have biographies in other chapters. Lu Bo taught Mao Moru 毛莫如 (zi Shaolu 少路) who was a native of Taishan 太山 and Bing Dan 邴丹 (zi Manrong 曼容) who was a native of Langye. They were known as pure and upright. Mao Moru attained the position of Governor of Changshan 常山. This was due to the fact that he was well known for his knowledge and understanding. From this, from the school of Shi Chou there were the interpretive traditions of learning of Zhang Yu and of Peng Xuan." (See: Han shu 88.3598)

[211](4/12, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhai is Zhai Mu 翟牧 and Bai is Bai Guang 白光. The character Meng 孟 which follows is an interpolation. The "Rulin zhuan" of the Han shu states, "Meng Xi 孟喜 taught Bai Guang (zi Shaozi 少子) who was a native of the same commandery, and Zhai Mu (zi Zixiong 子兄) who was a native of Pei 沛, and they both became Erudites. From this there is the learning of Zhai, Meng, and Bai." (See: Han shu 88.3599) In his Han shu buzhu, Wang Xianqian states, "It should read that the Meng school had the learning of Bai and Zhai. The text contains an error of interpolation." (See: Han shu buzhu 88.9a)

[212](4/12, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Shisun 士孫 is Shisun Zhang 士孫張, Deng 鄧 is Deng Pengzu 鄧彭祖, and Heng 衡 is Heng Xian 衡咸. According

teaching a text]. A school's way of teaching comes forth and branches out from [a single] teacher's rules [for teaching a text], and moreover it was the case that the ways of teaching of Master Shi, Master Meng, and Master Liangqiu came forth and branched from that of a single teacher, Tian Wangsun 田王孫.[213] It was already the case that it was not necessary for

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to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu, Liangqiu He taught his son Liangqiu Lin 梁丘臨. Liangqiu Lin in turn instructed Wang Jun 王駿 who was a native of Langye and Wulu Chongzong 五鹿充宗 who was a native of Dai 代. "Wulu Chongzong taught Shisun Zhang (zi Zhongfang 仲方) who was a native of Pingling 平陵, Deng Pengzu (zi Zixia 子夏) who was a native of Pei 沛, and Heng Xian (zi Changbin 長賓) who was a native of Qi 齊. Shisun Zhang became an Erudite, went to Yangzhou 揚州, where he served in the capacity of Regional Governor (mu 牧--Hucker 4041), and later held the positions of Grand Master of Splendid Happiness (guanglu dafu 光祿大夫--Hucker 3349), Palace Steward (jishizhong 給事中--Hucker 587), and he continued the family tradition of officialdom. Deng Pengzu served as the Grand Mentor at Zhending 真定. Heng Xian served Wang Mang in the capacity of Grand Master for Lecturing and Learning (jiangxue dafu 講學大夫). From this we see that the interpretive traditions of learning of Shisun, Deng, and Heng came from Liangqiu." (See: Han shu 88.3601)

[213](4/12, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Han shu states, "Ding Kuan 丁寬 taught Tian Wangsun 田王孫 who was from the same commandery, Dang 碭郡. Tian Wangsun instructed Shi Chou, Meng Xi and Liangqiu He. From this we know that the Changes had the

Master Shi, Master Meng, and Master Liangqiu to split [off from their teacher], and thus it was even more so in the case of Zhang Yu, Peng Huan, Zhai Mu, Bai Guang and the others who followed! The "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "The Erudites were appointed for the Five Classics, and each used a particular school's way of teaching a text in his instruction."[214] The biography of Cai Lun 蔡倫 in the "Biographies of Eunuchs" ("Huanzhe zhuan" 宦者傳)[215] chapter in the Hou Han shu states, "Because much of the text of the Classics and commentaries was not in its proper form, the emperor then selected Liu Zhen 劉珍[216] who was a scholar

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interpretive traditions of the learning of Shi, Meng, and Liangqiu." (See: Han shu 88.3598)

[214][SVA: For the text of this passage, see: Hou Han shu 79A.2545.]

[215](4/12, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: For the biography of Cai Lun 蔡倫, see the "Biographies of Eunuchs" 宦者列傳 chapter of the Hou Han shu (78.2513-4).

[216](4/12, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Wenyuan liezhuan" 文苑列傳 chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "Liu Zhen 劉珍 (zi Qiusun 秋孫, alt. ming Bao 寶) was a native of Caiyang 蔡陽 in Nanyang 南陽. When he was young, he loved to study. During the Yongchu 永初 period (107-113), he served as Supervisor of Internuncios (yezhe puye 謁者僕射--Hucker 4826, 7908). The Empress Dowager Deng 鄧太后 issued an edict ordering Liu Zhen, Liu Taotu 劉騊駼 who served in the position of Editor (jiaoshu 校書--Hucker 741), Ma Rong and the Erudites of the Five Classics to determine the correct

of wide learning and held the position of Receptionist[217] along with the Erudite Liang Shi 良史 and dispatched them to the Eastern Tower,[218] each to correct and collate[219] the ways of teaching (methods and interpretations)

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form of the texts in the Eastern Tower. These texts included the Five Classics, the Masters, the Commentaries and Records, and the writings of the Hundred Schools. They worked at putting the texts in good order, removed errors and mistakes, and corrected the written text..." (See: Hou Han shu 70A.2617) The "Annals of Emperor An" 安帝紀 contains a similar passage, see: Hou Han shu 5.215.

[217][SVA: Receptionist = yezhe 謁者--Hucker 7908.]

[218](4/12, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The Eastern Tower (Dongguan 東觀) was the location where the imperial archives were stored during the Han dynasty. A note to the text of the "Annals of Emperor An" chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "The Luoyang gongdian ming 洛陽宮殿名 states, 'In the Southern Palace Complex (Nangong 南宮) there is the Eastern Tower (Dongguan 東觀).'" (See: Hou Han shu 5.215, n.1) [SVA: I have followed the text in the original note to the Hou Han shu passage.]

[219](4/12, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: When a person reads through a text, critically examining it from beginning to end, and finding errors and mistakes, this is referred to as jiao 校 ("to critically examine"). When one person holds a base text, and the other person reads through another text, [comparing and contrasting], almost like enemies at odds with one another, this is referred to as chou 讎 ("to collate"). See the note to the "Xidu fu" 西都賦 in the Wenxuan which quotes from Liu Xiang's 劉向 Bielu 別錄. (See: Wenxuan 6.22a)

of the various schools."[220] This [is evidence that] each of the Erudites closely held to a particular school's way of teaching a text. The "Annals of Emperor Zhi" 質帝紀 chapter of the Hou Han shu states, "There was an order that in the prefectures, commanderies, and kingdoms individuals were selected based on their clear understanding of the Classics as measured by examination. Their ages ranged from fifty to seventy years of age, and they were sent to study at the Imperial Academy. From the General-in-chief[221] on down to those holding 600 bushel positions, they all sent their sons to receive an education...of the Lesser Lords of the four consort clans,[222] those who were first able to become thoroughly versed in a Classic, each was ordered to follow a school's way of teaching the text."[223] This [is evidence] that to gain a clear understanding of the Classics as measured by examination, it was necessary to closely adhere to the way a school taught the text. The biography of Zuo Xiong 左雄 says that Zuo Xiong submitted a memorial in which he requested that the men recommended as "Filial and

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[220][SVA: For the text of this passage, see: Hou Han shu 78.2513.]

[221][SVA: General-in-chief = da jiangjun 大將君--Hucker 5897.]

[222](4/12, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: On the lesser lords of the four consort clans, see 4/4, n.13.

[223](4/12, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: See the text under the first year of the Benchu 本初 reign period (146 A.D.) in the "Annals of Emperor Zhi" 質本

Incorrupt"[224] at the commandery and kingdom level be sent to the Three Dukes,[225] where as students they be examined on the way schools taught the texts.[226] The note to this passage states, "Scholars held to the teachings of a single school, therefore it was called a school's way of teaching the text."[227] This [is evidence] that it was necessary for those recommended as "Filial and Incorrupt" to strictly adhere to the way a school taught the text. The biography of Xu Fang 徐防 contains a memorial submitted by Xu Fang which states, "In observing the [activities at the] Imperial Academy and in

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紀 chapter of the Hou Han shu (6.281).

[224][SVA: Filial and Incorrupt = xiaolian 孝廉--Hucker 2418 This was a designation given to men recommended at the local level for appointment by the central administration at the capital.]

[225][SVA: Three Dukes = gongfu 公府--Hucker 3426.]

[226](4/12, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: For the biography of Zuo Xiong 左雄, see Hou Han shu 61.2015-23. Zuo Xiong (zi Bohao 伯豪) was a native of Nieyang 涅陽 in Nanyang 南陽. In the first year of the Yangjia 陽嘉 period (132 A.D.) he submitted a memorial requesting that the persons recommended at the local level as Filial and Incorrupt (xiaolian 孝廉) be sent to the office of the Three Dukes (gongfu 公府) to be examined on the various schools [of the Classics'] way of teaching the text. Pi Xirui did not copy the original complete text of the Hou Han shu passage verbatim. It is composed of various segments of the original text. [SVA: See Hou Han shu 61.2020 for the original text from which this paraphrase is taken.]

examining the Erudites and their students we find that they all talk about their own opinions and do not study the way [traditional] schools teach the text...they think that it is improper to follow a teacher and that the correct principles can be obtained by voicing one's own opinion...Indeed, this is not what was meant by the words 'selection by substance' in the imperial edict."[228] During the Han the admonition against not studying and adhering to the way [traditional] schools taught the texts was most probably extremely strict. Thus, a school's way of teaching a text separately came forth from a teacher's rules for teaching a text, and a school's way of teaching a text further split into that of singular, specialized schools. It was like the main trunk dividing into branches, and the branches splitting into even more branches, to the point where the branches and the leaves become tangled and overgrown, and eventually losing touch with their roots. It is like children giving birth to grandchildren, and the grandchildren giving

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[227][SVA: See Hou Han shu 61.2020, n.1.]

[228](4/12, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: On Xu Fang 徐防, see: 2/1, n.20. In the fourteenth year of the Yongyuan 永元reign period (102 A.D.), Xu Fang submitted a memorial in which he discussed matters concerning the zhangju 章句 commentaries to the Five Classics. [SVA: For Xu Fang's biography, see: Hou Han shu 40.1500-2. The quoted passage appears on 40.1500.]

birth to great-grandchildren, and the great-great-grandchildren[229] becoming very far removed, and gradually forgetting who their ancestors are. This is a case of ranking the original teachers last in importance and not turning to the [original meaning] found in the ancient past, using later explanations and discarding the earliest traditional commentaries. It was the perversion of sublime words with profound implications, and was the beginning of the divergence from the origins in the remote past.

[4/13 SVA Introductory Comments: In the final section of this chapter, Pi Xirui summarizes and restates his position that the learning of those who were closest to the Classics and thus had the clearest understanding of the texts is the learning that should be strictly adhered to. For Pi, originality and individual interpretation does not have a place in the

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[229](4/12, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The offspring of the children of one's elder brother are referred to as rengsun 仍孫 (grand nieces and nephews), and it is only due to etiquette and courtesy that there is [this term] as the actual emotional ties are in reality quite distant. The offspring of one's grand nieces and nephews are referred to as a yunsun 雲孫, which suggests that the distance separating one from one's great grand nieces and nephews is like that between one and floating clouds in the sky. See the "Shiqinshu" 釋親屬 section of Liu Xi's Shiming (15上). [SVA: I have modified the original for simplicity.]

transmission of the understanding of the Classics and only serves to lead one far afield from the fundamental meaning inherent in these texts. For Pi Xirui, the great expansion of Classical Scholarship that took place during the reigns of Emperor Ming and Emperor Zhang of the Later Han was not of a quality that measured up to the scholarship of the Emperor Wu and Emperor Xuan periods of the Former Han.]

4/13[230] In all things, when the appearance is one of extreme prosperity, in reality it is the case that prosperity reaches its pinnacle and the signs of decline appear, like in the case of the Later Han where out of a teacher's rules for teaching a text there developed the separate ways schools taught the text, and that in addition to the Modern Script Classics, [Erudite positions for] the Old Script Classics were separately established.[231] It

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[230][SVA: Section 4/13 corresponds to pp.138-140 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.142-4 of the Yiwen ed.]

[231](4/13, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: The schools belonging to the Modern Script category are as follows: for the Changes there were four schools, those of Master Shi 施, Master Meng 孟, Master Liangqiu 梁丘, and Master Jing 京. For the Documents, there were three schools, that of Master Ouyang 歐陽, that of the Younger Xiahou 小夏侯 and the school of the Elder Xiahou 大夏侯. For the Songs there were three schools, the school of Lu 魯, that of Qi 齊 and that of Master Han 韓氏. There were three schools for the

seems that this widening of learning and its illumination of the fine subtleties[232] [in the texts] would be of great benefit to [clarifying] the

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Rites, that of the Elder Dai 大戴, that of the Younger Dai 小戴, and the school of Master Qing 慶氏. For the Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals there were two schools, the school of Master Yan 嚴氏 and that of Master Yan 顏氏. The schools falling into the Old Script classification are as follows: For the Changes there was the school of Master Fei 費氏. For the Old Script Documents there was the school of Master Kong 孔氏. For the Songs there was a single school, the school of Master Mao 毛氏. For the Rites there was that of the Zhouguan 周官 (Zhouli 周禮) and that of the Yili 逸禮. In addition there was that of the Zuoshi Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals. With respect to the Guliang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, scholars of the past uniformly considered it to be aligned with the Modern Script school, but the modern scholar Cui Shi 崔適 has indicated that it was aligned with the Old Script school. Furthermore, [at an earlier time], for the Changes, there was the school of Master Gao 高氏, and for the Spring and Autumn Annals there was the school of Master Zou 鄒氏 and that of Master Jia 夾氏, but at the time they were already no longer in existence.

[232](4/13, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, zhen 甄 is glossed as ming 明 ("to illuminate, to make clear"). See the note to the "Annals of Emperor Guangwu" 光武紀 chapter of the Hou Han shu. (Hou Han shu 1B.87, n.3) In addition, it is glossed as biao 表 ("to show, to make clear"). See the note to the "Xizheng fu" 西征賦 in the Wenxuan (10.3b). Zhen weiyan 甄微言 refers to making clear scholarship which is on the decline and

meaning of the Classics, [but] in reality taking pride in the unusual and showing off a wide scope was a great detriment to [clarifying] the meaning of the Classics. Out of a teacher's explanation came separate schools' ways of teaching the texts, and this is what Fan Weizong 范蔚宗 was referring to when he wrote, "For each Classic there were several schools and each school in turn had several different interpretations....students would study diligently but with meager achievement, and later students had doubts and suspicions, and nothing was correct."[233] With respect [Erudite positions] being established for the Old Script Classics in addition to those for the New Script Classics, this is what Fan Sheng 范升 was referring to when he wrote, "Each has his own opinion to which they hold fast, and they disagree among themselves, fighting with one another. If one follows them then one loses the Way and if one does not follow them, then one loses a patron."[234] In most all disciplines, there is value placed on seeking what is new, but in Classical

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insignificant, and is a reference to the official recognition of the Old Script Classics and commentaries.

[233](4/13, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Fan Weizong 范蔚宗 (Fan Ye) was the author of the Hou Han shu. See 4/5, n.21. For the text of the quoted passage, see the biography of Deng Xuan 鄧玄 in the Hou Han shu (35.1213).

[234](4/13, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: On Fan Sheng 范升, see 3/5, n.5. For the quoted passage, see the biography of Fan Sheng in the Hou Han shu 36.1228.

Scholarship it is necessary that the sole focus be on preserving what is old. The Classics were created by the great sage(s) and passed on from the wise and worthy men of ancient times. The first classicists transmitted the texts orally, later students came to know the meaning by heart, it was a system which was fixed and allowed no room for personal inventiveness, loyalty to a single [meaning] was considered correct, and no one was able to voice one's own personal interpretation. One generation passes it along to the next, one teacher takes over for another, teachings are carefully held to, and no one is able to change them. In this way then, the intent of the Classics does not become convoluted and adulterated, and the teachings of the sage(s) are simple and clear. It seems that it was necessary for each person to show off new discoveries and theories, differing indiscriminately from former scholars. They would show off the strange and unusual in order to fish for recognition, forcing interpretations without restraint in order to show uniqueness. This then was [the approach] used to decide the curriculum, and produce the subject matter of the examinations. It is disrespectful and insulting to the words of the sage(s), and perverts as well as goes against the meaning of the Classics. In later times, many people in explaining the Classics were affected by these faults and mistakes. The Han was close to antiquity, and already portended the beginnings of this process. Therefore I think that the time of extreme prosperity which occurred under Emperors

Ming 明 and Zhang 章[235] did not surpass the age of radiance (peak period) which took place under Emperors Wu 武 and Xuan 宣.[236]

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[235](4/13, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Ming 明 refers to Emperor Ming of the Later Han. Zhang 章 refers to Emperor Zhang. Emperor Ming was on the throne for eighteen years, beginning in the first year of the Yongping 永平 reign period and ending with the eighteenth year of the Yongping period. This is 58 through 75 A.D. by the Western calendar. Emperor Zhang was on the throne for thirteen years, beginning with the first year of the Jianchu 建初 reign period and ending in the second year of the Zhanghe 章和 reign period. This is 76 through 88 A.D. by the Western calendar.

[236](4/13, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Wu 武 refers to Emperor Wu of the Former Han and Xuan 宣 refers to Emperor Xuan of the Former Han. Emperor Wu was on the throne for fifty-four years, beginning with the first year of the Jianyuan 建元 reign period to the first year of the Houyuan 後元 reign period. This is 140 to 88 B.C. by the Western calendar. Emperor Xuan was on the throne for twenty-five years, beginning with the first year of the Benshi 本始 reign period to the first year of the Huanglong 黃龍 reign period. This is 73 to 49 B.C. by the Western calender.

Chapter Five

經學中衰時代

The Period of Decline of Classical Scholarship

[5/1 SVA Introductory Comments: In the opening section of this chapter in which he examines the period of the decline of Classical Scholarship, Pi Xirui touches upon the manifestations of decline, and at the same time introduces Zheng Xuan and his scholarship. He uses quotes to illustrate that the reasons for Classical Scholarship's decline resided in abandoning serious study and the importance placed on the quality of one's character, and that this was replaced by the motive of personal gain. Members of the bureaucracy who possessed the refined learning and the skills that once were the standard for all, were now few and far between. He then shifts his attention to Zheng Xuan, describing how he drew from both the Modern and Old Script schools when writing his commentaries to the Classics. He lists his major works and briefly touches on some of the materials Zheng Xuan used when putting together his commentaries.]

5/1[1] The study of the Classics flourished during the Han. The Han came

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[1][SVA: Section 5/1 corresponds to pp.141-8 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.145-153 of the Yiwen ed.]

to an end and the study of the Classics went into decline. The reigns of Huan 桓 and Ling 靈[2] twice saw the misfortunes associated with factionalism.[3] Many scholars of integrity and men of humanity filled the

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[2](5/1, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Huan and Ling refer to Emperor Huan 桓帝 and Emperor Ling 靈帝 of the Later Han. Emperor Huan was on the throne for twenty-one years, beginning with the first year of the Jianhe 建和 period and continuing to the first year of the Yongkang 永康 period. This was from 147 to 167 by the Western calendar. Emperor Ling was on the throne for twenty-one years, beginning with the first year of the Jianning 建寧 period and continuing to the sixth year of the Zhongping 中平 period. This was from 168 to 189 by the Western calendar.

[3](5/1, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: In the ninth year of the Yanxi 延熹 period (166 A.D.), "The Metropolitan Commandant (sili xiaowei 司隸校尉 --Hucker 5697) Li Ying 李膺 and over two hundred others were falsely accused of being members of a partisan faction, were all imprisoned, and the names were recorded in the imperial archives. (See: Hou Han shu 7.318) In the first year of the Yongkang 永康 period (167) "...there was a general amnesty granted throughout the empire, and the great proscription was done away with." (See: Hou Han shu 7.319) The restriction banning partisan factions was relaxed for the first time. This was the first episode of the misfortunes arising out of the rivalries between partisan factions.

In the second year of the Jianning period of the reign of Emperor Ling (169), "The Palace Attendant-in-Ordinary (zhong changshi 中常侍--Hucker 1532), Hou Lan 侯覽, started the rumor that there was an official who had memorialized that the former Minister of Works (sikong 司空--Hucker 5687)

Yu Fang 虞放, the Royal Coachman (taipu 太僕--Hucker 6201) Du Mi 杜密, the Steward of the Empress Dowager (changle shaofu 長樂少府--Hucker 251) Li Ying 李膺, the Metropolitan Commandant (sili xiaowei 司隸小尉 --Hucker 5697) Zhu Yu 朱瑀, the Governor of Yingchuan 潁川 Ba Su 巴肅, the Administrator of Pei 沛 Xun Yi 荀翌, the Governor of Henei 河內 Wei Lang 魏朗, and the Governor of Shanyang 山陽 Zhai Chao 翟超 were all members of a partisan faction, and they were imprisoned. Those who died numbered over one hundred. Their spouses and children were relocated to the border regions. The prohibition against holding office extended to those who had a great-great-grandfather in common with the persons implicated. An imperial decree was issued throughout the provinces and commanderies, which was a general call to search out and catch (鉤) partisans, and the result was that throughout the Empire, men of character along with those who carried out the principles of Confucian learning were all tied together as members of partisan factions." (Hou Han shu 8.330-1) In the fourth year of the Jianning period (171), "There was a general amnesty granted throughout the empire, but this amnesty did not extend to members of partisan factions." (See: Hou Han shu 8.332) In the fifth year of the Xiping 熹平 period (176), "The Governor of Yongchang 永昌, Cao Luan 曹鸞, was found guilty of being a member of a partisan faction and was executed in the public square. An imperial decree was issued which ordered the disciples and clerks of the members of the partisan factions, along with their fathers, brothers, and sons who held officials positions, to resign their offices and barred them from government service." (See: Hou Han shu 8.338) In the first year of the Zhongping 中平 period (184), " There was a general amnesty granted throughout the empire which extended to the

prisons. Educated men along with learned scholars were also caught in this net [of laws and regulations].[4] It was indeed already the case that the morale of the educated was low and the state of mind of the Confucian scholar was one of loneliness and isolation. Zheng Kangcheng (Zheng Xuan; 127-200), owing to his wide learning and powerful memory, together with his high integrity and unexcelled behavior, wrote books enough to fill a

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members of the partisan factions, and those who were banished to the outlying regions were allowed to return." [SVA: Reading HHs 徙 for Jxls 徒] (Hou Han shu 8.348) With this, the misfortune which went along with the proscription against being involved with a partisan faction began to subside. This was the second episode of the misfortunes arising out of the rivalries between partisan factions. For a more detailed account, see chapters seven and eight of the Hou Han shu, "The Annals of Emperor Huan" 孝桓帝紀 and "The Annals of Emperor Ling" 孝靈帝紀, along with chapter sixty-seven, "The Biographies of Members of the Partisan Factions" 黨錮列傳.

[4](5/1, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Biographies of Wandering Knights" 游俠列傳 chapter of the Shi ji states, "Although at times they violated the laws and regulations of the times..." The Suoyin commentary to the passage reads, "Han 扞 is none other than han 捍 ('to go against'). Breaking the 'web' of laws and statutes of the times, was referred to as violating the laws and restrictions." (See: Shi ji 124.3183 and n.3) Han 扞 is none other than gan 干, which means "to offend against." The characters gang 岡 and wang 網 are interchangeable.

house, and had followers by the thousands. At the time there was no one who didn't seek him out, and it was said that from the Yi 伊 and the Luo 雒[5] eastward, and from the Huai 淮 and Han 漢[6] northward, there was only one

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[5](5/1, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The Yi 伊 is the Yi River 伊水 which flows from its source in Mendunling 悶頓嶺 located in the southeast of Lushi County 盧氏縣 in Henan. It flows to the northeast and courses through Song County 嵩縣, Yiyang 伊陽, Luoyang 洛陽, Yanshi 偃師, and then empties into the Luo 洛. The Luo is the Luo River 洛水 which flows from its source at Mt. Zhongling 冢嶺山 which is located in the northwest of Luonan County 雒南縣 in Shaanxi 陝西 Province. It flows eastward into Henan, and passes through Lushi 盧氏 and Yongning 永寧. It then flows to the northeast, coursing through Yiyang 宜陽, Luoyang, Yanshi and Gong County 鞏縣 and the Fa 瀍 and Yi Rivers empty into it. It empties into the Yellow River at Luokou 洛口. Luo 雒 is sometimes used interchangeably with luo 洛.

[6](5/1, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The Huai 淮 is the Huai River which has its source at Mt. Tongbo 桐柏山 in Henan. It flows to the east, entering Anhuijing 安徽境 and ends its flow where it empties into Lake Hongze 洪澤湖, between Anhui and Jiangsu. The lower stretch of the river has changed its course several times, and at present it goes from Huaiyin County 淮陰縣 and joins the Grand Canal 運河. The Han is the Han River 漢水 which has its source at Mt. Bozhong 嶓冢山, located in the north of Ningqiang County 寧羌縣 in Shaanxi. It flows through the territory of six former prefectures, Hanzhong 漢中, Xing'an 興安, Yunyang 鄖陽, Xiangyang 襄陽, Anlu 安陸 and Hanyang 漢陽. It then empties into the Yangtze River.

man: Kangcheng, and that was all. They all said that scholars of the past were deficient in many ways, but that Zheng Xuan's way was complete. As for masters of the Classics, in the past there was no one whose scholarly output matched Master Zheng's [when it came to the Classics]. However, like a wooden clapper he carried out his teachings, but in the end [he could only] go to the rivers and seas to escape.[7] Lanling 蘭陵 transmitted the

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[7](5/1, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Bayi" 八佾 chapter of the Analects states, "The world has been without the Way for a long time. Heaven is about to use the master as a wooden clapper." (See: Analects 3/24; Lau, trans., Analects, p.71) He Yan's Jijie commentary to this passage reads, "A wooden clapper is that which is struck when teaching the proper administration of government. This is to say that Heaven was about to give Confucius the mandate to create models and standards, and use them as orders issued throughout the world." (See: Lunyu zhushu, Ssjzs, 3.14a) In addition, the "Gongye Zhang" 公冶長 chapter of the Analects reads, "...the Way is not carried out and I board a raft and float about the seas..." (See: Analects 5/7; Lau, trans., Analects, p.76) Xing Bing's Zhengyi commentary reads, "[He is] saying that his Way, which he holds in high regard, was not to be put into actual practice by the central states, he wanted to climb onto a raft, float upon the seas and dwell among the Nine Tribes who perhaps will be able to put his Way into practice." (See: Lunyu zhushu, 5.3a-b) This passage borrows the lament that although Confucius possesses a kind of power akin to that of a wooden clapper, nevertheless he will drift around the seas which is analogous to Zheng Xuan's having the reputation of a master of the Classics, but being unable to save Classics Studies from decline.

Classics, but he could not avert the tragedy of the Qin's burning [of books] and burying [of scholars].[8] And although Zheng Xuan's scholarship flourished, the quality of Han scholarship in the end deteriorated. The Sanguo zhi 三國志[9] contains a memorial by Dong Zhao 董昭 which lays forth

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[8](5/1, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Lanling 蘭陵 refers to Xunzi. Xunzi served as the Prefect of Lanling. According to Wang Zhong's 汪中 Shuxue Xun Qingzi tonglun 述學荀卿子通論, in the early years of the Han dynasty Classical Scholarship for the most part was transmitted from Xunzi, and thus the words, "Lanling transmitted the Classics." See: 2/4, n.4 above. "Burning and burying" refers to the First Qin Emperor's burning of the books and burying alive the Confucian scholars. The proposal for burning the books and burying the Confucian scholars came from Li Si and moreover, Li Si was a disciple of Xunzi. This line borrows the notion that although Xunzi transmitted the Classics, he was not able to save the books and the Confucian scholars from being burned and buried by the First Qin Emperor and this is similar to the circumstances of Master Zheng Xuan who transmitted the Classics, but was not able to avert the decline and demise of Han scholarship.

[9](5/1, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The Sanguo zhi, in sixty-five juan, was compiled by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297) of the Jin Dynasty. Chen Shou (zi Chengzuo 承祚) was a native of Anhan 安漢 in Baxi 巴西. He served Shu 蜀 and later went to Jin 晉, where he eventually attained the rank of Secretarial Censor (zhishu yushi 治書御史--Hucker 1065, 1067). For his biography, see Jin shu 82.2137-38. His compilation, the Sanguo zhi, contains the "Wei zhi" 魏志 ("Memoirs of Wei") in thirty juan, the "Shu zhi"

the severe decline of the later years, "Looking at the young people of today, they haven't returned to taking education and learning as their foundation, but consider making connections and contacts their sole occupation. Those of the scholars-of-state class do not consider being a good son and a good brother or integrity and principled conduct to be primary, but place following power and influence and personal gain first."[10] Du Shu 杜恕 submitted a memorial in which he wrote,[11] "Scholars of the present take

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蜀志 ("Memoirs of Shu") in fifteen juan, and the "Wu zhi" 吳志 ("Memoirs of Wu") in twenty juan, and considers Wei to have legitimate sovereignty.

[10](5/1, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: For the original source of this passage, see the biography of Dong Zhao 董昭 in the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. (Sanguo zhi 14.442) Dong Zhao (zi Gongren 公仁) was a native of Dingtao 定陶 in Jiyin 濟陰. In the sixth year of the Taihe 太和 period (232 A.D.) of the reign of Emperor Ming of the Wei 魏明帝 (reg. 227-239) he was appointed to the position of Minister Over the Masses (situ 司徒--HB; cf. Hucker 5801) and subsequently submitted a memorial in which he discussed the problems relating to the decline of the quality of scholarship.

[11](5/1, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Du Shu 杜恕 (zi Wubo 務伯) was a native of Duling 杜陵 in Wei who lived during the Three Kingdoms period. He was the son of Du Ji 杜畿 and the father of Du Yu 杜預. He held the position of Regional Inspector (cishi 刺史--Hucker 7567) in Youzhou 幽州. His biography is appended to the biography of Du Ji in the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. (See: Sanguo zhi 16.498-508) For the quote from his memorial, see Sanguo zhi 16.502.

Shang 商 and Han 韓[12] as their masters and hold Legalist methods in high regard, contend with the Confucian schools, considering their doctrines to be impractical and not suited[13] for use in the real world. These then are the failures and shortcomings of the fashion of the times." In Yu Huan's 魚豢 Weilüe 魏略,[14] he ranks seven individuals, Dong Yu 董遇, Jia Hong 賈洪, Handan Chun 邯鄲淳, Xue Xia 薛夏, Wei Xi 隗禧, Su Lin 蘇林, and Yue Xiang 樂祥[15] as highly venerated Confucian scholars. His "Preface" states,

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[12](5/1, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Shang 商 refers to Shang Yang 商鞅 who served Duke Xiao of Qin and amended the legal code. For his biography, see: Shi ji 68.2227-39. Han 韓 refers to Han Fei 韓非 who authored the Han Feizi in fifty-five pian. For his biography, see: Shi ji 63.2146-56. The two men were both Legalists.

[13](5/1, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, zhou 周 is glossed as he 合, "to be suited for, to accord with, to be compatible with." See Chuci buzhu 1.11a (p.25).

[14](5/1, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: Yu Huan 魚豢 was a native of Jingzhao 京兆 (the Capital District) in Wei who lived during the Three Kingdoms period. He compiled the Weilüe 魏略 in fifty juan, which ended with the reign of Emperor Ming 明帝 (reg. 227-239). His work has been lost, but Pei Songzhi 裴松之 quotes from it in numerous instances in his Sanguo zhi zhu 三國志注.

[15](5/1, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: Dong Yu's 董遇 name appears at the end of the biography of Wang Su which is contained in juan 13 of the "Wei

zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. The passage reads, "It was said that during the reign of Emperor Ming, the Chamberlain for the National Treasury (da sinong 大司農--Hucker 6042) Dong Yu of Hongnong 弘農 and others, also wrote notes to the Classics and Commentaries, and these were passed around and circulated throughout the land." Pei Songzhi's notes to this line read, "The Weilüe says that Dong Yu's zi was Jizhi 季直. He was of simple character and he was slow of speech, but he loved to study....during the reign of Emperor Ming he was appointed to the position of Chamberlain for the National Treasury with Palace Attendant status (shizhong da sinong 侍中大司農--Hucker 5229)...he had a fine understanding of the Zuo Commentary and wrote on the differences in red and in black." (See: Sanguo zhi 134.420 and n.3)

Jia Hong 賈洪, Xue Xia 薛夏 and Wei Xi 隗禧 also appear in Pei Songzhi's notes to the biography of Wang Su. Pei's notes read, "Jia Hong (zi Shuye 叔業) was a native of Xinfeng 新豐 in Jingzhao 京兆 (the Capital District). He possessed talent and ability, was fond of study, had an especially precise understanding of the Chunqiu Zuozhuan." "Xue Xia (zi Xuansheng 宣聲) was a native of Tianshui 天水. He was a man of talent, ability, and broad learning." "Wei Xi (zi Ziya 子牙) was a native of Jingzhao...Wei Xi had a clear understanding of the Classics and possessed good knowledge of the heavens....he wrote explanations to several of the Classics which numbered in the tens of thousands of words, but he did not have time to write out a clean copy and he became deaf. Several years later, he became ill and died."

Handan Chun's name appears in the biography of Wang Can 王粲 which is contained in juan 21 of the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. He

was a native of Yingchuan 潁川. Pei's note reads, "The Weilüe says that Handan Chun (zi Zishu 子叔) had an alternate name (ming) which was Zhu 竺. He was a person of wide learning and intellectual gifts, and in addition was highly skilled with respect to seal script (chongzhuan 蟲篆) in the Cangya 蒼雅 and the meaning of the words in Xu Shen's [dictionary]....Early in the Huangchu 黃初 period (220-226), he became an Erudite Serving Within the Palace (boshi jishizhong 博士給事中--cf. Hucker 587, HB)."

Su Lin's name appears in the biography of Liu Shao 劉劭 which is contained in juan 21 of the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. He was a native of Chenliu 陳留 and he attained the rank of Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary (sanqi changshi 散騎常侍--Hucker 4834). Pei's note reads, "The Weilüe says: Su Lin's zi was Xiaoyou 孝友. He was a person of broad learning and was widely versed in both the ancient and current meanings of words. Doubtful and questionable places in the text of the books and commentaries were all explained by Su Lin....during the Huangchu period (220-226), he became an Erudite Serving Within the Palace."

Yue Xiang appears in the biography of Du Ji 杜畿 which is contained in juan 16 in the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. It states, "In the second year of the Ganlu 甘露 period (257) Yue Xiang of Hedong 河東 who was over ninety years of age, submitted a memorial praising Du Ji's legacy." Pei's note reads, "The Weilüe says: Yue Xiang's zi was Wenzai 文載. When he was young, he was fond of learning....the Zuoshi Yueshi wen 左氏樂氏問 with its seventy-two items was compiled by Yue Xiang....during the Huangchu period he was summoned and appointed to the position of Erudite....His

"During the Zhengshi 正始[16] period (240-246 A.D.) there was an imperial edict issued inviting discussion on the Round Altar to Heaven[17] and it invited the educated elite from all over [to participate]. At the time, the number of Court Gentleman[18] and Clerks[19] under the leadership of the Minister over the Masses[20] numbered in excess of 20,000, ...however those who responded and participated in the discussions amounted to only a handful of people. In addition, at the time the number of officials in the court from the Dukes and Ministers on down exceeded four hundred, but

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students numbered several thousand."

[16](5/1, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhengshi 正始 is the name of the first reign period of the deposed emperor of Wei which lasted for seven years, from 240 to 246.

[17](5/1, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Round Altar" (Yuanqiu 圜丘) is none other than the modern day Altar to Heaven (Tiantan 天壇) and it is the location where the ancient emperors and kings performed rites to Heaven on the winter solstice. The "subcommentary" in the "Musician-in-Chief" (Da siyue 大司樂) subsection in the "Spring Offices" ("Chunguan" 春官) section of the Zhouli states, "Where the earth is elevated is called a hillock. One which is round resembles the roundness of Heaven. Thus it is high in order to serve Heaven, and as a result it is above ground level." (See: Zhouli zhushu, Ssjzs, 22.19a) Yuan 圜 is none other than the word 字 yuan 圓.

[18][SVA: Court Gentleman = langguan 郎官--Hucker 3573, 3563]

[19][SVA: Clerks = li 吏--cf. Hucker 3586]

those who knew how to hold a writing brush numbered less than ten, and for the most part they would only eat their fill, follow each other around, and then retire. Alas! The enterprise of scholarship has sunk so low that it has come to this. Therefore I humble myself, constantly thinking of and holding in the highest regard these several scholars who each lived during difficult times and yet were still able to be upright individuals who preserved their integrity and held fast to their resolve."[21] Yu Huan's "Preface" appears in the notes to the Sanguo zhi, and it causes one to read it and tremble in fear. The study of the Classics flourished during the Former and Later Han, but not one hundred years had passed and it had declined to this degree. In this way then, how could culture and civilization be maintained! Fan Weizong (Fan Ye) discussed Master Zheng (Xuan) as follows, "He tied up the great canons in a sack,[22] sought out and collected

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[20][SVA: Minister over the Masses = situ 司徒--HB; cf. Hucker 5801]

[21](5/1, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: For the original text of the quoted passage, see the note to the line in the biography of Wang Su which is contained in juan 13 of the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi (13.420-1 and n.3). The phrase "eat their fill, follow each other around" (飽食相從) is written "follow each other around and eat their fill" (相從飽食) in the original text. I suspect this is an error on Pi Xirui's part.

[22](5/1, n.18) Zhou Yutong comments: A note to the Hou Han shu reads as follows, "Kuo (gua) 括 means jie 結, "to tie together, group together, tie into

[explanations of] the various schools, edited out what was unnecessary, filled in that which had been lost, and because of this, scholars all knew where to turn."[23] Because during the Han each Classic had several schools and each school in turn had several different explanations, scholars did not know what to follow. Zheng Xuan being versed in both Modern Script and Old Script, combined them into one. Thus students of the Classics could all follow Master Zheng and did not need to search into each individual school. The strength of Zheng Xuan's scholarship lies in this, but the reasons for the deterioration of Han scholarship also lie in this. Zheng Xuan's biography reads as follows, "Zheng Xuan wrote commentary to the Changes, the Documents, the Mao Version of the Songs, the Ceremonials and Rites, the Record of Rites, the Analects, the Classic of Filial Piety, the Shangshu dazhuan, the Zhonghou 中侯, and the Qianxiangli 乾象曆. He also composed the Qizheng lun 七政論, the Luli dixiayi 魯禘祫義, the Liuyi lun 六藝論, the

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a bundle." [A line (6/4)] of the "Kun" 坤 hexagram (#2) of the Changes reads, 'A tied up sack. No Blame.'" (See: Wilhelm/Baynes, Book of Changes, p.14) To tie up the Great Canons in a sack is like saying one has covered and internalized the Classics. This is used as a metaphor for Zheng Xuan's broad learning. (See: Hou Han shu 35.1213, n.3)

[23](5/1, n.19) Zhou Yutong comments: For the original text of the quoted passage see Fan Ye's (Fan Weizong) "Lun" 論 at the end of the biography of Zheng Xuan which is in chapter 35 of the Hou Han shu (35.1213).

Mao Shi pu 毛詩譜, the Bo Xu Shen Wujing yiyi 駁許慎五經異義, and the Da Lin Xiaocun Zhouli nan 答臨孝存周禮難, the words of which numbered more than one million in all."[24] Zheng Xuan, in writing his commentary to the various Classics, in every case drew from both Modern Script and Old

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[24](5/1, n.20) Zhou Yutong comments: For the original text of the quoted passage, see the biography of Zheng Xuan in chapter 35 of the Hou Han shu (35.1212). Zheng Xuan's works which survive are the Mao Shi qian 毛詩淺, the Yili zhu 議禮注, the Liji zhu 禮記注, and the Zhouli zhu 周禮注. Fragments of his Zhouyi zhu 周易注 have been compiled and edited by Wang Yinglin of the Song dynasty and by Hui Dong and Yuan Jun 袁鈞 of the Qing dynasty and are contained in the Zhengshi yishu 鄭氏遺書. Fragments of the Lunyu zhu 論語注, the Zhonghou 中候, the Luli dixia yi 魯禮禘祫義 and the Liuyi lun 六藝論 have been compiled and edited by Ma Guohan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu and by Yuan Jun in the Zhengshi yishu. Fragments of the Xiaojing zhu 孝經注 have been compiled and edited by Yan Kejun and Yuan Jun in the Zhengshi yishu. Fragments of the Bo Xu Shen Wujing yiyi 駁許慎五經異義 have been compiled by Wang Yinglin and by Yuan Jun and are in the Zhengshi yishu. Fragments of the Shangshu zhu 尚書注, the Shangshu dazhuan zhu 尚書大傳注, the Mao Shi pu 毛詩譜 and the Da Lin Xiaocun Zhouli nan 答臨孝存周禮難 have been compiled and edited by Yuan Jun and are in the Zhengshi yishu. There are only two of Zheng Xuan's works about which we completely lack any reliable estimation [as to their content] and these are the Qian xiangli 乾象曆 and the Qizhenglun 七政論.

Script. In writing commentary to the Changes, he utilized Master Fei's 費氏 Old Script interpretation. His pairing of the hexagram lines with the twelve "Earthly Branches" (chen 辰)[25] came out of Master Fei's "Astral Fields"

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[25](5/1, n.21) Zhou Yutong comments: The "lines" (yao 爻) are the six lines of the hexagrams and chen 辰 refers to the twelve Earthly Branches. Zheng Xuan matched and combined the six lines with the twelve Earthly Branches and used this system to explain the Changes, and thus it is referred to as the yao chen [system]. These explanations are long lost, but we can catch a glimpse of them in Li Dingzuo's 李鼎祚 Zhouyi jijie 周易集解 and in Kong Yingda's Zhouyi zhengyi. Hui Dong of the Qing dynasty compiled [the fragments of] Zheng Xuan's Zhouyi zhu and at the end he appended a chart of twelve months, the lines, and the twelve Earthly Branches along with a chart of the interrelationship between the lines, the duodecimal units, and the [corresponding members of] the twenty-eight lunar mansions. In addition, he wrote the Yi Hanxue 易漢學 which contains the "Zhengshi Zhouyi yaochen tu" 鄭氏周易爻辰圖 and the "Zhengshi Yi" 鄭氏易 in section six. Both are extremely detailed and the result of careful scholarship, and are worth consulting. The following example will serve as an illustration. "Tai 泰 (hexagram 11), six in the fifth place, 'Sovereign Yi gave the maiden in marriage. The results are blessings and good fortune.'" Zheng Xuan's note reads, "Five, the line and its corresponding Earthly Branch are located with mao 卯. Spring is in the middle of the Yang phase and the Ten Thousand Things are born. To give birth and nurture, this is the most precious aspect of marriage. In the second month of Spring, marriages take place, and the ceremony between man and woman, is one of blessings and

(fenye 分野).[26] However, it has already been lost and moreover, the

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great good fortune." The above passage appears in the subcommentary to the "Meishi" 媒氏 subsection of the "Diguan" 地官 section of the Rites of Zhou where it is quoted. (See: Zhouli zhushu, Ssjzs, 14.15b) Zheng Xuan is referring to the line "sixth in the fifth place" in the "Tai" hexagram, and as for the Earthly Branch, it is mao and the month being the second month of Spring, this is what is referred to as the interrelationship between the lines (爻) and the twelve Earthly Branches (辰).

[26](5/1, n.22) Zhou Yutong comments: Fenye 分野 ("astral fields") originally referred to the feudal kingdoms of those who ruled as kings, and above, this was reflected in the position of the constellations. Fei Zhi in explaining the Changes, matched the eight trigrams with the constellations, the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches, etc., and as a result, this too was referred to as "fenye." His explanation has been lost, but the Qing scholar Ma Guohan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu compiled the Feishi Yilin 費氏易林 and the Feishi fenye 費氏分野, which although are very brief outlines, are still worth consulting. The following example will serve as an illustration. In the "Yueling" chapter of the Liji zhengyi there is a quote from the Yilin 易林 which reads, "[The trigram] Zhen 震 commands geng 庚, zi 子 and wu 午, [the trigram] Xun 巽 commands xin 辛, chou 丑 and wei 未, [the trigram] Kan 坎 commands wu 戊, yin 寅 and shen 申, [the trigram] Li 離 commands ji 己, mao 卯 and you 酉, [the trigram] Gen 艮 commands bing 丙, chen 辰 and xu 戌, and [the trigram] Dui 兌 commands ding 丁, si 巳 and hai 亥." (See: Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, 16.12b) The matching and combining of the eight trigrams with the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches is similar to

interpretation of the Changes of Master Shi 施, of Master Meng 孟, and of Master Liangqiu 梁邱 have also been lost, and thus there is nothing that we can examine to compare their similarities and differences. In writing commentary to the Documents he used Old Script interpretations, and for the most part differed from Ma Rong. There are times when Ma Rong follows the Modern Script interpretation while Zheng Xuan follows the Old Script interpretation, but there are times when Ma Rong follows the Old Script interpretation while Zheng Xuan follows the Modern Script interpretation.[27] This was due to Zheng Xuan drawing from both the

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Zheng Xuan's explanation which paired the hexagram lines with the twelve Earthly Branches, and thus Pi Xirui says that the matching of the hexagram lines with the twelve Earthly Branches came out of Master Fei's fenye ("astral fields") system.

[27](5/1, n.23) Zhou Yutong comments: In his commentary to the Documents, Zheng Xuan differs from Ma Rong on every point. For example, in the line 欽明文思安安 ("[He was] reverent, possessed clarity of mind, was accomplished, thoughtful and a person of tranquility") from the "Canon of Yao" 堯典 chapter of the Documents, the character si 思 is si 思 in the Old Script version and sai 惠 in the Modern Script version. Ma Rong's commentary reads, "When the Way and its power are pure and complete, we refer to it as si 思," here he is reading si 思 as sai 惠, consulting and using the Modern Script explanation. Zheng Xuan's commentary reads, "to contemplate deeply and have a quick but thorough understanding, this is

Modern and Old Script schools when writing commentary to the Documents. In writing his notes to the Songs, he took the Mao version as his principal source, but in the process changed Mao's words.[28] He himself said

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referred to as si 思," and here si 思 is read as itself, and this is the Old Script explanation. This is one example of Ma Rong following the Modern Script [explanation] and Zheng Xuan following the Old Script [explanation].

An additional example is the line from the "Canon of Yao" chapter, 曰若稽古帝堯曰放勳 ("Examining antiquity, the emperor Yao was called Fangxun.") Ma Rong explains the word ji 稽 as kao 考 ("to examine"), saying that Yao followed and examined the Way of antiquity and carried it out, and this is the Old Script explanation. Zheng Xuan explained ji 稽 as tong 同 and explained gu 古 as tian 天. With jigu 稽古 explained as tongtian 同天, he is saying that Yao "united with" ("became like") Heaven, and this is the New Script explanation. This is one example of Ma Rong following the Old Script interpretation and Zheng Xuan following the Modern Script interpretation. For more details, consult Chen Qiaocong's 陳喬樅 Jinwen Shangshu jingshuo kao 今文尚書經說考. (Huang Qing jingjie xubian 皇清經解續編 1079.1A.5a-9a, 1079.1A.13a-14b)

[28](5/1, n.24) Zhou Yutong comments: In Zheng Xuan's Shi jian 詩箋, he alters characters in the Mao version in every piece. For example, in the poem "Hengmen" 衡門 ("The City Gate," #138) which is in the "Airs of Chen" 陳風, in the line 可以樂飢 ("One can satisfy one's hunger"), he changes le 樂 to liao 燎, "to cure [one's thirst]." (See: Mao Shi zhengyi, Ssjzs, 7之1.7a) In the poem "Shiyue zhijiao" 十月之交 ("The Alignment of the Tenth Month,"

that, "If there is something that I am at variance with, then below it I give my own opinion."[29] That which he refers to as his "own opinion" in actuality has its roots in three separate schools.[30] This is due to Zheng Xuan drawing

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#193) which is in the "Lesser Elegantae" 小雅 section, in the line 抑此皇父 ("But perhaps, this Huangfu"), he reads yi 抑 as yi 噫 ("Alas"). (See: 12之2.7b) In the poem "Siqi" 思齊 ("Great Dignity," #240) which is in the "Greater Elegantae" 大雅 section, in the line 古之人無斁 ("The ancients were untiring"), he changes yi 斁 to ze 擇 ("to select; to differentiate"). (See: 16之3.16a) In the poem "Panshui" 泮水 ("The Waves of the Pan," #299) which is in the "Hymns of Lu" 魯頌 section, in the line 狄彼東南 ("The tribes are kept to the southeast"), he changes bi 彼 to ti 剔 ("to pare away"). (See: 20之1.17b) These are all clear examples.

[29](5/1, n.25) Zhou Yutong comments: For the original text of this passage, see Zheng Xuan's Liu yi lun 六藝論. (Csjc, p.4)

[30](5/1, n.26) Zhou Yutong comments: The "three schools" refers to the Qi 齊, Lu 魯, and Han 韓 Modern Script schools of the Songs. Zheng Xuan made use of explanations from the three schools. For example, in the poem "Xuanniao" 玄鳥 ("The Dark Colored Bird," #303) there is the line, "Heaven commanded the dark colored bird to descend and bear Shang." The Mao commentary states, "The dark colored bird is a swallow (yi 鳦). At the vernal equinox, the dark colored bird descended. Jiandi 簡狄, a daughter of the Yousong 有娀 [SVA: reading song 娀 for e 娥] family who were the great ancestors of Tang, was wedded to the lord of the Gaoxin 高辛 family." The lord went with her and together they performed a sacrifice at the suburban

from both the Modern and Old Script schools when writing his notes to the Songs. In writing his commentary to the Ceremonials and Rites (Yili 儀禮) he preserved both Modern Script and Old Script interpretations. When he follows the Modern Script school in his commentary, there constantly appears material from the Old Script school, and when he follows the Old Script school, there constantly appears material from the Modern Script school. This is due to Zheng Xuan drawing from both the Modern Script and Old Script schools when writing his commentary to the Ceremonials and Rites.[31] The Rites of Zhou is an Old Script text with no Modern Script

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area, prayed for progeny and she gave birth to Xie 契. Therefore, originally it was that which was commanded by Heaven, and thus the dark colored bird came and [she] gave birth to him." (See: Maoshi zhushu, Ssjzs, 20-3.14b) This is the explanation of the Old Script school which holds that when the swallows arrived at the vernal equinox, Jiandi together with the lord performed the sacrifices and prayed for progeny at the suburbs, and because of this, she gave birth to Xie. Zheng Xuan's commentary reads, "Jiang 降 means to come down (xia 下). As for Heaven sending the swallows down and Shang being born, it refers to a swallow leaving an egg behind, Jiandi, who was a daughter of the Yousong family, swallowed it and bore Xie." (See: Maoshi zhushu, Ssjzs, 20-3.14b) This is the explanation of the Modern Script school which holds that Jiandi ate a swallow's egg and gave birth to Xie. In this case Zheng Xuan held to the latter explanation, and these are [examples of] Zheng Xuan following the three schools.

[31](5/1, n.27) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Shiguan li" 士冠禮 chapter of

version. The Record of Rites for its part does not differentiate between Modern and Old Script, and thus its not necessary to discuss its commentary at all. In writing his commentary to the Analects, he follows the Lu Version of the Analects (Lulun 魯論), but also refers to the Qi Version of the Analects (Qilun 齊論) and Old Version of the Analects (Gulun 古論),[32]

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the Yili, there is the line "The mat is spread at the center of the doorway, the wooden peg to the west, the threshold to the outside, facing west." Zheng Xuan's notes to this line reads, "In the Old Script version, nie 闑 is written nie 槷 ('a short wooden peg') and yu 閾 ('threshold') is written cu 蹙." (See: Yili zhushu, Ssjzs, 1.7a) This is one example where he follows the Modern Script interpretation, but in his commentary there constantly appears material from the Old Script school. In addition, there is the line from the "Shiguan li" chapter, 禮於阼 ("perform rites at the eastern stairway"). Zheng Xuan's commentary to this line reads, "In the Modern Script version, li 禮 is written li 醴." (See: Yili zhushu, Ssjzs, 3.6a) This is an example where he follows the Old Script version, but in his commentary there constantly appears material from the Modern Script school. Jia Gongyan's Yili shu 儀禮疏 subcommentary which appears under the line 布席於門中 in the "Shiguan li" chapter reads, "When Zheng Xuan comments on the Rites,...sometimes he follows the Modern Script and sometimes he follows the Old Script, and in all cases he seeks out the one which is the better meaning and follows it. If it was the case that there were two words which both had meanings that fit, he then cross-references them.

[32](5/1, n.28) Zhou Yutong comments: During the Western Han, there were

three schools each with their own version of the Analects, and these were the Qi Version of the Analects (Qi lun 齊論), the Lu Version of the Analects (Lu lun 魯論) and Old Script Version of the Analects (Guwen Lunyu 古文論語). Huang Kan 皇侃 in the preface to his subcommentary to the Analects (論語疏) quotes from Liu Xiang's Bielu 別錄, "That which is studied by the people of Lu is referred to as the Lu Version of the Analects, that which is studied by the people of Qi is referred to as the Qi Version of the Analects. And that which was discovered in the walls of Confucius' residence is referred to as the Old Script Version of the Analects." (See: Huang Kan, Lunyu jijie yishu 論語集解義疏, Csjc, "敘," p.4)

In the "Lunyu" subsection of the "Classics" 經 section of the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu it states, "In the early years of the Han, there were the explanations of the Qi and Lu schools. The version which was passed on by the people of Qi consisted of twenty-two pian. The version passed on by the people of Lu had twenty pian. Zhang Yu 張禹 originally taught the Lu Version of the Analects and in his later years lectured on the Qi Version of the Analects. He subsequently brought them together and studied them closely, removing that which was confusing and misleading. He removed the "Wenwang" 問王 and "Zhidao" 知道 chapters (pian) from the Qi version, put it in final form following the twenty chapter Lu version, and its title was the Zhanghou lun 張侯論....In addition, there was the Old Script Version of the Analects, which had appeared together with the Old Script Documents (Guwen Shangshu 古文尚書). In the details of the commentary there was no difference between it and the Lu version, it was only that the "Zizhang" 子張 chapter was divided into two pian, and as a result the number of pian totaled twenty-one....Zheng Xuan took the Zhanghou lun as

and in writing his commentary, he states, "The Lu Version reads X as Y, the Modern Script interpretation follows the Old Script." This is owing to Zheng Xuan drawing from both Modern Script and the Old Script schools in annotating the Analects. His commentary to the Classic of Filial Piety is for the most part [derived from] Modern Script school explanations. Yan Kejun 嚴可均 has made a compilation of these.[33]

[5/2 SVA Introductory Comments: In this section, Pi Xirui describes the relationship between the "rise" of Zheng Xuan's scholarship and the

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his base text, and consulted and referred to the Qi Version of the Analects and the Old Script Version of the Analects, while writing commentary to it." (See: Sui shu 32.939)

[33](5/1, n.29) Zhou Yutong comments: Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (zi Yingwen 景文; hao Tieqiao 鐵橋; 1762-1843) was a native of Wucheng 烏程 who lived during the Qing dynasty. During the Jiaqing 嘉慶 period (1796-1820) he became a Provincial Graduate (juren 舉人--Hucker 1682). He was keenly interested in etymology (文字學), and his works include the Shuowen shenglei 說文聲類 and the Tieqiao mangao 鐵橋漫稿. For biographical information, one can consult section two of the "Ruxue" 儒學 chapter in juan seventy-two of Miao Quansun's 繆荃蓀 Xu Beizhuanji 續碑傳集. The Xiaojing Zheng zhu 孝經鄭注 which he compiled is currently reprinted in Yao Jinyuan's 姚覲元 Zhijinzhai congshu 咫進齋叢書. [SVA: For his biography, see: ECCP pp.910-12]

"decline" of Han scholarship, or more specifically, the teachings of the early Han masters which up until this time had remained distinct and in circulation. He begins by describing a situation in which the so-called Modern Script and Old Script schools (i.e. their members) were mutually distinct, at odds with one another, and in the cases Pi cites, never made use of the opposing camp's scholarly efforts. It was only Xu Shen in his Wujing yiyi who brought the scholarship of both the Modern and Old Script schools together in one work, but within it preserved the distinction between the explanations of the two schools. He goes on to point out that Zheng Xuan in his efforts to be comprehensive, drew from both schools, but did not preserve distinctions. The popularity of his scholarship eclipsed that of the former masters whose texts were gradually lost, and with them a clear knowledge and understanding of their scholarship. As a result, in spite of Zheng Xuan's achievements as a scholar and as a synthesizer, the traditions of the early Han masters suffered in an irreversible way, which for a champion of Han Learning could only be viewed as the "decline" of Han scholarship.]

5/2[34] With respect to the statement that while Zheng Xuan's scholarship

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[34][SVA: Section 5/2 corresponds to pp.148-150 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.153-6 of the Yiwen ed.]

flourished, [on the whole] Han scholarship deteriorated: The Classical Scholarship of the Han was close to antiquity and reliable, the Modern Script interpretations of the Fourteen Erudites had been passed from master to disciple over a long period of time; Liu Xin initiated [the practice of] being versed in Old Script [texts], and Wei Hong 衛宏, Jia Kui賈逵, Ma Rong 馬融, Xu Shen 許慎,[35] and others developed and elaborated on his explanations, to where it had become a separate school standing in opposition to the Modern Script school. In this way, [scholars of] Modern Script learning held fast to the positions of Modern Script learning and scholars of Old Script learning strictly maintained the positions of Old Script learning. Members of the Modern Script school were of the opinion that the Old Script school had corrupted and perverted the master teachers' way of teaching the texts, while members of the Old Script school thought that the scholars of the Modern Script school were "forming a faction of like-minded men and being jealous of the true or genuine"[36] and they

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[35](5/2, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: On Wei Hong 衛宏, see: 3/7, n.7. On Jia Kui 賈逵, see: 3/7, n.8. On Ma Rong 馬融, 1/3, n.16. On Xu Shen 許慎, see: 3/7, n.11.

[36](5/2, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Biography of Wang Mang" 王莽傳 in juan ninety-nine of the Han shu states, "Therefore the General of the Left (zuo jiangjun 左將軍) Gongsun Lu 公孫祿...said...the Preceptor of State

attacked one another like enemies, never intermixing. Du 杜, the Zhengs 鄭, Jia 賈, and Ma 馬[37] in annotating the Rites of Zhou and the Zuo

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(guoshi 國師--Hucker 3530) Jiaxin Gong 嘉信公 (Liu Xin) has turned the Five Classics upside down, ruined the master teachers' way of teaching the texts, and caused scholars to harbor doubts and be confused." (See: Han shu 99B.4170) This is one example of a scholar of the Modern Script school criticizing a scholar of the Old Script school for corrupting and perverting the master teachers' way of teaching the texts. In addition, the "Biography of Liu Xin" in juan thirty-six of the Han shu states, "...Liu Xin, because of this, sent a letter reprimanding the Erudites of the Chamberlain of Ceremonials and in it he berated them saying: '...If they must confine themselves to their own [interests] and hold fast to defective texts (referring to the Erudites of the Modern Script school), band together with those of the same faction, be jealous of a different path which is genuine, go against wise edicts, lose the meaning of the sages, they will then because of this sink to the level of the [petty] discussions of lower level functionaries. I hold the strong conviction that you two or three gentlemen should not adopt this course.'" (See: Han shu 36.1967, 36.1971; Eva Chung, A Study of the Shu (Letters), p.488) This is the source of the four character phrase 黨同妒真 ("forming a faction of like-minded men and being jealous of the true or genuine").

[37](5/2, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Du 杜 refers to Du Zichun 杜子春; the Zhengs 鄭 refers to Zheng Xing 鄭興 and his son, Zheng Zong 鄭眾; Jia 賈 refers to Jia Kui 賈逵; Ma 馬 refers to Ma Rong 馬融. Du Zuchun transmitted the Rites of Zhou. In Jia Gongyan's Zhouli zhengyi, the

prefatory section "Xu Zhouli feixing" 序周禮廢興 [SVA: JXLS reads 興廢 (sic)] quotes from the biography of Ma Rong and it states, "Du Zichun was a native of Goushi County 緱氏縣 in Henan and he was still alive during the early years of the Yongping 永平 period (58-75 A.D.) when he was over ninety years old. His home was in Nanshan 南山, he was able to thoroughly master what he studied (referring to the Rites of Zhou), everyone knew of his explanations, and Zheng Zong and Jia Kui went and received instruction from him." (See: Zhouli zhushu, Ssjzs, 10b-11a) In Ma Guohan's Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, he has compiled a Zhouli Dushi zhu 周禮杜氏注 in two juan.

Zheng Xing (zi Shaogan 少贛) was a native of Kaifeng 開封 who lived during the Latter Han. He was fond of the [texts and] teachings of the Old Script school. He had an especially clear understanding of the Zuo Commentary and the Zhouguan. His son Zheng Zong (zi Zhongshi 仲師) received instruction from his father in the Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, and from Du Zichun in the Zhouguan. For their biographies, see Hou Han shu 36.1124-26. Compilations in the Yuhan shanfang jiyishu include the Zhouli Zheng Dafu (Xing) jiegu 周禮鄭大夫解詁 in one juan, the Zhouli Zheng Sinong (Zong) jiegu 周禮鄭司農解詁 in six juan, and Zheng Zong's Chunqiu dieli zhangju 春秋牒例章句 in one juan.

On Jia Kui, see 3/7, n.8. Compilations in the Yuhan shanfang yishishu include the Zhouli Jiashi jiegu 周禮賈氏解詁 in one juan, the Chunqiu Zuoshizhuan jiegu 春秋左氏傳解詁 in two juan, and the Chunqiu Zuoshi changjing 春秋左氏長經 in one juan. The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu records a Chunqiu shixun 春秋釋訓 in one juan and a Chunqiu

Commentary did not make use of Modern Script school explanations, and He Xiu 何休 for his part did not cite a single word from the Rites of Zhou in annotating the Gongyang Commentary.[38] Xu Shen's Wujing yiyi 五經異義 differentiates the explanations of the Modern Script school from those of the Old Script school with extreme clarity."[39] If they were always separate and

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sanjia jingben xungu 春秋三家經本訓詁 in twelve juan, both which are no longer extant. (See: Sui shu 32.928, 32.932)

On Ma Rong, see 1/3, n.16. Compilations in the Yuhan shanfang jiyishu include the Zhouguan zhuan 周官傳 in one juan and the Chunqiu sanzhuan yitongshuo 春秋三傳異同說 in one juan.

[38](5/2, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: On He Xiu 何休, see 2/4, n.7. He Xiu wrote the Chunqiu Gongyang jiegu 春秋公羊解詁 in eleven juan, which is extant and is included in the Shisan jing zhushu edition. He Xiu was a scholar of the Modern Script school and therefore did not quote from the Rites of Zhou which is a text of the Old Script school.

[39](5/2, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: On Xu Shen, see 3/7, n.11. Xu Shen wrote the Wujing yiyi 五經異義 in ten juan. See the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu (32.937). It had been lost by the Song dynasty, but during the Qing dynasty with the increase in compiling and recording [of fragments] over one hundred items were obtained. Chen Shouqi's 陳壽祺 Wujing yiyi shuzheng 五經異義疏證 is a text which is relatively complete. An example of its contents is as follows, "The fifth, field tax: the Modern [Script school] Chunqiu Gongyang explanation is that the tax is one part out of ten. Exceeding one part in ten is, to a greater or lesser degree, a tyranny like

distinct like this, then when they were transmitted to later ages, the Modern Script and Ancient Script explanations would not have been mixed and confused, and when one opened a text it would have been easy to see [the difference]. Master Zheng first mastered the Modern Script texts and later became versed in the Old Script texts. His biography says, "He went to the Imperial Academy to receive instruction and he studied with Diwu Yuanxian 第五元先 of Jingzhao 京兆 (the Capital District). He first mastered Jing Fang's 京房 interpretation of the Changes, the Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, the Santongli 三統曆 and the Jiuzhang suanshu 九章算術. In addition, he received instruction from

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that of Jie 桀. Less than one part in ten, to a greater or lesser degree [carries the shame] of being like the Mo 貉 tribe. [SVA: Cf. Mencius 6B.10] A tax of one part in ten is just and fair [throughout] the Empire. When a tax of one part in ten is implemented, the sounds of praise arise. The Old [Script school] Rites of Zhou explanation is that the tax on land under cultivation and shops located in the center of the state, is one part out of the yield of twenty; in nearby suburban areas, it is one part out of a yield of ten; in outlying suburban areas this is three parts out of a yield of twenty...." (See: Chen Shouqi, Wujing yiyi shuzheng, HQjj, 1248.1a; Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 16.15a; Goran Malmqvist, "Studies on the Gongyang and Guliang Commentaries I," rpt. from BMFEA, 43, 1971, p.186, 189)

The Wujing yiyi separates the explanations of the Modern Script school from that of the Old Script school, and for the most part is like this.

Zhang Gongzu 張恭祖 of Dongjun 東郡 in the Zhouguan 周官 (Zhouli), Record of Rites 禮記, Zuo's Spring and Autumn Annals 左氏春秋 (Zuozhuan), the Han Version of the Songs (Hanshi 韓詩) and the Old Script Documents (Guwen Shangshu 古文尚書). Because there was no one qualified to answer his questions east of the mountains, he traveled westward through the pass, and with the assistance of Lu Zhi 盧植 of Zhuo commandery 涿郡 studied with Ma Rong of Fufeng 扶風."[40] Jing Fang's interpretation of the Changes and the Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals were Modern Script texts while the Zhouguan, Zuo's Spring and Autumn Annals, and the Old Script Documents were Old Script texts. Master Zheng studied widely, with many teachers, and he became thoroughly versed in the way of the Modern Script school and in that of the Old Script school, making them one. He saw that at the time the two schools were attacking one another and it was his intent and desire to bring the learning of both schools into accord, personally synthesizing them so that they spoke with the voice of a single school. Although he considered the scholarship of the Old Script school to be principal, he also drew from the scholarship of the Modern Script school to add to his commentary. Scholars

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[40](5/2, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: For the quoted passage, see the biography of Zheng Xuan in the Hou Han shu 35.1207.

found it difficult [to gain command of] the numerous and diverse interpretations of the [various] schools which existed at this time, and seeing the vast scope and wide range of Master Zheng's learning which omitted virtually nothing, and that he had in a harmonious manner assembled the numerous explanations, opinions and arguments in one place, they never again had to abandon one thing in favor of another. Hence, Zheng Xuan's Commentary to the Changes 易注 [became the version] in circulation, while the Shi Chou 施讎, Meng Xi 孟喜, Liangqiu He 梁丘賀, and Jing Fang 京房 versions of the Changes [disappeared from] circulation. Zheng Xuan's Commentary to the Documents 書注 became the version in circulation while the Ouyang 歐陽 and Elder and Younger Xiahou 大小夏侯 versions of the Documents disappeared from circulation. Zheng Xuan's Annotations to the Songs 詩箋 became the version in circulation while the Lu 魯, Qi 齊, and Han 韓 versions of the Songs disappeared from circulation. Zheng Xuan's Commentary to the Rites 禮注 became the version in circulation while the Elder and Younger Dai 大小戴 versions disappeared from circulation. Zheng Xuan's Commentary to the Analects 論語注 became the version in circulation while the Qi 齊 and Lu 魯 versions of the Analects disappeared from circulation. Furthermore, because the Empire was divided like the legs of a tripod with the three states at war with one

another, the Way of the Classics waned.[41] The decline and abandonment of Han scholarship cannot be completely blamed on Master Zheng. However, Zheng Xuan drew from the Modern Script and Old Script schools, not keeping them separate by distinguishing between them, and this caused the individual schools' way of teaching the text of the Former and Later Han dynasties to be lost and thus inaccessible for study. Thus it is also the case that he cannot be considered to be completely without fault. Therefore when Classical Scholarship met Master Zheng, it changed [in a significant way].

[5/3 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui continues his discussion of Zheng Xuan in this section. He draws parallels between the utility of the Mao Version of the Songs and the Zuozhuan when trying to understand the Songs and Spring and Autumn Annals in the absence of other commentaries which were unavailable, and the utility of Zheng Xuan's commentaries in providing an insight into the nature of the earlier commentaries that they displaced. He goes on to point out that although Zheng Xuan was a major figure, there were also contemporaries along with

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[41](5/2, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese 鼎足分爭 "divided like the legs of a tripod [with the three states] at war with one another" refers to the states Wu 吳, Shu 蜀, and Wei 魏 having the pattern of the legs of a tripod.

those men of a slightly later era who wrote on the Classics and differed from Zheng's positions.]

5/3[42] There are things about which one cannot make blanket statements. If one does not thoroughly examine the Old Script and Modern Script texts, then one will be unable to arrive at an [accurate] determination. The Mao Version of the Songs and the Zuo Commentary were texts which were not officially established learning during the Han, but in later times they became indispensible. Master Zheng brought to an end the way of teaching the texts of the individual schools for the Han Confucians (originally the explanation of Li Zhaoluo 李兆洛),[43] but in later times [Zheng Xuan's

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[42][SVA: Section 5/3 corresponds to pp.151-5 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.156-161 of the Yiwen ed.]

[43](5/3, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Li Zhaoluo 李兆洛(zi Shenqi 申耆; 1769-1841) was a native of Wujin 武進 in Changzhou 常州 who lived during the Qing dynasty. During the Jiaqing 嘉慶 period (1796-1820) he became a jinshi, and served as the District Magistrate (zhixian 知縣--Hucker 993) of Fengtai 鳳臺. He had a detailed understanding of evidential scholarship (kaozhengxue 考證學), and was accomplished in the study of geography. His written works are contained in the Lishi wuzhong 李氏五種 and the Yangyi zhai wenji 養一齋文集. For his biography one can consult part three of the "Ruxue" 儒學 section of juan 73 in Miao Quansun's 繆荃蓀 Xu Beizhuanji 續

synthesis] could not be done without. During the Han there were three schools of the Songs, the Lu, the Qi, and the Han schools, and for the Spring and Autumn Annals, there were the two commentaries, the Gongyang and the Guliang. There was no harm in not having the teachings of the Mao Version of the Songs and the Zuo Commentary officially established, and moreover as their teachings were not officially established, it did not come to where they were mixed and intermingled with the other three schools [of the Songs], and the two commentaries [to the Spring and Autumn Annals]. After the Han, the three schools [of the Songs] were completely lost and the two commentaries [to the Spring and Autumn Annals] almost ceased to

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碑傳集. The center of the revival of Modern Script school scholarship during the Qing dynasty was in Changzhou, and Shenqi (Li Zhaoluo) was influenced by it, the result in his case being that he held to the theories and explanations of the Modern Script school. He wrote the "Preface" ("Xu" 敘) to Zhang Jinwu's 張金吳 Liang Han wujing boshi kao 兩漢五經博士考 where he states, "Those of the modern era who speak of 'Han Learning,' only offer up [that of] one Master Kangcheng (Zheng Xuan). However they do not understand that Master Kangcheng was the great traitor of Han Learning...How Pitiful! Han Learning was lost and what remained was only one Kangcheng, who did not hold to the accepted rules for teaching the texts." (See: Zhang Jinwu, Liang Han wujing boshi kao, Csjc, "序," p.1) In Pi Xirui's own annotations he says that his source is Li Zhaoluo's explanations. He is probably referring to this passage. [SVA: See ECCP 448-50 for Li

exist, and if there was no Mao Version of the Songs or Zuo Commentary then scholars studying the Songs and the Spring and Autumn Annals would have nothing to rely on for consultation. Master Zheng, by combining the Modern Script and Old Script explanations caused the learning of the individual and specialized schools to come to a complete end, and in this way after the learning of the individual and specialized schools was lost, [scholars] then relied on Zheng Xuan's commentaries in order to obtain a rough outline to examine. With respect to the scholarship of the Modern Script and Old Script schools, without Zheng's commentaries, scholars who wanted to study Han scholarship would have been at a total loss! The achievements and faults along with the strongpoints and shortcomings all appear together, but are not things about which one can make blanket statements. As Master Zheng's followers spread throughout the Empire, speaking in terms of Classical Scholarship, it can be said that this was a period of minor unification. His biography states, "In Qi and in Lu they held him in the highest regard."[44] It was not only the case that he was held in high regard in Qi and in Lu, as his biography lists five individuals including Chi Lü 郗慮,[45] and the Zheng zhi 鄭志 and Zheng ji 鄭記 name sixteen

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Zhaoluo's biography.]

[44][SVA: See: Hou Han shu 35.1212.]

[45](5/3, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The biography of Zheng Xuan in chapter

35 of the Hou Han shu states, "As for his disciples, Chi Lü 郗慮 who was a native of Shanyang 山陽 attained the position of Censor-in-Chief (yushi dafu 御史大夫--Hucker 8181). Wang Ji 王基 of Donglai 東萊 and Cui Yan 崔琰 of Qinghe 清河 were both well known throughout the Empire. In addition, Guo Yuan 國淵 and Ren Jia 任嘏, both of Le'an 樂安, were in their youth at the time and Zheng Xuan praised them saying that Guo Yuan was a state treasure and that Ren Jia possessed the virtue of the Way." The note to this passage reads, "[Chi] Lü's zi was Hongyu 鴻豫. [Wang] Qi's zi was Boyu 伯輿, he served Wei in the capacity of General of the Southern Defense Command (zhennan jiangjun 鎭南將軍; cf. Hucker 372) and was enfeoffed as the Township Marquis of Anle (Anle xianghou 安樂鄉侯--Hucker 2316). [Cui] Yan's zi was Jigui 季珪, he served Wei in the capacity of Administrator of the Eastern Section (dongcao yuan 東曹掾-- Hucker 7458, 8219) and was later transferred to the position of Commandant-in-Ordinary (zhongwei 中尉--Hucker 1638). [Guo] Yuan's zi was Zini 子尼, he served Wei in the capacity of Administrator of the Central Prison (sikong yuan 司空掾 --Hucker 5687, 8219) and was transferred to the position of Chamberlain for the Imperial Stud (taipu 太僕--Hucker 6201). [Ren] Jia's zi was Zhaoguang 照光 and he served Wei in the capacity of Gentleman Attendant at the Palace Gate (huangmen shilang 黃門侍郎--Hucker 2847)." (See: Hou Han shu 35.1212 and n.1) For biographical information on Wang Ji, see juan 27.750-56 in the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. For biographical information on Cui Yan, see juan 12.367-74 in the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. For biographical information on Guo Yuan, see juan 11.339-40 in the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. There is nothing to consult in the

individuals including Zhao Shang 趙商.[46] The biography of Jiang Wei 姜維

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standard histories regarding the remaining two individuals.

[46](5/3, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: The Zheng zhi 鄭志 in eleven juan was composed by Zheng Xiaotong 鄭小同 who lived during the Wei dynasty and held the position of Palace Attendant (shizhong 侍中--Hucker 5229). The Zheng ji 鄭記 in six juan was composed by Zheng Xuan's disciples. See the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu (32.938). The Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao says: The Zheng zhi is entirely made up of questions and answers between Zheng Xuan and his students. The Zheng ji is completely composed of questions and answers between his students. The difference between the Zhi and the Ji lies in this. The two texts were completely lost during the Northern Song. Later, someone compiled the Zheng zhi in three juan, with a supplement of missing material in one juan, which the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao lists in the "Wujing zongyi" 五經總義 category of the "Jing" section. (See: Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, Vol. 1, pp.662-3)

Basing himself on Yuan Jun's 袁鈞 Zheng zhi yishu 鄭志遺書, Pi Xirui wrote the Zheng zhi shuzheng 鄭志疏證 in eight juan, and appended his Zheng ji kaozheng 鄭記考證 in one juan to it. It is worth consulting.

Zhao Shang 趙商 was a native of Henei 河內 and was a student of Zheng Xuan. His name appears in the Hou Han shu biography of Zheng Xuan. (Hou Han shu 35.1208) In addition to Zhao Shang, the others who appear in the Zheng zhi and Zheng ji are Leng Gang 冷剛, Zhang Yi 張逸, Sun Hao 孫皓 (also appears as Sun Hao 孫顥), Liu Shan (Yan?) 劉琰 (also appears as Liu Yan 劉炎), Gui Mo 炅模 (also appears as Ling Mo 靈模), Tian Qiong 田瓊, Wang Zan 王瓚, Jiao 焦氏 (also appears as Jiao Qiao 焦喬),

in the San guo zhi states, "[He] liked the learning of Master Zheng,"[47] but it is not known who he received instruction from. Emperor Zhaolie 照烈帝 (reg. 221-223) [of Shu] had personally said that he had interacted with Zheng Kangcheng.[48] This was most probably when Master Zheng had fled and was residing in Xuzhou 徐州 and at the time Zhaolie was serving as the Regional Governor[49] of Xuzhou, and studied with him using the decorum one shows to one's teacher. In this way then, the ruler and ministers of

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Chong Jing 崇精, Wang Quan 王權, Bao Yi 鮑遺, Ren Jue 任厥, Fan Ge 氾閣, Chong Ao 崇翱, Liu De 劉德, Chen Shuo 陳鑠 (also appears as Chen Keng 陳鏗) and Huan Ao 桓翱, seventeen individuals in all. I suspect that Pi Xirui's statement that there were sixteen individuals was not the full number.

[47](5/3, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Jiang Wei 姜維 (zi Boyue 伯約) was a native of Tianshui 天水 in Shu 蜀, one of the Three Kingdoms. He was a well known general in the service of Shu. For his biography, see San guo zhi 44.1062- 69. The quoted passage appears on 44.1062.

[48](5/3, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Emperor Zhaolie 照烈帝 is none other than the ruler of Shu-Han, Liu Bei 劉備. For his biography, see juan 32.871-92 in the "Shu zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. For the quoted passage, see the annotation to the biography of Liu Shan 劉禪 (Liu Bei's son, "Liu the Later Ruler" 劉後主). (See: Sanguo zhi 33.903, n.1) In addition, see the "Liu Houzhu zhi" 劉候主志 in juan seven of the Huayangguo zhi 華陽國志. (Csjc, 7.87-100)

[49][SVA: Regional Governor = mu 牧--Hucker 4041]

Shu-Han were also the progeny in the line of Zheng Xuan's teachings. As for those who were contemporaries of Master Zheng, but whose scholarship was not completely identical with his, there was Xun Shuang 荀爽 (128-190) and Yu Fan 虞翻 (164-232) who wrote commentaries to the Changes.[50] Xun

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[50](5/3, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: On Xun Shuang 荀爽, see 1/3, n.23. He wrote the Lizhuan 禮傳, the Yizhuan 易傳, the Shizhuan 詩傳, the Shangshu zhengjing 尚書正經, the Chunqiu tiaoli 春秋條例, the Gongyang wen 公羊問, the Bianchen 辨讖, the Hanyu 漢語, and the Xinshu 新書 which have a combined total of over one hundred chapters. His study of the Changes was based on the Old Script scholarship of Master Fei, and he wrote annotations to the Zhouyi in eleven juan, but it is no longer extant. In his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, Ma Guohan has compiled the Zhouyi Xunshuang zhu 周易荀爽注 in three juan. In addition, Hui Dong 惠棟 has compiled the Yi Hanxue 易漢學, and Zhang Huiyan 張惠言 has compiled the Zhouyi Xunshi jiujia yi 周易荀氏九家義. Both of these works can be consulted for a general outline [of Xun Shuang's original text].

On Yu Fan 虞翻, see 1/3, n.23. The Changes of Master Meng 孟氏 had been transmitted for generations and [drawing from this] he composed the Yizhu 易注 in nine juan. In addition, he wrote philological annotations to the Laozi, the Analects, and the Guoyu. His Yizhu is no longer extant. The works of Qing scholars, such as Hui Dong's Yi Hanxue, Zhang Huiyan's Zhouyi Yushi yi 周易虞氏義, Zhouyi Yushi xiaoxi 周易虞氏消息, Yushi Yili 虞氏易禮, Yushi Yishi 虞氏易事, Yushi Yiyan 虞氏易言, Yushi Yihou 虞氏易候, and Zeng Zhao's 曾釗 Zhouyi Yushi yijian 周易虞氏義箋 can all be consulted

Shuang used the Changes of Fei, while Yu used the Changes of Meng, and a rough outline of their works is contained in Li Dingzuo's Zhouyi jijie.[51] Previously, Yu Fan had refuted [the positions taken by] Zheng in his (Zheng's) Shangshu zhu 尚書注, and in addition considered Zheng's Yi zhu

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for a general outline [of Yu Fan's original text].

[51](5/3, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚was a native of Zizhou 資州 who lived during the Tang dynasty. He has no biography in the Tang shu, so the details of his life cannot be investigated. He wrote the Zhouyi jijie 周易集解 in ten juan. He appended a Lüeli 略例 in one juan, and a Suoyin 索隱 in six juan, for a total of seventeen juan. People of a later age, because the Lüeli and Suoyin had become scattered and lost, divided the Zhouyi jijie into seventeen juan. This text is extant, and one can refer to the [notice in the] first part of the "Yi" subsection of the "Classics" section (經部易類一) in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao. (See Vol. 1, pp.7-8) The text selects from the explanations of thirty-five scholars including Zixia 子夏, Meng Xi 孟喜, Jiao Gan 焦贛, Jing Fang 京房, Ma Rong 馬融, Xun Shuang 荀爽, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, Liu Biao 劉表, He Yan 何晏, Song Zhong 宋衷, Yu Fan 虞翻, Lu Ji 陸績, Gan Bao 干寶, Wang Su 王肅, Wang Bi 王弼, Yao Xin 姚信, Wang Yi 王廙, Zhang Fan 張璠, Xiang Xiu 向秀, Wang Kaichong 王凱沖, Hou Guo 侯果, Shu Cai 蜀才, Zhai Yuan 翟元, Han Kangbo 韓康伯, Liu Yan 劉巘, He Tuo 何妥, Cui Jing 崔憬, Shen Linshi 沈驎士, Mr. Lu 盧氏, Cui Jin 崔覲, Fu Manrong 伏曼容, Kong Yingda 孔穎達, Yao Gui 姚規, Zhu Yangzhi 朱仰之 and Cai Yingjun 蔡景君. It is an essential text for the investigation and compilation of explanations of the Changes from ancient times.

易注 to be unacceptable.[52] Wang Can 王粲 (177-217) also criticized Zheng,

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[52](5/3, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Yu Fan submitted a memorial titled, "The Errors in Zheng Xuan's Explanation of the Documents" ("Zheng Xuan jie Shangshu weishi shi" 鄭玄解尚書違失事) in which he states, "Thus in the Documents annotated by Recruit for Office (zhengshi 徵士--Hucker 435) Zheng Xuan of Beihai 北海, in the 'Gu ming' chapter where King Kang is holding a piece of ceremonial jade, the old character for yue 月 resembled tong 同, and from this he makes a mistake by writing it as tong 同, and later being uncertain, he explains it as bei 杯, referring to a wine goblet. In the text where King Cheng is ill and is leaning on a table, and the words taohui 洮頹 [SVA: meaning to wash one's hands and face] is taken to be zhuo 濯 ['to wash away dirt'], and he thinks this means to be finished washing clothing. The character tao 洮 is changed to zhuo 濯 without basis, which follows from his [previous] error.

In addition, the old large seal script character 𠂤 should be read liu 栵, the old forms 栵 and 𠂤 are the same word, but he takes it to be mei 昧. As for the line 分北三苗, 北 is the ancient form of the character 別, and furthermore in explaining 北, he says that 北 is like 別....With respect to these several items, they are mistakes of which there are no greater. It is appropriate that you order the officials in charge of education to rectify these three matters." (See: Sanguo zhi 57.1322-23, n.2) In addition, he submitted a memorial on [Zheng Xuan's] Yi zhu 易注 in which he stated, "In the case of Zheng Xuan of Beihai and Song Zhong 宋忠 of Nanyang 南陽, although each has established a commentary [to the Changes] and while that of Song Chong is somewhat inferior to that of Zheng Xuan, neither has

but his arguments have not come down to us.[53] There are those of an era

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been able to obtain a following, and [each] has had difficulty being manifest in the world." (See: Sanguo zhi 57.1322, n.2) The text of both memorials appears in the notes to the biography of Yu Fan in juan fifty-seven of the Sanguo zhi.

[53](5/3, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Can 王粲 (zi Zhongxuan 仲宣 (177-217) was a native of Shanyang 山陽 in Wei 魏 who lived during the Sanguo period. He held successive official positions, reaching the rank of Palace Attendant (shizhong 侍中--Hucker 5229). He had a wide knowledge of all manner of things and was especially talented in literary pursuits, the literary works he left include shi 詩 (lyric poetry), fu 賦 (rhapsody), lun 論 (treatise) and yi 議 (discussion or proposal) and comprise sixteen chapters. He was one of the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period. For his biography, see juan twenty-one in the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. His criticisms of Zheng Xuan have not come down to us and can only be seen in a sketchy outline form in chapter eight, "Mianxue" 勉學, of Yan Zhitui's 顏之推 Yanshi jiaxun 顏氏家訓. The Yanshi jiaxun reads, "When I first came to Ye 鄴, I became friends with Cui Wenyan 崔文彥 of Boling 博陵. He had said that in Wang Can's collected writings he criticized Zheng Xuan's [annotations on the] Documents and he spoke of this to several scholars. Just as he opened his mouth, he was rebutted with the following: In his literary collection there are shi 詩, fu 賦, ming 銘 (inscription) and lei 誄 (dirge), so how would it be appropriate that there would be discussions of matters pertaining to the Classics? Moreover, among the Confucian scholars of the past, we have never heard Wang Can's name mentioned. Cui laughed and retired, and in the end he never took out Wang Can's collected

somewhat later than Zheng whose scholarship is not completely the same. Wang Bi's 王弼 (226-249) Yi zhu 易注 swept away images and numerology, and although he also utilized Fei's Changes, his explanations are not the same.[54] Therefore, Li Dingzuo wrote, "I did away with the wild [Taoist] writings of Fusi 輔嗣 (Wang Bi) and filled in Kangcheng's missing

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writings and showed them to them." (See: Yanshi jiaxun, Sbck, 上.19a) Based on this passage, at the time Wang Can's collected writings still contained his criticisms of Zheng Xuan.

[54](5/3, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Bi 王弼 (zi Fusi 輔嗣; 226-249) was a native of Shanyang 山陽 in Wei who lived during the Three Kingdoms period. He was fond of Laozi and was a master at discerning differences and was quite capable in discourse. He wrote commentary to the Changes and to the Laozi which are both extent. For biographical information, see the biography of Zhong Hui 鐘會 and Pei Songzhi's 裴松之 notes in juan twenty-eight in the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi (28.795-6 and n.1). Studies on the Changes can be separated into two groups, one being focused on the study of images and numerology and the other focused on the study of meaning and underlying principles. Wang Bi's Yi zhu 易注 had its origins with Master Fei 費氏, completely did away with images and numerology, and in addition brought in ideas associated with the Laozi and Zhuangzi texts. It was different with regard to its interest from that of Zheng Xuan, whose work discussed the interrelationships between yao 爻 (the lines) and the chen 辰 (the Earthly Branches) and did not discard numerology.

images."[55] Although He Yan 何晏 (190-249) in his Lunyu jijie 論語集解, drew from Zheng Xuan's commentary, he did not take Zheng as his sole and principal source.[56] In the case of Wang Su 王肅 it is especially clear that he

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[55](5/3, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The quote is taken from the "Preface" ("Zixu" 自序) written by Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚 to his Zhouyi jijie 周易集解. (See: Li Dingzuo, Zhouyi jijie. Rpt. Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1976, p.2) Fusi is Wang Bi's zi. Wang Bi in writing his commentary to the Changes mixed in ideas from the Laozi and as a result it was criticized as being "untamed or undisciplined writings." In the Chinese, kan 刊 should be understood as kanluo 刊落 ("to delete," "to drop"). Kangcheng is Zheng Xuan's zi. Zheng Xuan in annotating the Changes, did not discard images and numerology. In his text, Li Dingzuo selected and collected the words of others who discoursed on images and numerology, and therefore the statement that he "filled in its missing images."

[56](5/3, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: He Yan 何晏 (zi Pingshu 平叔) was a native of Wan 宛 in Nanyang 南陽 which was located in the kingdom of Wei, who lived during the Three Kingdoms period. He was well known owing to his talent and refinement. He was fond of the words of Laozi and Zhuangzi, wrote the Daode lun 道德論, and his fu and other writings number in the tens of pian. Biographical information about him is appended to the biography of Cao Shuang 曹爽 and Pei Songzhi's notes in juan nine in the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi (9.285-93, esp. 9.292 and n.1). The commentary (zhu 注) to the Analects contained in the Shisan jing zhushu edition of the Thirteen Classics is none other than He Yan's Lunyu jijie 論語集解. This text originally combined the annotations of He Yan and four

was diametrically opposed [to Zheng].[57]

[5/4 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui shifts his focus to Wang Su in this section, and in a spirited attack, takes him to task. He begins with a brief sketch of Wang Su's and Zheng Xuan's common scholastic

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other individuals, Sun Yong 孫邕, Zheng Chong 鄭沖, Cao Xi 曹羲and Xun Yi 荀顗, however He Yan's annotations were taken to be primary. In the "Preface" ("Xulu" 敘錄) to Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen it states, "He Yan collected together the explanations of Kong Anguo 孔安國, Bao Xian 包咸, Master Zhou 周氏, Ma Rong 馬融, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, Chen Qun 陳群, Wang Su 王肅, and Zhou Shenglie 周生烈, added his own ideas below theirs in the text, and this became the Lunyu jijie." (See: Jingdian shiwen, 1.31a) Based on this, although He Yan's text drew from Zheng Xuan's annotations, in reality it did not completely take Zheng Xuan's commentary as its sole and principal source.

[57](5/3, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: On Wang Su 王肅, see 2/1, n.14. Wang Su had a favorable opinion with respect to Jia Kui and Ma Rong, but he did not like Zheng Xuan. He selected and brought together similarities and differences, and wrote commentary on the Documents, Songs, Analects, the three Rites and the Zuo Commentary. He also edited and put in final form the Commentary to the Changes (Yizhuan 易傳) which was composed by his father, Wang Lang 王朗 and all of these works had positions established for them in the Imperial Academy. In addition, he forged the Kongzi jiayu 孔子家語 and the Kongcongzi 孔叢子, and composed the Shengzheng lun 聖證論

filiations. He then turns to Wang Su's intentions in his criticism of Zheng Xuan, and shows while his criticisms may have had merit, Wang was inconsistent and even hypocritical in his use of evidence in his critique of Zheng Xuan's scholarship. He accuses Wang of forging texts[58] in order to provide supporting evidence for his arguments and for the purpose of attacking Zheng Xuan. Pi points out that Wang's positions were inconsistent with historical sources, and that his "evidence" was recognized as self-manufactured.]

5/4[59] Zheng Xuan's scholarship appeared and Han scholarship declined. Wang Su came forth and the scholarship of Zheng Xuan, for its part, declined. Wang Su held the scholarship of Jia and Ma[60] in high regard, but did not like Master Zheng. Jia Kui and Ma Rong were both scholars aligned with Old Script scholarship and were the source of Zheng Xuan's

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in order to ridicule and belittle Zheng Xuan.

[58][SVA: Most modern scholars do not hold this view. Cf. Robert Kramers, K'ung Tzu Chia Yü (Leiden: Brill, 1949) and Yoav Ariel, trans. K'ung-ts'ung-tzu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).]

[59][SVA: Section 5/4 corresponds to pp.155-9 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.161-6 of the Yiwen ed.]

[60](5/4, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Jia 賈 and Ma 馬 are Jia Kui 賈逵 and Ma Rong 馬融 who have already appeared several times in previous notes.

scholarship. With regard to Wang Su holding Jia and Ma in high regard, but not liking Zheng, was it perhaps because Jia and Ma solely focused on scholarship of the Old Script school while Zheng also added [scholarship] of the Modern Script school? In my opinion, Wang Su's scholarship also contained a thorough knowledge of both Modern Script and Old Script texts and scholarship. Wang Su's father, Wang Lang 王朗, had Yang Si 楊賜 as his teacher and for generations the Yang family had transmitted the Ouyang interpretation of the Documents.[61] In his Chuanjing biao 傳經表,

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[61](5/4, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Su's father, Wang Lang 王朗 (zi Yingxing 景興), was a native of Donghai 東海. He had as his teacher Yang Si 楊賜, who held the official position of Defender-in-Chief (taiwei 太尉 --Hucker 6260). Early on, he served as the Governor (taishou 太守-- Hucker 6221) of Kuaiji 會稽 in Han. Later, he returned to Wei where he was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Lanling 蘭陵. He wrote commentary to the Changes, The Spring and Autumn Annals, The Classic of Filial Piety and the Zhouguan (Rites of Zhou), along with memorials to the throne (zou 奏), disquisitions (yi 議), discourses (lun 論) and notes (ji 記) all of which were in circulation during his lifetime. For his biography, see juan thirteen in the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi (13.406-14).

Yang Si (zi Boxian 伯獻) was a native of Huayin 華陰 who lived during the Later Han. He was the grandson of Yang Zhen 楊震. His family had transmitted the Ouyang version of the Documents for generations. During the reign of Emperor Ling 靈帝 (reg. 168-189) he served in the

Hong Liangji 洪亮吉[62] took Wang Su to be seventeenth in the line of transmission from teacher to student which started with Fu Sheng,[63] and

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capacity of Defender-in-Chief. For his biography, see Hou Han shu 54.1759-95.

[62](5/4, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Hong Liangji 洪亮吉 (zi Junzhi 君直; alt. zi Zhicun 稚存; hao Beijiang 北江; 1746-1809) was a native of Yanghu 陽湖 who lived during the Qing dynasty. Because he submitted a confidential memorial, the words of which were cutting and direct, he was exiled to Yili 伊犁, but he received a pardon and returned home. He was learned in the field of geography and was also a talented poet and a man of letters. His writings are contained in the Hong Beijiang quanji 洪北江全集. For his biography, see juan four of Jiang Fan's Guochao Hanxue shi chengji. The Chuanjing biao 傳經表 which he authored appears in the Hong Beijiang quanji. The Huayu lou xuchao 花雨樓續鈔 and the Jiaojing shanfang congshu 校經山房叢書 also contain the Chuanjing biao, but Bi Yuan 畢沅 is given as the author. Perhaps the reason was that at the time, Hong Liangji was working in Bi Yuan's office and thus Bi Yuan's name was signed [to this work]. [SVA: See: ECCP 373-5 for Hong Liangji's biography.]

[63](5/4, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" ("Xu" 序) of the Chuanjing biao 傳經表 states, "The Modern Script Documents 今文尚書 passed through seventeen steps in the process of transmission from Fu Sheng 伏勝 to Wang Su." (See: Chuan jing biao, Csjc, "序," p.1) According to this text, the chart gives it as follows: (1) Fu Sheng-->(2) Ouyang Sheng 歐陽生-->(3) Ni Kuan 兒寬-->(4) Ouyang Shi 歐陽世-->(5) transmitted from father to son in the Ouyang family-->(6) transmitted from father to son in the Ouyang

this is an instance of Wang Su having studied a text of the Modern Script school; but he also studied the Old Script teachings of Jia and Ma. As a result, in his refutation of Zheng, at times he makes use of Modern Script school explanations in order to refute Zheng's Old Script school positions, and at other times he utilizes the explanations of the Modern Script school in refuting Zheng's Old Script school positions.[64] [Wang Su] did not

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family-->(7) Ouyang Gao 歐陽高-->(8) Lin Zun 林尊-->(9) Ping Dang 平當 -->(10) Zhu Pu 朱普-->(11) Huan Rong 桓榮-->(12) Huan Yu 桓郁-->(13) Yang Zhen 楊震-->(14) Yang Bing 楊秉--> (15) Yang Si 楊賜-->(16) Wang Lang 王朗-->(17) Wang Su 王肅.

[64](5/4, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Su used the explanations of the Modern Script school to refute Zheng Xuan's Old Script school explanations. For example, in the case of the poem "Ju xia" 車舝 ("Carriage's Axle Pin," #218) in the "Lesser Elegantae" section of the Songs there is the line, "Thereby comforts our hearts" 以慰我心. The Mao commentary glosses "wei 慰 as an 安 ('to comfort')." Zheng Xuan's commentary repeats the Old Script explanation from the Mao version of the Songs. He writes, "When I see the newly married young lady, I am comforted and sadness leaves my heart." However, Wang Su, following the Modern Script school explanation of the Han Version of the Songs changed wei 慰 to yun 慍 ('anger') and wrote, "The Han Version of the Songs reads, 'Thereby angers my heart' 以熅我心; yun 熅 means hui 恚 ('to anger')." This is one example.

Wang Su also made use of the explanations of the Old Script school in order to refute Zheng Xuan's Modern Script school explanations. For

example, the poem "Sheng min" 生民 ("Birth of the People" #245) in the "Greater Elegantae" section of the Songs reads, "She who in the beginning gave birth to the people, this was Jiang Yuan. How did she give birth to the people, she offered sacrifices and she offered prayers, so that she would not be childless. She trod on the big toe of God's footprint, And she was moved to elation, She was enriched and she was blessed, She became pregnant and was serene. She bore him and she nurtured him, And this was Hou Ji." In his "Notes" (Jian 箋), Zheng Xuan draws from the Modern Script explanations of the Three Schools of the Songs (Sanjia Shi 三家詩) as he considers Hou Ji as not having a father in the literal sense and his birth to be [the result of his mother] being "touched" or "moved" by Heaven. He writes, "When she prayed and performed sacrifices for progeny, there was the footprint of a great spirit, and Jiang Yuan trod upon it, but her foot was not able to fill it. She stepped on the location of the big toe, her heart was elated, to her left and to her right that which fell still, and it seemed as if someone moved her. Thereupon she became pregnant, and she was reserved and cautious and did not again ride in a carriage. Later she gave birth to a son and nurtured him, and she named him Qi 棄 ('the Abandoned')." However, Wang Su following the Old Script school explanation of the Mao Songs, considered Hou Ji to be the son of Emperor Ku 帝嚳 and opposed the "miraculous conception and birth" explanation. He writes, "Emperor Ku had four wives, his highest ranking wife was Jiang Yuan who gave birth to Hou Ji....After Emperor Ku died, ten months passed and then Hou Ji was born, and he was a posthumous son. Although she had the protection of Heaven, she dwelt alone and gave birth to her son. This is something about which many are suspect and cannot explain. Jiang Yuan understood Hou Ji's

understand that Han scholarship placed importance on strict adherence to a single school; Master Zheng mixed Modern together with the Old, and recent scholars have discussed how he brought to ruin the separate and distinct interpretations [i.e. way of teaching the texts] of the individual schools; Wang Su wanted to attack Zheng Xuan, correctly and properly separate and differentiate the interpretations of the individual schools so that each returned to its original form, and moreover point out Zheng's mistakes. Then Han scholarship would be restored to a state of clarity and [as a result] Zheng's scholarship would naturally be abandoned. However, not only did Wang Su not know how to separate out and differentiate [the interpretations of individual schools], on the contrary he imitated Master Zheng and made things worse than [Zheng Xuan] ever had. He forged a Kong Anguo Commentary to the Documents, commentaries to the Analects and Classic of Filial Piety, the Kongzi jiayu 孔子家語 and the Kong Congzi 孔叢子, five texts in all,[65] which were employed as cross referencing

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divine nature and that no harm could come to him, and thus she abandoned him in order to make manifest his divinity which thereby became self evident." This is one example.

[65](5/4, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The Kongzi jiayu 孔子家語 in ten juan and the Kong Congzi 孔叢子 in three juan are both extant. Traditionally it has been believed that they were forged by Wang Su and for a detailed evaluation, see the notices in the Siku quanshu congmu tiyao (pp.1874-5

and pp.1876-7 respectively).

Kong Anguo's Shangshu zhuan 尙書傳 is none other than the Shangshu zhu 尙書注 which is contained in the Shisanjing zhushu and is extant. This text has been critically examined by the Qing scholars Yan Ruoqu 閻若璩 in his Guwen Shangshu shuzheng 古文尙書疏證, and Hui Dong 惠棟 in his Guwen Shangshu kao 古文尙書考, their researches indicating that it was a forgery by Mei Ze 梅賾. Later, Ding Yan 丁晏 (1794- 1875) in writing his Shangshu yulun 尙書餘論, was the first to trace it back to Wang Su. Ding Yan's work is printed in juan 844 of the Xu Qing jingjie 續清經解.

Kong Anguo's Lunyu zhu 論語注 has been lost, but He Yan 何晏 occasionally draws from it in his Lunyu jijie 論語集解. Shen Tao 沈濤 in writing his Lunyu Kongzhu bianwei 論語孔注辨僞 in two juan and Ding Yan 丁晏 in his four juan work Lunyu Kongzhu zhengwei 論語孔注證僞 both indicate that this text was forged by Wang Su. Shen Tao's work has been reprinted in juan 627-8 of the Xu Qing jingjie.

Kong Anguo's Xiaojing zhu 孝經注 appears in the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu and at the time it was thought that it was forged by Liu Xuan 劉炫. This text was originally lost, but during the Qing dynasty Wang Yicang 汪翼滄 obtained the Guwen Xiaojing Kongzhuan 古文孝經孔傳 from Japan. Ding Yan in his Xiaojing zhengwen 孝經徵文 points out that it was forged by Wang Su. Ding Yan's work has been reprinted in juan 847 of the Xu Qing jingjie.

As for considering the Kongzi jiayu and the Kong Congzi to be forged by Wang Su, classicists of earlier eras already harbored these suspicions.

supporting evidence for one another. He ascribed them to Confucius and to Confucius' descendants,[66] and had his student Kong Yan 孔衍 provide evidence for their authenticity.[67] He did not consider that the Shi ji and the

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When it comes to considering Kong Anguo's commentaries to the Documents, Analects and Classic of Filial Piety to be forged by Wang Su, this in fact began with Qing scholars.

[66](5/4, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The authorship of the Kongzi jiayu was attributed to Kong Anguo and the authorship of the Kong Congzi to Kong Fu 孔鮒. Kong Anguo and Kong Fu were both descendants of Confucius.

[67](5/4, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The ["Postface" (後序) to the] Kongzi jiayu records a memorial submitted by Kong Yan 孔衍 which states, "When King Gong of Lu 魯恭王 demolished Confucius' former residence, he recovered texts of the Documents, the Classic of Filial Piety and the Analects written in the Old Script tadpole style. At the time there was no one who was able to read it. Kong Anguo wrote it into Modern Script and studied it, and moreover explained and transmitted its meaning. In addition, he compiled the Kongzi jiayu. It had already been completed when he encountered problems stemming from the witchcraft affair which had arisen, and consequently each work was abandoned and not circulated. The Grand Master of Splendid Happiness (guanglu dafu 光祿大夫--Hucker 3349) Liu Xiang 劉向, because the texts were not in circulation at the time, did not record the Documents in the "Bielu" 別錄 and the Analects was not assigned to a known author." (See: Kongzi jiayu, rpt. of the Ming dynasty Mao Jin 毛晉 edition, Shanghai: Wenruilou 文瑞樓, n.d., 10.18a)

Kong Yan 孔衍 (zi Shuyuan 舒元) was a native of the state of Lu 魯國

Han shu both state that Kong Anguo died an early death,[68] and neither states that he composed any writings. The [authorship] of the three forged texts is inconsistent with [the information] already given in the Shi ji and Han shu. Moreover, in the remaining two texts, the Kongzi jiayu and the Kong Congzi, he selected matters pertaining to the grand ceremonies at the temple(s) for Heaven about which the scholars of the Modern Script school and the Old Script school debated back and forth without final resolution during the Former and Later Han dynasties, and claimed they were all the words of Confucius, so that they would be taken as the last word [on these matters].[69] He did not take into account the fact that the Han dynasty

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who lived during the Jin dynasty. He was a twenty-second generation descendant of Confucius and he studied under Wang Su. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Jin shu (91.2359).

[68](5/4, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Hereditary House of Confucius" (孔子世家) chapter of the Shi ji states, "Kong Anguo served the present emperor (Emperor Wu) in the capacity of Erudite, and attained the position of Governor (taishou 太守--Hucker 6221) of Linhuai 臨淮. He died an early death. (See: Shi ji 47.1947) Although the "Yiwen zhi" chapter (30.1706), the biography of Ni Kuan 兒寬 (58.2628) and the "Rulin zhuan" chapter (88.3603, 88.3607-8) in the Han shu all mention Kong Anguo, nowhere does it state that 'He died and early death.' (早卒) In the Chinese, zao 蚤 is a phonetic loan for zao 早 ("early").

[69](5/4, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Chapter thirty-four, "The Temple

Ruists in discussing ritual matters debated back and forth, for the precise

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System" ("Miaozhi" 廟制) in juan eight of the Kongzi jiayu and the second part "Discussion of the Book of Documents" ("Lun Shu" 論書) of juan A (上) of the Kong Congzi both discuss the grand ceremonies at the suburban temples, but these passages are attributed to Confucius. As the text is long, it is not cited in its entirety and [in each case] I have restricted the quoted passage to a section so we can see a segment of the whole. For example, the Kongzi jiayu states, "There are seven temples erected for the Son of Heaven, three Zhao 昭 temples, three Mu 穆 temples, and a temple for the founder for a total of seven....There are five temples erected for the feudal lords, two Zhao temples, two Mu temples, and a temple for the founder for a total of five...Three temples are erected for the grandees, one Zhao temple, one Mu temple and a temple for the founder for a total of three...For the elite (shi 士) there is one temple erected and it is called the Kao 考 temple...There is no temple for the common people." (See: Kongzi jiayu, Sbck 8.4a-b) The Kong Congzi states, "Burying a small animal at the temple of Grand Radiance was how the seasons were sacrificed to. Offering prayers of welcome at the pit and at the altar was how the Cold of Winter and the Heat of Summer were sacrificed to. Performing sacrifice at the Palace for Offerings to Heaven and Earth was how the Sun was sacrificed to. Offering sacrifices at the Altar of Nighttime Radiance was how the Moon was sacrificed to. Sacrificing at the Altar Honoring the Hidden was how the Stars were sacrificed to. Making offerings at the Altar Honoring Rain was how Flood and Drought were sacrificed to. Offering sacrifice to the Six Venerated Ones refers to this." (See: Kong Congzi, Sbck A.13a-b; following Yoav Ariel, trans. K'ung-ts'ung-tzu (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

reason that they were far removed in time from the sages, and had nothing on which to base themselves. Therefore, at the discussions held at the Shiqu Pavilion and at the White Tiger Hall,[70] the Son of Heaven exercised imperial authority in presiding over the decision making process. If there were clear writings available from Confucius' own hand which could have served as evidence, then why were there so many words spoken in such a confused rebuttal of the sages, and how could it be that there were so many [opinions]? Wang Su composed the Shengzheng lun 聖證論[71] in order to

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1989), p.82)

[70](5/4, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: During the Former Han, Emperor Xuan 宣帝 convened a meeting of Confucian Scholars at the Stone Canal Pavilion where he exercised imperial authority, overseeing the process by which decisions were arrived at. In the Later Han, Emperor Zhang, modelling on the precedent of the Stone Canal Pavilion, assembled the Confucian scholars at the White Tiger Hall. See 4/6, n.4 and n.5.

[71](5/4, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: The Shengzheng lun 聖證論 in twelve juan was written by Wang Su and appears in the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu (32.938). The "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Tang shu states that it was in eleven juan. (See: Liu Xu 劉昫, comp. Jiu Tang shu, Beijing zhonghua shuju, 1975, 46.1983; Ouyang Xiu, comp., Jin Tang shu, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975, 57.1444) It is no longer extant. Ma Guohan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu has compiled fragments in one juan. Pi Xirui has written the Shengzheng lun buping 聖證論補評 in two juan which one should consult.

humiliate and belittle Master Zheng. He himself said that the proof was obtained from the words of the sages, and a single work, the Kongzi jiayu, was its basis.[72] His annotations to the Kongzi jiayu, [especially] those on the Five Emperors (Wudi 五帝), the Seven Temples (Qimiao 七廟) and the

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[72](5/4, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The Shengzheng lun at times bases itself on the forged Kongzi jiayu in order to dispute Zheng Xuan's explanations. For example, in the "Yao dian" chapter of the Documents there is the line, "Sacrifice to the Six Venerable Ones." (禋於六宗; see: Ssjzs, 3.5a) Zheng Xuan takes the Six Venerable Ones to be the xing 星 (the five planets--Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury and Saturn), chen 辰 (the twelve conjunctions of the positions of the sun and the moon that occur during the year--the moon being opposite the sun when there is a full moon and the relationships to the star groups), sizhong 司中 (identified as either the fifth star in the Wenchang 文昌 star group or the middle star--zhongtai 中台--in the Santai 三台 star group), siming 司命 (identified as either the fourth star in the Wenchang 文昌 star group or the upper star--shangtai 上台--in the Santai 三台 star group), fengshi 風師 (identified as the "Master" or "God" of Wind, the Ji 箕star group) and yushi 雨師 (identified as the "Master" or "God" of Rain, the Bi 畢 star group). (See: Zhouli zhengyi, Ssjzs, 18.2a-3b; Sun Xiaochun and Jacob Kistemaker, The Chinese Sky During the Han, Leiden: Brill, 1997) Wang Su, basing himself on the forged Kongzi jiayu stated, "[According to] the jiayu these are the four seasons, winter cold and summer heat, the sun, the moon, flood and drought. These are the Six Venerable Ones." (See: Ma Guohan, Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, 52.35a) [SVA:

Round Altar to Heaven (Jiaoqiu 郊丘) were all dragged in to attack the words of Zheng Xuan,[73] and in doing so it was fitting that he exposed his own forgeries. At the time, the adherents of Zheng Xuan's scholarship all

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Xing 星 (stars) omitted from the list of six.] This is one example.

[73](5/4, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: Chapter twenty-four, "The Five Emperors" ("Wudi" 五帝) in juan six of the Kongzi jiayu focuses on discussing the Five Emperors. In his Jiayu shuzheng 家語疏證 Sun Zhizu 孫志祖 (1737-1801) states, "This chapter, which was written by Wang Su, selects from and intermixes the Record of Rites and Zuo Commentary, passing it off in a question and answer format with Ji Kangzi 季康子 in order to rebut Zheng Kangcheng's theory of the 'Six Heavens' 六天." (See: Jiayu shuzheng, Jiaojing shanfang congshu 校經山房叢書 edition, Shanghai: 1904, 3.14a)

In addition, chapter thirty-four, "The System of Temples" ("Miao zhi" 廟制), in juan eight discusses the seven temples of the Son of Heaven. Sun states, "This chapter, was written by Wang Su, in order to refute Zheng Kangcheng's writings on the system of temples." (See: 4.9b)

Furthermore, chapter twenty-nine, "Questions on Sacrifice" ("Jiaowen" 郊問) discusses the ceremonies of sacrifices and offerings. Sun states, "This chapter, which was written by Wang Su, selects from and intermixes various passages from the Record of Rites so as to rebut Zheng Kangcheng, passing it off as a dialogue in the form of questions and answers between Duke Ding 定公 and Confucius." (See: 4.2a) The text is lengthy and thus I do not reproduce it here. For a detailed examination one should consult Sun's original work.

said that, "the Kongzi jiayu was added to by Wang Su,"[74] and some even said that Wang Su wrote it himself.[75] This, what Wang Su said was "proof from the sages," was known by everyone not to have come from the sages. In his Kongzi jiayu shuzheng 孔子家語疏證,[76] Sun Zhizu 孫志祖 has already clearly exposed his forgery.

[5/5 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui continues his attack on

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[74](5/4, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Yueji" 樂記 chapter of Kong Yingda's Liji zhengyi quotes Ma Zhao 馬昭. It states, "The Jiayu was that which was added to by Wang Su." (See: Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, 36.1b) Ma Zhao took Zheng Xuan's scholarship as primary.

[75](5/4, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: Juan ninety-one of the Tongzhi 通志 quotes from Ma Zhao. It states, "The words of the Jiayu are certainly something we cannot put our faith in." [SVA: I was unable to locate this line in juan ninety-one of the Tongzhi.] However, he does not clearly criticize it as being written by Wang Su.

[76](5/4, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: Sun Zhizu (zi Yigu 頤谷; 1737-1801) was a native of Renhe 仁和 who lived during the Qing dynasty. He served in public office, attaining the position of Investigating Censor (jiancha yushi 監察御史--Hucker 795). He wrote the Jiayu shuzheng in six juan in which he gave evidence that the Kongzi jiayu was forged by Wang Su. This work has been reprinted in the Jiaojing shanfang congshu 校經山房叢書. Sun Zhizu's biography appears in juan B of Ruan Yuan's Guoshi Rulin zhuan 國史儒林傳.

Wang Su in this section. He begins by drawing parallels between Liu Xin and Wang Su, showing that they both were unfilial as well as disloyal to the ruling house, and stating that therefore neither was capable of understanding the Classics. He goes on to point out that in both cases, their scholarship did not stand on its own merits, but was patronized by the Wang Mang in the case of Liu Xin, and in the case of Wang Su, was popular owing to family ties. He then recounts the factional fighting that occurred between the supporters of Wang Su and those of Zheng Xuan, and how civil unrest and chaos led to the scholarship of the early Han classicists being lost. After the founding of the Eastern Jin, Erudite positions were set up for the Classics, but none represented the way the texts were taught by the early Han masters.]

5/5[77] Classical Scholarship flourished to its highest degree during the two Han dynasties, but at the end of the Former Han there emerged one Liu Xin and at the end of the Later Han there came forth one Wang Su, and they were the great destructive vermin of Classical Scholarship. Liu Xin was the descendant of King Yuan of Chu 楚元王.[78] His father Liu Xiang did his

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[77][SVA: Section 5/5 corresponds to pp.159-163 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.166-170 of the Yiwen ed.]

[78](5/5, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: King Yuan of Chu 楚元王, whose given

utmost in speaking on behalf of the Liu clan and in stating that the Wang clan (the imperial in-laws) were not heirs to the throne.[79] Liu Xin was a member of the Wang Mang clique that usurped the Han[80] and thus was disloyal to the Han and not filial towards his father. Wang Su's father was Wang Lang who served as the governor of Kuaiji 會稽 during the Han and became the captive of Sun Ce 孫策. He returned to Cao Cao 曹操, becoming

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name (ming 名) was Jiao 交 (zi You 游) was the younger paternal half-brother of Han Gaozu 漢高祖 (Liu Bang). In the sixth year of Gaozu's reign (201 B.C.) he was enfeoffed as the King of Chu. For his biography, see Han shu 36.1921-74. Liu Xin was a descendant of King Yuan of Chu and his biography is appended to and follows that of King Yuan. (see: Han shu 36.1967-74)

[79](5/5, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: On Liu Xiang, see 2/1, n.14. During the reign of Emperor Cheng (reg. 32-7 B.C.) the Wang consort clan monopolized control of the government, and consequently Liu Xiang submitted a confidential memorial of extreme admonishment. It read, "There are never two major trends in the course of events and it is also the case that the Wang clan and the Liu clan cannot both reign side by side." (See: Han shu 36.1961)

[80](5/5, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Xin was the youngest son of Liu Xiang. When Wang Mang usurped the throne, Liu Xin became Master Teacher of the State (guoshi 國師, cf. Hucker 3530). He turned against Wang Mang and because he was involved in a traitorous plot against him which failed, he committed suicide. For a detailed account, see the

one of the three venerable ministers of Wei 魏.[81] Wang Su married his daughter to Sima Zhao 司馬昭, joined with the Sima clan in their usurpation of Wei, but he died early and did not see the usurpation [completed].[82] The two individuals became members of cliques and

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biography of Wang Mang in the Han shu (99C.4184-5).

[81](5/5, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: On Wang Lang, see 5/4, n.2. During the later years of the Han dynasty, because he served the royal house, he was promoted to the position of Governor of Kuaiji. Sun Ce crossed the Yangtze River in an invasion. Wang Lang raised an army and fought the invaders, but suffered defeat, and was captured. He soon proceeded against this setback to defend against Wei. After Emperor Wen (Cao Pi 曹丕) took the throne, he was transferred to the position of Censor-in-Chief (yushi dafu 御史大夫, cf. Hucker 8181) and enfeoffed as the Neighborhood Marquis of Anling 安陵亭侯 (tinghou 亭侯, see Hucker 6752). He was soon made Minister of Works (sikong 司空, see Hucker 5687) and enfeoffed as the Township Marquis of Leping 樂平鄉侯 (xianghou 鄉侯, see Hucker 2316). During the reign of Emperor Ming 明帝 (reg. 227-239) he was transferred to the position of Minister over the Masses (situ 司徒, HB, p.14; cf. Hucker 5801) and enfeoffed as the Marquis of Lanling 蘭陵侯.

[82](5/5, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Su's daughter married Sima Zhao 司馬昭 and she is none other than the person the Jin shu refers to as Wenming Huanghou 文明皇后. She was the mother of Sima Yan 司馬炎 who was Emperor Wu of the Jin 晉武帝 (reg. 265-290). According to Wang Su's biography, Wang Su rebuked Cao Shuang 曹爽, and joined into a clique with

participated in rebellious activities designed to usurp the throne. How could they have understood the Classics of the sages! In addition, Liu Xin established the Old Script Classics which wreaked havoc on the Modern Script school's master teachers' rules for teaching the text. Wang Su forged various texts attributed to the Kong clan, which also threw the scholarship of Zheng Xuan into chaos. Liu Xin's scholarship was promoted through his association with Wang Mang,[83] and because Emperor Wu of the Jin 晉武帝

Sima Yi 司馬懿. Sima Shi 司馬師 deposed the Emperor, installed Gaogui xianggong 高貴鄉公 (Cao Mao), and gave Wang Su an imperial carriage to greet him with. In addition, Sima Shi at times would ask Wang Su about governing techniques derived from the Classics, and it was probably the case that they got along well. However, Wang Su died in the first year of the Ganlu 甘露 period, which was 256 A.D., and this event is separated from Sima Yan's usurpation of Wei which took place in 265 A.D., by ten years. For a detailed account, consult Wang Su's biography.

[83](5/5, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: During the reign of Emperor Ai 哀帝 (reg. 7-1 B.C.), Wang Mang recommended Liu Xin for promotion. Liu Xin wanted to establish Erudite positions for the Old Script Documents, the Mao Version of the Songs, the Lost Rites 逸禮, and the Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals in the Imperial Academy, but this was opposed by the Erudites and he was not successful. In the fifth year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign period of Emperor Ping 平帝 (5 A.D.), Wang Mang submitted a memorial requesting the construction of the Luminous Hall (Mingtang 明堂) and the Circular Moat (Biyong 辟雍), and sent Liu Xin and

(reg. 265-269) was the son of Wang Su's daughter, Wang Su's scholarship was popular during the early years of the Eastern Jin dynasty (265-317). His explanations of the Documents, the Songs, the Analects, the three Rites and the Zuoshi, along with his father Wang Lang's Yizhuan 易傳 which he revised and edited, all had positions established for them in the Imperial Academy.[84] During the early years of the Jin, the ceremonies at the temple for the sacrifice to Heaven and Earth were all performed in accordance with Wang Su's explanations, and Zheng Xuan's interpretations were not used.[85]

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others to supervise it. In addition, he sought out those in the empire who thoroughly understood the Old Script Documents, the Mao Version of the Songs, the Lost Rites, the Zhouguan (Zhouli), and the Erya 爾雅 and had them report to the Offices in Control of the Palace Gates (gongju sima men 公車司馬門; cf. Hucker 3394). This was probably Liu Xin's idea. When Wang Mang usurped the Han, Liu Xin became Preceptor of State (guoshi 國師, Hucker 3530) and the various Old Script texts were all established and given official recognition. For the details, see the "Annals of Emperor Ping" 平帝紀 in juan twelve of the Han shu, along with the biography of Liu Xin in juan thirty-six, the "Rulin zhuan" in juan eighty-eight and the "Biography of Wang Mang" in juan ninety-nine.

[84](5/5, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: See Wang Su's biography in the "Wei zhi" section of the Sui shu (13.419).

[85](5/5, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Early in the Taikang 太康 period (280-289) of the Jin dynasty, Zhi Yu 摯虞 submitted a memorial on the regulations regarding mourning, [which stated] that Zheng Xuan and Wang

At the time Kong Chao 孔晁, Sun Yu 孫毓 and others expounded upon Wang Su in order to criticize Zheng Xuan,[86] while Sun Yan 孫炎, Ma Zhao 馬昭

Su each had their similarities and differences, and that they could adopt as standard and act according to the [regulations in] the Sangfu bianchu 喪服變除 which was written by Wang Jinghou 王景侯 (Wang Su's posthumous title). [SVA: Following Jin shu 19.582.] An imperial edict was issued allowing his proposal. In the second year of the Taishi 泰始 period (266), there was a memorial submitted by an official on establishing the seven temples, and for the rites involved they also based themselves on Wang Su's explanations. For the details, consult the "Monograph on Rites" ("Lizhi" 禮志) in juan nineteen of the Jin shu (19.581-2).

[86](5/5, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: There is no biography for Kong Chao 孔晁 in the official histories. The biography of Yuan Xingchong 元行沖 in juan 102 of the Jiu Tang shu states, "Ziyong 子雍 (Wang Su) criticized Zheng Xuan on several tens or a hundred items. Of those who held to Zheng's learning, at the time there was the Palace Attendant Ma Zhao (zhonglang 中郎, Hucker 1580), who submitted a memorial in which he considered Wang Su to be wrong. An imperial decree was issued stating that the group of adherents to Wang's learning should prepare a report containing their responses." (See: Jiu Tang shu, 102.3180) One person who at the time responded to Ma Zhao's refutations and questioning of [Wang Su's positions] and whose name is known is Kong Chao. The Qing scholar Ma Guohan in writing his "Preface" (序) to the [recovered] Shengzheng lun stated, "Kong Chao spoke for the group on behalf of Wang Su and thus Kong Chao was certainly the chosen head of the group of adherents to Wang Su's

and others promoted Zheng Xuan and attacked Wang Su.[87] They argued[88]

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learning." (See: the "Preface" to the Shengzheng lun in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, 1a) Kong Chao's works are no longer extant, [but his comments] appear interspersed in the Zhengyi editions of the Songs and Rites texts as well as in the Tongdian 通典. The material collected in Ma Guohan's compilation of the Shengzheng lun is fairly complete and worth consulting.

In addition, the "Preface" (敘錄) to Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen states, "During the Jin dynasty, the Regional Inspector (cishi 刺史, see Hucker 7567) in Yuzhou 豫州, Sun Yu 孫毓, composed the Shiping 詩評 in which he evaluated the similarities and differences of the Mao school, Zheng Xuan and Wang Su. He favored Wang Su." He own notes read, "Sun Yu (zi Xiulang 休朗) was a native of Pingchang 平昌 in Beihai 北海. He served as Governor of Changsha." (See: Jingdian shiwen, 1.20a)

The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu states, "The Maoshi tongyi ping 毛詩同異評 in ten juan was written by Sun Yu who served as the Governor of Changsha during the Jin dynasty." (See: Sui shu 32.916) Sun Yu also sided with Wang Su, but his writings have been lost. Ma Guohan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu has compiled three juan of his writings which is worth consulting.

[87](5/5, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Sun Yan 孫炎 (zi Shuran 叔然) was a native of Le'an 樂安 in Wei who lived during the Three Kingdoms period and was a second generation disciple of Zheng Xuan. Wang Su wrote the Shengzheng lun in order to criticize Zheng Xuan, and Sun Yan refuted it, explaining it away. In addition, he wrote commentaries to the Changes, Chunqiu li 春秋例, the Mao Version of the Songs, the Record of Rites, the Three Commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals 春秋三傳, the

about Wang and Zheng, about who was right and who was wrong, while having no interest in the individual schools of the Former and Later Han. On top of this, because of the chaos of the Yongjia 永嘉 period (311),[89] the interpretations of Master Liangqiu, Master Shi and Master Gao were lost for the Changes, the interpretations of Master Ouyang and of the Elder and Younger Xiahou were lost for the Documents. The Qi Version of the Songs had already been lost during the Wei, the Lu version of the Songs never made it east of the River (i.e. south of the Yangtze), and although the Han version of the Songs was extant, there was no one to teach it. Neither was

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Guoyu and the Erya. Biographical information about him is contained in the biography of Wang Su which is in juan thirteen of the "Wei zhi" section of the Sanguo zhi. (See: Sanguo zhi 13.519-20) The text of Sun Yan's refutation of the Shengzheng lun has not come down to us. On Ma Zhao, see: 5/5, n.9. For the text of Ma Zhao's refutations of the Shengzheng lun, see Ma Guohan's compilation of the Shengzheng lun in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu.

[88](5/5, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese yinyin 斷斷 means to "argue or dispute." See the note to the "Appraisal" (贊) to juan sixty-six of the Han shu (66.2904, n.8).

[89](5/5, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: Yongjia 永嘉 is a reign period of Emperor Huai 晉懷帝 of the Jin dynasty. It covered six years, from 307 through 312. The disorder of the Yongjia period refers to the events of the fifth year of the Yongjia period (311) when the army of Liu Cong 劉聰 captured Luoyang and took Emperor Huai prisoner.

there anyone to teach the interpretations of Master Meng, Master Jing or Master Fei of the Changes. And although the Gongyang and Guliang [commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals] were extant, it was as if they had been lost.[90] Emperor Yuan of the Eastern Jin 晉元帝 (reg. 317322)

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[90](5/5, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" to Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen states, "During the disorder of the Yongjia period, Master Shi's 施 and Master Liangqiu's 梁丘 versions of the Changes were lost. There was no one to teach and pass on the interpretations of the Changes of Master Meng 孟, Master Jing 京, and Master Fei 費." (See: Jingdian shiwen 1.11a) The "Jingji zhi" section of the Sui shu states, "[The interpretations of] Master Liangqiu, Master Shi, and Master Gao were lost during the Western Jin. With respect to [the interpretations of] Master Meng and Master Jing, there were texts, but no one to teach them." (Sui shu 32.913) In addition, the "Preface" to the Jingdian shiwen states, "During the chaotic devastation of the Yongjia period, the Documents of numerous schools were all destroyed and lost." (Jingdian shiwen 1.16b) The "Jingji zhi" section of the Sui shu states, "During the chaos of the Yongjia period, the Ouyang, Elder Xiahou and Younger Xiahou versions of the Documents were all lost." (Sui shu 32.919) The "Preface" to the Jingdian shiwen goes on to state, "The Qi Version of the Songs was lost long ago, the Lu Version of the Songs never made it east of the Yangtze, and although the Han Version of the Songs was extant, there was no one to teach it and pass it on." (Jingdian shiwen 1.20a) The "Jingji zhi" of the Sui shu states, "The Qi Version of the Songs was already lost at the time of the Wei dynasty. The Lu Version of the Songs was lost during the Western Jin, and although the Han Version of the Songs was

restored the schools and reduced the number of Erudite positions. Individual Erudite positions were established for Master Wang's interpretation of the Changes, Master Zheng's interpretation of the Documents, Master Kong's Old Script Documents, Master Zheng's interpretation of the Mao Version of the Songs, Master Zheng's interpretation of the Zhouguan and for his interpretation of the Record of Rites, Master Du's and Master Fu's interpretations of the Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, and Master Zheng's interpretation of the Analects as well as his interpretation of the Classic of Filial Piety.[91] Xun

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extant, there was no one to teach it and pass it on." (Sui shu 32.918) Furthermore, the "Jingji zhi" of the Sui shu states, "The Gongyang and Guliang commentaries gradually fell into decline and at present it is probably the case that there are no teachers to explain them." (Sui shu 32.933) The "Preface" to the Jingdian shiwen states, "As for the two commentaries, in recent times there has been no one to lecture on them." (Jingdian shiwen 1.11a) Pi Xirui's passage most probably combines the lines from the above two texts.

[91](5/5, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: For this passage see the biography of Xun Song 荀崧 in the Jin shu 75.1976-7. Master Wang is Wang Bi 王弼; see 5/3, n.10. Master Zheng is Zheng Xuan; see 1/3, n.23. Master Kong refers to Kong Anguo and the forged [Kong Anguo] commentary to the Documents (Shangshu zhuan 尚書傳); see 5/4, n.6. Master Du is Du Yu 杜預; see 1/1, n.24. Master Fu is Fu Qian 服虔 (zi Zishen 子慎; original ming Zhong 重, alt. ming Qi 祇), a native of Yingyang 熒陽, who lived during the Later Han.

Song 荀崧, who held the position of Chamberlain for Ceremonials submitted a memorial requesting that additional Erudite positions be established for Zheng Xuan's interpretations of the Changes, the Ceremonials and Rites, and the Gongyang and the Guliang Commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals. At the time the Guliang Commentary was considered to be shallow and did not merit a position being established for it. [However], owing to the problems brought on by Wang Dun's 王敦 criticisms, his proposals were never carried out.[92] Of the Erudite positions established

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During the reign of Emperor Ling 靈帝 (reg. 168-189) he served as the Governor of Jiujiang 九江. He wrote the Chunqiu Zuoshizhuan jie 春秋左氏傳解, and in addition, he used the Zuozhuan to refute He Xiu's criticism of events during the Han, which numbered in excess of sixty items. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Hou Han shu (79B.2583).

[92](5/5, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: On Xun Song 荀崧, see 3/9, n.29. During the reign of Emperor Wen of the Jin dynasty 晉文帝, Xun Song was appointed to the position of Grand Master of Ceremonies (taichang 太常; cf. Hucker 6137), and he submitted a memorial in which he said that it was appropriate that Erudite positions be established for Zheng Xuan's interpretation of the Changes, Zheng Xuan's interpretation of the Ceremonial and Rites, The Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Guliang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, with one person appointed for each text. An edict was handed down which called for a discussion of this proposal, and the participants in the

during the Jin dynasty, not one was for an interpretation passed down from the [original] fourteen Erudites of the Han, and consequently the way of teaching the texts of the master teachers of the Modern Script school met its end.

[5/6 SVA Introductory Comments: In the final section of this chapter, Pi Xirui discusses the commentaries to the Thirteen Classics. He points out that about half of the commentaries were written by men who lived during the Han and the other half by men who lived during the Wei and Jin dynasties. In his view, the commentaries by the Han scholars are superior to those of the Wei and Jin periods. He supports his view by quoting other scholars and by illustrating weaknesses in the Wei and Jin period

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discussions for the most part requested that Xun Song's memorial be followed. An edict was issued which said that because the Guliang Commentary was shallow, it did not merit an Erudite position being established for it, but the remaining positions would be established according to the memorial. However, because of the problems encountered due to Wang Dun's criticism, the proposal was not carried out. For a detailed account, see the biography of Xun Song in the Jin shu (75.1975-80). [SVA: Emperor Wen of the Jin (Jin Wendi) was the posthumous designation of Sima Zhao 司馬昭 (211-265) who was the second son of Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179-251) who was posthumously designated Emperor Xuan of the Jin (Jin Xuandi 晉宣帝).]

commentaries, as well as by stating that in many instances the authors based themselves on the work of earlier scholars, but failed to give them proper credit. As might be expected, Pi closes by saying that by the Wei and Jin dynasties, the influence of the master teachers of the early Han had all but disappeared from Classical Scholarship. The possibility of any new innovation, understanding, or insight into the Classics on the part of later scholars is never entertained or addressed.]

5/6[93] As for the commentaries to the Thirteen Classics[94]which have been transmitted for generations, with the exception of the imperial commentary to the Classic of Filial Piety by Tang Ming Huang 唐明皇[95] (Emperor

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[93][SVA: Section 5/6 corresponds to pp.163-9 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.170-8 of the Yiwen ed.]

[94](5/6, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: The Thirteen Classics are: 1) Zhouyi (Changes), 2) Shangshu (Documents), 3) Mao shi (Songs), 4) Zhouli (Rites of Zhou), 5) Yili (Ceremonial and Rites), 6) Liji (Record of Rites), 7) Zuozhuan (Zuo Commentary), 8) Gongyang zhuan (Gongyang Commentary), 9) Guliang zhuan (Guliang Commentary), 10) Lunyu (Analects), 11) Xiao jing (Classic of Filial Piety), 12) Erya, and 13) Mengzi (Mencius).

[95](5/6, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Jiu Tang shu states, "The Classic of Filial Piety in one juan, commentary by Xuanzong 玄宗." (See: Jiu Tang shu 46.1980) The Tang huiyao 唐會要 states, "In the sixth month of the tenth year of the Kaiyuan 開元 period

Xuanzong 玄宗, reg. 712-755), men of the Han dynasty and men of the Wei and Jin dynasties each wrote about half. Master Zheng annotated the Mao Version of the Songs, and wrote commentaries to the Rites of Zhou, the Ceremonials and Rites, and the Record of Rites. He Xiu composed a commentary to the Gongyang Commentary. Zhao Qi 趙崎 wrote a commentary to the Mencius. The [above mentioned] six Classics all had commentaries written by Han dynasty personages. Kong Anguo's Shangshu zhuan 尙書傳 (Commentary to the Documents) which was forged by Wang Su, Wang Bi's Commentary to the Changes 易注 as well as He Yan's 何晏 Lunyu jijie 論語集解 (Collected Commentaries to the Analects), were commentaries to three Classics which were all composed by men of the Wei dynasty. Du Yu's Zuozhuan jijie 左傳集解 (Collected Commentaries to the Zuozhuan), Fan Ning's 范寧 (339-401) Guliang jijie 穀梁集解 (Collected Commentaries to the Guliang zhuan)[96] along with Guo Pu's 郭璞 (276-324)

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(722), the sovereign wrote a commentary to the Classic of Filial Piety, and it was distributed throughout the Empire as well as to the Academy for the Sons of State. In the fifth month of the second year of the Tianbao 天寶 period (743), the sovereign again wrote commentary, and this was also distributed throughout the Empire." (See: Wang Fu 王溥 comp. [961 A.D.], Tang huiyao, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957, p.658)

[96](5/6, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Fan Ning 范寧 (zi Wuzi 武子; 339-401)

Erya zhu 爾雅注 (Commentary to the Erya)[97] were commentaries to three Classics which were all composed by men of the Jin dynasty. Speaking in terms of commentaries, the [men of] the Wei and the Jin seemingly did not yield anything to the men of the Han dynasty. But the commentaries written by the men of the Wei and Jin dynasties in the final analysis do not measure up to those of the Han. Kong Anguo's Commentary [to the Documents] is in many instances the same as [that of] Wang Su. Kong Yingda's Subcommentary [to the Documents] already contains these suspicions.[98] During the Song dynasty Wu Yu 吳棫 (ob. 1154) and Master

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was a native of Shunyang 順陽 who lived during the Jin dynasty. He attained the official position of Governor of Yuzhang 豫章. He wrote the Chunqiu Guliang zhuan jijie 春秋穀梁傳集解 in twelve juan. For his biography, see: Jin shu 75.1984-9.

[97](5/6, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Guo Pu 郭璞 (zi Jingchun 景純; 276-324) was a native of Wenxi 聞喜 who lived during the Jin dynasty. He attained the official position of Governor of Hongnong 弘農. He wrote the Erya zhu 爾雅注 in five juan. For his biography, see: Jin shu 72.1899-1910.

[98](5/6, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Under the two characters "三帛" ("three silks") in the "Canon of Yao" 堯典chapter of the Documents, Kong Yingda's Zhengyi commentary reads, "The language of Wang Su's commentary to the Documents is in many instances the same as Kong Anguo's Commentary [to the Documents]." (See: Shangshu zhushu, Ssjzs, 3.12a) In addition, under the line "禋於六宗" ("performed yin sacrifices to the six venerable ones"), the

Zhu (Zhu Xi) along with the recent scholars Yan Ruoqu and Hui Dong in turn criticized its faults, and held that it was forged.[99] Ding Yan 丁晏

Zhengyi states, "During the Han, those who explained the 'six venerable ones' were many...only Wang Su bases himself on the Kongzi jiayu in explaining the 'six venerable ones,' and [his explanation] is the same as Kong Anguo's." (Shangshu zhushu, Ssjzs, 3.7b-8a) Furthermore, the Zuozhuan in Duke Ai / Sixth Year quotes from one of the chapters in the "Xia shu" 夏書 section of the Documents, "There was the prince of Tao and Tang, Who possessed this region of Ji." (惟彼陶唐, 有此冀方) (Trans. following Legge, The Shoo King, p.159) Kong Yingda's Zhengyi commentary reads, "The language of Wang Su's commentary to the Documents is in many instances that of Kong Anguo's Commentary to the Documents. I suspect that Wang Su saw the Old Text version, concealed it and did not mention this." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 58.4a-b) Based on the above quoted passages, Kong Anguo's Commentary is in many cases identical to Wang Su's commentary and Kong Yingda in his Shu 疏 subcommentary expressed suspicions about it. For a detailed study, one can consult Ding Yan's 丁晏 Shangshu yulun 尚書餘論 under the section heading, 王肅注書, 多同孔傳, 再見於唐孔氏正義 ("Wang Su in writing commentary to the Documents is in many cases identical to Kong Anguo's Commentary, and this observation also appears in Kong Anguo's Zhengyi commentary.") (See: Huang Qing jingjie xubian, 844.13b-15a)

[99](5/6, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Wu Yu 吳棫 (zi Cailao 才老; ob. 1154) lived during the Southern Song. The official histories do not contain his biography. Wu Yu first suspected that the edition of the Old Script Documents (Guwen Shangshu 古文尚書) presented during the Eastern Jin

(1794-1875), in his Shangshu yulun 尙書餘論, [after] examining the text

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dynasty was a forgery, and he wrote the Shubai zhuan 書稗傳in thirteen juan which is no longer extant. For a detailed account, see juan eight in Yan Ruoqu's Guwen Shangshu shuzheng 古文尙書疏證, under the heading "疑古文自吳才老始" ("Suspicions About the Old Script Documents Began with Wu Cailao").

"Master Zhu" 朱子 is Zhu Xi 朱熹; see 1/4, n.4. Zhu Xi also had his suspicions about the Old Script Documents. For a detailed treatment, one can consult Yan Ruoqu's Guwen Shangshu shuzheng under the section heading "朱子於古文猶爲調停之說" ("Master Zhu, with Respect to the Old Script, Seems to Have Come Up with a Reconciliatory Theory") Yan Ruoqu and Hui Dong were both famous scholars of the Qing dynasty and thus they are referred to as "recent scholars."

Yan Ruoqu (zi Baishi 百詩; hao Qianqiu 潛邱) was a native of Taiyuan 太原. During the Kangxi period (1678), he was recommended for the special Boxue hongci 博學鴻詞 exam, but he failed. He served as an assistant to Xu Qianxue 徐乾學 and edited the Da Qing yitong zhi 大清一統志. His writings include the Guwen Shangshu shuzheng, the Sishu shidi 四書釋地, the Mengzi shengzu nianyue kao 孟子生卒年月考 and the Qianqiu zhaji 潛邱札記, along with other works. For his biography, see juan B (卷下) of Ruan Yuan's Guoshi Rulin zhuan and juan one of Jiang Fan's Guochao Hanxue shi chengji. On Hui Dong, see 4/4, n.25. Yan Ruoqu in writing the Guwen Shangshu shuzheng and Hui Dong in writing the Guwen Shangshu kao 古文尙書考 were the first to definitively prove that the Guwen Shangshu was forged by Mei Yi 梅賾. Mei Yi 梅賾 is sometimes written as Mei Ze 梅賾.

[concluded] that it actually came from the hand of Wang Su.[100] Based on the biography of Xun Song 荀崧 in the Jin shu, which contains a memorial by Xun Song in which he states that during the reign of Emperor Wu 晉武帝 (reg. 265-290) Erudite positions had been established, and that there already was one for Master Kong's [Commentary], [we know] that early in the Jin dynasty [this school of learning] had already been officially recognized. During the chaos of the Yongjia 永嘉 period (307-313) [the text]

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[100](5/6, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Ding Yan 丁晏 (zi Jianqing 儉卿, alt. zi Zhetang 柘唐; 1794-1875) was a native of Shanyang 山陽 in Huai'an 淮安 who lived during the Qing dynasty. In his early years he studied the Classics and was very fond of Zheng Xuan's scholarship. In the early years of the Daoguang 道光 period (1821-1850) he became a juren 舉人. During the Xianfeng 咸豐 period (1851-1861) because of meritorious service, he was appointed to the position of Secretary of the Grand Secretariat (neike zhongshu 內閣中書; see Hucker 4194). Twenty-two of his works are contained in the Yizhitang congshu 頤志堂叢書. For his biography, see the fourth part in the "Ruxue" section (儒學四) in juan seventy-four of Miao Quansun's 繆荃蓀 Xu Beizhuan ji 續碑傳集. Four of his works which are printed in the Xu Qing jingjie are the Shangshu yulun 尚書餘論, the Xiaojing zhengwen 孝經徵文, the Shipu kaozheng 詩譜考證 and the Yugong zhuizhi zhengyi 禹貢錐指正義. In his Shangshu yulun in one juan, he puts forth the opinion that the Kong Anguo Shangshu zhuan was forged by Wang Su. See juan 844 in the Xu Qing jingjie.

was lost, and in the Eastern Jin dynasty a copy was again presented to the court by Mei Yi 梅賾, but it was not that it was forged by Mei Yi.[101] Wang Bi and He Yan virtually deified and held in the highest regard the Mysterious

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[101](5/6, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Xun Song's 荀崧 biography which is in juan seventy-five of the Jin shu contains a memorial submitted by Xun Song which states, "Our founder, Emperor Wu, in response to the needs of the times took over the government and ascended the throne, he held Confucianism in high regard and caused learning to thrive....he put first the explanations of the canonical texts by the Confucian scholars. The disciples of Jia 賈, Ma 馬, Zheng 鄭, Du 杜, Fu 服, Kong 孔, Wang 王, He 何, Yan 顏 and Yin 尹, the scholarship of many experts in the form of exegesis, commentary and annotations, [was represented by] the nineteen men who filled the Erudite positions which were established." (See: Jin shu 75.1977) Kong refers to Kong Anguo's Old Script Documents. Based on this then, the Old Script Documents already had a position established for it in the Imperial Academy during the Western Jin, and it was not forged by Mei Yi. For a detailed treatment, consult Ding Yan's Shangshu yulun under the section heading, "古文尚書, 西晉已立博士, 非東晉梅氏僞作" ("The Old Script Documents already had an Erudite position established for it during the Western Jin, and was not forged during the Eastern Jin by Mei Yi"). (See: Huang Qing jingjie xubian, 844.4a-5a) [SVA: The above mentioned scholars are probably Jia Kui, Ma Rong, Zheng Xuan, Du Yu, Fu Qian, Kong Anguo, Wang Su, and He Xiu. Yan and Yin are a little more difficult to precisely identify. Perhaps Yan is Yan Anle 顏安樂 of the Han who was a specialist in the Gongyang. (See: Han shu 88.3616-7) Perhaps Yin is Yin Gengshi 尹更始

Void, and Fan Ning often said that their crimes were greater than those of Jie 桀 and Zhou 紂.[102] Wang Bi's Commentary to the Changes 周易注 talks in abstract terms about names and principles, but it is nothing like the simple and sound explanations of the Classics by the Confucian scholars of the Han dynasty. For this reason, the Song dynasty scholar Zhao Shixiu 趙師秀 (fl. 1190) remarked, "When Fusi's 輔嗣 Changes flourished, learning of the Han was no more."[103] In his Lunyu jijie, He Yan combined the

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of the Han who was a specialist in the Guliang. (See: Han shu 88.3618-20)]

[102](5/6, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Fan Ning's 范寧 biography which is in juan seventy-five of the Jin shu states, "At the time the superficial and ornate, and the abstract served to incite one another, and day by day Confucian orthodoxy was supplanted by it. Fan Ning thought that the reason for this had its origins with Wang Bi and He Yan and he considered the transgressions of these two individuals worse than those of the tyrants Jie 桀 and Zhou 紂." (See: Jin shu 75.1984) On Wang Bi, see 5/3, n.10. On He Yan, see 5/3, n.12.

[103](5/6, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhao Shixiu 趙師秀 (zi Zizhi 紫芝; hao Lingxiu 靈秀) was a native of Yongjia 永嘉 who lived during the Southern Song dynasty. Some time in the Shaoxi 紹熙 reign period (1190-1194) he became a jinshi 進士, and ended his official career in the position of Judge (tuiguan 推官, see Hucker 7399) of Gao'an 高安. He was a skilled poet and his writings are contained in the Qingyuanzhai ji 清苑齋集 and the Zhongmiao ji 眾妙集. He does not have a biography in the Song shi. The

commentaries of Bao Xian 包咸 (6 B.C.-65 A.D.) and of Master Zhou 周氏 to the Lu Version of the Analects, and those of Kong Anguo and Ma Rong to the Old Version of the Analects, and they are intermixed and not differentiated [from one another].[104] The Kong Anguo commentary which is

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quoted line is from the poem "Qiuye oucheng" 秋夜偶成 which is in the Qingyuanzhai ji buyi 清苑齋集補遺 (Skqs edition, 30a). In the original, wu 無 is written as fei 非, which is the occasional error on Pi Xirui's part. [SVA: The Skqs edition notes that fei 非 is written as wu 無 in at least one other edition.]

[104](5/6, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Bao 包 refers to Bao Xian 包咸, Zhou 周 refers to Master Zhou 周氏, Kong 孔 refers to Kong Anguo 孔安國, and Ma 馬 refers to Ma Rong 馬融. The "Preface" (序) to He Yan's Lunyu jijie states, "The Marquis of Anchang 安昌, Zhang Yu 張禹, originally received instruction in the Lu Version of the Analects (魯論), and when he lectured, he used it together with the Qi Version of the Analects (齊論), following what was best [from the two versions]. The title given to [the resulting text] was the Analects of Marquis Zhang (Zhanghou Lun 張侯論) and it was something which was very highly valued. The exegesis of Master Bao and that of Master Zhou were both derived from it. As for the Old Version of the Analects (Gulun 古論), there was only the Erudite Kong Anguo who provided commentary and explanation for it, but it was not passed on. Coming to the reign of Emperor Shun 順帝 (126-144 A.D.), Ma Rong, who served as the Governor of Nanjun 南郡, also provided commentary and explanation for it." Xing Bing's Subcommentary (疏) states, "The 'Rulin

quoted is also a forgery. For example, to the line "Who said that the son of the man from Zou understood the Rites?"[105] the Kong commentary states, "Zou is the city which was governed by Confucius' father, Shu Lianghe 叔梁紇."[106] He personally does not say how many generations separate his ancestor (Shu Lianghe) from himself, and this is something which arouses great suspicion.[107] Ding Yan says that the Kong commentary was also

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zhuan' chapter of the Hou Han shu states, 'Bao Xian (zi Ziliang 子良) was a native of Qu'e 曲阿 in Kuaiji....During the Jianwu 建武 period (25-55 A.D.) he instructed the Heir Apparent in the Analects and in addition composed exegesis to it....We are not clear as to exactly who Master Zhou was." (See: Lunyu zhushu, Ssjzs, 序.3b-4a) The "Preface" to Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen states, "He Yan collected the commentaries of Kong Anguo, Bao Xian, Master Zhou, Ma Rong, Zheng Xuan, Chen Qun 陳群, Wang Su and Zhou Shenglie 周生烈, and below he wrote his own ideas." (Jingdian shiwen 1.31a) Based on this then, He Yan's Jijie in fact intermixes the Qi, Lu and Old versions of the Analects.

[105][SVA: See Lunyu 3/15, Lau, trans., p.69.]

[106][SVA: For the quoted passages, see Lunyu zhushu, Ssjzs, 3.8a.]

[107](5/6, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: For the quoted passage, see the "Ba yi" 八佾 chapter in He Yan's Lunyu jijie. (Ssjzs, 3.8a) Pi Xirui's observation that this is "highly suspicious" has its origins with Chen Zhan's 陳鱣 Lunyu guxun 論語古訓 and Sun Zhizu's 孫志祖 (1737-1801) Dushu cuolu 讀書脞錄. Under the section heading "Kong Anguo Lunyu zhu," Sun Zhizu's text reads, "At present, as I read the Lunyu guxun which was compiled by Chen

forged by Wang Su.[108] Du Yu's Zuozhuan jijie in many instances bases itself on the interpretations and explanations of scholars who lived previously, but because their names are not given, people of later times suspected that [these attributions were in fact] written by Du Yu.[109] [His statements

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Zhongyu Zhan 陳仲魚鱣 of Haining 海寧...it says that Kong Anguo was the eleventh generation descendant of Confucius, but that the commentary reads 'Confucius' father, Shu Lianghe,' and this is something which gives rise to great suspicions. I thus heave a sigh and wonder what limits there were with respect to the forgery of texts in ancient times, and lament that it exposed those who were easily fooled." (See: Huang Qing jingjie, 492.11a-b)

[108](5/6, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: Ding Yan wrote the Lunyu Kongzhu zhengwei 論語孔注證僞 in four juan which I have not seen. In his Shangshu yulun 尙書餘論, in the section under the heading 王肅私造古文以難鄭君; 并論語孔注 皆肅一手僞書 ("Wang Su personally wrote Old Script texts in order to criticize Master Zheng; together with the Kong Commentary to the Analects they were both forged texts from the hand of Wang Su"), it states, "Kong's commentary to the Analects is also a forged text, in reality coming from the hand of Wang Su, and it was written at the same time as the Documents Commentary." (See: Shangshu yulun, Huang Qing jingjie xubian, 844.19b)

[109](5/6, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: Pi Xirui's explanation probably has its roots in the works of Hui Dong and Chen Shouqi. The "Preface" to Hui Dong's Chunqiu Zuozhuan buzhu 春秋左傳補注 states, "Du Yuankai 杜元凱 wrote the Chunqiu jijie, and although he based himself on the studies of previous scholars, he did not properly cite their explanations." (See: HQJJ,

regarding] bereavement and that the imperial mourning period be shortened, were the promotion of heterodox doctrine.[110] With respect to the

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353.1a)

Chen Shouqi in a letter written in response to Attendant Gao Yunong 高雨農 which is contained in his Zuohai wenji 左海文集 wrote, "Du Yu in writing commentary to the Zuoshi zhuan,...most of its best features came from Jia and Fu, but he concealed the original sources. Every one of his mistakes is a result of not being willing to listen to advice and perverts the meaning of the Classics....as for his explanation of the passage 長轂一乘 (a single military vehicle) ...I don't know what Classic or canon it comes from and it is something which I honestly have never heard of." (See: HQJJ, 1254.26a-27b) When Pi Xirui writes that scholars of a later age had suspicions about Du Yu's writings, he was most probably referring to these men.

[110](5/6, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Zuo Commentary, Duke Yin / First Year, following the line, "condoling the living took place before their intense grieving [began]," (弔生不及哀) Du Yu's Jijie commentary states, "For those of the rank of feudal lord and above, after the burial, the hemp mourning garments are taken off, there is no specified place for intense grieving, and they are in bereavement until the end of the mourning period." Kong Yingda's Zhengyi commentary quotes from the biography of Du Yu in the Jin shu which states, "In the tenth year of the Taishi 泰始 period (274) Empress Dowager Yuan (Yuan Huanghou 元皇后) died, according to the old regulations of the Han and Wei dynasties, after the burial, the emperor and the various ministers all remove their mourning garb, and the count wondered whether the heir apparent should remove his

mourning garb as well.... Du Yu thought that in ancient times when the Son of Heaven... was in mourning, according to the regulations concerning unhemmed mourning garb, with sandals, a staff, hemp mourning clothing and a sash, one completes the mourning period." After the burial and the mourning garb is taken off, one dwells silently in the mourning hut to end the mourning rite. For three years no changes are made to the way of one's father, therefore it was said that all members of officialdom follow the minister of state. [SVA: Cf. Lun yu 4/20, 14/40] After the mourning garb is taken off, they change the titles and do not speak to praise it and it is clear that he does not again sleep on a grass mat with an earthen clod for a pillow thereby abandoning major government affairs...the proposal was discussed, and the heir apparent consequently took off his hemp mourning garments and was in bereavement until the end of the mourning period. When the ranking officials finally heard about Du Yu's proposal, most of them considered it to be odd and misleading and said that he had gone against the rites in order to suit the times." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 2.23b-24b)

Also, in the Zuozhuan Duke Yin / First Year, following the line, "Yielding in a humble way is the foundation of virtue," (卑讓德之基也) Du Yu's Jijie commentary states, "[When] the feudal lords are in bereavement, auspicious sacrificial rites were used in all state affairs." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 18.7a) According to the ancient rites, in mourning the loss of one's mother or father, the mourning garb was worn for three years, and there was no discussion about "before burial" or "after burial." However, in Du Yu's proposal regarding shortening the mourning period, he considered that after the internment of the deceased, mourning attire would then be taken off, only bereavement in the form of remaining silent would

line, "In all instances when a ruler is killed and the ruler is referred to by his name, it is because the ruler lacked the Way," [Du Yu's] Chunqiu shili 春秋釋例 repeatedly causes problems.[111] In cases such as Zheng Bo 鄭伯

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continue until the end of the mourning period and moreover, in affairs of state, auspicious sacrificial rites would be used. Therefore, at the time his proposals were considered to go against the rites and Pi Xirui considered them to be heterodox doctrine.

The "Zuoshi zhuan" section in juan six in Wang Yinglin's Kunxue jiwen states, "Du Yu's explanation to the Zuoshi zhuan reads, 'The feudal lords, during the period of bereavement, in all state affairs employ auspicious sacrificial rites.' His proposal concerning the mourning garb of the heir apparent states, '[The] Gaozong 高宗 [passage] does not contain any writings on the mourning garb and only mentions not speaking.' This obscures the Classics and plays tricks (manipulates) with the rites, and cannot be used for moral instruction." (See: Kunxue jiwen, Sbck 三編, 6.17b) The origins of Pi Xirui's words probably lie in this. Liang'an 諒闇 is the name of mourning of the Son of Heaven in ancient times, and in the Analects it is written as liangyin 亮陰 which is identical. [SVA: See: Lunyu 14/40; cf. Lau, trans., Analects, pp.130-1] According to the forged Kong Anguo commentary, 諒 is glossed as 信 ("to place confidence in") and 闇 is glossed as 默 ("silence"). This refers to placing confidence in the minister of state, remaining silent and not speaking.

[111](5/6, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: The Spring and Autumn Annals under Duke Xuan / Fourth Year reads, "The son of the Duke of Zheng 鄭, Guisheng 歸生, murdered his ruler Yi 夷." The Zuo Commentary reads, "In

cases where a ruler is killed and the name of the ruler is given, it is because the ruler lacked the Way. When the name of the minister is given, it is because of the guilt of the minister." Du Yu's Chunqiu shili 春秋釋例 states, "Heaven gave birth to the people and established rulers for them, caused the rulers to be in charge and to watch over them and the other collective things, and this is what binds them to the mandate. Therefore, they support him like Heaven, feel close to him like one does one's parents; ...however, originally there is not the natural love which exists between a father and his children, and there is not the affection which exists between family members. The separation between those above and those below is very great, and the ways in which the obstructions restrict access are innumerable. For this reason, those who reside above submit themselves in order to observe and examine those below, manifest sincerity in order to move them, and afterward a closer relationship between them will be possible. If those above act without restraint, all those below have their hopes dashed, feelings of loyalty and honor become obstructed and distant, and the relationship becomes that of strangers, not that of ruler and minister. If men's hearts become estranged and alienated, then although position and title still exist, they lack an intrinsic and solid foundation. Therefore the commentary states, 'In cases where a ruler is killed and the name of the ruler is given, it is because the ruler lacked the Way. When the name of the minister is given, it is because of the guilt of the minister.'..." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 21.18b-20a; Legge, Ch'un Ts'ew, p.296) In his Chunqiu Zuozhuan bushu 春秋左傳補疏, the Qing scholar Jiao Xun 焦循 (1763-1820) says that Du Yu's Jijie and Shili commentaries both went against the [true meaning] of the Classics of the sages in order to mislead and deceive the world. Pi Xirui's view probably has its origin in

shooting the king right in the shoulder, [Du Yu] bends the facts so as to absolve him [of any wrongdoing].[112] Jiao Xun 焦循 (17631820) discussed Du

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these words. One can consult [Jiao Xun's original].

[112](5/6, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: Zuo Commentary, Duke Huan / Fifth Year, "In autumn, the king led the feudal lords in an invasion of Zheng 鄭 and the Earl of Zheng 鄭伯 resisted them....in the end, the king suffered a great defeat. Zhu Dan 祝聃 shot the king in the shoulder with an arrow. The king for his part was still able to do battle. Zhu Dan requested that he be allow to pursue him, but the duke (Duke Zhuang of Zheng 鄭莊公) said to him, 'The superior man does not want to be excessively dominant over others, so how dare he humiliate the Son of Heaven? If we are able to save ourselves and the altar to the spirits of the grains (the integrity of our state) does not topple, [then this in itself] is much.' At night, the Earl of Zheng sent Ji Zu 祭足 to console the king and inquire as to his assistants." Du Yu's Jijie commentary reads, "Consoling the king and inquiring about his assistants, speaks to the fact that Zheng's intent lie only in avoiding the consequences. The king's invasion was wrong." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 6.9b, 6.10b-11a) Du Yu's purpose seems to be to vindicate the Earl of Zheng of the crime of shooting the king. In his Chunqiu Zuozhuan bushu Jiao Xun says, "Shooting the king right in the shoulder was a case where Zheng did not act like a minister. Consoling the king and inquiring about his assistants was the act of a traitor. Moreover, Du Yu's opinion that the king's attack was wrong is clearly drawn from Gaogui's 高貴 (Cao Mao 曹髦) plot and attack against Sima Zhao 司馬昭....The explanation about saving ourselves originally were words which presented a pleasant

Yu's crimes of turning on his father, participating in factionalism and taking part in usurpation, and he said that he covered up for the Sima clan, and thus his commentaries for the most part do harm to instruction in what is right, and cannot serve as moral teachings.[113] As for Fan Ning's Guliang

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appearance and that the Zuoshi recounts them was not due to the Zuoshi considering that Zheng's intent lie in avoiding the consequences. Du Yu cited Wu Sheng's 寤生 (Duke Zhuang) reply to Zhu Dan to explain away Sima Zhao's actions and was already wrong. Moreover, as for directly criticizing the king's invasion as wrong, how could he be as absurd as this?" (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan bushu, in HQjj, 1159.10b) Pi Xirui's words most probably have their basis in the above.

[113](5/6, n.18) Zhou Yutong comments: Jiao Xun 焦循 (zi Litang 理堂; 1783-1820) was a native of Ganxuan 甘泉 in Jiangsu 江蘇 who lived during the Qing dynasty. In 1801, during the Qianlong period, he became a juren, but he failed the metropolitan exam, [returned home], closed his door behind him and devoted himself to studying and writing. He made a name for himself owing to his command of the Classics and at the same time possessed a talent for mathematics as well as for literature. His writings are contained in the Jiaoshi congshu 焦氏叢書 in 122 juan and in the Diaogulou ji 調菰樓集 in twenty-four juan. For his biography, one can consult juan 135 in Qian Yiji's 錢儀吉 Beizhuan ji 碑傳集. Twelve of his works explaining the Classics are printed in the Zhengxu Qing jingjie 正續清經解. Among them is his Chunqiu Zuozhuan bushu in five juan which is printed in juan 1159 through 1163 in the Qing Jingjie. In it he states in his "Preface," "The biography of Du Yu in the Jin shu reads, 'His grandfather,

Du Ji 杜畿, served Wei in the capacity of Supervisor of the Secretariat (shangshu puye 尚書僕射; cf. Hucker 5052). His father, Du Shu 杜恕, served as the Regional Inspector (cishi 刺史; cf. Hucker 7567) of Youzhou 幽州. His father and Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (Sima Yi 司馬懿) did not get along and consequently he died in prison, and because of this Du Yu was not able to be promoted for a long time. Emperor Wen 文帝 (Sima Zhao 司馬昭) succeeded to the throne, Du Yu married the emperor's younger sister, Princess Gaolu 高陸公主, which increased his stature and he was promoted to the position of Gentleman of the Masters of Writing (shangshu lang; cf. Hucker 5047). After four years, he was transferred to the position of Adjutant under the Counselor-in-Chief. [SVA: JXLS reads "參府軍府" while the Jin shu reads, "參相府軍事." (Adjutant = canjunshi 參軍事-- Hucker 6876; Counselor-in-Chief = xiangguo 相國--Hucker 2337.) There is no official position that exactly matches the wording found in either the JXLS or the Jin shu texts. Jiao Xun may have been referring to service under the Jin dynasty equivalent to the canfu 參府 (Assistant Regional Commander-- Hucker 6879) which was an unofficial reference to the position of canjiang 參將 (Hucker 6870) during the Qing dynasty. However, Du Yu did serve as canjun to the xiangguo, who was Sima Zhao 司馬昭.] Because Du Yu's father offended Sima Yi, he was discarded and not employed, Du Yu probably harbored anger and resentment for a long time. Sima Zhao had the intention of usurping the throne, so he recruited talented officials, and because Du Yu had married his younger sister, he sent him to take part in regional government affairs. [SVA: "使參府事"--I was unable to determine the exact position Du Yu held. See above.] For Du Yu this was unexpected and he thereupon forgot about the resentment over what had happened to

jijie, although it preserves old explanations of the Guliang zhuan, it does not solely focus on a single school. The "Preface" adds remarks which are critical of and deprecate the three commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals,[114] and a Song dynasty scholar has referred to it as the most

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his father and gave his complete loyalty to the Sima clan. After he had witnessed Cheng Ji's 成濟 actions with his own eyes (Cheng Ji drew his sword and stabbed Gaogui xiang gong 高貴鄉公 [Cao Mao 曹髦] to death), he then used [his interpretation of the Zuo zhuan] to cover up for Sima Zhao, to also cover up for Sima Yi and Sima Shi 司馬師, and in addition to cover up for himself. This was the reason he wrote the Zuoshi Chunqiu jijie....I think that it is very, very unusual that Du Yu just forgot the anger he felt over his father's treatment and then served those who were his enemies, that he went against the meaning of the Classic of the Sage and used it to deceive the world. I have picked out the major errors of his explanations and let a few be known... so that later generations in the empire will all understand that Du Yu was a relative and confidant of the Sima clan, that he was the unfilial wicked son of Du Shu, and that with respect to our Spring and Autumn Annals which was written by Confucius, he was nothing but destructive vermin." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan buzhu, HQJJ, 1159.1a-2b) Pi Xirui in his assessment is most probably referring to this text.

[114](5/6, n.19) Zhou Yutong comments: In the "Preface" to his Guliang jijie 穀梁集解 Fan Ning states, "There are three commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals, but as for their approach to the meaning of the Classic, their strengths and weaknesses are not the same and their judgments differ. It was probably the case that the nine schools of thought divided and

the subtle words were hidden, heterodox teachings arose and the greater meaning was perverted. The Zuoshi considers Yu Quan's 鬻拳 admonition of his ruler and his threatening him with a weapon to be the love of his ruler (Zhuang 19) and it considers Duke Wen's presentation of silk as a marriage gift [during the mourning period] to be the using proper etiquette in accord with the rites (Wen 2). The Guliang considers Zhe of Wei's 衛輒opposition to his father to be a case of respecting one's forebears (Ai 2) and considers not instating Zi Jiu 子糾 to be wrongdoing at the court (Zhuang 9). The Gongyang considers that Jizhong 祭仲, in deposing his ruler, [properly] exercised his authority (Huan 11) and considers referring to a concubine who is a mother as an official wife to be fitting and correct (Yin 2). Considering admonishing and threatening one's ruler with a weapon to be due to one loving one's ruler is the same as saying that it is permissible to intimidate one's ruler. Considering the presentation of a marriage gift during the mourning period to be proper etiquette in accord with the rites is the same as saying that it is permissible to marry during the mourning period. To consider that opposing one's father is a case of respecting one's forebears is the same as saying that it is permissible for a son to rebel. To consider that not instating Zi Jiu was wrongdoing at court is the same as saying that it is permissible to tolerate one's enemies. Considering deposing one's ruler to be the [proper] exercise of one's authority is the same as saying that it is permissible to spy on the sacred vessels (the symbols of imperial power). And to consider that a concubine who is a mother can enjoy the status of an official wife is the same as saying that it is permissible to treat as equals one's legal wife and one's concubine [as well as their offspring]. It is cases such as these which do harm to moral teachings and destroy the true meaning and implications [of the Classic] and we cannot

evenhanded of the writings [on the three commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals].[115] [The reason for this was] simply that this work conformed to way Song scholars approached the subject. In the case of Han times, [scholars of] the three commentaries each strictly adhered to their individual area of specialization, and there was no one who would concurrently pick and choose from all three commentaries. Guo Pu's Erya zhu is another work which does not give the names of the studies of

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insist that they be forced to fit ...the Zuoshi is resplendent and it contains a wealth of material, but its shortcomings are demonic in nature. The Guliang is clearly defined but tactful, but its defects lie in at times being terse and less than complete. The Gongyang is eloquent in its argumentation and decisive, but its shortcoming is that it at times is coarse and vulgar." (See: Chunqiu Guliang zhushu, Ssjzs, 序 7a-8b) Fan Ning in the above passage has said that the three commentaries all contain things which he considers unsatisfactory.

[115](5/6, n.20) Zhou Yutong comments: The entry under the heading "漢人注經" ("Han Scholars' Commentary to the Classics") in juan twenty-seven of Gu Yanwu's Rizhilu reads, "Huang Zhen 黃震 of the Song dynasty said that Du Yu in annotating the Zuoshi solely focused on the Zuoshi, He Xiu in annotating the Gongyang solely focused on the Gongyang, and that only Fan Ning was not partial to the Guliang and that he spoke of the shortcomings of the three commentators in an impartial manner." (See: Rizhilu, Vol.5, 5A.3) Pi Xirui's mention of a "Song dynasty scholar" is most probably a reference to Huang Zhen.

individuals of previous times, and Yu Xiaoke 余蕭客 (1729-1777) made the comment that Guo Pu shamelessly appropriated credit that was rightfully due others.[116] These are all Classics, the commentaries to which were written by scholars of the Wei and Jin dynasties. And taking the form and style of the written works of the Han scholars as the standard, we see that they are entirely different, and [that the differences] are not merely [those

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[116](5/6, n.21) Zhou Yutong comments: Yu Xiaoke 余蕭客 (zi Zhonglin 仲林; hao Gunong 古農; 1729-1777) was a native of Wu County 吳縣 who lived during the Qing dynasty. He was a student of Hui Dong. He wrote the Gujing jie gouchen 古經解鉤沉 in thirty juan in which he compiled explanations on the Classics done prior to the Tang dynasty, and its studies, as well as what it records, are relatively complete. For his biography, see juan B (下) of Ruan Yuan's Guoshi Rulin zhuan and the second juan of Jiang Fan's Guochao Hanxue shicheng ji. Jiang Fan wrote, "[Yu Xiaoke] thought that when Guo Pu annotated the Erya he made use of older commentaries, but concealed their titles and he said that he shamelessly appropriated the credit that was rightfully due others. Thus, he (Yu) collected [evidence] from the commentaries and subcommentaries along with that taken from the older annotations of the Attendant of Qianwei 揵爲, Sun Yan 孫炎, and Li Xun 李巡 [whose writings] are located in the various works compiled in the Taiping yulan, and used them to explain [and support his position]. However, his book was not completed." (See: Jiang Fan, notes by Zhou Yutong, Hanxueshi chengji, Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1982, p.160) Pi Xirui's statement is most probably based on this. [SVA: For Yu Xiaoke's biography,

between dynasties,] like the differences between the Shang and the Zhou. Perhaps one setback [to Classical Scholarship] occurred during the fragmentation of the Three Kingdoms period, and another disaster took place as a result of the chaos resulting from the Five Hu Tribes' aggression toward China.[117] Although fragments of their writings were passed along, the influence of the original masters had already fallen into oblivion.

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see ECCP 941-2.]

[117](5/6, n.22) Zhou Yutong comments: The Five Hu Tribes refers to the Xiongnu 匈奴, Xianbei 鮮卑, Jie 羯, Di 氐, and Qiang 羌 peoples. From the time of the Eastern Han dynasty, the Five Hu Tribes successively changed their places of residence inside the northern frontier, and their power gradually increased. At the end of the Western Jin dynasty, China found itself in chaos, with Liu Yuan 劉淵 of the Xiongnu, the Murong 慕容 clan of the Xianbei, the Shi 石 clan of the Jie, the Fu 苻 clan of the Di and the Yao 姚 clan of the Qiang one after the other proclaiming themselves ruler, and dividing up and occupying the central plain. This began in the first year of the Yongxing 永興 period (304) and continued until the sixteenth year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 period (439), for a time span covering more than 130 years. The histories refer to it as the "chaos of the Five Tribes."

Chapter Six

經學分立時代

The Period of Division of Classical Scholarship

[6/1 SVA Introductory Comments: In the opening section of this chapter, Pi Xirui draws parallels between the political divisions during the "period of disunion" and the divisions as he sees them, between Northern and Southern scholarship. He quotes a passage from the Bei shi that lays out the scholastic filiations in the South and in the North. Pi considers Northern scholarship to be the superior of the two, as scholarship in the North was derived from Han scholarship, while Southern scholarship tended to align itself with the abstract and mystical and thus "polluted" pure Classical Scholarship. Given the importance of a clear understanding of the Classics, this could only lead to danger. Pi Xirui considers Southern scholars worthy of praise to be few and far between, but does mention Lei Cizong and his solid scholarship with respect to his explanation of the rites.]

6/1[1] From the time when the states of Liu 劉 and Shi 石, along with the other members of the Sixteen States were assimilated into the Northern

[1][SVA: Section 6/1 corresponds to pp.170-3 of the Zhonghua ed. and to

Wei 北魏 and stood in opposition to the Southern dynasties, this was the period of division between the Southern and Northern dynasties.[2] Moreover, at this time there was also the division into "Southern

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pp.179-182 of the Yiwen ed.]

[2](6/1, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: After the Eastern Jin 東晉 dynasty (317-420) the four dynasties which controlled the south were the Song 宋 (420-479), the Qi 齊 (479-502), the Liang 梁 (502-557) and the Chen 陳 (557-589), [the ruling families of which] all were of the Han nationality, and these are [collectively] referred to as the Southern dynasties. The dynasties which had control of the north were the Northern Wei 北魏 (386-534) which then divided into the Northern Qi 北齊 (550-577) and the Northern Zhou 北周 (557-581). [SVA: There was also the Eastern Wei 東魏 (534-550) and the Western Wei (535-556).] The [ruling families of these dynasties] were all of the Xianbei 鮮卑 nationality or had the same culture of the Xianbei, and they were [collectively] known as the Northern dynasties. The states of Liu and Shi, along with the other members of the "Sixteen States" refers to the sixteen states of the Five Hu Tribes. Liu refers to Liu Yuan 劉淵 (ob. 310) of the Former Zhao 前趙 and Shi refers to Shi Le 石勒 (274-333) of the Later Zhao 後趙. In addition to the Former Zhao and Later Zhao, the remaining fourteen states included the Former Liang 前涼, the Later Liang 後涼, the Southern Liang 南涼, the Northern Liang 北涼, the Western Liang 西涼, the Xia 夏, the Cheng Han 成漢, the Former Yan 前燕, the Later Yan 後燕, the Southern Yan 南燕, the Northern Yan 北燕, the Former Qin 前秦, the Later Qin 後秦and the Western Qin 西秦. They annexed one another's territory by

Scholarship" and "Northern Scholarship" with respect to those who explained the Classics. This constituted still another transition in the history of Classical Scholarship. The "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan"[3] chapter of the Bei shi states, "Left of the Yangtze (in the South), for the Changes it was the version of Wang Fusi (Wang Bi), for the Documents it was the version of Kong Anguo, and for the Zuo Commentary it was the version of Du Yuankai (Du Yu). In the areas of the Yellow River and the Luo River, for the Zuo Commentary it was Fu Zishen 服子慎 (Fu Qian), and for the Documents and the Changes it was Zheng Kangcheng (Zheng Xuan). As for the Songs, in both [the South and the North] the Mao Gong version was considered the principal version, and for the Rites, Master Zheng was held

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force until they were finally all assimilated into the Northern Wei.

[3](6/1, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The Bei shi 北史 which was compiled by Li Yanshou 李延壽 of the Tang contains one hundred juan, twelve of which are "Basic Annals" (本紀) and eighty-eight of which are biographies (傳). Li Yanshou (zi Xialing 遐齡) was a native of Xiangzhou 相州. Following the notes of his father, Li Dashi 李大師, he compiled the Nan shi 南史 and Bei shi 北史 which had a combined total of 180 juan. For his appended biography, see Xin Tang shu 102.3985-6 and the biography of Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 in the Jiu Tang shu 73.2600-1. In addition, see his autobiographical postface (序傳) in the Bei shi 100.3313-51. For the "Rulin zhuan," see Bei shi 81.2703-82.2775.

in high regard in both regions."[4] As for the scholastic filiations (學派) of the south and of the north, the Bei shi sums it up in a few words. When scholarship comes from a single source, then people know where to return to, but if the way becomes confused by [splitting into many] branches, then any attempt to return to the source results in bewilderment and confusion. Master Zheng lived right at the end of the Han, before the study of the abstruse and abstract became mixed [with Classical Scholarship] as well as [prior to the existence of] certain forged texts,[5] [and at a time when] the

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[4](6/1, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: "Left of the River" refers to the territory east of the Yangtze River, and is used to represent the Southern Dynasties. He 河 and Luo 洛 refer to the territory of the basins of the Yellow River (黃河) and Luo River (洛水) and are used to represent the Northern Dynasties. Fusi 輔嗣 is Wang Bi's zi, Yuankai 元凱 is Du Yu's zi, Zishen 子慎 is Fu Qian's zi, and Kangcheng 康成 is Zheng Xuan's zi. These individuals, along with their writings, all appear in previous notes and thus [information about them is] omitted here. "For the Rites, Master Zheng was held in high regard" refers to Zheng Xuan's Yili zhu 儀禮注, his Zhouli zhu 周禮注 and his Xiao Dai Liji zhu 小戴禮記注. [SVA: For the original text of the quoted passage, see Bei shi 81.2709.]

[5](6/1, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: "The study of the abstruse and abstract" refers to Wang Bi's use of ideas found in the Laozi and Zhuangzi texts in his explanation of the Changes. "Texts which were forgeries" [primarily] refers to the forged Kong Anguo Guwen Shangshu (Old Script Documents) which Mei Yi presented to the court.

annotations and commentaries were passed down in their complete form with no lost or missing sections. If one desired to gain a command of Han scholarship and discarded Master Zheng's [works], there would be nothing to follow. As for scholarship in the North, for the Changes, Documents, Songs, and Rites the [commentaries of] Master Zheng were revered and Fu Zishen's [annotations] were used for the Zuo Commentary. Zheng Xuan's annotations to the Zuo Commentary were not yet complete, and he took them and gave them to Fu Zishen. This [information] appears in A New Account of the Tales of the World.[6] In this case the scholarship of Zheng

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[6](6/1, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: The Shishuo xinyu 世說新語 (A New Account of Tales of the World) in three juan was composed by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 of the Liu Song 劉宋 dynasty. Its original title was Shishuo xinshu 世說新書, but it was later changed to Shishuo xinyu. It is divided into thirty-eight sections, it begins with the Later Han dynasty and goes up to the Eastern Jin dynasty. It is completely comprised of anecdotes of well known individuals and fragments of speech, and [its format] is close to the dialogue in the story. Liu Xiaobiao 劉孝標 of the Liang dynasty wrote annotations to it, which are rather well known. In the "Wenxue" 文學 section, which is in the second part of the first juan of the Shishuo xinyu, it states, "Zheng Xuan wanted to write annotations to the [Zuo] Commentary to the] Spring and Autumn Annals, but he still had not finished it. He was travelling at the time and happened to meet Fu Qian as they were staying overnight at the same inn. Prior to this they had not known one another. Fu

Xuan and that of Fu Qian were basically the same school. Revering Fu Qian was the same as revering Zheng Xuan due to their scholarship coming forth from a single source. The scholarship in the South which was held in high regard included the abstruse and abstract explanations of Wang Fusi, the forged Kong Anguo text, along with the overly subjective interpretations of Du Yuankai. These three scholars were all incompatible[7] with the scholarship of Zheng Xuan and also turned their backs on and went in the

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Qian was outside in his carriage, talking about the ideas in his own annotations to the Zuo Commentary. Zheng Xuan listened in for a good long time and found that most [of what Fu Qian had to say] was the same as his own ideas. Zheng Xuan went over to his carriage and said to him, 'I have wanted to write annotations for a long time, but I am still not finished. I've listened to what you've just said, and realize that most of your ideas are the same as mine. I think that it's appropriate that I give you all my annotations.' It subsequently became Master Fu's annotations." [SVA: Translation following Mather] (See: Shishuo xinyu 世說新語, Sbck, 上之下.9b-10a; Liu I-ch'ing, Richard B. Mather, trans., A New Account of Tales of the World, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976, pp.93-94)

[7](6/1, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, bing zuo 柄鑿 means to try to use a square wooden handle in the round hole of a chisel. It is used as a metaphor for incompatibility. In the Chuci, the fifth poem in the "Jiu bian" contains the line "圜鑿而方柄兮, 吾固知其鉏鋙而難入." ("If you use a square handle on a round chisel, I am certain that it will not fit and you will not make it go in." Trans. Hawkes) See: Chuci buzhu, p.314; Hawkes, trans.

opposite direction from the scholars of the Han. They caused the muddy flow of the Jing 涇 River to mix with the clear water of the Wei 渭 River[8] and fragrant and foul smelling plants to be placed in the same vessel,[9] with the result being that later generations were not able to see Zheng Xuan's scholarship in its complete form, nor were they able to grasp even one-tenth of Han scholarship. Was it not the case that by talking about the abstract and vacuous, and by investigating the abstruse and mysterious, that this

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Songs of the South, p.212.

[8](6/1, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Jing 涇 and Wei 渭 were originally the names of two rivers. The Jing River is muddy and turbid and the Wei River is clean and clear, and as a result the names of the rivers have been borrowed as a metaphor for "clear and turbid." The poem "Gufeng" 谷風 ("Valley Wind" #35) in the "Bei feng" section of the Songs has the following line, 涇以渭濁 "Because of the Wei, the Jing looks muddy." (See: Waley, Book of Songs, p.31; Karlgren, Book of Odes, p.22) The Jingdian shiwen states, "The Jing is a muddy river; the water of the Wei River is clear." (See: Jingdian shiwen, 5.12b)

[9](6/1, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Zhisi" 致思 chapter in juan two of the forged Kongzi jiayu reads, "Xun 薰 and you 蕕 are not kept in the same vessel." Wang Su's annotation to this line reads, "Xun is fragrant, you is foul smelling." (See: Kongzi jiayu, Sbck, 2.1b) Thus xun is a fragrant plant and you is a foul smelling plant and placing xun and you in the same vessel is an analogy for mixing the good with the bad.

led to following what was fraught with danger![10] The abstruse scholarship of the South was not popular in the Northern Wei, and we have Li Yexing 李業興 giving the following reply to Emperor Wu of the Liang 梁武帝 (reg. 502-549), "When I was young and a student, I only studied the five canonical texts, ...I never studied scholarship which was mysterious and abstruse, so how do I dare hope for renumeration or reward!"[11] This is clear

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[10](6/1, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The poem "Sangrou" 桑柔 ("The Mullberry's Tender Leaves" #257) in the "Daya" section of the Songs has the line, 誰生厲階 ("Who begets the steps which lead to evil"). The Mao commentary states, "Li 厲 means e 惡 ('evil')." (See: Mao Shi zhushu, Ssjzs, 18- 2.3b; cf. Waley, Book of Songs, p.267, Karlgren, Book of Odes, p.221) The poem "Zhanyang" 瞻仰 ("High Regard" #264) has the line, 維厲之階 ("[She] is the steps which lead to evil"). Zheng Xuan's notes state, "Jie 階 ('steps') are that which go from above to below." (See: Mao Shi zhushu, Ssjzs, 18-5.9a; cf. Waley, Book of Songs, p.284; Karlgren, Book of Odes, p.237) The "steps to evil" (厲之階) is like saying "to lead one to what is wrong."

[11](6/1, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Li Yexing 李業興 was a native of Zhangzi 長子 in Shangdang 上黨 who lived during the Northern Wei dynasty. He studied under Xu Zunming 徐遵明 and was skilled in calendrical calculations. He discussed the Classics and their commentaries with Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty. For his biography, see the Wei shu 魏書 (84.1861-65) and the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (81.2721-25). For the quoted passage, see the Wei shu (84.1863). The Bei shi has modified it somewhat.

evidence that in the North great importance was placed on the study of the Classics and this was not mixed with scholarship which was mysterious and abstruse. As for Southern learning which is worthy of praise there are only the various scholars of the Jin through the Song who were good at explicating ritual dress.[12] In the early years of the Song dynasty (420-79)

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[12](6/1, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: "Ritual dress" 禮服 refers to the commentary to the "Sangfu" chapters in the Yili 儀禮. The texts written by the Confucian scholars of the Jin and Song dynasties explaining the 'ritual dress' chapters of the Rites texts are listed in detail in the "Li" sub-section of the "Jing" section of the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu (32.919-21). For example, Yuan Zhun 袁準 and Chen Quan 陳銓 of the Jin dynasty both wrote commentaries (zhu 注) to the Sangfu jingzhuan 喪服經傳 in one juan. Kong Lun 孔倫 of the Jin dynasty, and Pei Songzhi 裴松之 and Cai Chaozong 蔡超宗 of the Song dynasty each compiled a Jizhu Sangfu jingzhuan 集注喪服經傳 in one juan and two juan respectively. Lei Cizong 雷次宗 of the Song dynasty composed the Lüezhu Sangfu jingzhuan 略注喪服經傳 in one juan. During the Jin dynasty, Du Yu composed the Sangfu yaoji 喪服要集 in two juan, Wei Guan 衛瓘 composed the Sangfu yi 喪服儀 in one juan, Huan Ji 環濟 composed the Sangfu yaolüe 喪服要略 in one juan, Cai Mou 蔡謀 and He Xun 賀循 each composed a Sangfu pu 喪服譜 in one juan, Ge Hong 葛洪 composed the Sangfu bianchu 喪服變除 in one juan, Kong Yan 孔衍 composed the Xiongli 凶禮 in one juan, and He Xun also composed a Sangfu yaoji 喪服要記 in ten juan. The above texts are all ones which were known. The Sui shu "Jingji zhi" itself notes what was recorded and the ones

Lei Cizong 雷次宗[13] (386-448) was the most prominent scholar, was as well known as Zheng Xuan, and was often referred together with him as Lei-Zheng. It was a time when Laozi and Zhuangzi were held in the highest regard, but he explained the rites in a meticulous and conscientious manner, his citing of evidence was detailed and concrete, there was the uplifting spirit and influence of the discussions held at the Stone Canal Pavilion and at the White Tiger Hall,[14] and this was something that was

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which were already lost are not among them.

[13](6/1, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: Lei Cizong 雷次宗 (zi Zhonglun 仲倫) was a native of Nanchang 南昌 who lived during the Liu Song period. He had an exceptionally clear understanding of the three Rites texts and the Mao Version of the Songs. He withdrew, pursuing a hermetic life, and he did not accept appointment. Later, he lectured on the Sangfu zhuan 喪服傳 to the heir apparent to the Sung throne as well as to various kings. For his biography, see the "Yinyi zhuan" 隱逸傳 chapter of the Song shu (93.2292-4) and the "Yinyi zhuan" chapter of the Nan shi (75.1867-8).

[14](6/1, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: Emperor Xuan of the Han dynasty convened a meeting of Confucian scholars at the Stone Canal Pavilion (石渠閣) where they discussed the similarities and differences between the Five Classics. These discussions were compiled in the Shiqu tongyi 石渠通義, but this text has been lost. Later, Emperor Zhang of the Later Han taking the events of the past at the Stone Canal Pavilion as a model, convened a meeting of Confucian scholars at the White Tiger Hall (白虎通) where he personally oversaw the decision making process. He ordered Ban Gu to

never achieved by later generations. A rough sketch of his (Lei Cizong's) explanations can be seen in Du You's 杜佑 Tongdian 通典.[15]

[6/2 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui begins this section with another quote from the Bei shi that provides information about the commentaries to the Classics that were popular in the North. He then notes that there are inconsistencies between different sources of information with respect to the Gongyang commentary. After examining the evidence and the opinions of other scholars, Pi concludes that the author of the subcommentary to the text in question was perhaps Xu Zunming. This section is a good example of the Pi's reasoning process, use of historical evidence, and his citation of the opinions of other scholars.]

6/2[16] The Bei shi also states, "During the Han, Master Zheng wrote

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compile the Baihu tongyi 白虎通義 which is extant. For more information on these two conferences, see chapter four.

[15](6/1, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: On Du You's 杜佑Tongdian 通典, see: 4/6, n.7. He collected and compiled explanations of ritual dress from various scholars of the Jin and Song dynasties which are contained in juan 79 through juan 105 of his work.

[16][SVA: Section 6/2 corresponds to pp.173-6 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.182-6 of the Yiwen ed.]

commentaries and explanations to numerous Classics, and Fu Qian and He Xiu each had that which they explained. Zheng Xuan wrote on the Changes, the Songs, the Documents, the Rites, the Analects and the Classic of Filial Piety, Fu Qian wrote on the Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, He Xiu wrote on the Gongyang Commentary, and [these texts] enjoyed great popularity north of the Yellow River."[17] The commentaries to the Classics which were written by the classicists of the Han and were extant at the time were limited to those by these three scholars. As they enjoyed great popularity north of the Yellow River, it can be said that the people there knew what to hold in high regard. However, according to the Bei shi, in the areas of the Yellow River and the Luo River, other than considering Master Fu's [explanations to] the Zuo zhuan as the principal commentary, it is not reported that in addition [to this] there was Master He's [explanations to] the Gongyang Commentary. Furthermore it goes on to state, "For the most part, little attention was devoted to the Gongyang

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[17](6/2, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: For the quoted passage, see the "Preface" (序) to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (81.2708). Where Pi Xirui's text writes "鄭, 易, 詩,..." the original texts writes "Xuan 玄" for "Zheng 鄭." Pi Xirui's misquote is probably due to the fact that he sometimes makes mistakes.

and Guliang commentaries."[18] The "Rulin zhuan" chapter in recording those who studied the Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals only lists one individual, Liang Zuo 梁祚.[19] However, it says that Liu Lan 劉蘭 campaigned against and rejected the Gongyang.[20] Thus, the statement to the effect that the Gongyang commentary enjoyed wide popularity seems not to be a record of the actual fact. The Gongyang zhuan Heshi jiegu shu 公

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[18](6/2, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi states, "[With respect to] its two commentaries, the Gongyang and the Guliang, scholars for the most part did not have a place for them." (See: Bei shi 81.2709) Pi Xirui's quote is an approximation of the original passage, and thus the wording and sentence structure are slightly different. In the Chinese cuo 厝 is interchangeable with cuo 措.

[19](6/2, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Liang Zuo 梁祚 was a native of Niyang 泥陽 who lived during the Northern Dynasties period. He studied all of the Classics and was especially good at the Gongyang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals and Zheng Xuan's Changes. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (81.2710-11).

[20](6/2, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Lan 劉蘭 was a native of Wuyi 武邑 who lived during the Northern Dynasties period. He was versed in the Five Classics, had a clear understanding of Yin-yang theory, and he was well respected by Confucian scholars. However, "He campaigned against and rejected the Gongyang Commentary, also criticized Dong Zhongshu and because of this was ridiculed throughout the land." For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (81.2715-6).

羊傳何氏解詁疏 in twenty-eight juan is not recorded in the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Xin Tang shu.[21] The Chongwen zongmu 崇文總目[22] was the

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[21](6/2, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, the "Tang 'Zhi'" 唐志 is an abbreviation for the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Tang shu. The Tang shu, in 225 juan, was compiled by imperial order during the Song dynasty by Ouyang Xiu, Song Qi 宋祁 and others. This work is sometimes referred to as the Xin Tang shu 新唐書 in order to differentiate it from the Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書 which was compiled by Liu Xu 劉昫 and others during the Later Jin 後晉 dynasty (936-46). The "Tang 'Zhi'" is contained in juan 57 through 60 of the Tang shu.

[22](6/2, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: The Chongwen zongmu 崇文總目 was compiled by imperial order during the Song dynasty by Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 and others. In the third year of the Song dynasty Taiping xingguo 太平興國 reign period (978), the Chongwen Yuan 崇文院 ("Academy of Venerated Literature") was set up in order to store the imperial library. In the first year of the Jingyou 景祐 reign period (1034) Wang Yaochen and others received an order to proof for and correct textual errors, the total number of texts examined numbering 30,669 juan. They divided the texts into categories and made a list of titles, and all together they filled sixty-six juan. In the first year of the Qingli 慶曆 reign period (1041) it was presented to the throne and given the title Chongwen zongmu. During the reign of emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1101-1125), the title was changed to Bishu zongmu 祕書總目. However, in later times when people cited it, it was referred to by its older title. Some sources gave the number of juan as sixty-seven, some said sixty-six juan, others said sixty-four juan, while others said it

first text in which it was mentioned and the title recorded. It does not give the name of the author, [but] some say that perhaps it was Xu Yan 徐彥. However, we still do not know what period Xu Yan dates from. Wang Mingsheng 王鳴盛 (1722-1798) of the recent past said that he was none other than Xu Zunming 徐遵明 [whose biography is contained] in the Bei shi. This is because his writing style resembles that of a person who lived during the Six Dynasties period and is not like that of someone who lived during the Tang dynasty.[23] Hong Yixuan 洪頤煊 quoting the

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contained sixty juan, there being discrepancies between the various sources. The text was soon lost, but in the early years of the Qing dynasty an edition was compiled from the material contained in the Yongle dadian 永樂大典 in twelve juan and it is one of the older catalogs of texts to have come down to the present. For a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao (pp.1775-7).

[23](6/2, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Mingsheng 王鳴盛 (zi 鳳喈; hao Litang 禮堂, Xizhuang 西莊, Xizhi 西沚; 1722-1798) was a native of Jiading 嘉定 in Jiangsu 江蘇 who lived during the Qing dynasty. He concurrently held the official positions of Academician of the Grand Secretariat (neige xueshi 內閣學士--Hucker 4195) and Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites (libu shilang 禮部侍郎--cf. Hucker 3631, 5278). In the study of the Classics he held the so-called "School of Han Learning" in high regard and he wrote the Shangshu houan 尚書後案, the Shiqi shi shangque 十七史商榷, the Eshu bian 蛾術編, the Gengyangzhai ji 耕養齋集, along with the Xizhi jushi ji 西沚

居士集 and other works. For his biography, see juan eleven of Jiang Fan's Guochao Hanxueshi chengji. [SVA: For his biography, see ECCP, p.828] In juan seven of the Eshu bian in the Gongyang zhuanshu 公羊傳疏 section he writes, "The Gongyang Subcommentary 公羊疏 must have been composed by Xu Zunming. ...As for yishu 義疏 commentaries, then the best one is the Gongyang. ...without He Xiu there would be no Gongyang, without the Gongyang there would be no Spring and Autumn Annals. If the Gongyang did not have commentary to it, then it would have vanished and been forgotten, and therefore I consider this to be the best of the individual (sub)commentaries." (See: Eshu bian, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958, pp.121-2)

In his "Preface" (序) to the Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan jiaokanji 春秋公羊傳校勘記 Ruan Yuan writes, "Wang Mingsheng says that this is none other than Xu Zunming of the Bei shi, and he was not without insight. His writings are like those of someone from the Six Dynasties, and do not resemble that which was written by people of the Tang dynasty." (See: Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan jiaokanji xu, Ssjzs, 1b) Pi Xirui's statement is probably based on this passage.

Xu Zunming (zi Zipan 子判) was a native of Huayin 華陰who lived during the Northern Wei dynasty. He was orphaned at an early age, but he loved to study, he changed from one teacher to another numerous times, never finishing his studies with any of them. Later, he never ventured beyond the gate of his courtyard, studied diligently, always deep in thought, and consequently became widely versed in the various Classics. He wrote the Chunqiu yizhang 春秋義章 for which he received the admiration of the entire empire and for which he was praised as a great Confucian scholar. At

subcommentary (疏) on the Clerks of the Ministry of Works (司空掾) writes, "'They were similar to the Clerks in the Three Departments,'[24] during the Six Dynasties period, there was the official position referred to as sikongyuan 司空掾, but when we come to the Tang dynasty and later, this title is no longer used. There is no doubt that this subcommentary is an old text from the period of the Liang and Qi dynasties."[25] Yao Fan 姚範 has remarked, "There is no mention of there being the official position of 'Clerk in the Three Departments' (sanfu yuan 三府掾) during the Sui and Tang dynasties and there is likewise no expression 'the Three Departments,' so

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the end of the Yongan 永安 period (528-30) he was killed in a military revolt. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Wei shu (84.1855) and the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (81.2720-1).

[24][SVA: "Three Departments" = sanfu 三府--Hucker 4852.]

[25](6/2, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Hong Yixuan 洪頤煊 (zi Yunxuan 筠軒; 1765-1837) was a native of Linhai 臨海 who lived during the Qing dynasty. He was a student of Sun Xingyan 孫星衍. He was exacting in his study of the Classics and history. He wrote the Dushu conglu 讀書叢錄, the Li ji gongshi dawen 禮記宮室答問, the Han zhi shuidao shuzheng 漢志水道疏證, the Zhu shi kaoyi 諸史考異, and the Pingjinguan dubeiji 平津館讀碑記, along with other works. For the quoted passage see juan six, "Gongyangshu," in his Dushu conglu (n.p., Wushi zuiliu tang 吳氏醉六堂, 1887), 6.4b. In the original text, the character yi 亦 appears above liuchao 六朝, which is an

does this mean that it existed during the Northern Qi 北齊 and Xiao Liang 蕭梁 dynasties?"[26] If we base our [analysis] on these two explanations, then to consider [the author] to be Xu Zunming in not without insight. Based on the Bei shi, Xu Zunming passed on Zheng Xuan's Changes, Documents, the three Rites and Fu Qian's [commentary to the] Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals. There is no mention of him transmitting He Xiu's Gongyang, nor do we hear that any of his disciples transmitted the teachings found in the Gongyang. Thus to say that Xu Yan is none other than Xu Zunming is still doubtful. The Gongyang subcommentary 公羊疏 is

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error of omission in Pi Xirui's quotation.

[26](6/2, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Yao Fan 姚範 (zi Nanjing 南菁; 1702-1761) was a native of Tongcheng 桐城 who lived during the Qing dynasty. He attained the official position of Compiler (bianxiu 編修, cf. Hucker 4633-8). Other scholars referred to him by the name Jiangwu Xiansheng 薑塢先生. His writings include the Yuanchuntang biji 援鶉堂筆記 and a collection of poetry and prose writings. For his biography, see Ruan Yuan's Guoshi wenyuan zhuan 國史文苑傳. For the quoted passage, see the "Jingbu Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan" 經部春秋公羊傳 section in juan 13 in the Yuanchuntang biji (13.11a). In the Chinese, the original text reads qian 前 for jian 間 in the phrase "蕭梁之間." This is an occasional error on Pi Xirui's part.

in a question and answer format.[27] During the Liang dynasty there was the Gongyang zhuanwen 公羊傳問 in nine juan, in which Xun Shuang 荀爽 asked the questions and Xu Qin 徐欽, who was the Governor of Anping 安平 during the Wei dynasty, gave the responses. In addition, there is Yu Yi 庾翼, who held the position of General of Chariots and Calvary[28] during the Jin dynasty, asking the questions and Wang Qianqi 王愆期 answering them. These texts were both lost during the Sui dynasty,[29] but perhaps they are

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[27](6/2, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Xu Yan's Gongyang zhuanshu 公羊傳疏 in many places utilizes a question and answer format and an example of this is as follows. For example, under the book title (書題下) it states, "He asked, 'The Zuoshi has it that in the eleventh year of the reign of Duke Ai of Lu, the Master returned to Lu from Wei. In the twelfth year, he retired due to his age, consequently began the Spring and Autumn Annals, and coming to the fourteenth year, the Classic was completed. I do not understand the meaning of the Gongyang. Did Confucius begin the Spring and Autumn Annals at an earlier or at a later time?' The reply: 'The Gongyang says that after the capture of the unicorn in the fourteenth year of Duke Ai, he received the mandate at the city gate of Lu, then began to compose the Spring and Autumn Annals, working through the ninth month, when he put down his brush.' Explanations on the Spring and Autumn Annals all contain these writings.'" (See: Gongyang zhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 1.1a)

[28][SVA: Juqi jiangjun 車奇將軍 HB; cf. Hucker 352.]

[29](6/2, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: A note to an entry in the Chunqiu subsection in the Classics section of the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu

none other than that which Xu quoted from in his Subcommentary. Wang Qianqi in his commentary to the Gongyang thinks that when the Spring and Autumn Annals writes Wen Wang (King Wen) it is referring to Confucius. See where he is quoted in the subcommentary to the "Taishi" 泰誓 chapter of the Documents.[30] During the Former and Later Han dynasties

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reads, "During the Liang dynasty there was...the Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan wenda 春秋公羊傳問答 in five juan. In it Xun Shuang 荀爽 asked the questions and Xu Qin 徐欽 who was the Governor of Anping 安平 during the Wei dynasty gave the responses. In the Chunqiu Gongyang lun 春秋公羊論 in two juan, Yu Yi 庾翼 who held the position of General of Chariots and Calvary during the Jin dynasty asked the questions and Wang Qianqi 王愆期 responded to them. [These texts are] lost." (See: Sui shu 32.931) The titles of the texts and the number of juan they contain given by Pi Xirui do not agree with the information found in the "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu. I suspect that these are inadvertent errors on his part.

[30](6/2, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Qianqi 王愆期 was a native of Yishi 猗氏 in Hedong 河東 who lived during the Jin dynasty. He was the son of Wang Jie 王接. He wrote annotations to the Gongyang and also compiled the Lienü houzhuan 列女後傳. Biographical information about him is appended to the biography of his father which is contained in juan fifty-one of the Jin shu. (See: Jin shu 51.1434-36) Kong Yingda's Zhengyi commentary to the "Preface" (序) to the "Taishi" 泰誓 chapter of the Documents states, "As for the kings of the Spring and Autumn Annals, were none other than kings of that era, and they were not the kings who

there was no one who put forth this theory, and there was also nothing on which it could be based.

[6/3 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui opens this section with a quote from the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi which in a phrase sums up the differences between Southern scholarship and Northern scholarship. He then challenges the Bei shi's pronouncement, and by examining the facts and details, shows that it is inaccurate and misleading with respect to Classical Scholarship. Revisiting the early Han masters, whose approach to the Classics and to the transmission of learning he takes as the standard by which all later Classical Scholarship is measured, he shows that the qualities of Southern scholarship fall short of the mark. Pi then turns his attention to the Huang Kan's subcommentary to the Lunyu, the only surviving work of this kind from the period, and to the Liji shu, which had its basis in both the scholarship of Huang Kan and in that of Xiong Ansheng, a scholar from the north. Quoting Kong Yingda's opinions of the

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corrected the calendar. During the Jin dynasty, there was one Wang Qianqi, he knew that this could not be so, so when he wrote a commentary to the Gongyang, he thought that when the Spring and Autumn Annals takes its institutions from King Wen (Wen Wang) it was pointing to Confucius, and not Zhou Chang 周昌 (King Wen of Zhou)." (See: Chunqiu Gongyang zhushu, Ssjzs, 11.2b)

two scholars, Pi uses this example to comment on the nature of the Huang's explanations of the rites.]

6/3[31] The Bei shi goes on to state, "Southerners were simple and concise, obtaining its flowers and blossoms [essence]; Northern scholarship was deep and complex, exhausting its branches and leaves [i.e. its many complications and diversities]."[32] In the early years of the Tang dynasty people placed a heavy value on the South and disdained the North, and as a result they decided to follow Southern scholarship. However, in reality it (scholarship) was not like this. In explaining the Classics, brevity and simplicity are held in high regard, and high value is not placed on depth and complexity, and this became established practice. But [those qualities] that they referred to as brevity and simplicity by necessity must be like the Han scholars' grasp of the overall significance, their studying and learning from the text of the Classics, their oral instruction of [the significance of] the sublime words, their careful attention to maintaining the integrity of the master's explanations, and then and only then it is extremely concise while

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[31][SVA: Section 6/3 corresponds to pp.176-8 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.186-9 of the Yiwen ed.]

[32](6/3, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: For the quoted passage, see the "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (81.2709).

being extremely refined. When those of the Tang spoke of Southerners being concise and simple and grasping flowers and blossoms, they were only referring to famous dictums drifting down like jade filings[33] and displays of leisurely and airy philosophical discussions carried on with a yak-tail flywhisk[34] in one hand, along with writing for the love of richness and

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[33](6/3, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese "名言霏屑" is to say that famous dictums [fly about] like the drifting down of jade filings. In Han Wei's 韓維 (1017-1098) poem "He Wu jiu Wang ershiba xueshi" 和吳九王二十八雪詩 [SVA: correcting Zhou Yutong] there is the line, "中微玉霏屑" ("In the midst of fine, jade like snowflakes flying about"). (See: Han Wei, Nanyang ji, 南陽集, Skqs, 16.a; Jinshi 47.1379.)

In Wang Yun's 王惲 (223-297) poem "Liuli fei" "琉璃肺詩" there is the line, "四筵談屑霏餘烈" ("Four banquets, bits of conversation, drifting down, lingering spicy hot flavors") (See: Gu Siwen 顧嗣文 comp., Yuan shixuan chuji 元詩選初集, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987, p.487.)

[34](6/3, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese, zhu 麈 is an abbreviation for zhuwei 麈尾 ("yak's tail") which was used as a whisk [or fly-swat] in ancient times. Wang Yan 王衍, who lived during the Jin dynasty, delighted in "airy conversation" (or "pure talk," abstract conversation, etc.,--qingtan 清談), usually holding an yak- tail fly-whisk, and as a result people of later ages sometimes used the binome zhutan 麈談 ("yak-tail fly-whisk talk") [when referring to these kinds of discussions]. The biography of Wang Yan in juan forty-three of the Jin shu states, "The entire day engaging in 'airy conversation,' ...exquisitely skilled at

engaging in the superfluous art of literary embellishments.[35] In a work like Huang Kan's 黃侃 (488-545) Lunyu yishu 論語義疏,[36] terms, things, and

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mysterious words, their sole endeavor being the discussion of Laozi and Zhuangzi. He always held a yak-tail fly-whisk with a jade handle, the same color as his hand." (See: Jin shu 43.1236)

[35](6/3, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Wuzi" 吾子 chapter in juan two in Yang Xiong's Fayan 法言 states, "Someone asked, 'When you were young, [was it not the case that] you liked writing fu?' I replied, 'Yes, that was the case. A child carves worm and seal script.' A moment later Yang said, 'A mature adult does not do this.'" (See: Fayan, Csjc, 2.5) Because of this, people of later ages always used the term "the carving of insects" as criticism when referring to the literary arts.

[36](6/3, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Huang Kan 皇侃 was a native of Wujun 吳郡 (Wu Commandery) who lived during the Liang dynasty. In the Liang shu 梁書 his name is written as 皇偘. He held the official position of Instructor to the Sons of State (guozi zhujiao 國子助教--cf. Hucker 1367, 3542). His writings include the Lunyu yi 論語義 and the Liji yi 禮記義. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Liang shu (48.680-1) and the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Nan shi (71.1744). The Lunyu yi written by Huang Kan is none other than the Lunyu yishu 論語義疏 which contained ten juan, and was lost during the Southern Song period. During the Qing dynasty, in the ninth year of the Kangxi 康熙 reign period (1670), the Japanese scholar Yamanoi Kanae 山井鼎 stated that there was a copy of this text in Japan, and during the Qianlong 乾龍 reign period (1736-1795), this text was first brought to China. At present, the Gujingjie huihan 古經解

institutions are just briefly mentioned and not discussed in detail, for the most part he uses the ideas of Laozi and Zhuangzi, writes in parallel prose style, and is completely removed from the Han scholars' explanation of the Classics. This is the only subcommentary to the Classics from the Southern dynasties which has survived to the present, and in it we can see the spirit and fashion of the times. Jiang Fan 江藩 (1761-1830) obtained a copy from Japan and suspected that it was a Ashikaga 足利 forgery.[37] He did not

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彙函 contains a woodblock edition. For a detailed evaluation, see the notice in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.712-716.

[37](6/3, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Jiang Fan 江藩 (zi Zibing 子屏; hao Zhengtang 鄭堂; 1761-1830) was a native of Ganquan 甘泉 who lived during the Qing dynasty. He studied with Yu Xiaoke 余蕭客 and Jiang Sheng 江聲 who were major figures and who had both been students of Hui Dong. Jiang Fan exclusively held Han learning in high regard. His writings include the Guochao Hanxueshi chengji 國朝漢學師承記, the Songxue yuanyuan ji 宋學淵源記, the Jingshi jingyi mulu 經師經義目錄, the Zhouyi shubu 周易疏補, the Lijing wen 隸經文, and the Bingzhushi zawen 炳燭室雜文. For his biography, see part four of the "Ruxue" 儒學 section in juan seventy-four of Miao Quansun's Xu Beizhuan ji. The biography of Yu Gunong 余古農 (Yu Xiaoke) in juan two of Jiang Fan's Guochao Hanxueshi chengji states, "With respect to Huang Kan's Lunyu yishu, this text came out after the Gujingjie gouchen 古經解鉤沉, and moreover it was an Ashikaga forgery. Ashikaga 足利 is none other than the Ashikaga gakko 足利學校 (Ashikaga School). The

recognize this kind of literary style, and it could not have be written by someone who lived after the Six Dynasties period. The Liji shu 禮記疏 (Subcommentary to the Record of Rites) had its roots with two scholars, Huang Kan and Xiong Ansheng 熊安生 (6th cent.), Xiong Ansheng's scholarship falling under the heading of Northern Scholarship and Huang Kan's belonging to Southern Scholarship.[38] Kong Yingda thought that

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Japanese used moveable type when printing the Huang Kan Lunyu yishu. See Yamanoi Konron's 山井昆侖 (style name Kanae 鼎; ob. 1728) forward (凡例 "Principles of Composition") to the to his 七經孟子考文. (See: Qijing Mengzi kaoyi bing buyi 七經孟子考文並補遺, Csjc ed., Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936; p.1 of the "Fanli" 凡例) For a detailed evaluation, see the notice to the Qijing Mengzi kaowen buyi 七經孟子考文補遺 in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, p.677-9. Jiang Fan thought that Huang's Subcommentary 疏 was an Ashikaga forgery and thus unreliable. [SVA: Cf. the line "據足利學所有也," in the "Fanli." Also cf. the entry in Kokusho somokuroku 國書總目錄, Tokyo: Iwanamai Shoten, 1989-1991, Vol.4, p.106.]

[38](6/3, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: According to his biography, Huang Kan wrote two texts, the Liji jiangshu 禮記講疏 and the Liji yi 禮記義. The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu records a Liji yishu in ninety-nine juan and a Liji jiangshu in forty-eight juan. (See: Sui shu 32.922) The "Monograph on Literature" sections of the Tang histories record a Liji yishu in fifty juan and a Liji jiangshu in one hundred juan. (See: Xin Tang shu, 57.1433; Jiu Tang shu, 46.1973) The number of juan in the entries is reversed and not exactly the same. These two texts have been lost. The Qing scholar Ma

Xiong Ansheng went against the Classics by quoting many meanings from esoteric commentaries, and in trying to explain the Classics only gathered

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Guohan has compiled a Liji Huangshi yishu 禮記皇氏義疏 in four juan which is contained in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu.

Xiong Ansheng 熊安生 (zi Zhisheng 植之) was a native of Fucheng 阜城 in Changle 長樂 who lived during the Northern Zhou dynasty. He was thoroughly versed in the Five Classics and had an especially detailed knowledge of the three Rites texts. He served the Northern Qi dynasty in the capacity of Erudite to the Sons of State (國子博士). He then served the Northern Zhou as a Junior Grand Master (xia dafu 下大夫--Hucker 2299) to the Erudites of the Lumen Academy 露門學. His writings include yishu 義疏 commentaries to the Rites of Zhou, Record of Rites and the Classic of Filial Piety. For his biography see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Zhou shu (45.812-3) and the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (82.2743-45). His biography states that the Liji yishu which Xiong Ansheng wrote contained thirty juan. The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu does not list this text and the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the Tang shu says that it contained forty juan. This text has been lost. Ma Guohan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu has compiled a Liji Xiongshi yishu 禮記熊氏義疏 in four juan.

Huang Kan is considered a person of the Liang dynasty which was a Southern dynasty, and therefore Pi Xirui uses the words "Southern scholarship." Xiong Ansheng is considered a person of the Northern Zhou dynasty which was a Northern dynasty and therefore Pi Xirui uses the words "Northern scholarship."

"difficult" interpretations,[39] and this is precisely what is meant by saying that Northern scholarship was overly deep and complex. In addition, he thought that although Huang Kan was detailed and precise in his commentaries by section and line, he was somewhat complicated and elaborate. When Xiong Ansheng is compared to Huang Kan, he considers Huang to be superior.[40] In this way then, as Huang is considered superior

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[39](6/3, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" to Kong Yingda's Liji zhengyi states, "Xiong Ansheng went against the original [meaning of] the Classics and in many cases quoted esoteric interpretations. It was like someone going to Chu, but heading north instead. Although one's horse gallops at full speed, one only gets farther and farther away [from one's destination]. In addition, in his attempts to explain the text of the Classics, he gathers together difficult explanations. This resembles trying to straighten out silk, but tangling it up. Although one's hands make many complex and difficult maneuvers, the silk threads become increasingly messed up." (See: Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, "Xu" 3a-b) Pi Xirui's citation is an abbreviated approximation of this passage.

[40](6/3, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" to Kong Yingda's Liji zhengyi states, "Although Huang Kan's commentary was detailed and accurate, he was somewhat overly complicated and elaborate. In addition, there are instances where he has already followed Zheng Xuan, but then at times goes against Zheng Xuan. These are instances where a tree falls down but does not return to its roots, or a fox when dying does not turn its head in direction of the mound where it was whelped. [SVA: Trans. following Legge, Li Chi, Vol. 1, p.131; cf. Liji, Ssjzs, 7.1a]...however, when comparing Xiong

when compared to Xiong, this is precisely what is meant when we say that Southerners were simple and concise. However, the subcommentary to the "Jiao tesheng" 郊特牲[41] [chapter of the Liji] states, "With respect to the first part of this Classic, Huang Kan gives broad explanations of Heaven and Earth, the Hundred Spirits, and the use of music that are not straightforward, along with [those concerning] miscellaneous ritual regulations. [His explanations] are elaborate and not to the point, and this is not what this Classic needs. In addition, he forces explanations to fit particular circumstances, completely lacking any basis. Now in all cases we ignore them and do not record them."[42] This is also what Kong Yingda was referring to as complex and elaborate. Explanations of the rites should basically be detailed and factual, not avoiding a little complexity. Huang Kan's explanations of the Record of Rites are far superior to his Lunyu yishu. Huang Kan's biography in the Nan shi states, "His Lunyu yi 論語義

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to Huang, Huang is certainly superior." (See: Liji zhushu, "Xu," 3b)

[41](6/3, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: "Jiao tesheng" 郊特牲 ("The Border Sacrifice") is the title of the eleventh chapter of the Liji.

[42](6/3, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: For the original text of this passage, see the subcommentary under the line "大饗尚腶脩而已矣" ("at the great feast meat prepared with cinnamon was highly valued and that's all." [following Legge, trans. Book of Rites, I, p.418]) in the "Jiao tesheng" chapter of Kong Yingda's Liji zhengyi. (See: Liji zhushu, 25.1b and 25.4b)

and Liji yi 禮記義 were looked upon favorably, and passed along by scholars."[43] Current status of these texts is that the Lunyu yi is extant after being lost and then later recovered, and a rough outline of the Liji yi can be seen in Kong Yingda's subcommentary.

[6/4 SVA Introductory Comments: This section opens with a rather long passage from the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Nan shi that recounts the state of education and scholarship during the Song (420-479), Qi (479-502), and Liang (502-557) dynasties. Throughout this time span, only during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Liang (reg. 502-549) did anything noteworthy take place. Under his direction, the Academy was established, institutes were constructed, Erudite positions for each of the Five Classics were established, students in attendance were given a stipend, and those who met certain standards were employed in the government. Men of learning and rank were sent to various locations throughout the empire to establish schools, and the members of the elite attended these schools to receive an education. However, once the Liang dynasty fell and the Chen dynasty was established, any significant support for education and scholarship all but vanished. For Pi, the reason for the revival during the

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[43](6/3, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: For the text of this passage, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Nan shi (71.1744).

reign of Emperor Wu of the Liang was owing to his scholarly background, which had the effect of importance being placed on learning. He ends this section on an ironic note, pointing out how during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Liang, the Erudites engaged in serious discussion about a forged passage in the suspect Guwen Shangshu.]

6/4[44] The "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan"[45] chapter of the Nan shi states, "As for the state schools during the Song and Qi dynasties, at the time some had been set up, but the curriculum was not very wide, and as they had not yet been established for ten years, it was probably the case that they only were able to obtain writing supplies. At this time, no schools had been opened in the villages and neighborhoods, and very few high officials had thorough control of the methods, techniques, and skills [acquired from the serious study] of the Classics (經術). The exalted scholars of the court studied alone and were unwilling to cultivate learning on the part of the masses. Younger students were unaided and unlearned, and while they embraced the Classics, they lacked the wherewithal to study. ...Coming to the time that

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[44][SVA: Section 6/4 corresponds to pp.178-182 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.189-193 of the Yiwen ed.]

[45](6/4, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: For the "Rulin zhuan" of the Nan shi, see juan seventy-one.

Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝[46] (reg. 502-549) founded the dynasty, he deeply lamented this deterioration. In the fourth year of the Tianjian 天監 reign period,[47] he then issued an edict ordering the construction of five institutes, the setting up of the Imperial Academy, and finally in order to offer instruction in the Five Classics, the establishment of individual Erudite positions for each of the Five Classics. Thereupon, Ming Shanbin 明山賓 of Pingyuan 平原, Lu Lian 陸璉 of Wujun 吳郡, Shen Jun 沈峻 of Wuxing 吳興, Yan Zhizhi 嚴植之 of Jianping 建平 and He Yang (alt. Zheng)

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[46](6/4, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Emperor Wu of the Liang 梁武帝 was surnamed Xiao 蕭 and had Yan 衍 as his given name. He killed Bao Juan 寶卷 who was the ruler of the Southern Qi dynasty and then took the throne for himself. Later, due to the chaos brought about by Hou Jing 侯景, he starved to death. He was on the throne for forty-eight years, beginning in the year 502 and continuing through 549. There were seven reign periods during his reign, the Tianjian 天監 (502-519), the Putong 普通 (520-526), the Datong 大通 (527-528), the Zhongdatong 中大通 (529-534), the Datong 大同 (535-544), the Zhongdatong 中大同 (546) and the Taiqing 太清 (547-549). For his biography, see the "Basic Annals" chapters of the Liang shu (1.1-3.102) and the "Basic Annals" of the Nan shi (6.167-7.228).

[47](6/4, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Tianjian is the first reign period of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty which covered a span of eighteen years. The fourth year in the Tianjian period is 505 A.D.

賀瑒 of Kuaiji 會稽[48] filled the Erudite positions, each being in charge of an

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[48](6/4, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Ming Shanbin 明山賓 (zi Xiaoruo 孝若) was a native of Pingyuan 平原 who lived during the Liang dynasty. He was widely versed in the Classics. He held successive official positions including that of Scholar of the Eastern Palace (Donggong xueshi 東宮學士--cf. Hucker 2704, 7440) and Chancellor of the Directorate of Education (Guozi jijiu 國子祭酒--Hucker 3540). He wrote the Jili yizhu 吉禮儀注, the Liyi 禮儀, and the Xiaojing sangfuyi 孝經喪服儀, which in all contained 259 juan. For his biography, see Liang shu 27.405-7 and Nan shi 50.1243-4.

With the exception of the "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter, no record of Lu Lian's 陸璉 life appears in either the Liang shu or in the Nan shi.

Shen Jun 沈峻 (zi Shisong 士嵩) was a native of Wukang 武康 in Wuxing 吳興 who lived during the Liang dynasty. He was widely versed in the Five Classics and had an especially strong command of the three Rites texts. He held the position of Erudite of the Five Classics (wujing boshi 五經伯士--Hucker 7752).

Yan Zhizhi 嚴植之 (zi Xiaoyuan 孝源) was a native of Zigui 秭歸 in Jianping 建平 who lived during the Liang dynasty. He gave precise explanations of the Sangfu 喪服, the Classic of Filial Piety and the Analects as well as thoroughly studying Zheng Xuan's commentaries to the Rites, the Changes, the Mao Version of the Songs and the Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals. He held the official position of Erudite of the Five Classics. He wrote the Xiongli yizhu 凶禮儀注 in 479 juan.

For the biography of Shen Jun, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapters of the

institute. Each division had several hundred students and they were each given a grain allowance.[49] Those who demonstrated proficiency in the Classics by passing the exams were appointed to the position of clerk. Thereupon, those embracing the Classics and carrying book boxes on their

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Liang shu 48.678-9 and the Nan shi 71.1740- 1. For the biography of Yan Zhizhi, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Liang shu 48.671-2 and the Nan shi 71.1735- 6.

He Yang 賀瑒 (zi Delian 德璉) was a native of Shanyin 山陰 in Kuaiji 會稽 who lived during the Liang dynasty. He passed on the family tradition, which was having a excellent understanding of the three Rites texts. He held the position of Erudite of the Five Classics and was promoted to the position of Infantry Commandant (bubing xiaowei 步兵校尉-- Hucker 4794). He wrote jiangshu 講疏 commentaries to the Rites texts, the Changes, the Laozi and the Zhuangzi along with the Binli yizhu 賓禮儀注, in all totaling 145 juan. For his biography, see the Liang shu (48.672-3) and the Nan shi (62.1507-8).

[49](6/4, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: "Each given a grain allowance" (給其餼廩) is to say that the government gives them each a grain allowance for their own use. The commentary (注) to the "Pinli" 聘禮 chapter of the Yili states, "Xi 餼 is like bing 稟 ('to give')." (See: Yili zhushu, Ssjzs, 19.9b) The Shuowen states, "稟,賜穀也" ("Bing means to give grain.") (See: Shuowen jiezi zhu, 5B.31a [p.233]) "氣,饋客芻米也." ("Qi means to give fodder and grain.") (See: Shuowen jiezi zhu, 7A.63b [p.336]) Bing 稟 is a variant of the character lin 廩. Qi 氣 is the original form of the character xi 餼.

shoulders gathered like clouds. Furthermore, students were selected and sent to Mt. Yunmen 雲門山 in Kuaiji to receive instruction from He Yin 何胤 who was a native of Lujiang 盧江.[50] The erudites and libationers were sent to various places throughout the provinces and commanderies to establish schools. In the seventh year (508), another edict ordered the heir apparent, the children of the royal family, and the kings and marquises to begin to go to the schools and receive instruction. Emperor Wu personally drove the

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[50](6/4, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: He Yin 何胤 (zi Ziji 子季) was a native of Lujiang 盧江 who lived during the Liang dynasty. He served Liu Huan 劉瓛 of Peiguo 沛國, receiving instruction in the Changes, Record of Rites and the Mao Version of the Songs. In addition, he entered the Dinglin Temple 定林寺 at Mt. Zhong 鐘山 to study the Buddhist canon. During the reign of Emperor Wu of Qi 齊武帝 (reg. 483-493), he served as the Governor of Jian'an 建安 and his administration was one of kindness and trust. Later, he went to Kuaiji where he lived in reclusion. During the reign of Emperor Wu of Liang (reg. 502-549) he was summoned to serve in the capacity of Grand Master for Splendid Happiness (guanglu dafu 光錄大夫--Hucker 3349), but he declined and did not accept the appointment, moving to Mt. Qinwang 秦望山, where he resided. He wrote the Baifa lun 百法論, the Shiermen lun 十二門論, the Zhouyi zhu 周易注, the Mao Shi tongji 毛詩統集, the Mao Shi yinyi 毛詩隱義, the Liji yinyi 禮記隱義, and the Li dawen 禮答問. For his biography, see the "Chushi zhuan" 處士傳 chapter of the Liang shu (51.735-9) and the Nan shi (30.789-94).

imperial carriage and offered sacrifices to the first teachers and first sages,[51] he followed this with group discussions, and rewarded them with gifts of bolts of silk. How magnificent! How impressive! The great Way was put into practice in this manner. After Emperor Wu of the Chen dynasty 陳武帝[52] (reg. 557-9) came to the throne, it was a time when the Classics fell

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[51](6/4, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Wen Wang shizi" 文王世子 chapter of the Record of Rites states, "At all the schools, in the spring an official makes offerings to the first teacher and first sage, and in the autumn and winter, he does this as well. In the case when a school is first established, it is necessary to make offerings to the first sage and the first teacher." Zheng Xuan's commentary states, "'To make offerings' (釋奠) means to set out sacrificial foods and the pouring of libations and that is all. It does not include the symbolic welcoming of representations of the deceased and other things of this nature." Kong Yingda's subcommentary states, "'To make offerings' means to only to set out the things to be offered. It does not include eating, drinking, or the offering of toasts." (See: Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, 20.8b-9b. Cf. Legge, trans., Li Chi, I, pp.347-8.)

[52](6/4, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Emperor Wu of Chen 陳武帝 was surnamed Chen 陳 and had the given name Baxian 霸先. He killed Wang Sengbian 王僧辯, received the abdication of Emperor Jing of Liang 梁敬帝, and ascended the throne. He was on the throne for three years, beginning in 557 until 559. The title of his reign period was Yongding 永定. For his biography, see the "Basic Annals" section in the Chen shu (1.1-2.43) and the "Basic Annals" section in the Nan shi (9.257-75).

into decline and disarray, ...there was no time for financial assistance for education, ...very few schools were established and little, if nothing, was achieved."[53] The Southern Dynasties boasted of their literature, but placed little importance on the methods, techniques, and skills [acquired from the serious study] of the Classics. The Song dynasty, the Qi dynasty, along with the Chen dynasty are all not worthy of our attention. Only Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty rose from the ranks of scholars and understood the reasons to venerate the methods, techniques, and skills [acquired from the serious study] of the Classics. Cui 崔, Yan 嚴, He 何 and Fu 伏[54] sooner or

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[53][SVA: For the source of this quote, see: Nan shi 71.1730.]

[54](6/4, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Cui 崔 is Cui Ling'en 崔靈恩. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Nan shi (71.1739-40) and the "Rulin zhuan" of the Liang shu (48.676-7). Yan 嚴 is Yan Zhizhi 嚴植之. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Nan shi (71.1735-1736) and the Liang shu (48.671-2). He 何 is He Tongzhi 何佟之. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Nan shi (71.1734-5) and the Liang shu (48.663-4). Fu 伏 is Fu Xuan 伏暅. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Nan shi 71.1731 and of the "Liangli zhuan" 良吏傳 chapter of the Liang shu (53.774-7).

Cui Ling'en was a native of Dongwucheng 東武城 in Qinghe 清河. He studied all of the Five Classics and had an especially detailed knowledge of the three Rites texts and the three commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals. Early on he served the Wei, but later went and served the Liang

later all rose to high ranks and enjoyed favor, and from the four directions students flocked to them in great numbers, and this was probably the result of Confucian learning being held in high esteem. However, in his later years he became confused by Buddhism which led to chaos and destruction,[55] and

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dynasty in the capacity of Erudite of the National University (cf. Hucker 3520). He wrote the Mao Shi jizhu 毛詩集注, the Zhouli jizhu 周禮集注, the Zhi Sanli yizong 制三禮義宗, the Zuoshi jingzhuan yi 左氏經傳義, the Zuoshi tiaoli 左氏條例 and the Gongyang Guliang wenju yi 公羊穀梁文句義.

On Yan Zhizhi, see 6/4, n.4.

He Tongzhi (zi Shiwei 士威) was a native of Qian 灊 in Lujiang 廬江. He had a particular liking for the three Rites. Early on he served the Qi, but later he went and served the Liang in the capacity of Assistant Director of the Left in the Department of State Affairs (shangshu zuocheng 尚書左丞 --cf. Hucker 5044, 5053, 6951). His writings discussing the rites numbered approximately one hundred pian.

Fu Xuan (zi Xuanyao 玄曜) was a native of Anqiu 安丘 in Pingchang 平昌. He was the son of Fu Manrong 伏曼容, he was able to transmit his father's scholarship. He first served Qi, but later went and served Liang in the capacity of Erudite of the Five Classics. In addition, he was successively in charge of provincial administration.

[55](6/4, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: In his later years Emperor Wu of Liang revered and believed in Buddhism, on three occasions gave himself up and devoted himself to the Tongtai Temple 同泰寺, where he personally lectured on the Jinzi sanhuijing 金字三慧經. The Minister over the Masses from the Eastern Wei, Hou Jing 侯景, offered to surrender the thirteen

the result was that Southern scholarship never attained greatness. Yao Fangxing 姚方興 obtained twenty-eight characters from the beginning of the "Shundian" 舜典 [chapter of the Documents] from the front of a large square shaped watercraft and during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty their meaning was discussed and debated by the Erudites. [These discussions] had the character of those which were personally presided over by Emperor Xuan and Emperor Zhang of the Han and moreover they have come down to the present. A forgery within a forgery is something which Emperor Wu of the Liang never imagined.[56]

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provinces and Emperor Wu accepted them. Soon, Wei dispatched an envoy to request peace and it was agreed to. Hou Jing was suspicious, subsequently rebelled, captured Taicheng 臺城, and the emperor starved to death. When Pi Xirui writes, "in his later years he became confused by Buddhism, which led to chaos and destruction," he was probably referring to this. For a detailed account, consult the "Basic Annals" of the Liang shu (1.1-3.102) and the Nan shi (6.167-7.222).

[56](6/4, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Preface" (敘錄) to Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen states, "During the Jianwu 建武 reign period (494-7) of Emperor Ming of Qi 齊明帝 (reg. 494-8), Yao Fangxing 姚方興 of Wuxing 吳興 selected from the commentaries of Ma [Rong] and Wang [Su] and composed the Kong zhuan Shun dian 孔傳舜典 in one pian. He said that it was obtained from the front of a large vessel, and submitted it. [SVA: Reading JDSW 之 for JXLS 行] During the reign of Emperor Wu of Liang

[6/5 SVA Introductory Comments: This section begins with a rather long passage from the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi that recounts the

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(reg. 502-549) he served in the position of Erudite and submitted a memorial which read, 'Kong's preface states that Fu Sheng made errors in combining five pian, the [pieces of] text being connected to one another, and this is what causes mistakes. The beginning of the "Shun dian" contains the phrase 曰若稽古 ("Examining into antiquity"). Although Fu Sheng was very old and confused, how is it permissible to combine them?' Consequently, it was not circulated." (See: Jingdian shiwen, 1.16b)

The forged Old Script Documents separates the text which follows the line "慎徽五典" in the "Yao dian" and calls it the "Shun dian." However, at the beginning it adds the following twenty-eight characters which were forged by Yao Fangxing: "曰若稽古帝舜曰重華, 協于帝, 濬哲文明, 溫恭允塞, 玄德升聞, 乃命以位" ("Examining into antiquity, Emperor Shun was called Chonghua. He assisted the former emperor. He was profound, wise, cultured and intelligent. He was warm, respectful, honest and sincere. His mysterious character was heard on high, and thus he received the mandate to take the imperial throne.") (See: Shangshu zhushu, Ssjzs, 3.1b; trans. following Legge, The Shoo King, p.29) For a detailed evaluation, consult Yan Ruoqu's Guwen Shangshu shuzheng and Hui Dong's Guwen Shangshu kao. The Shangshu Kong zhuan which Mei Ze presented to the throne during the Eastern Jin dynasty was originally a forged text and what was added by Yao Fangxing was additional forged material. Therefore Pi Xirui's statement, "A forgery within a forgery." In addition in the Chinese, the character hang 斻 is a variant of the character hang 航.

support the emperors of the Northern dynasties, the Wei in particular, gave to education and scholarship. In Pi Xirui's opinion, of the rulers of the Northern dynasties, only Emperor Wen (reg. 471-499) of the Northern (Toba) Wei and Emperor Wu (reg. 561-578) of the Northern Zhou were able to elevate the status of scholarship and learning to an especially high level. In addition, while he does not think that the general effects were necessarily better that those of the Xiao Liang dynasty (502-577) in the south, he maintains that Northern scholarship was superior to its Southern counterpart owing to the fact that it maintained a certain purity and simplicity. For Pi Xirui, the prominence of learning and scholarship that began and flourished in the Wei was to have lasting effects into the mid-seventh century.]

6/5[57] The "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan"[58] of the Bei shi states, "When Emperor Daowu of Wei 魏道武帝[59] (reg. 386-408) first pacified the central

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[57][SVA: Section 6/5 corresponds to pp.182-6 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.193-8 of the Yiwen ed.]

[58](6/5, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: For the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi, see: Bei shi 81.2703-82.2775.

[59](6/5, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Emperor Daowu of Wei 魏道武帝 was surnamed Tuoba 拓拔 and had the given name Gui 珪. He took the throne in the eleventh year of the Taiyuan 太元 period of the Jin dynasty (386). He

plain, ...he began to build cities, and he then placed the study of the Classics at the fore. He established the Imperial Academy, set up Erudite positions for the Five Classics, and the number of students exceeded one thousand. In the Spring of the second year of the Tianxing 天興 reign period,[60] the number of students at the School for the Sons of State (國子學) and the Imperial Academy (太學) reached three thousand. ...During the reign of Emperor Mingyuan 明元帝[61] (reg.409-423), the School for the Sons of State was changed to the National University (中書學) and Instructors and

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was on the throne for twenty-three years. The four reign periods during his rule were: Dengguo 登國 (386-395), Huangshi 皇始 (396- 397), Tianxing 天興 (398-403) and Tiansi 天賜 (404-408). For his biography see the "Annals" in the Wei shu (2.19-47) and the "Basic Annals of Wei" in the Bei shi (1.9-25).

[60](6/5, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Tianxing 天興 is the third reign period of Emperor Daowu of Wei. The second year of the Tianxing reign period corresponds to the year 400 by the Western calendar.

[61](6/5, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Emperor Mingyuan of Wei 魏明元帝 had the given name Si 嗣 and was the eldest son of Emperor Daowu. In the fifth year of the Yixi 義熙 reign period of the Jin dynasty (409) he killed Tuoba Shao 拓拔紹 and took the throne. He reigned for fifteen years. There were three reign periods during his rule: Yongxing 永興 (409-413), Shenrui 神瑞 (414-415) and Taichang 泰常 (416-423). For his biography, see the "Annals" of the Wei shu (3.49-68) and the "Basic Annals of Wei" in the Bei shi (1.25-39).

Erudites were appointed. In the Spring of the third year of the Shiguang 始光 period[62] of the reign of Emperor Taiwu 太武帝 (reg. 424-451), construction began on the Imperial Academy at the East Wall. Later, he summoned Lu Xuan 盧玄, Gao Yun 高允 and others,[63] ordered the provinces

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[62](6/5, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Emperor Taiwu of Wei 魏太武帝 had the given name Tao 燾 and was the eldest son of Emperor Mingyuan 明元帝. He took the throne in the first year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign period (424) of Emperor Wen of the Northern Song 宋文帝. He was on the throne for twenty-eight years. There were six reign periods during his rule: Shiguang 始光 (424-427), Shenjia 神䴥 (428-431), Yanhe 延和 (432-434), Taiyan 太延 (435-439), Taiping zhenjun 太平真君 (440-450) and Zhengping 正平 (451). For his biography, see the "Annals" in the Wei shu (4A.69-4B.110). Shiguang is the name of the first reign period in the reign of Emperor Taiwu. The third year in the Shiguang period is 426 A.D.

[63](6/5, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Lu Xuan 盧玄 (zi Zizhen 子真) was a native of Zhuo 涿 in Fanyang 范陽 who lived during the Northern Wei. When Emperor Taiwu summoned talented scholars of the Empire to serve the government, Lu Xuan was first. He was appointed to the position of Erudite in the Secretariat (zhongshu boshi 中書博士--Hucker 1608 ff.), was given the title Gu'anzi 固安子, and had the posthumous name Xuan 宣. For his biography, see Wei shu 47.1045 and Bei shi 30.1071.

Gao Yun 高允 (zi Bogong 伯恭) was a native of Bohai 渤海 who lived during the Northern Wei. He had a love for literature and was widely versed in the Classics, history, astronomy and mathematics. During the Shenjia

and commanderies to each select talented students, and thereupon people for the most part encouraged each other to hold Ruist learning and methods in high regard. ...Early in the Tianan 天安[64] period, an imperial edict was issued which called for the establishment of schools at the local level. ...During the Taihe 太和[65] period, the National University was changed to the School for the Sons of State, the Luminous Hall (明堂) and Circular Moat (辟雍) were erected, the Thrice Venerable (三老) and Quintuply Experienced (五更)[66] were honored, and in addition they began the

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(428-431) period in the reign of Emperor Taiwu, he was appointed to the position of Erudite in the Secretariat and continuing to advance, had the title Xianyang Gong 咸陽公 bestowed upon him. After his death he was given the posthumous name Wen 文. For his biography, see Wei shu 48.1067-90 and Bei shi 31.1117-32.

[64](6/5, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Tianan 天安 was the first reign period in the reign of Emperor Xianwen 獻文帝 (reg.466-470) of the Northern Wei. It covered only one year, 466 by the Western calendar.

[65](6/5, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Taihe 太和 was the third reign period in the rule of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝(reg. 471-499) of the Northern Wei. It covered a period of twenty-three years, from 477 through 499 by the Western calendar.

[66](6/5, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Thrice Venerable" (san lao 三老) was the teacher of the multitude of men. The "Quintuply Experienced" (wugeng 五更) was one who understood the how the Five Phases replace one

schooling of the sons of the emperor. The capital was moved to the City of Luo,[67] and a imperial edict ordered that the School for the Sons of State and the Imperial Academy be set up along with Primary Schools of the Four Gates.[68] ...Liu Fang 劉芳, Li Biao 李彪[69] and others advanced owing to their

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another. See the notes to the "Annals of Emperor Ming" 明帝紀 in the Hou Han shu (1B.96, n.5; 1B.103, n.4). One explanation says that the Thrice Venerable and Quintuply Experienced are merely spoken of interchangeably, and they both refer to an aged person who understands the Three Virtues and Five Events. See the note to the "Yueji" chapter of the Liji (Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, 39.14a). One opinion is that geng 更should be written as sou 叟 ("old age"). See the Jingdian shiwen (12.4b) on the "Wen Wang Shizi" 文王世子 chapter of the Liji.

[67](6/5, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: The "City of Luo" 洛邑 refers to Luoyang 洛陽. In the eighteenth year of the Taihe period of the reign of Emperor Xiaowen of Wei which was the first year of the Jianwu 建武 period of the reign of Emperor Ming of Qi 齊明帝, or 494 by the Western calendar, the Wei moved the capital to Luoyang.

[68][SVA: See: Hucker 5719.]

[69](6/5, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Fang 劉芳 (zi Bowen 伯文) was a native of Pengcheng 彭城 who lived during the Northern Wei. He was especially good at sound glosses, his analysis being beyond question, and his contemporaries referred to him as "Liu Shijing" 劉石經 ("Stone Classic Liu"). During the reign of Emperor Xuanwu 宣武帝 (reg. 500- 515) he served in office, attaining the position of Secretariat Director (zhongshu ling 中書令

skills in Classical learning and methods. ...During the reign of Emperor Xuanwu 宣武帝[70] (reg. 500-516), again an order was issued for the

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--Hucker 1616) and he was later transferred to the post of Chamberlain for Ceremonials (taichang qing 太常卿--Hucker 6138). In this capacity he participated in drafting imperial commands and court etiquette. He composed thirteen written works. After his death, he was known by the posthumous name Wenzhen 文貞. For his biography, see Wei shu (55.1219-27) and Bei shi (42.1541-50).

Li Biao 李彪 (zi Daogu 道固) was a native of Weigu 衛固 who lived during the Northern Wei. During the reign of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝 (reg. 471-499), he held successive positions including Vice Director of the Palace Library (mishu cheng 秘書丞--Hucker 4587), where he participated in matters relating to written works. Soon thereafter he was dismissed from office due owing to an impropriety. During the reign of Emperor Xuanwu, although he did not hold an official position, he participated in the compilation of histories in the Palace Library. Soon after he was appointed to the position of Senior Recorder for Comprehensive Duty (tongzhi sanji changshi 通直散騎常侍--Hucker 7474). His written works are contained in his collected writings (wenji 文集). After he died he was known by the posthumous name Gangxian 剛憲. For his biography, see Wei shu (62.1381-99) and Bei shi (40.1452-65).

[70](6/5, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: Emperor Xuanwu of Wei 魏宣武帝 (reg. 500-515) was the second son of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝. His given name was Wu 悟. He was on the throne for sixteen years. There were four reign periods during his rule: Jingming 景明 (500-503), Zhengshi 正史 (504-5-7),

construction of the National University (國學), to build the Primary School of the Four Gates, to select Confucian scholars on a grand scale in order to fill forty Erudite positions at the primary school level. Although the schools themselves had yet to be built, [the influence of] Classical learning and methods was all the more evident. At the time, the empire was at peace and the enterprise of learning was flourishing to a high degree. Therefore, during the Yan, Qi, Zhao and Wei, the records of instances when the Classics were spread out and studied could not be counted. The larger schools had over one thousand students, and the smaller ones had several hundred. ...After Wen of Zhou 周文[71] received the mandate, he placed heavy

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Yongping 永平 (508-511) and Yanchang 延昌 (512- 515). For his biography, see the "Annals" section in the Wei shu (8.191-220) and the "Basic Annals of Wei" section of the Bei shi (4.131-143).

[71](6/5, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: "Wen of Zhou" 周文 refers to August Emperor Wen 文皇帝 of the Northern Zhou whose name was Yuwen Tai 宇文泰. He was a native of Wuchuan 武川 in Tai 泰. He served the Northern Wei in the capacity of Area Commander-in-Chief (da dudu 大都督--Hucker 6096) of Guanxi 關西. Emperor Xiaowu planned to attack Gaohuan 高歡, was unsuccessful, went westward, based himself at Tai, making it into Western Wei 西魏. Yuwen Tai poisoned him, installed Emperor Wen and became Grand Preceptor (taishi 太師--Hucker 6213). His son Yuwen Jue 宇文覺 (reg. 557) usurped the Western Wei, changing its name to the Northern

emphasis on the Classics; ...and when August Ming 明帝[72] [of the Northern Zhou] usurped the throne, he held the scholarly arts in the highest regard. In the court there was a point of view that venerated literature,[73] and

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Zhou 北周. He then acted retroactively, honoring Yuwen Tai as the Grand Founder, August Emperor Wen 太祖皇文帝. For his biography, see the "Basic Annals" section of the Zhou shu (1.1-2.44) and the "Basic Annals of Zhou" section of the Bei shi (9.311-330).

[72](6/5, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: "August Ming" 明皇 refers to Emperor Ming 明帝 of the Northern Zhou 北周 whose name was Yuwen Yu 宇文毓. Yuwen Yu was the oldest son of Yuwen Tai, occupied the throne for three years, the name of his reign period being Wucheng 武成 (559-560). For his biography, see the "Basic Annals" section of the Zhou shu (4.53-62) and the "Basic Annals of Zhou" section of the Bei shi (9.333-8). [SVA: Standard reference works list 557 as the year Yuwen Yu became the ruler of the Northern Zhou dynasty.]

[73](6/5, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: The "Annals of Emperor Ming" 明帝紀 in juan four of the Zhou shu states, "After the emperor assumed the throne, he assembled over eighty officials with literary ability from those of the rank of Duke and minister on down, in the Linzhi Palace 麟趾殿 to edit and collate the Classics and histories. In addition, they chose and selected numerous texts, from Fu Xi and Shen Nong onward, up until the end of the Wei dynasty, so as to provide a narrative in the form of a genealogy from one era to the next. [The work] totaled five hundred juan." (See: Zhou shu 4.60) The "Basic Annals of Zhou" in the Bei shi contains an almost identical passage. (See: Bei shi 9.338) The line in the "Rulin zhuan," "In the court

outside the court value was placed upon the positions at the institutes of learning.[74]...Shen Zhong 沈重 was summoned from Nanjing 南荊,[75] ...and

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there was a point of view that venerated literature," was probably referring to this.

[74](6/5, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: Chengjun 成均 was the name of a school in ancient times, which is used here. The "Chunguan" 春官 section of the Zhouli states, "The Musician-in-Chief (da siyue 大司樂--Hucker 6056) was in charge of the rules and methods used at the schools in order to control the administration of education for establishment of the nation, and brought together the sons of the state there." Zheng Xuan's commentary reads, "Chengjun 成均 is the school of the Five Emperors." (See: Zhouli zhushu, 22.6b) Neither the "Annals of Emperor Ming" chapter of the Zhou shu nor the "Basic Annals of Zhou" chapter of the Bei shi record Emperor Ming's establishment of schools. They only contain passages where Houmo Chenchong 侯莫陳崇 and Da Xiwu 達奚武 were made Minister of Rites (da zongbo 大宗伯--Hucker 6088). The Musician-in-Chief is under the office of the Minister of Rites. The line in the "Rulin zhuan," "outside the court value was placed upon the positions at the institutes of learning," is perhaps referring to this.

[75](6/5, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: Shen Zhong 沈重 (zi Zihou 子厚) was a native of Wukang 武康 in Wuxing 吾興 who lived during the Northern Zhou dynasty. Early on he served Liang in the capacity of Erudite for the Five Classics. Emperor Wu (reg. 561-578) of the Northern Zhou sent him gifts and invited him to the Metropolitan area where he commanded him to discuss the Five Classics, and appointed him to the position of Calvary

Xiong Ansheng was treated with special courtesy.[76] For this reason, the

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General-in-Chief (piaoji da jiangjun 驃騎大將軍--Hucker 4620) and Erudite at the Palace School (lumen boshi 露門博士--cf. Hucker 3854). Later, he returned to Liang. His writings include the Zhouli yi 周禮義 and the Yili yi 儀禮義. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Zhou shu (45.808-811) and the "Rulin zhuan" of the Bei shi 82.2741-5). Shen Zhong originally served the Liang dynasty which was ruled by the Xiao 蕭 family and which was a Southern dynasty. That the Southern dynasties are referred to as "Nanjing" 南荆 is explained in the "Shidi" 釋地 chapter [SVA: Jxls writes "Shishan" 釋山] of the Erya where it reads, "South of the Han is called Jingzhou." (漢南曰荆州) (See: Erya yishu, 中5.2a) Thus, nan 南 and jing 荆 are joined to form a [single] term.

[76](6/5, n.18) Zhou Yutong comments: On Xiong Ansheng 熊安生, see: 6/3, n.7. The "Rulin zhuan" of the Bei shi states, "In the third year of the Tianhe 天和 period (568) as Zhou and Qi enjoyed good relations, Yin Gongzheng 尹公正 of the Bureau of Military Personnel was sent [to Qi]. He discussed the Zhouli with the men of Qi, but the men of Qi were not able to respond to him. Xiong Ansheng was then summoned to the guest hall where he spoke with Yin Gongzheng... Gongzheng gasped in admiration [of his superior ability]. He returned home and related it all to Emperor Wu, and the emperor gained great respect for him. He then arrived at Ye 鄴... The emperor visited his residence, ordered him not to bow, personally took him by the arm and led him to where they sat together... He presented him with a gift of three hundred bolts of silk, three hundred piculs of rice, and a mansion... he also bestowed upon him an ivory memorial tablet and a gold

world looked up to and respected learning, and learning and education spread far and wide."[77] Of the leaders of the Northern Dynasties, only Emperor Wen of the Wei 魏孝文 and Emperor Wu of the Zhou 周孝武[78] were

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belt made of nine rings and numerous other things to match these. (See: Bei shi 82.2744) The "Rulin zhuan" in saying he was "treated with special courtesy," was probably referring to this.

[77](6/5, n.19) Zhou Yutong comments: In the Chinese tan 覃 is glossed as yan 延 ("to spread"). (See the "Shiyan" 釋言 chapter of the Erya yishu, 上 2.19b)

[78](6/5, n.20) Zhou Yutong comments: Emperor Xiaowen of Wei 魏孝文帝 (reg.471-499), whose given name was Hong 宏, was the eldest son of Emperor Xianwen 獻文帝. After he assumed the throne, he gave great impetus to the government promotion of literature, equalized the land holdings of the people, institutionalized the registration of households, refurbished the Luminous Hall, the Circular Moat, and the Divine Tower, carried out the rites performed at the suburban temple, and promoted the ceremonies of Entertaining the Aged and Plowing of the Field. In addition, he detested the vulgarity of the states' social customs, moved the capital to Luoyang, and prohibited the dress and language of the Hu tribe. He occupied the throne for twenty-nine years. There were three reign periods during his rule: Yanxing 延興(471-475), Chengming 承明 (476), and Taihe 太和 (477-499). For his biography, see the "Annals" of the Wei shu (7A.135- 7B.190) and the "Basic Annals of Wei" in the Bei shi (3.87- 130).

Emperor Wu of the Zhou 周武帝 (reg. 561-578), who was the fourth son of Yuwen Tai, had the given name Yong 邕. He placed prohibitions on both the teachings of Buddhism and Taoism, and destroyed the excessive

able to effect a change in the old ways, that is bring about a high level of respect for scholarship and learning. Examining the actual effects, we see that they were not necessarily superior to that of the Liang dynasty of the Xiaos. However, that Northern scholarship was superior to that of the South was owing to the northerner's custom of venerating the pure and basic, and not polluting it with an atmosphere of airy discourse, or with the practice of rhetoric for rhetoric's sake, and therefore they only held Zheng Xuan and Fu Qian in high regard and were not fooled and confused by [the forged] Kong [Anguo text], or by Wang Su, or by Du Yu. This was the reason why the purity and authenticity of the North was superior to the South. Jiao Xun 焦循[79] stated, "After the Zhengshi 正始[80] period, people venerated meaningless abstract discussion. Until the Jin crossed into the South,

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number of temples built for illegitimate gods. He took advantage of the decline of the Qi, wiped them out, and united the north. He occupied the throne for eighteen years. There were four reign periods during his rule: Baoding 保定 (561-565), Tianhe 天和 (566- 571), Jiande 建德 (572-577) and Xuanzheng 宣政 (578). For his biography, see the "Basic Annals" in the Zhou shu (5.63- 6.114) and the "Basic Annals of Zhou" in the Bei shi (10.347-73).

[79](6/5, n.21) Zhou Yutong comments: On Jiao Xun 焦循, see: 5/6, n.18.

[80](6/5, n.22) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhengshi 正始 (240-246) was the name of the first reign period of Cao Fang 曹芳, the deposed emperor of the Wei.

Classical Scholarship flourished in the North. From the great river southward, from the Song through the Qi dynasty, consequently it was impossible to compose a biographical chapter [based on the achievements] of scholars. During the Tianjian 天監[81] period of the Liang, there gradually developed an atmosphere where scholars were held in high regard, and thus the Liang shu contains a 'Rulin zhuan.' The Chen shu carried on this practice, following what was handed down by the Liang. The Confucian learning of the Wei dynasty was the most prominent, and it continued through the Northern Qi, the Northern Zhou, and the Sui, all the way to the reigns of Emperor Wude 武德 and Emperor Zhenguan 貞觀[82] of the Tang. This lasting influence continued unbroken, and thus the 'Rulin zhuan' chapter of the Wei shu is the most luminous.'"[83]

See 5/1, n.15.

[81](6/5, n.23) Zhou Yutong comments: Tianjian 天監 is the name of the first reign period of Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (reg. 502-549). It spanned a period of eighteen years, from 502 through 519 by the Western calendar.

[82](6/5, n.24) Zhou Yutong comments: Wude 武德 is the name of the reign period of Emperor Gaozu of the Tang 唐高祖(reg. 618-626). It covered nine years, from 618 through 626 by the Western calendar. Zhenguan 貞觀 is the name of the reign period of Emperor Taizong of the Tang 唐太宗 (reg. 627-649). It covered twenty-three years, from 627 through 649.

[83](6/5, n.25) Zhou Yutong comments: For the original text of this passage,

[6/6 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui begins this section with a quote from Kong Guangsen, the gist of which is that in spite of the social upheaval and non-orthodox thinking and teachings that were prevalent during the period of disunion, the Classics were never abandoned and Classical Scholarship continued on. For Pi, the scholarship of this time served as the foundation for the (sub)commentaries that were written during the Tang. He then lists the titles of works by scholars of the South and of the North that he feels were to have a significant effect, but for the most part have not survived. For Pi, it is important that the achievements of these individuals not be forgotten.]

6/6[84] "The war horses of the north were not able drive off the Confucian scholars who viewed the moon.[85] The Buddhists of the southern states were

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see juan twelve of Jiao Xun's Diaogulou ji 調菰樓集, entitled "Guoshi Rulin wenyuanzhuan zheng" 國史儒林文苑傳證. (See: Diaogu ji 調菰集, Csjc, 12.161) [SVA: The Diaogulou ji is also called the Diaogu ji.]

[84][SVA: Section 6/6 corresponds to pp.186-9 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.198-202 of the Yiwen ed.]

[85](6/6, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: "The north" refers to the Northern dynasties. The phrase "the Confucian scholars who view the moon" (視月之儒) comes from the Shishuo xinyu. The "Wenxue" 文學 chapter in juan two of

not able to change the principles which ordered Heaven."[86] This [passage shows that] Kong Guangsen 孔廣森 (1752-1786) believed that throughout the ages Classical Scholarship was never abandoned, and throughout the great chaos of the southern and northern dynasties, in spite of the

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the Shishuo xinyu states, "Zhi Daolin 支道林 heard this and said, '...the reading of Northerners is like viewing the moon in a bright place. The learning of Southerners is like looking at the sun through a window.'" Liu Xiaobiao's 劉孝標 commentary reads, "when one's learning is broad, it is difficult to be comprehensive, and when it is difficult to be comprehensive, then one's discernment will be dulled and superficial, and therefore like viewing the moon in a bright place. When one's learning is focused, it is then easy to be thorough, and when it is easy to be thorough, then one's knowledge will be clear, and therefore it is like looking at the sun through a window." (See: Shishuo xinyu, Sbck, 上之下.12a; translation following Mather, trans., A New Account of Tales of the World, pp.105-6) What Kong Guangsen probably means by these words is that although the Northern dynasties saw fighting on almost a daily basis, the fighting still was unable to drive away the Confucian scholars.

[86](6/6, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: The "southern states" is a reference to the southern dynasties. "The principles which ordered Heaven" (經天之義) is to say that the great principles of the Six Classics of Confucius are like the sun's ordering of the Heavens. Kong Guangsen is saying that although the Southern dynasties worshipped Buddhist teachings, such as in the case of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, this neither changed nor got rid of the great principles inherent in the Classics of Confucius.

heterodox teachings which spread like fire, the teachings of the sage were never cut off.[87] While the scholars of the South and the North held on to the remnants and protected the fragments, their achievements also still cannot be allowed to disappear. For Han scholarship, its strength lay in making the meaning of the Classics clear, and Tang scholarship placed emphasis on the sub-commentaries to commentaries.[88] At a time when Han scholarship was already in the past and Tang scholarship was yet to be, at the juncture between the end of one and of continuation [by another], the scholarship in

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[87](6/6, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Kong Guangsen 孔廣森 (zi Zhongzhong 眾仲, Huiyue 撝約; hao Xunxuan 巽軒; 1752-1786) was a native of Qufu 曲阜 in Shandong who lived during the Qing dynasty. During the Qianlong period [in 1771] he became a jinshi and was appointed to the position of Examining Editor (jiantao--Hucker 868). When he was young, he received instruction in the Classics from Dai Zhen 戴震. He wrote the Gongyang tongyi 公羊通義, the Da Dai Liji buzhu 大戴禮記補注, the Shi sheng lei 詩聲類, the Lixue zhiyan 禮學卮言, and the Jingxue zhiyan 經學卮言, along with other works. He was also a skilled prose writer and his compositions are collected in the Shi Zheng tang pianliwen 師鄭堂駢儷文. For his biography, see juan six of Guo Fan's Guochao Hanxue shicheng ji and juan 134 in Qian Yiji's 錢儀吉 Beizhuan ji 碑傳集. For the source of the quote, see Kong Guangsen's "Preface" ("Xu" 序) to the Daishi yishu 戴氏遺書. [SVA: Cf. 2/5, n.12]

[88][SVA: Word order suggests that in this context "shuzhu" 疏注 could also

the form of yishu 義疏 commentaries which were initiated by various scholars, had a positive effect on later generations which was very great. In the south, there were writings such as Cui Ling'en's 崔靈恩 Sanli yizong 三禮義宗 and Zuoshi jingzhuan yi 左士經傳義;[89] Shen Wene's 沈文阿 Chunqiu yiji 春秋義記, Liji yiji 禮記義記, Xiaojing yiji 孝經義記, and Lunyu yishu 論語義疏;[90] Huang Kan's 黃侃 Lunyu yi 論語義 and Liji yi 禮記義;[91] Qi Gun's 戚袞

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mean the "[writing] of subcommentaries to commentaries."]

[89](6/6, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: On Cui Ling'en 崔靈恩, see 6/4, n.9. Cui Ling'en wrote commentaries, the Sanli yizong 三禮義宗 in thirteen juan and the Zuoshi jingzhuan yi 左氏經傳義 in twenty-two juan. Both titles appear in the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Nan shi (71.1739), but are no longer extant. The Qing scholar Ma Guohan has compiled [fragments of] the Sanli yizong in four juan in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu which can be consulted.

[90](6/6, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Shen Wene 沈文阿 (zi Guowei 國衛) was a native of Wukang 武康 in Wuxing 吳興 who lived during the Chen dynasty. He passed on the tradition of his father's scholarship and learning, he was precise in his study of section and line (章句) commentaries, and had a strong command of the three Rites texts and the three Commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals. He served the Liang in the capacity of Erudite of the National University (guozi boshi 國子博士--Hucker 3543) and soon thereafter was ordered to serve as Infantry Commander (bubing xiaowei 步兵校尉--Hucker 4794). Later he served the Chen in official position of Senior Recorder for Comprehensive Duty (tongzhi sanji changshi

Liji yi 禮記義;[92] Zhang Ji's 張譏 Zhouyi yi 周易義, Shang shu yi 尙書義, Mao

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通直散騎常侍-- Hucker 7474). He wrote on more than eighty items regarding ceremony and ritual, composed the Jingdian dayi 經典大義 in eighteen juan, the Chunqiu yiji 春秋義記, the Liji yiji 禮記義記, the Xiaojing yiji 孝經義記 and the Lunyu yiji 論語義記, the contents of these works totaling over seventy juan. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Nan shi (71.1741-3) and the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Chen shu (33.434-6). All of Shen Wene's written works have been lost. The Qing scholar Ma Guohan has compiled fragments in the Chunqiu Zuoshi jingzhuan yilue 春秋左氏經傳義略 in one juan which is contained in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, and which can be consulted.

[91](6/6, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: On Huang Kan 皇侃 and his two written works, see: 6/3, n.5 and n.7.

[92](6/6, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Ji Gun 寂袞 (zi Gongwen 公文) was a native of Yanguan 鹽官 in Wujun 吳郡 who lived during the Liang dynasty. He received instruction in the three Rites texts from Liu Wenshao 劉文紹. In office he attained the position of Regional Inspector (cishi 刺史--Hucker 7567) of Jiangzhou 江州. He then went to Chen and served in the capacity of Administrative Supervisor (lushi canjun 錄事參軍--Hucker 3860) at the Princely Establishment at Shixing 始興. He wrote the Sanli yiji 三禮義記, but it was destroyed and lost during the ensuing turmoil. In addition, he wrote the Liji yi 禮記義 in forty juan which was in circulation during his lifetime, but it has also been lost. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" in the Nan shi (71.1747-8) and the "Rulin zhuan" in the Chen shu (33.440).

Shi yi 毛詩義, Xiaojing yi 孝經義 and Lunyu yi 論語義;[93] Gu Yue's 顧越 Sang fu yishu 喪服義疏, Mao Shi yishu 毛詩義疏, Xiaojing yishu 孝經義疏 and Lunyu yi 論語義;[94] Wang Yuangui's 王元規 Chunqiu yiji 春秋義記 and

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[93](6/6, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: Zhang Ji 張譏 (zi Zhiyan 直言) was a native of Wucheng 武城 in Qinghe 清河 who lived during the Chen dynasty. He thoroughly mastered the Classic of Filial Piety and the Analects, and had a deep affection for talk about things which are mysterious in nature. He served Liang in the capacity of Scholar of the Elite Academy (shilin guan xueshi 士林館學士--Hucker 2704, 5287). He went to Chen where he held the position of Erudite of the National University. He wrote the Zhouyi yi 周易義 in thirty juan, the Shangshu yi 尚書義 in fifteen juan, the Mao Shi yi 毛詩義 in twenty juan, the Xiaojing yi 孝經義 in eight juan, the Lunyu yi 論語義 in twenty juan, the Laozi yi 老子義, the Zhuangzi yi 莊子義, the Xuanbu tongyi 玄部通義, and the Youxuan guilin 游玄桂林, among other works. For his biography see the "Rulin zhuan" of the Nan shi (71.1750-2) and the "Rulin zhuan" of the Chen shu (33.443-5). All of Zhang Ji's writings have been lost, but The Qing dynasty scholar Ma Guohan has compiled [fragments in] the Zhouyi Zhangshi jiangshu 周易張氏講疏 in one juan which is contained in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, and can be consulted.

[94](6/6, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Gu Yue 顧越 (zi Yunnan 允南) was a native of Yanguan 鹽官 in Wujun 吳郡 who lived during the Chen dynasty. He had a comprehensive knowledge of the Classics, and an especially refined understanding of the Mao Version of the Songs. He served the Liang, holding the position of Erudite of the Five Classics. He went to Chen

Xiaojing yiji 孝經義記.[95] In the north, there were works like Liu Xianzhi's 劉

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where he served in the capacity of Supervising Secretary (jishizhong 給事中--Hucker 587) and Gentleman Attendant at the Palace Gate (huangmen shilang 黃門侍郎--Hucker 2847). Later, he was slandered, accused of a crime and dismissed from office. His writings include the Sang fu yishu 喪服義疏, the Mao Shi yishu 毛詩義疏, the Laozi yishu 老子義疏, the Xiaojing yishu 孝經義疏 and the Lunyu yishu 論語義疏, which totaled over forty juan, and wrote eulogies, epitaphs and memoranda which comprised over two hundred pian. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" of the Nan shi (71.1752-4) and the "Rulin zhuan" of the Chen shu (33.445-6). Gu Yue's writings have all been lost.

[95](6/6, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: Wang Yuangui 王元規 (zi Zhengfan 正範) was a native of Jinyang 晉陽 in Taiyuan 太原 who lived during the Sui. When he was eighteen years old, he was thoroughly versed in the Zuo shi Commentary, the Classic of Filial Piety, the Analects and the Sang fu. Emperor Jianwen of the Liang dynasty 梁簡文帝(reg. 550-551) treated him with special kindness and favor. He went to Chen, where he held the position of Gentleman in the Ministry of Sacrifices in the Department of State Affairs (shangshu Cibu lang 尚書祠部郎--cf. Hucker 7566). After the end of the Chen dynasty, he went to Sui where he ended up in the position of Master of Ceremonies in the East Hall (dongge jijiu 東閣祭酒--Hucker 7436) at the Qin 秦 Princely Establishment. His writings include the Chunqiu fatici 春秋發題辭 and the Chunqiu yiji 春秋義記 in eleven juan, the Xu Jingdian dayi 續經典大義 in fourteen juan, the Xiaojing yiji 孝經義記 in two juan, along with the Zuozhuan yin 左傳音 in three juan and the Liji yin 禮記

獻之 Sanli dayi 三禮大義;[96] Xu Zunming's 徐遵明 Chunqiu yizhang 春秋義章;[97] Li Xuan's 李鉉 Xiao jing yishu 孝經義疏, Lunyu yishu 論語義疏, Mao Shi yishu 毛詩義疏 and Sanli yishu 三禮義疏;[98] Shen Zhong's 沈重 Zhouli

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音 in two juan. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" of the Nan shi (71.1755-6) and the "Rulin zhuan" of the Chen shu (33.448-50). Wang Yuangui's writings no longer survive, but the Qing dynasty scholar Ma Guohan has compiled [fragments in] the Xu Chunqiu Zuoshi jingzhuan yilüe 續春秋左氏經傳義略 in one juan which is contained in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, and can be consulted.

[96](6/6, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Xianzhi 劉獻之 was a native of Raoyang 饒陽 who lived during the Northern Wei. He was very fond of the Songs and the Commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals and was widely read in numerous texts. Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝 (reg. 471- 499) recruited him to oversee the editing of texts in the palace, but he declined on account of illness. His writings include the San Li dayi 三禮大義 in four juan, the San Zhuan lüeli 三傳略義 in three juan, the Zhu Mao Shi Xu yi 注毛詩序義 in one juan and the Zhangju shu 章句疏 in two juan. For his biography see the "Rulin zhuan" of the Bei shi (81.2713-4) and the "Rulin zhuan" of the Wei shu (84.1849- 50). Liu Xianzhi's writings have been lost.

[97](6/6, n.12) Zhou Yutong comments: On Xu Zunming 徐遵明, see 6/2, n.7. He wrote the Chunqiu yizhang 春秋義章 in thirty juan which has been lost.

[98](6/6, n.13) Zhou Yutong comments: Li Xuan 李鉉 (zi Baoding 寶鼎) was a native of Nanpi 南皮 in Bohai 渤海 who lived during the Northern Qi dynasty. He had Xu Zunming as his teacher. During the reign of Emperor

yishu 周禮義疏, Yili yishu 儀禮義疏, Liji yishu 禮記義疏, Mao Shi yishu 毛詩義疏 and Sangfu jingyi 喪服經義;[99] Xiong Ansheng's 熊安生 Zhouli yishu 周禮義疏, Liji yishu 禮記義疏 and Xiao jing yi 孝經義.[100] These all appear in

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Wenxuan 文宣帝(reg. 550-559) he attained the official position of Erudite of the National University. He composed the Xiaojing yishu 孝經義疏, the Lunyu yishu 論語義疏, the Mao Shi yishu 毛詩義疏, the San Li yishu 三禮義疏 along with the San Zhuan yitong 三傳異同 and the Zhouyi yili 周易義例 which contained a combined total of more than thirty juan. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" of the Bei shi (81.2726-7) and the "Rulin zhuan" of the Bei Qi shu (44.584-5). Li Xuan's writings are no longer extant.

[99](6/6, n.14) Zhou Yutong comments: On Shen Zhong 沈重, see 6/5, n.17. Sheng Zhong wrote the Zhouli yi 周禮義 in thirty-one juan, the Yili yi 儀禮義 in thirty-five juan, the Liji yi 禮記義 in thirty juan, the Mao Shi yi 毛詩義 in twenty-eight juan, the Sangfu jingyi 喪服經義 in five juan, along with the Zhouli yin 周禮音, the Yili yin 儀禮音, the Liji yin 禮記音 and the Mao Shi yin 毛詩音. All have been lost. The Qing dynasty scholar Ma Guohan has compiled [fragments in] the Zhouguan li yishu 周官禮義疏 in one juan, the Liji Shenshi yishu 禮記沈氏義疏 in one juan and the Mao Shi Shenshi yishu 毛詩沈氏義疏 in two juan which are in his Yuhan shanfang jiyishu, and can be consulted.

[100](6/6, n.15) Zhou Yutong comments: On Xiong Ansheng 熊安生, see 6/3, n.7. He wrote the Zhouli yishu 周禮義疏 in twenty juan, the Liji yishu 禮記義疏 in thirty juan, and the Xiaojing yi 孝經義 in one juan, none of which are extant. The Qing dynasty scholar Ma Guohan has compiled [fragments in]

"Rulin zhuan" chapters in the histories of the southern and northern dynasties. At present, with the exception of the works of Huang Kan and Xiong Ansheng which have been selected from and appear in the subcommentary to the Liji (Liji shu 禮記疏), all of the remaining texts have been lost. However, even [what we call] sources and origins have that from which they are derived from, and it is not necessarily the case that the subcommentaries to the Five Classics by the scholars of the Tang dynasty did not have their roots in the works of the various [above mentioned] individuals. In discussing the significance of the expression "first the rivers, later the seas,"[101] how can we forget the accomplishments of those who did

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his Liji Xiongshi yishu 禮記雄氏義疏 in four juan which is contained in the Yuhan shanfang jiyishu and can be consulted.

[101](6/6, n.16) Zhou Yutong comments: The phrase "first the rivers and later the seas" (xianhehouhai 先河後海) comes from the Liji. The "Xueji" 學記 chapter of the Liji contains the passage, "The three sovereigns in performing sacrifices to the waters in all cases first did so to the rivers and then afterward did so to the seas. One is the source and the other is the terminus. This is what is referred to as concerning oneself with the origin." (See: Liji zhushu, Ssjzs, 36.18a; translation following Legge, trans., Book of Rites, II, p.91) That the rivers are the source of the seas is like the yishu 義疏 commentaries of the various scholars of the Southern and Northern dynasties being the source or origin of the yishu commentaries of the Tang dynasty scholars.

pioneering work under adverse conditions![102]

[6/7 SVA Introductory Comments: Pi Xirui begins this section, the last in the chapter on the period of division, with another passage from the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi. The passage provides information about which of the Classics and their respective commentaries were taught by whom, as well as the scholastic lineages associated with the texts, commentaries, and teachers, both in the North and in the South. Pi also uses this passage to illustrate the spread of learning and scholarship identified with a geographic area and the scholars of the region, to people of

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[102](6/6, n.17) Zhou Yutong comments: The phrase, "those who did pioneering work under adverse conditions" (bilulanlü 篳路藍縷) comes from the Zuo zhuan. In the Zuo zhuan under Duke Xuan 宣公 / year fourteen there is the line, "drive a wooden cart and wear tattered clothes in order to open up the mountains and forests." Du Yu's commentary reads, "Bilu 篳路 is a wooden cart (chaiju 柴車); Lanlü 藍縷 is tattered clothing (biyi 敝衣)." (See: Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhushu, Ssjzs, 23.11b; Legge, trans., The Ch'un Ts'ew, p.318) This phrase means to drive a wooden cart and wear tattered clothing in order to open up the mountains and the forests. Thus, by extension, it means to be pioneering. In Pi Xirui's text, he quotes this to serve as an analogy for the structure and format of the yishu 義疏 commentaries having come out of the pioneering work of the of the scholars of the Northern and Southern dynasties.

another region--"the geography behind the History of Classical Scholarship" --so to speak. He closes this section by noting that Xu Zunming was considered the best of the Northern scholars of the day, and that mentions Liu Zhuo and Liu Xuan, who were both Northerners, obtained and passed on the Shangshu yishu of Fei Han who is considered to be a Southerner. This suggests what is to follow, which in Pi Xirui's periodization, is the "period of unification."]

6/7[103] The Bei shi goes on to state, "From the last years of the Wei dynasty, the students of the great scholar Xu Zunming lectured on the Changes which had commentary by Zheng Xuan. Xu Zunming had passed it on to Lu Jingyu 盧景裕,[104] ...Lu Jingyu passed it on to Quan Hui 權會 and Guo Mao

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[103][SVA: Section 6/7 corresponds to pp.189-192 of the Zhonghua ed. and to pp.202-204 of the Yiwen ed.]

[104](6/7, n.1) Zhou Yutong comments: Lu Jingyu 盧景裕 (zi Zhongru 仲儒) was a native of Zhuo 涿 in Fanyang 范陽 who lived during the Northern Wei. Intelligent as a youth, he focused on studying the Classics. He retreated to Mt. Daning 大寧山, and he was called a recluse by his contemporaries. Gao Cheng 高澄 made a special effort to recruit him to serve as the Royal Tutor in order to instruct his sons. During the Xinghe period (539-542), he was appointed to serve as an Assistant to the Area Commander (kaifu 開府 --Hucker 3103) of the King of Qi. He wrote commentary to the Changes, the

郭茂,[105] ...and those who had the ability to discourse on the Changes were for the most part students of Guo Mao. South of the River, on down to the area of Qing 青 and Qi 齊, most scholars lectured on the Changes which had commentary by Wang Fusi 王輔嗣 (Wang Bi) and thus teachers' training was wanting. During the Qi dynasty (550-577), few scholars engaged in the enterprise of teaching the Documents, [but] Xu Zunming had mastered it [along with the other Classics]. Xu Zunming received instruction [in the

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Documents, the Classic of Filial Piety, the Analects, the Record of Rites and the Laozi. His commentary to the Changes found its way into wide circulation during his day. For his biography, see the Wei shu (84.1859-60) and the Bei shi (30.1098-9).

[105](6/7, n.2) Zhou Yutong comments: Quan Hui 權會 (zi Zhengli 正理) was a native of Zheng 鄭 in Hejian 河間 who lived during the Northern Wei. When he was young he received instruction in Zheng Xuan's [interpretation of] the Changes, the Songs, the Documents and the Three Rites, as well as having a clear understanding wind angle divination. He held successive official positions, including that of Erudite of the National University. He wrote a commentary to the Changes, which was in general circulation. For his biography, see the "Rulin zhuan" of the Bei Qi shu (44.592- 3) and the "Rulin zhuan" of the Bei shi (81.2733-4).

With the exception of having his name appear in the "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (81.2708), there is no biographical information on Guo Mao 郭茂.

Documents] from Wang Cong 王聰 of Tunliu 屯留,[106] and it turn instructed Li Zhouren 李周仁 of Fuyang 浮陽, along with Zhang Wenjing 張文敬 and Li Xuan 李鉉 of Bohai 渤海, and Quan Hui 權會 of Hejian 河間.[107] He also used the version to which Zheng Xuan had written commentary, but this was not the Old Script version. The students in the villages probably did not see Master Kong's zhujie 註解 commentary. At the end of the Wuping period,[108] Liu Guangbo 劉光伯 and Liu Shiyuan 劉士元[109] first obtained Fei Han's 費甝 Shangshu yishu 尚書義疏,[110] to which they then directed their attention.

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[106](6/7, n.3) Zhou Yutong comments: Besides the mention of his name in the "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (81.2708), there is no biographical information on Wang Cong 王聰.

[107](6/7, n.4) Zhou Yutong comments: Besides having their names appear in the "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (81.2708), there is no biographical information on Li Zhouren 李周仁 or on Zhang Wenjing 張文敬. On Li Xuan, see: 6/6, n.13. On Quan Hui, see: 6/7, n.2.

[108](6/7, n.5) Zhou Yutong comments: Wuping 武平 is the title of the second reign period of Gao Wei 高偉(reg.565-575), who ruled under the title of Houzhu 後主, of the Northern Qi. It covered a six year period, from 570 through 575.

[109](6/7, n.6) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Guangbo 劉光伯 was the zi of Liu Xuan 劉炫 and Liu Shiyuan 劉士元 was the zi of Liu Zhuo 劉焯. For more information about them, see: 6/7, n.11 below.

[110](6/7, n.7) Zhou Yutong comments: Besides having his name appear in the

Their [commentaries on] the Songs, the Rites and the Spring and Autumn Annals were held in especially high regard at the time, and many students mastered them all. [A tradition of interpretation of] the Three Rites also came forth from Xu Zunming. Xu Zunming instructed ...Xiong Ansheng, ...and of the younger students who were able to master the Rites Classics, most were the students of Xiong Ansheng. All of the students were thoroughly versed in the Xiao Dai Liji and there were twelve or thirteen who had mastered the Rites of Zhou and Ceremonials and Rites as well. As for the students who had mastered the Mao Version of the Songs, most received their instruction from Liu Xianzhi 劉獻之 of the Wei dynasty.[111] ...Later, of those who had the ability to knowledgeably discourse on the Songs, most could trace their scholastic lineage back to the two Lius. North

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"Preface" of the "Rulin zhuan" of the Bei shi (81.2708), there is no biographical information on Fei Han 費舩. The "Jingji zhi" chapter of the Sui shu states, "A Shangshu yishu 尚書義疏 in ten juan was written by Fei Han who held the position of Instructor of the National University (Guozi zhujiao 國子助教) during the Liang dynasty. (See: Sui shu 32.914) Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen states, "Fei Han, who was a native of Jiangxia 江夏 and served Liang in the capacity of Instructor of the National University, wrote a Shangshu yishu which was in general circulation." (See: Jingdian shiwen 1.17a) Fei Han's text is no longer extant.

[111](6/7, n.8) Zhou Yutong comments: On Liu Xianzhi 劉獻之, see: 6/6, n.11.

of the River, the scholars who had the ability to master the Spring and Autumn Annals were schooled in the commentary of Fu Zishen 服子慎 as well, and also came from the scholastic line which went back to Xu Zunming ...Yao Wenan 姚文安 and Qin Daojing 秦道靜[112] also studied Master Fu's [commentary] early on, and later lectured on Du Yuankai's commentary as well. The students beyond (south of) the River all followed Master Du's [commentary]."[113]

The history's discussion of Northern scholarship is extremely clear. Moreover, Northern scholarship's turning and moving to the South, is also seen there. In the area of Qing 青 and Qi 齊, most lectured on Wang Fusi's Changes and Du Yuankai's Zuo Commentary. It was probably the case that because Qing and Qi were located between the South and the North, the writings of the masters of the Classics of the Wei and Jin dynasties first spread from the South to the North. As for Northern scholarship, Xu Zunming was considered to be the best, and his chosen methods the most correct. Zheng Xuan's commentaries to the Changes, the Documents and

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[112](6/7, n.9) Zhou Yutong comments: Other than being mentioned in the "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (81.2709), there is no biographical information on Yao Wenan 姚文安 or Qin Daojing 秦道靜.

[113](6/7, n.10) Zhou Yutong comments: For the original text of the quoted material, see the "Preface" to the "Rulin zhuan" of the Bei shi (81.2708-9).

the Three Rites, along with Fu Qian's commentary to the [Zuo Commentary to the] Spring and Autumn Annals, were all taught by Xu Zunming. Only the Mao Version of the Songs came from Liu Xianzhi. Later, Liu Zhuo 劉焯 and Liu Xuan 劉炫 were very good, but they esteemed and believed forged texts and their chosen methods did not measure up to the correctness of those of Xu Zunming.[114] The acquisition of Fei Han's Shangshu yishu and

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[114](6/7, n.11) Zhou Yutong comments: Liu Zhuo 劉焯 (zi Shiyuan 士元) was a native of Changting 昌亭 in Xindu 信都 who lived during the Sui. During the Kaihuang 開皇 (581-600) period, he became a Xiucai 秀才, scored in the highest rank in the duice 對策 examination, and was appointed to the position of Supernumerary General (yuanwai jiangjun 員外將軍--cf. Hucker 8250). At the National University, together with [other high ranking officials], he discussed difficult to resolve problems of meaning, both ancient and modern, and owing to [his ability] he was praised as having understanding which was both precise and wide ranging. On imperial order, together with Liu Xuan and others, he examined and settled problems relating to the Luoyang stone classics. Later, he had discussions with Liu Xuan, deeply humiliated other scholars, and consequently an anonymous letter falsely accusing him of a crime was submitted, and he was dismissed from office and returned to his village. During the reign of Emperor Yang of the Sui 隋煬帝 (reg. 605-616) he was appointed to the position of Erudite of the Imperial Academy. His writings include the Jiji 稽極, Lishu 曆書, and Wujing shuyi 五經述義. As Liu Xuan and he had the same surname, at the time they were known as the "two Lius."

the teaching of the forged Kong Anguo Old Script text actually began with

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Liu Xuan 劉炫 (zi Guangbo 光伯) was a native of Jingcheng 景城 in Henan 河南 who lived during the Sui dynasty. When he was young he received high praise owing to his intelligence and understanding. During the Kaihuang period, he was appointed to the position of Palace General (diannei jiangjun 殿內將軍), but was soon accused of a crime and removed from office. Later, together with other scholars, he made revisions to five of the rites, and was appointed to the position of Commandant of Cavalry (lü jiwei 旅騎尉--Hucker 607). Soon thereafter he was appointed to the position of Erudite of the Imperial Academy, but because he was judged as inferior, he was removed from office. He resorted to falling in with bandits, and [consequently] froze and starved to death. His students referred to him posthumously as "Xuande Xiansheng" 宣德先生. His writings include the Lunyu yishu 論語義疏, the Xiaojing yishu 孝經義疏, the Chunqiu yishu 春秋義疏, the Shangshu yishu 尙書義疏, the Mao Shi yishu 毛詩義疏, the Chunqiu gongmei 春秋攻昧, the Wujing zhengming 五經正名, the Zhu Shi xu 注詩序 and the Suanshu 算述.

Both of their biographies appear in the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Sui shu (75.1718-23) and the "Rulin zhuan" chapter of the Bei shi (82.2763-7). The two Lius both highly esteemed and believed in the authenticity of the forged Guwen Shangshu Kongzhuan 古文尙書孔傳. Liu Xuan also believed that the forged Guwen Xiaojing Kongzhuan 古文孝經孔傳 was authentic. At the same time he forged the Lianshan Yi 連山易 and the Lu shiji 魯史記. Thus Pi Xirui's statement, "their chosen methods did not measure up to the correctness of those of Xu Zunming."

the two Lius. The two Lius were both northerners, but they passed on the scholarship of Fei Han who was a southerner, and this is one piece of evidence that northern scholarship turned and moved to the south. When we come to the Sui dynasty, the period of division of Classical Scholarship changes to a period of unification.

The Next Chapter

Of course, Chapter Six is not the last chapter in Jingxue lishi as the text contains ten chapters in all. Chapter Seven is "Classical Scholarship: The Period of Unification" ("Jingxue tongyi shidai" 經學統一史代), Chapter Eight is "Classical Scholarship: The Period of Altering Antiquity" ("Jingxue biangu shidai" 經學變古史代), Chapter Nine is "Classical Scholarship: The Period of Cumulative Decline" ("Jingxue jishuai shidai" 經學積衰史代), and Chapter Ten is "Classical Scholarship: The Period of Renewal and Resurgence" ("Jingxue fusheng shidai" 經學復盛史代). And Pi Xirui's work on the Classics was not limited to Jingxue lishi. He also wrote Jingxue tonglun in which he addresses specific topics and problems relating to the Classics, the Jinwen Shangshu kaozheng 今文尚書考證 which, as the title suggests, focuses on a study of the evidence surrounding the Modern Script version of the Documents, as well as numerous other pieces relating to the Classics.

Pi Xirui also left a substantial collection of poetry and prose, both published and unpublished, a diary that covers a period from 1892 until his death in 1908, and other writings that can be used to provide information about and insights into his life, thought, and scholarship.

Pi Xirui's view of the history of Classical Scholarship was in a large part owing to a few basic beliefs. First, he thought that Confucius "created" the Classics by re-working pre-existing materials and writing others (the Chunqiu and parts of the Changes) in such a way so that the reader with careful and serious study could use them in a wide range of activities, from cultivating one's person to governing the nation. In addition, he held to the view that the closer in time the commentaries were to the creation of the Classics, the more accurately they would reflect the original meaning of the Classics. Hence, there is his emphasis on Han Learning and the faithful adherence to an orthodox teacher's or school's rules for reading the text. An interesting aspect of Pi's view is his treatment of Zheng Xuan. He was a villain owing to his synthesis that effectively ended the pure teachings of the original masters, and yet the preserver of the remnants of the teachings of these same masters.

Pi Xirui was not always totally objective and even-handed in his history, but for our purposes it hardly matters, and in fact makes things more interesting as it helps to bring out his personality. We should not take Jingxue lishi as the last word on the history of Classical Scholarship, but rather as one of several starting points in our study of the this important field. Regardless of Pi Xirui's personal leanings, Jingxue lishi combined with Zhou Yutong's annotations is an extremely rich source of information

about an important part of the history of Chinese civilization. It is an introductory text, and is still used as such, as any quick check of a sample of the on-line syllabi for classes on the subject will demonstrate.

I have not attempted a thorough and comprehensive analysis of Jingxue lishi. My aim in this limited exercise is not to examine Pi's presuppositions and assumptions, speculate as to why he was predisposed to think one way as opposed to another, or to deconstruct Pi Xirui and Jingxue lishi by dissecting every detail, measuring Pi and his work against every other possibility, and offering theories supported by solid evidence and sound argumentation as to why Pi Xirui was who he was, thought what he thought, and wrote what he did. Rather, it is to make accessible and available, by means of translation, a portion of a text about an important part of what we refer to as Chinese culture and civilization. And hopefully, combined with his chronological biography, this will give the reader a better understanding and an appreciation of the life of one traditional "Confucian" scholar who lived at the end of the imperial era.

The history of Classical Scholarship is ultimately the history of individuals. We may talk about texts and their content, schools and scholastic lineages, intellectual trends and tendencies, movements and the reactions against them, the history of ideas, etc., etc., but none exists apart from the individual as all are manifestations of various aspects of the

human condition. All are legitimate and worthy ways of approaching the study of what really happened and why, but we must not lose sight of the fact that all of the above occurs within a human context.

Much more work needs to be done on Jingxue lishi, on Pi Xirui's other writings, and on his life. Much more work also needs to be done on all the other writings that have come down to us, as well as on the lives of their authors, and on their greater context. Hopefully, the results of the difficult work of scholarship will gradually yield an increased understanding of how the members a relatively independent population evolved, developed, manifested, and lived the various aspects of what we refer to as Chinese culture and civilization.

I am aware that my efforts only scratch the surface of the writings and the life of one man. But he was a relatively important man, a man who was a schoolteacher, a scholar, and a man who lived the Chinese Classics.

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